

**BUILDING JERUSALEM:
CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN NEW SOUTH WALES, 1940-1956**

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	v
Abbreviations	vi
Imperial to Decimal Conversions	viii
List of Illustrations	ix
Introduction	1
<u>PART ONE: The Church and Post-War Reconstruction</u>	
1. Social Reformist Post-War Planning	17
2. Conservative Post-War Planning	49
<u>PART TWO: Post-War Australian Society and the Church</u>	
3. Communism	74
4. Immigration	97
5. Consumerism and Leisure	117
6. The Liquor Referendums	135
7. Protestant Institutional Decline	156
8. Youth	173
9. The Family	194
<u>PART THREE: Post-War Evangelism</u>	
10. Conservative Christians and Evangelism	220
11. The Mission to the Nation	244
<u>PART FOUR: The Local Church</u>	
12. The Local Church in Post-War Suburbia	273
13. The Clergy	312

Conclusion	344
Notes on Sources	354
Bibliography	358

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Australian Archives
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ACTS	Australian Catholic Truth Society
ACWCC	Australian Council for the World Council of Churches
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ANSCA	Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action
ANUP	Australian National University Press
ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Organisation
CE	Christian Endeavour
CEBS	Church of England Boys' Society
CENEF	Church of England National Emergency Fund
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CPA	Communist Party of Australia
CRS	Commonwealth Record Series
CSAC	Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity
CSOC	Christian Social Order Committee (Presbyterian)
CSOM	Christian Social Order Movement (Anglican)
CSSM	Catholic Social Studies Movement
CYO	Catholic Youth Organisation
ECCA	Episcopal Committee on Catholic Action
FICMC	Federal Inter-Church Migration Committee
MGC	Methodist Girls' Comradeship
MUP	Melbourne University Press
NCGM	National Catholic Girls' Movement
NHMRC	National Health and Medical Research Council
NSW	New South Wales
NSWUP	New South Wales University Press

OK	Methodist Order of Knights
OUP	Oxford University Press
PFA	Presbyterian Fellowship of Australia
PQC	Public Questions Committee (Methodist)
RHA	Racial Hygiene Association of New South Wales
SEQC	Social and Economic Questions Committee (Methodist)
<i>SMH</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>
SQC	Social Questions Committee (Anglican)
SUP	Sydney University Press
UAP	United Australia Party
UCA	Uniting Church Archives
UCPA	United Council of Protestant Action
ULVA	United Licensed Victuallers Association
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UQP	University of Queensland Press
WCC	World Council of Churches
YCS	Young Christian Students
YCW	Young Christian Workers

IMPERIAL TO DECIMAL CONVERSIONS

1d (penny) = 0.83 cents

1s (shilling) = 10 cents

2s (florin) = 20 cents

£1 (pound) = \$2.00

£1/1s (guinea) = \$2.10

12d = 1s = 10 cents

20s = £1 = \$2.00

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

(between pages 302 and 303)

1. St. Bernard's Catholic Church, Botany, NSW (front view)
2. St. Bernard's Catholic Church, Botany, NSW (side view)
3. Punchbowl Baptist Church, Punchbowl, NSW
4. Gordon Methodist Church, Gordon, NSW
5. Penshurst Methodist Church, Penshurst, NSW
6. St. John's Anglican Church, Willoughby, NSW (new extension)
7. St. Martin's Anglican Church, Blakehurst, NSW
8. Lane Cove Presbyterian Church (Farren St.), Lane Cove, NSW

attitudes to children in the family and redefined the character of family life itself. In Australian society, ideals of marriage and family life had traditionally been derived from Christian ideology. The Church regarded the family as being within its particular domain of concern. The social changes of the post-war period threatened to diminish the role of the Church in defining family life and values.

In this context of dramatic social change, there was much disagreement within the Church as to how best to respond. Enthusiasm for the promise of the post-war period might have been universal among Australian Christians, but their ideas as to how the Church should best provide Christian solutions to post-war social problems were not. In the main, Christians were divided along theological, political, social and generation-based lines, which collectively, formed two broader groups.

The first group are identified here as the 'conservatives'. Conservative Christians were dominant in the Church. Politically, conservative Christians were most closely related to the views of the United Australia Party (UAP) and the Liberal Party during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. Conservative Christians were also inclined towards socially conservative attitudes, especially regarding the role of women in society, personal morality and the function of the Church. They were highly suspicious of 'modernity', opposing modern technology, architecture, fashions and moral trends. Older Christians, that is, those born before the 1900s, were particularly inclined to hold socially conservative attitudes. They were also likely to be in positions of power, a situation which rendered the Church itself as institutionally conservative.

Conservative Christian theology reflected these political and social associations, with an emphasis on the individual's moral responsibility and obedience to authority. Conservative Catholics encouraged adherence to personal moral and religious principles. Doctrine and Church teachings were presented by

INTRODUCTION

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Til we have built Jerusalem...

William Blake's famous words speak of the hope for a better society. This hope is especially pertinent to Christians, whose faith encompasses the eschatological promise of the Kingdom of God. In turn, hope for a better future has become an idiosyncrasy of Western society, with its restless dissatisfaction, sense of historic destiny and belief that history is a progressive process. During a period of war and post-war reconstruction there is social upheaval, critical evaluation of the past and optimism for the future. In this historical context, the existence of a shared 'ideology of the future' between the Church and Western society opens the question of the broader relationship of the Church to its society.

For Australian Christians, and indeed for Australian society generally, the prospect of the post-war period after the Second World War presented occasion for new hope. After years of depression and war, people looked forward to the rebuilding of Australian society in such a way as would ensure peace, prosperity and justice. Christians themselves were confident that the Church could lead Australia out of its problems and help construct a new Christian social order for the post-war period. Expressions such as 'the hope of a new world', 'the new mood' and 'a time of unparalleled opportunity for the Christian Church' were common among Australian Christians at this time, reflective of their strong optimism for the future and of the general enthusiasm for post-war reconstruction in the Australian community.¹

¹*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book, 1946-1947*, p. 9; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1946*, p. 88; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 11th April 1945, p. 4; ECCA, 'Pattern for Peace' (1943), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now! Social Justice Statements of the Australian Catholic Bishops 1940-1966*, Department of Government and Public Affairs, University of Sydney, 1990, pp. 39-47; E. H. Burgmann, *The Regeneration of Civilisation*, (Moorhouse Lectures), Melbourne, 1942,

Despite this enthusiasm, the quest for a Christian social order was relatively short-lived. Christian plans and expectations for post-war reconstruction were becoming increasingly insecure by the end of the 1940s and had been seriously undermined by the mid-1950s. Christian organisations specifically oriented to post-war reconstruction had declined by the early 1950s. Some Christian post-war agendas were diverted from their earlier intentions, while others experienced major set backs. In contrast with its tenacity in the early 1940s, the Church had become decidedly less confident about its role in Australian society by the mid-1950s.

This thesis examines the relationship between Church and society by investigating the reasons why Australian Christian plans for the post-war period were becoming untenable as the 1940s and 1950s unfolded. It explores the attempts of the Church as a collective entity, as well as its constituent denominations (or 'Churches'), hierarchical leaders, local clergy and laity, to come to terms with the post-war world. The Australian Christian Church perceived that it had a vested interest in securing a social order in which it could play a leading role. From the late 1940s, Australian Church leaders contended that society was changing rapidly and was frustrating many of their hopes for a Christian social order. The Church's close involvement in post-war reconstruction and its response to social change challenges the notion that the Church was politically and socially isolated from its society.

The years after the Second World War marked a time of major transition. Politically, the defeat of fascism in Europe was followed by the continuation of the democratic-capitalist system in the West and the spread of communism in Eastern Europe and Asia. The development of the atomic bomb, the effectiveness of which was demonstrated so devastatingly on the Japanese industrial cities of

the clergy without compromise, uncertainty or intellectual justification.² In the Protestant Churches, the main theological influence was conservative Evangelicalism. Evangelical Protestants emphasised personal piety and the importance of the individual's salvation from sin. They believed that Christ had commissioned the Church to convert all people to the Christian religion, and that the conversion of the individual to Christianity was the answer to preserving moral values, law and order and democracy in the community.³ Evangelical theology had been mainstream in the Methodist and Baptist Churches since the nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, Evangelicalism also became the dominant theology among Sydney Anglicans.⁴ While Evangelicals did not dominate Presbyterianism, they were a significantly large element.⁵

Theological conservatism was particularly dominant throughout the NSW and Sydney Churches. The NSW Presbyterian Assembly was the only state assembly to vote against the Australian Presbyterian General Assembly motion to admit women to the eldership in 1949.⁶ Similarly, NSW Baptists and Sydney Anglicans often expressed more theologically conservative attitudes than those in other states and dioceses, while Sydney Catholics were distinctive from those of Melbourne for their theologically conservative understanding of Catholicism.⁷

²E. Osborn, 'Tendencies in Australian Theology', *Colloquium*, 12, 1979, pp. 4-5; E. Campion, *Australian Catholics*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1988, pp. 146-148.

³*Year book of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1948, pp. 47-8, 51; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Conference Minutes*, 1949, pp. 90-91; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1951-1952, p. 9; E. Osborn, op.cit., pp. 8-9.

⁴W. Lawton, *The Better Time to Be: Utopian Attitudes to Society Among Sydney Anglicans 1885 to 1914*, NSWUP, Kensington, 1990, pp. 15-17; W. Lawton, 'The Winter of Our Days: The Anglican Diocese of Sydney 1950-1960', [paper presented to the Evangelical History Society] Sydney, 1992; S. Judd and K. Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese*, Anglican Information Office, Sydney, 1987, pp. 225-229, 232-240; For convenience, Anglicans have been grouped with 'Protestants' in this thesis.

⁵S. Emilsen, *A Whiff of Heresy: Samuel Angus and the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales*, NSWUP, Kensington, 1991, pp. 118-120.

⁶*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1951, p. 219.

⁷S. Judd and K. Cable, op.cit., pp. 247-248, 252-256; K. Manley, 'Australian Baptists Today', in M. Petras (ed.), *Australian Baptists Past and Present*, Baptist Historical Studies, no. 5, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1988, p. 56; M. Hogan, 'The Sydney Style: New South Wales Labor and the Catholic Church', *Labour History*, 36, 1979, pp. 39-46.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki, set a new criteria for war weaponry. With the political polarisation of the West and the East, an arms race cemented the increasing international tensions into a state of Cold War, with fears that this would inevitably erupt into a Third World War and nuclear annihilation. For the Australian Churches, communism presented a rival form of social organisation to the 'Christian society'. At a deeper level, communism's avowed atheism and opposition to religion confronted the religious authority of the Church, encouraging the contention among Church leaders that communism was a religious adversary of biblical proportions. These political tensions and millenarian fears forced the Church to take account of communism in its interaction with Australian society.

Economically, the post-war years were also a period of significant change. After the crippling depression of the 1930s and the restrictions of the war years, most Western countries like Australia enjoyed an era of economic prosperity. Low unemployment, high wages and increasingly better working conditions encouraged consumer spending and an expansion of opportunities for leisure. These developments drastically altered the nature of 'work', 'austerity' and 'leisure' in Australian society. The experience of youth and adolescence during this period was particularly affected by this, with a high demand for labour resulting in higher youth wages and the subsequent development of a youth ('teenager') market. The post-war economy posed challenges to the Church's moral authority, encouraged a questioning of the value of restraint and self-control, and raised issues of freedom, power and moral permission. It also granted young people greater personal freedom and independence than ever before, and youth were a social category of great concern to the Church.

The social disruption of the war also brought to fruition a change to the role of women in society. This change had been gradually developing during the early twentieth century. The new status of women in Australian society broadly altered marriage patterns, contributed to the increased incidence of divorce, changed

The second group can be called 'social reformists'. Social reformist Protestants were small but active bands of Christians in the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. Social reformist Catholics were concentrated in Melbourne. While some of the social reformist Christians' political and social ideals transverse both the territories of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the Liberal Party, they were decidedly more in sympathy with ALP and the Left than with the Right. Their central political ideal was that the rights of the community should prevail over those of the individual. On this basis they promoted social and economic justice, an end to monopolistic capitalism and a wider distribution of ownership and wealth among Australians.

Reformist Christians also tended to hold more progressive social attitudes. In keeping with their commitment to uphold the rights of the community over the individual, social reformists did not advocate libertarianism, but challenged the conventional understanding that social problems such as alcohol consumption and divorce were due to individual moral weakness. Social reformists argued that the existence of these problems was not due to individual moral weakness, but was a symptom of wider socio-economic inadequacies in the social order. Social reformist Catholics tended to hold more socially conservative views than Protestants over issues of family life, while some social reformist Protestants retained socially conservative views over drinking, gambling and Sunday Observance. Many of the social reformist Christians were born after 1900.

Theologically, social reformist Christians viewed Christianity as a force for social justice and the defence of the poor. In Protestant circles, this followed from their understanding of Jesus as the Incarnation of God on earth, an embodiment of the spiritual with the secular in human history. They wished to emulate the 'Jesus of history' as a critic of the social order and champion of the poor.⁸ Social

⁸J. Mansfield, 'The Social Gospel and the Church of England in New South Wales in the 1930s', *Journal of Religious History*, 13, 4, 1985, p. 414; J. Mansfield, 'Social Attitudes in the Church of England in New South Wales, 1929-1951', MA (Hons) thesis, Department of History, University of Sydney, 1979, pp. 67, 71, 72.

reformist Catholics were inspired by Catholic social principles to challenge the status quo where it conflicted with Catholic teachings.

The conservative and social reformist positions constitute two broad approaches to the problem of Church and society. These two groups have a long history in the Church and have contributed to all major debates concerning the role of the Church in the world and the extent of the Church's 'separateness' from the world. The existence of internal conflict within the Church between competing theological, political, social and generation-based agendas indicate that Church concerns were representative of broader debates in society. Many of these associations between Church and society however, have been overlooked by most Australian historians, as indeed has post-war religion.

Post-war religion in Australia has not been of great concern, either to historians of religion or to historians of Australian society. Most historians of Australian religion have tended to concentrate on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, concerning themselves with Protestant social and political power.⁹ Other religious historians, such as Edmund Campion and Ian Breward, have included the 1940s-1950s post-war period as part of a broader history of Australian religion.¹⁰ Campion and Breward have not however, seen the 1940s-1950s as a crucial period for the Church in Australian history. In *Australian Catholics* (1988), Campion has titled his chapter on the 1950s 'Signs of Life'. He portrays the 1950s as a period of growth and consolidation for the Church, a prelude to the reforms of the Vatican II years.¹¹ His semi-autobiographical *Rockchoppers* (1982), explains his experience of the 1950s in terms of the

⁹W. Phillips, *Defending A Christian Country: Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and After*, UQP, St. Lucia, 1981; R. Broome, *Treasure in Earthen Vessels: Protestant Christianity in New South Wales Society 1900-1914*, UQP, St. Lucia, 1980; J. D. Bollen, *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales 1890-1910*, MUP, Melbourne, 1972.

¹⁰S. Judd and K. Cable, op.cit., pp. 243-249, 256-263; P. O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History*, 3rd rev. ed., NSWUP, Kensington, 1992, pp. 392-405.

¹¹E. Campion, op.cit., pp. 159-200.

medieval past of the Catholic Church and the developments in Irish Catholicism in the nineteenth century.¹² Breward barely mentions the 1950s period in his *Australia: The Most Godless Place Under Heaven?* (1988).¹³ His appraisal of the period in his more recent *A History of the Australian Churches* (1993) is also limited, emphasising only immigration, evangelism, Aboriginal missions and church decline.¹⁴

For some religious sociologists, the 1950s merely represents a 'golden age' of church attendance and revival preceding the religious decline of the late 1960s and 1970s, but this understanding of the 1950s is based on the late 1950s-early 1960s period and the euphoria surrounding the Billy Graham Crusade, rather than the early 1940-1956 post-war period. It assumes that the 1940s and 1950s were a time of furtherance and stability for the Church, rather than a period of transformation and instability.¹⁵

David Hilliard's journal articles constitute the main body of writing on the Australian Churches in the 1950s. Hilliard highlights the cultural importance of the Churches in post-war Australia, discussing a number of issues in which the Churches were involved (such as immigration, church growth, juvenile delinquency and evangelism). He does not however, situate the Churches' actions and attitudes within the context of the immediate past of depression, war and post-war reconstruction.¹⁶ Nor does he distinguish between the attitudes of the laity

¹²E. Campion, *Rockchoppers: Growing Up Catholic In Australia*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1982, pp. 21-33, 44-76.

¹³I. Breward, *Australia: The Most Godless Place Under Heaven?*, Beacon Hill Books, Melbourne, 1988, pp. 59-62, 70-72.

¹⁴I. Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1993, pp. 135-149.

¹⁵I. McAllister, 'Religious Change and Secularisation: The Transmission of Religious Values in Australia', *Sociological Analysis*, 49, 3, 1988, p. 250; D. Millikan, 'Why Are the Churches Losing Numbers?', *St. Mark's Review*, September 1981, p. 14; P. Kaldor, *Who Goes Where, Who Doesn't Care?*, Lancer, Homebush West, 1987, p. 3.

¹⁶D. Hilliard, 'A Church on Every Hill: Religion in Brisbane in the 1950s', *Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 14, 6, 1991, pp. 242-262; D. Hilliard, 'God in the Suburbs', pp. 339-419; D. Hilliard, 'Popular Religion in Australia in the 1950s: A Study of Adelaide and Brisbane', *The Journal of Religious History*, 16, 2, 1988, pp. 219-235.

and of parish clergy as opposed to those of the hierarchical Church leaders. Hilliard has also accepted the position of the religious sociologists, depicting the 1950s only as a time of growing community interest in religion preceding 'the religious upheavals of the 1960s'.¹⁷

There has been little historical recognition of the critical significance of the 1940s-1950s period for the Church. This underlies a more important historiographical problem: the failure of historians to acknowledge the full diversity of the interaction of the Church with its society during a time of social upheaval and change.

There has been some historical interest in Christian involvement in post-war reconstruction. Michael Hogan's compilation of the Catholic Social Justice Statements between 1940 and 1966 and Gerard Henderson's chapters on 'Catholic Social Theory' in his *Mr. Santamaria and the Bishops* (2nd ed. 1983) are the main works available on the Catholic social reformist position during the 1940s.¹⁸ Joan Mansfield's 1979 Masters thesis on the Christian Social Order Movement (CSOM) remains the only substantial historical work on Protestant social reformists during the early post-war period.¹⁹ These works have highlighted the theological and political diversity which existed within particular Churches, with an emphasis on the Christian social reformist position.²⁰

With the exception of Hogan, Henderson and Mansfield, few religious historians have given attention to the issue of conflict and difference within the Church, and its relationship to wider social issues. At present, there has been no study undertaken on age-related conflict within the Churches.

The failure to address conflict within the Churches has meant that the existence of common differences across the broader Church regarding theologico-

¹⁷D. Hilliard, 'Popular Religion in Australia in the 1950s', p. 235.

¹⁸M. Hogan (ed.) *Justice Now!*; G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria and the Bishops*, 2nd rev. ed., Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1983.

¹⁹J. Mansfield, op.cit.

²⁰See also S. Emilsen, op.cit.; M. Hogan, 'The Sydney Style'.

political questions, generation-based issues and social attitudes has largely been ignored. This neglect of the broader Church situation is amplified by the general tendency among religious historians to concentrate on one particular denomination or to discuss a number of different denominations individually. Patrick O'Farrell's *The Catholic Church and Community* (3rd ed. 1991) and Don Wright and Eric Clancy's *The Methodists* (1993), are recent examples of studies which focus on one denomination only.²¹ Although David Hilliard considers a number of different Churches in his studies, he emphasises the cultural significance of each individual denomination, rather than the overall relationship of the Church to its society.

A further problem of Australian religious historiography is a tendency to concentrate on Church hierarchies, ignoring the role of the laity and of the local church. The neglect of the laity, who stand as the linchpin between Church and society, has mitigated against an understanding of the inter-connectedness of the Church and its society. Despite the substantial urban expansion and growth in the number of suburban churches during the 1950s, historians have not seriously considered the experience of the parish community. Furthermore there has been little examination of the distinctive experience of local parish clergy as opposed to clergy working in Church administration. Kenneth Dempsey's work on a rural community's Methodist church is the only academic study available on the local church in the 1950s and 1960s.²² The 'grass-roots' experience of Christianity gives an important dimension to the traditionally hierarchical understanding of 'the Church'. Furthermore, it begs the question: 'who is the Church?'

Historians for whom religion is not a central concern have created a further problem which has coloured the common understanding of the role of the Church

²¹See also S. Judd and K. Cable, *op.cit.*; E. Campion, *Australian Catholics*; E. Campion, *Rockchoppers*; R. S. Ward, *The Bush Still Burns: The Presbyterian and Reformed Faith in Australia 1788-1988*, Melbourne, 1989.

²²K. Dempsey, *Conflict and Decline: Ministers and Laymen in an Australian Country Town*, Methuen, Sydney, 1983.

in society. There has been a tendency to portray the Church as a conservative, narrow-minded monoculture, out of touch with modern social trends.²³ The only reference to 'the Church' in Russel Ward's *A Nation for a Continent* (rev. ed. 1983) details the denominationally-based political affiliations of Christians, noting that conservative parties 'were not above angling for the wowser vote'.²⁴ Ward immediately adds that Methodists 'provided the backbone of Australian wowsers', while Catholics held 'puritanical' attitudes towards sex.²⁵ Alomes, Dober and Hellier's chapter on post-war conservatism has highlighted the Protestant Churches' anti-Catholicism and 'wowsers' attitudes, but ignored instances where Christians opposed politically or socially conservative ideals.²⁶ Geoffrey Bolton's chapters on the post-war period depict Christianity only as a private faith in Australian society, noting a resurgence in church youth groups and a decline in church-going.²⁷ Although Bolton acknowledges the role of the Catholic Church in the ALP split, he does not mention the Churches' involvement with the post-war liquor campaigns, referring to the end of six o'clock closing as evidence of a 'dwindling wowsers vote'.²⁸

This dismissal of the Church's influence in society and a lack of recognition of the political and theological diversity within the Australian Churches has furthered a notion that the Church exists independently of its society. It has also

²³P. Coleman, *Obscenity, Blasphemy, Sedition: 100 Years of Censorship in Australia*, rev. ed., Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1974, pp. 117-118; K. Dunstan, *Wowsers: Being an Account of the Prudery Exhibited by Certain Outstanding Men and Women in such Matters as Drinking, Smoking, Prostitution, Censorship and Gambling*, Cassell Australia, Sydney, 1968, passim; B. Carroll, *The Menzies Years*, Cassell Australia, Stanmore, 1977, p. 224; D. Dunstan, 'Boozers and Wowsers', in V. Burgmann and J. Lee (eds.), *Constructing A Culture: A People's History of Australia since 1788*, McPhee Gribble/Penguin, Ringwood, 1988, pp. 120-122.

²⁴R. Ward, *A Nation for a Continent: The History of Australia 1901-1975*, rev. ed., Heinemann Educational Australia, Richmond, 1983, pp. 22-23.

²⁵ibid.

²⁶S. Alomes, M. Dober and D. Hellier, 'The Social Context of Postwar Conservatism', in A. Curthoys and J. Merritt (eds.), *Australia's First Cold War*, vol. 1, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1984, p. 21.

²⁷G. Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia 1942-1988*, vol. 5, OUP, Melbourne, 1990, pp. 112-113, 118, 125.

²⁸ibid., pp. 71-72, 142-144, 130.

encouraged a view that the Church's contributions to Australian culture have been overwhelmingly negative. The tendency to portray the Church as a negative social force is part of a tradition which defines social progress as 'positive' and regards the Church as hampering this progress. Furthermore, it has meant that interest in the Church has been limited to instances of Christian opposition to social change, while the diversity of Christian responses to Australian society has been ignored.

The division between 'religious' and 'non-religious' historians is itself an outcome of the idea that the Church is separate from society. Religious historians have tended to be 'inward-looking', focussing on particular Christian movements, the experiences of individual denominations and the hierarchical Christian perspective, while ignoring the wider question of conflict in the Church. Historians whose main interest is other than religion have either marginalised the role of the Church in society, or have depicted the Church and the attitudes of Christians in negative terms. In the process, much of the complexity of the broader relationship between the Church and its society has been overlooked.

This thesis will address this problem by considering 'the Church' as an entity immersed in its society, rather than as a collection of individual Churches somehow divorced from their society. In doing so it will recognise the collaboration of Christians on certain issues which went beyond denominational boundaries and instead reflected the socio-political, theological and generational interests of their society. It will examine the Church's relationship with its society on this basis, focussing on how different groups of Christians responded to particular social, political and economic changes such as communism, post-war consumerism, the growth of the leisure culture and the rising status of women. It will also extend the concept of 'the Church' to acknowledge the importance of the laity as the junction point between the Church and its society.

To address these concerns, this thesis focuses on the period between 1940 and 1956, marked by the first issue of the Catholic Social Justice Statements in

1940 and the decision to close the Methodist Church's Mission to the Nation in 1956. In particular, it concentrates on the five largest Churches in NSW, being the Anglican (Church of England), Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist Churches. In 1947, the denominational composition of the NSW population was as follows: Anglican 43.4%, Catholic 22.7%, Presbyterian 8.8%, Methodist 8.3% and Baptist 1.2%.²⁹ The majority of the remaining 15.6% of the NSW population were people who either declared themselves as having 'no religion' or declined to identify themselves with any religion (11.5%). There were also a number of small Protestant Churches, such as Congregational, Salvation Army and Lutheran, a few Orthodox Christians, and a few members of non-Christian religions.

There are two reasons for the emphasis on NSW and Sydney in particular. First, many of the issues discussed in this thesis revolve around decisions taken in the late 1940s and early 1950s by the NSW State government which had a major effect on the Church's relationship with its society, such as those regarding Sunday sport and the liquor trade. Secondly, a limitation had to be placed on how many local churches' records were researched. As this thesis covered five different Church denominations, it was decided to limit the area of local churches to Sydney, so that some sort of comparison could be made. The inclusion of the local church in this study has meant an extension to the traditional pool of primary sources.³⁰

It is worth pointing out the distinctive characteristics of the NSW Churches from those of other Australian states. The Anglican and Catholic Churches were slightly larger in NSW than in the rest of Australia, by 4.4% and 1.8% respectively, while the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches were smaller, by 0.3%, 3.2% and 1%. The particular denominational composition produced all kinds of discrepancies between NSW and the other states. Compared

²⁹*Census of the Commonwealth of Australia*, 1947.

³⁰See 'Notes on Sources', pp. 354-357.

with South Australia and Victoria, anti-Catholicism was more pronounced in NSW, especially in Sydney.³¹ There was also a much faster decline of Protestant control over hotel hours and gambling in post-war NSW than elsewhere.³² The denominational composition helps to account for the individual peculiarities of the NSW and Sydney Christian experience.

This thesis is constructed around four areas of importance which emerge from the broader question of the relationship between Church and society. First, is the Church's own understanding of its role in society. In the post-war Australian context, this was most clearly expressed in the Church's designs for post-war reconstruction. Part One outlines the political direction and content of the various Christian expectations of the post-war period. Many of these attitudes were formed in response to the crises of the post-1918 years, particularly the depression. The survival of individual Christian post-war reconstruction ideals was dependent on the political climate within the Churches and the wider society. Chapter one examines the Christian social reformist position on post-war reconstruction, and chapter two discusses conservative Christian expectations of the post-war period.

Secondly, is the response of the Church to its society. Part Two, comprising chapters three to nine, examines the response of Christians to specific post-war issues of the late 1940s and early 1950s. The first three chapters in this section detail the Church's response to communism, immigration and post-war consumerism. The end of the war, the emergence of the Cold War and the rise of communist-inspired nationalist movements in Asia gave particular prominence to the communist question in Australia. Immigration, a major social policy of the post-war period, altered the fabric of Anglo-Australian culture, while consumerism was the indirect result of the Australian government's economic policy. Church leaders identified these three issues as the main challenges to their

³¹M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1987, p. 238.

³²*ibid.*, pp. 235-236.

post-war visions, and discussed and debated them continually throughout the period. The remaining four chapters of part two examine the impact of these wider issues on specific cultural and social institutions in Australia, namely liquor consumption, Protestant-Catholic relations, youth and the family.

Concentrating on the issues identified by the Churches as important, rather than on broader historical themes, shows the nature of Churches' interaction with their society and reveals the influence of particular societal changes on the decline of Christian plans for post-war reconstruction. There are a number of similar historical themes arising throughout part two which are pertinent to any historical study of mid-twentieth century Australia. Fear of outside influences (such as communism, Asia, European immigration, American popular culture), middle-class social intervention (in the fields of leisure, alcohol consumption, youth and the family) and the struggle between competing political (theological) ideologies permeate much of these chapters.

A third issue of relevance to the relationship between Church and society is the way in which the Church approaches the individual in society. In post-war Australia, evangelism was the Church's main process for persuading the individual to take on the Church's cause. Part Three, comprising chapters ten and eleven, concerns post-war evangelism. In an environment of social change and declining Protestant ascendancy, conservative Christians used evangelism both as an optimistic option for post-war reconstruction and as a political weapon against their social reformist colleagues. In this context, the Methodist Church's 1953-1956 evangelistic campaign 'Mission to the Nation', which tried to combine evangelism with social justice, has been examined to further elucidate the relationship between politics, theology, social attitudes and generation-based perspectives on Christian evangelism in post-war Australian society.

Finally, the experience of the laity and the local church needs to be considered. The laity was representative both of the Church and of society. It was also the central connection point between the Church and its society. Part Four,

containing the last two chapters, discusses the importance of the local church, examining the association between the post-war parish experience and the realisation of Christian post-war reconstruction agendas. Problems in the ministry and financial difficulties, all prevalent in earlier periods of history, were considerably worsened for local churches by the tremendous urban expansion and development which occurred in post-war Sydney. In addition, Church leaders were making increasing demands on the laity to support hierarchical projects, in a society where leisure, home ownership and consumerism were transforming the lives of lay people.

This thesis will offer a new approach to the problem of Church and society. It will challenge established ideas about the role of the Church in Australian society and the nature of the Church as an institution. It will also provide an important insight into a much neglected period of Australian history.

PART ONE: THE CHURCH AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

CHAPTER 1: SOCIAL REFORMIST POST-WAR PLANNING

The involvement of Christian social reformers in post-war reconstruction stemmed from their desire to avoid a repetition of the crises of the post-1918 inter-war years. In particular, they wanted to ward off the prospect of another Depression, which had wreaked misery and devastation on the lives of working-class Australians. They also feared that a depression would encourage the rise of a post-war totalitarian dictatorship in Australia, as had occurred during and after the First World War in European countries such as Spain, Germany, Italy and Russia. A further concern of the Christian social reformists was Australian community life, which they argued had declined markedly in the inter-war period and would deteriorate further unless something was done. To avoid these problems recurring after the Second World War, Christian reformers planned a 'Christian social order', arguing that only the Christian values of social justice and freedom offered a solution to these threats to democracy and cultural values. They endeavoured to promote Christianity as a viable basis for constructing a new post-war society.

The concern to avoid depression and totalitarianism, and to create a more favourable community life, was evident in the post-war reconstruction planning of other groups in Australia, including the ALP. In 1942, the Curtin Labor government established the Department of Post-war Reconstruction. The new department was an augmentation of the Post-War Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Division within the Department of Labour and National Service, created by Menzies' UAP government in 1940.¹ An important influence on ALP visions for post-war reconstruction was economist J. M. Keynes' *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936). Keynes rejected the view that a system of unrestricted free enterprise led to full employment. Indeed, the Depression had shown the gross inadequacy of *laissez-faire* capitalism. Keynes

¹P. Hasluck, *The Government and the People*, vol. 1, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1952, p. 470.

argued that the primary cause of unemployment was the lack of 'aggregate demand' for goods and services. He proposed State intervention to encourage private spending.² The ALP found Keynesian theory highly agreeable with their social justice ideology. Labor economists however, favoured investment and social welfare rather than Keynes' advocacy of private consumption, to encourage private spending.³ Through an extended social welfare program, a banking policy founded on Keynesian principles and funding for national projects (such as the Snowy Mountains Scheme), the ALP hoped to ensure full employment and economic security for Australians.⁴ Furthermore, to revive community life, Federal and State governments attempted to provide 'constructive and creative' leisure options and opportunities for adult education through the establishment of community centres and municipal libraries.⁵

There was much enthusiasm for post-war reconstruction in the Australian community generally. The Australian Railways Union, the Australian Women's Conference and the Miners' Federation all drew up reconstruction plans for the post-war period, while several prominent individuals, such as C. E. W. Bean, Walter Bunning and Brian Penton wrote their own treatises on the type of society

²J. M. Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., New York, 1936.

³P. Love, *Labour and the Money Power: Australian Labour Populism 1890-1950*, MUP, Carlton, 1984, p. 149.

⁴G. Whitwell, 'The Social Planning of the F & E Economists', *Australian Economic History Review*, 26, 1985, pp. 1-19; W. J. Waters, 'Labor's Full Employment Objective', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 16, 1, 1970, pp. 48-64; R. Catley and B. McFarlane, *Australian Capitalism in Boom and Depression*, 2nd ed., Alternative Publishing Cooperative, Chippendale, 1983, pp. 65-66; G. Bolton, op.cit., pp. 29-30; T. Hunter, 'Pharmaceutical Benefits Legislation', *Economic Record*, 41, 95, 1965, pp. 412-425; P. Hasluck, *The Government and the People*, vol. 2, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1970, pp. 444-523; A. W. Martin and J. Penny, 'The Rural Reconstruction Commission, 1943-1947', *Journal of Politics and History*, 29, 2, 1983, pp. 218-229.

⁵K. M. Gordon, *Community Centres*, Department of Health, Canberra, 1944, p. 4; Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction, 'Community Activities Bulletin', series 1, no. 10, Sydney, 1945; National Fitness Council of New South Wales, *Community Centres—What They Are and How to Plan for Them*, National Fitness Council of New South Wales, Sydney, 1946, pp. 3-4; G. Bolton, op.cit., p. 130.

which they hoped would emerge after the war.⁶ These plans generally detailed the need for full employment, social security, housing reform and rural reconstruction. In addition, post-war plans contained reference to issues of particular importance to their authors. For example, the Australian Women's Conference strongly advocated women's participation in the Australian delegation attending the future peace settlement of the war and the provision of a 'wife bonus' to give married women (especially mothers) some economic security in a society which disapproved of mothers in the paid work force.⁷ In this way, post-war reconstruction offered individual groups and organisations in the Australian community an opportunity to enunciate their philosophy of an ideal society.

For the reformist Christians, post-war reconstruction planning was a way of defining a leading role for the Church in post-war society. In addition, it provided a chance for them to present a theology of social justice against the more conservative and orthodox understandings of Christianity which were prevalent in the Australian Churches. As a group, Christian social reformers agreed on the need to build a Christian social order and on many of the ideals such an order should foster. The ideological basis for constructing a Christian society differed however, between Catholics and Protestants.

For the Catholic Church, the ideal type of society was best realised through a philosophical idea known as the 'Natural Law'. The doctrine of Natural Law was a tradition of human rights and social justice which had antecedents in the writings of Aristotle, Plato, the Stoics and Cicero.⁸ For Catholics, the doctrine of

⁶Australian Railways Union, *A Trade Union Plan for Australian Post-war Reconstruction*, Australian Railways Union, Melbourne, 1941; Australian Women's Conference, *Australian Women's Charter 1943*, Sydney, 1943; R. Gollan, *Revolutionaries and Reformers: Communism and the Australian Labour Movement 1920-1955*, ANUP, Canberra, 1975, pp. 131-132; C. E. W. Bean, *War Aims of a Plain Australian*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1943; D. A. S. Campbell (ed.), *Post-war Reconstruction in Australia*, Australasian Publishing Co., Sydney, 1944; W. Bunning, *Homes in the Sun: The Past, Present and Future of Australian Housing*, N. J. Nesbit, Sydney, 1945; B. Penton, *Advance Australia—Where?*, Cassell and Co., Sydney, 1943.

⁷Australian Women's Conference, op.cit., p. 5.

⁸E. Bloch, *Natural Law and Human Dignity*, trans. D. J. Schmidt, MIT Press, Massachusetts, 1986, pp. 10-29; Catholic Bishops of Australia, 'The Natural Law' (1959), in M. Hogan (ed.),

Natural Law comprised two elements: first, that all of nature was controlled by universal and constant laws; and secondly, that there existed an implicit moral order for all humanity which upheld the value and dignity of every human being.⁹ Catholics determined that an application of the doctrine of Natural Law to every aspect of the social order would result in a just society.

From 1925, Pius XI had been engaged in developing and organising a practical means for Catholics to implement a Christian society based on the doctrine of Natural Law.¹⁰ He determined that the laity should be directly involved in constructing this new social order. The laity's role was to combat indifference to Catholic ideals in society.¹¹ All Catholic auxiliary organisations were to dedicate themselves to this campaign, known as 'Catholic Action'.¹²

The impetus for Catholic Action itself came from the challenge of nineteenth century communism and socialism. The industrial revolution in Europe had led to great upheaval and misery among the working classes. Advocates of socialism and communism were gaining considerable proletariat support with their promises of a better world for the masses. Catholic Action was the eventual outcome of the Catholic Church's attempt to come up with an alternative to communism and socialism, as well as to address the injustices of capitalism and the industrial revolution.¹³ The Catholic philosophy of a Christian society was expounded in several papal encyclicals dealing with the social problems caused by the industrial revolution. Of especial significance were Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (The Conditions of Labour) (1891), and Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* (Reconstructing the Social Order) (1931) and *Divini Redemptoris* (On Atheistic

Justice Now!, p. 208; J. Maritain, 'Natural Law in Aquinas' in C. E. Curran and R. A. McCormick (eds.), *Natural Law and Theology*, Paulist Press, New York, 1991, pp. 114-123.

⁹Catholic Bishops of Australia, 'The Natural Law' (1959) in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 207-208.

¹⁰G. Henderson, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

¹¹Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris*, ACTS, Sydney, 1937, p. 34.

¹²*ibid.*, pp. 31-35.

¹³*ibid.*, pp. 5-22; Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*, ACTS, Melbourne, 1931.

Communism) (1937).¹⁴ In these encyclicals, the Popes envisaged a society which protected the right of every individual to ownership of land, ensured a wider distribution of wealth and ownership and supported the family as the basic social unit of society. English Catholic intellectuals such as G. K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc and Christopher Dawson took Catholic Action ideals further, embracing a vision of decentralisation and corporatism, where the Catholic Church was an integral part of all facets of societal organisation.¹⁵

In Australia, the actual implementation of Catholic Action posed a number of problems, partly due to the ambiguity of the papal directives and partly, as Michael Hogan suggests, to the different theological and political perspectives from which the papal directives were interpreted.¹⁶ In 1937 the Fourth Plenary Council of the Archbishops and Bishops of Australia assembled to discuss the nature of Catholic Action. The Sydney Archbishop, Michael Kelly (1911-1940) and his Coadjutor Norman Gilroy, favoured the Italian model of Catholic Action, which aimed at increasing Catholic piety, with all lay activity under the control of the clergy.¹⁷ The Melbourne Archbishop, Daniel Mannix (1917-1963), preferred the Belgian model. The Belgian model defined Catholic Action as having both spiritual and political implications and gave the laity more opportunity to contribute to the leadership of Catholic Action.¹⁸

The Plenary Council approved the establishment of an Episcopal Committee on Catholic Action (ECCA). ECCA was an organisation of Catholic bishops who were to oversee Australian Catholic Action. Later that year, ECCA established the Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action (ANSCA).¹⁹ At Mannix's

¹⁴Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum* (1891), Advocate Press, Melbourne, c.1940; Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*; Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris*.

¹⁵C. Dawson, *Religion and the Modern State*, Sheed and Ward, London, 1936; H. Belloc, *The Crisis of Our Civilisation*, Cassell and Co., Sydney, 1937; See also G. Henderson, op.cit., ch. 5.

¹⁶M. Hogan, 'The Sydney Style', pp. 42-45.

¹⁷G. Henderson, op.cit., pp. 12, 16-18; P. O'Farrell, op.cit., pp. 386-387.

¹⁸G. Henderson, op.cit., p. 18; P. O'Farrell, op.cit., pp. 386-387.

¹⁹G. Henderson, op.cit., p. 19; P. O'Farrell, op.cit., p. 386.

insistence, ANSCA was directed by a chaplain and two laymen. The two laymen were Frank Maher and B. A. Santamaria, young Melbourne Catholic intellectuals. One of the key contributions of ANSCA to the development of a post-war Christian social order was its role in the writing of the Catholic Bishops' Social Justice Statements from 1940 to 1954. The Statements outlined the central issues for Australian Catholics constructing a new social order. Of the two laymen of ANSCA, Santamaria was especially active in researching and drafting the Social Justice Statements.²⁰

Bartholomew Augustine Santamaria was born in 1914, the eldest son of an Italian-born shopkeeper. He grew up in the working-class Melbourne suburb of Brunswick. During the Depression, unemployment in Brunswick reached levels higher than the national average.²¹ While his family's fruit shop was able to survive the impact of the Depression, others were not so lucky, and the effects of unemployment and misery were familiar scenes during Santamaria's youth. After matriculating from St. Kevin's Catholic College with a Senior Government Scholarship, Santamaria went to the University of Melbourne to study law. While at the University, Santamaria became involved in a Catholic intellectual organisation known as the Champion Society. The Champion Society was a group of young Catholics inspired by the Depression to discuss Catholic alternatives to Australian capitalism.²² Champion Society members were strongly influenced by the writings of Belloc, Chesterton and Dawson, and the papal encyclicals *Quadragesimo Anno* and *Divini Redemptoris*.²³ In 1935 Santamaria established the Champion Society's newspaper *The Catholic Worker*.

²⁰Santamaria drafted all of the Social Justice Statements between 1941 and 1956 except for 1943 and 1949. See M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 3-4; G. Henderson, op.cit., pp. 43-44; P. O'Farrell, op.cit., p. 392; B. A. Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, OUP, Melbourne, 1981, p. 53.

²¹P. Spearritt, 'Depression Statistics' in J. MacKinnoly, *The Wasted Years? Australia's Great Depression*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1981, p. 204.

²²B. A. Santamaria, op.cit., pp. 4-12; G. Henderson, op.cit., pp. 11-17; See also *The Catholic Worker, Design for Democrats: The Autobiography of a Free Journal*, 2nd ed., The Catholic Worker, Melbourne, 1944.

²³*The Catholic Worker*, op.cit.; D. G. M. Jackson, *Australian Dream (A Journey to Merrion)*, pts. 1 and 2, ACTS, Melbourne, 1947-1948; J. G. Murtagh, *Democracy in Australia: An Essay*

Catholic Action then, was a world-wide Catholic movement for the implementation of a Christian society, an alternative to industrial capitalism and communism. It was adopted in Australia as the Catholic strategy for post-war reconstruction. Regional differences in culture, theology and politics led to different interpretations of Catholic Action. This meant that Catholic Action in Sydney was controlled by the clergy and centred on reviving Catholic piety. In contrast, the Melbourne Archdiocese had a distinctly social justice approach to Catholic Action, and encouraged the laity to take a leading role in the founding of a Christian social order.

Protestant social justice initiatives for post-war reconstruction in Australia were not part of a wider Protestant Church policy. They were influenced by the concerns for social justice of Protestants in Australia and overseas and developed locally by individual groups within the Protestant Churches. There were three main Protestant post-war reconstruction organisations: the Anglican Church's Christian Social Order Movement (CSOM), the Presbyterian Christian Social Order Committee (CSOC) and the Methodist Public Questions Committee (PQC) (renamed the Social and Economic Questions Committee (SEQC) in 1948). Of these, the CSOM was the most active and best known.

The CSOM was established in 1943 as a subsidiary of the Social Questions Committee (SQC) of the Anglican General Synod of Australia.²⁴ It was conceived as a broad organisation encompassing the ideals and activities of all Anglicans interested in social action and in the possibility of a Christian social order. While instituted as a national movement, the impetus for the CSOM's establishment, and indeed for its operation, came from the Sydney diocese in NSW. Throughout the movement's lifespan, the Rev. William G. Coughlan (director of the CSOM, 1943-1951) and the Rev. Edwin J. Davidson provided leadership and direction.

in Organic Reconstruction, Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1946; F. K. Maher (ed.), *It Can Be Done!*, ACTS, Melbourne, 1942; G. Henderson, op.cit., ch. 5.

²⁴The Social Questions Committee was established in 1932 at the General Synod of Australia.

William Coughlan was born in 1902 in Armidale, NSW. While a teacher at Trinity Grammar School at Summer Hill, Coughlan decided to train for the Anglican ministry. He was ordained a priest in 1927.²⁵ After incumbencies as a curate at Dulwich Hill, Bondi, Manly and Marrickville, and a year as the Assistant Director of Education in the Sydney diocese, Coughlan became rector at Corrimal in 1932.²⁶ Corrimal, just north of Wollongong, was a coal mining district hit hard by the Depression. Witnessing the devastating effects of unemployment and destitution on the community, Coughlan developed a concern for social problems and their relation to Christian teachings. He became secretary of the Sydney Diocesan Social Problems Committee in 1940 and went on to direct the CSOM in September 1943.²⁷

Coughlan and his fellow CSOM members were drawn from a cohort of Anglicans which were theologically distinct from the conservative Evangelical majority. These included several prominent churchmen, such as Ernest Burgmann (Bishop of Goulburn, 1934-1960), John Moyes (Bishop of Armidale, 1929-1964), Adolphus P. Elkin (Newcastle clergyman and Professor of Anthropology at the University of Sydney) and Kenneth T. Henderson (director of Religious Broadcasts for the ABC). These men were of the Anglo-Catholic or High Church tradition, and in many respects, had more in common with Catholics than with Evangelical Protestants. Joan Mansfield's study of the CSOM membership indicates that while the CSOM contained quite a wide variety of theological orientations, most of the members were of the High Church or Anglo-Catholic Anglican tradition.²⁸

²⁵J. A. Alexander (ed.), 'Coughlan, Rev. William George' in *Who's Who in Australia 1959*, Colorgrature Publications, Canberra, 1959, p. 200.

²⁶*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1944, p. 70.

²⁷J. Mansfield, 'Social Attitudes in the Church of England', pp. 52-55, 57-8; P. Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest: A Life of Ernest Burgmann*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1993, pp. 3, 89, 111, 136-154, 206-208; D. Garnsey, *Arthur Garnsey: A Man for Truth and Freedom*, Kingsdale Press, Sydney, 1985, pp. 206-209.

²⁸J. Mansfield, 'Social Attitudes in the Church of England', pp. 58-59.

The CSOM also contained a number of 'Memorialists', such as Arthur Fraser (minister of St. Oswald's, Haberfield) and Arthur Garnsey (warden of St. Paul's College, University of Sydney). The Memorialists were a group of fifty Anglican clergymen who in 1938 wrote a letter (known as 'the Memorial') to Archbishop Mowll expressing their opposition to the increasing trend towards theological uniformity (in this case toward conservative Evangelicalism) in the Sydney Diocese. After delaying his response, Mowll wrote a letter to each Memorialist requesting a written response to fourteen questions he had of the Memorial. He refused to meet with the Memorialists until each had answered the questions raised in his letter. The Memorialists in turn replied that they would only answer Mowll's questions in a private conference with him, rather than in writing. The stalemate between Mowll and the Memorialists was never resolved.²⁹

Along with their common alienation from the Evangelical mainstream, CSOM members were united in their concern to find Christian answers to social and economic problems. They drew inspiration from English Christian Socialism, the late nineteenth century 'social gospel' movement, and the Anglican Malvern Conference (1941) in Britain.³⁰ There was also a social justice tradition within Australian Anglicanism which had grown out of the Depression, represented by Bishop Ernest Burgmann and *The Morpeth Review*.³¹ Many of the Anglicans who were members of the CSOM were also members of the Sydney diocese's Social Problems Committee and the Anglican SQC.³²

²⁹S. Judd and K. Cable, op.cit., pp. 238-240; D. Garnsey, op.cit., ch. 6.

³⁰*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1947, p. 69; J. Mansfield, op.cit., pp. 20-25, 60; For the organisation and findings of the Malvern Conference see F. A. Iremonger, *William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury: His Life and Letters*, OUP, London, 1948, pp. 421-427; D. L. Edwards, *Leaders of the Church of England 1828-1978*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1978, p. 340; For further information on the English social gospel movement see A. R. Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution: 1789 to the Present Day*, rev. ed., Penguin Books, London, 1974, pp. 90-100; See also C. H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1940.

³¹P. Hemenstall, op.cit., pp. 136-160; D. Garnsey, op.cit., pp. 204-209.

³²J. Mansfield, op.cit., p. 60.

By August 1944, the CSOM consisted of 700 members, which had grown to 912 by June 1945 and remained at that level until 1947.³³ Within two years the CSOM was maintaining a monthly journal called *The New Day*, conducting a weekly radio session, publishing pamphlets, and holding public lunch-hour meetings and conferences. The CSOM was regularly featured in secular newspaper articles, Church journals and ABC broadcasts. By 1945 the CSOM had built links with groups such as the League of Nations Union, the Post-war Reconstruction Discussion Group, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association, trade unions and the post-war reconstruction groups of the other Protestant Churches.³⁴ The media attention and the extent of contact with non-Church groups were indicative of the extent of the CSOM's influence within the Anglican Church and in Australian society, despite its being a relatively small group.

For Coughlan, the CSOM was a means by which the Anglican Church could take a part in the construction of a Christian social order after the war. Coughlan tried to inspire Anglicans to think of Christianity as having a social justice ethic.³⁵ He also encouraged members of the Sydney Anglican Synod to support the findings of the Malvern Conference and to read the writings of William Temple (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1942-1944), F. D. Maurice, John Ludlow and Richard H. Tawney.³⁶ Archbishop Temple's works were particularly influential on CSOM thought.³⁷ Temple's ideal of a Christian society was based on the notion that there existed an implicit 'order of the world and of life in which men

³³ibid, p. 231.

³⁴J. Mansfield, 'The Christian Social Order Movement, 1943-1951', *Journal of Religious History*, 15, 1, June 1988, p. 117.

³⁵W. Coughlan, *The Faith that Works*, CSOM, Sydney, 1945; W. Coughlan, *Christian Faith Prompts Christian Social Action*, CSOM, Sydney, n.d.; CSOM, *Christian Social Order Movement*, Church of England, CSOM, Sydney, n.d.

³⁶*Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1947, p. 69; J. Mansfield, 'The Christian Social Order Movement', p. 113; See also CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1942, p. 76 and 1943, p. 85.

³⁷W. Coughlan, *The Christian Social Order Movement: What It Is*, CSOM, Sydney, c. 1944, n.p.; *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1947, p. 69.

and women and their various activities have their place.³⁸ This perspective was similar in many respects to the Catholic doctrine of the Natural Law.³⁹

Through visiting local churches and youth groups, Coughlan tried to encourage each parish community to establish its own CSOM group. Coughlan determined that these groups would study social questions and participate in politics, social issues and public affairs on a local level.⁴⁰ The groups would be part of a network stretching across NSW, with a central coordinating office in Sydney.⁴¹ This structure had similarities with that of the Industrial Christian Fellowship in Britain and the Iona Community in Scotland. Common to these two overseas organisations was the idea of lay action and study to develop Christian strategies for local social problems.⁴² By 1944 there were twenty-two CSOM groups around Australia, eleven of which were in the Sydney diocese. At All Saints' Anglican Church, Petersham, the CSOM group had established a children's library,⁴³ while at Edwin Davidson's charge, St. James' King Street, the CSOM group studied prison reform and the causes of crime.⁴⁴ The Presbyterian CSOC operated on a similar system with groups studying issues such as town planning and the problems of industrial workers.⁴⁵

³⁸W. Temple, *The Hope of a New World*, Macmillan, New York, 1942, p. 66-67.

³⁹E. Duff, *The Social Thought of the World Council of Churches*, Longman, Green and Co., London, 1956, p. 100; R. Preston, 'William Temple as a Social Theologian', *Theology*, 84, September 1981, p. 335.

⁴⁰CSOM, *And Now What—?*, CSOM, Sydney, n.d.

⁴¹*The New Day*, April 1944, p. 5; CSOM, *First Annual Report*, September 1944; J. Mansfield, 'The Christian Social Order Movement', p. 116.

⁴²*The New Day*, November 1945, pp. 10-11 and December-January 1946, p. 3 and January-February 1947, pp. 5-6; See also G. Studdert-Kennedy, *Dog-Collar Democracy: The Industrial Christian Fellowship 1919-1929*, Macmillan Press, London, 1982; G. MacLeod, *We Shall Rebuild: The Work of the Iona Community on Mainland and on Island*, 4th ed., The Iona Community, Glasgow, c.1944; CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1947, p. 104 and 1948, p. 116.

⁴³J. Mansfield, 'The Christian Social Order Movement', p. 116.

⁴⁴*Minutes of St. James' Group of CSOM Meeting*, 1st October 1946, 15th April 1947.

⁴⁵CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1948, p. 116.

Despite their small numbers, the CSOM was active and influential. While not hierarchically directed, as their Catholic counterparts, they were part of a wider international Protestant movement for social and economic change. In their efforts to encourage lay support, they were attempting to involve the Anglican Church in Australia's post-war future.

Collectively, the social reformist Christians represented a cohort of committed Christian intellectuals. Many of them, such as Coughlan, Burgmann and Santamaria, had witnessed some of the worst effects of the Depression. Their faith and intellectual disposition had motivated them to search for a logical explanation to the Depression and the ensuing Second World War. They were eager to apply a distinctively Christian answer to these problems. Although between the Catholic and Protestant Churches there were differing emphases, inspirations and frameworks behind their plans for a Christian social order, there was also much common ground, such as the doctrine of Natural Law, the importance of lay involvement in building a new society and the belief that Christianity had social as well as spiritual implications for believers. Indeed, in Melbourne, a statement on post-war reconstruction, *A Christian Programme for Social Justice* (1943) was jointly composed by social reformist Protestants and Catholics.⁴⁶ The most significant similarity between the Christian reformers however, was their shared understanding of what constituted the foundation of a Christian society.

In a pamphlet outlining the CSOM's code, *Principles of Christian Social Order* (1944), William Coughlan explained the essence of a Christian society:

The core of the democratic idea, as it is the core of the Christian idea, is the supreme importance of every individual, and a democratic community

⁴⁶*A Christian Programme for Social Justice*, Adopted by a Committee in Melbourne representing the Anglican Social Questions Committee, Catholic Action and the Christian Social Order Council, Spectator Publishing, Melbourne, 1943; See also ECCA, 'Pattern for Peace' (1943), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 39-47.

is one in which all the individuals, making up that community, mind their own common business.⁴⁷

For the CSOM, this statement redefined democracy and the role of the individual from a Christian basis. 'Christian democracy' was a community-oriented system, rather than an individual-oriented system. Individual rights were to be upheld insofar as they did not interfere with the rights of the rest of the community. Coughlan went on to define the role of the State as 'to protect each individual from exploitation by others' and to 'plan man's social life in such ways as will help each individual...to make his best possible contribution to the welfare of others'.⁴⁸ As can be extrapolated from Coughlan's definition, the role of the individual in a Christian democracy was also to preserve the well being of the community. The Catholic Social Justice Statement *Justice Now!* (1941) similarly defined community oriented social justice as the responsibility of both the State and the individual:

It is important to understand that the demand of social justice refers to the public authorities who are responsible for shaping the social economy...But Social Justice is binding also on the individual members of the community, forbidding them to do anything which interferes with the achievement of the common good.⁴⁹

In a similar vein, the Rev. Ralph Sutton of the NSW branch of the Methodist PQC maintained that a Christian social order was characterised by 'service, community-interest and co-operation', rather than 'profit, self-interest and competition', while the Presbyterian CSOC noted that in order to establish a

⁴⁷W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, CSOM, Sydney, 1944, p. 3; See also W. Coughlan, *Christian Action Today*, CSOM, Sydney, 1945, pp. 14-15; *The New Day*, October 1944, p. 3, and February 1944, pp. 8-9; W. Temple, op.cit., 1942, p. 25.

⁴⁸W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, pp. 3-5.

⁴⁹ECCA, 'Justice Now!' (1941) in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 15.

Christian society, Christians themselves must take 'their full responsibility as citizens for the political, social and economic systems under which they live'.⁵⁰

It was on this foundation that the reformist Christians built their plans for post-war Australia. The Christian democratic ideal was applied to their economic policies to thwart the possibility of depression; it was the basis of their political scheme to ward off the rise of totalitarianism; and it was elemental to their plans to revive community life in Australia. By integrating all of these aspects of Christian democracy, the Christian reformers hoped to produce a Christian social order.

For depression not to scourge Australia again, the Christian reformers argued that democracy had to be realised in economic as well as political terms. The Presbyterian CSOC reported on this relationship between democracy and the economy to the 1948 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church:

Political democracy becomes ineffectual if it is not supported by economic democracy, eg., it has been possible for powerful economic groups to sway political decisions by means of astutely adjusted pressure. This fact has emerged into importance in the past few years, when political democracy has had to exist alongside economic oligarchy.⁵¹

In the Australian situation, applying democracy to the economic structure meant reforming capitalism.

Catholic and Protestant reformers determined that *laissez-faire* capitalism, with its emphasis on competition, self-interest and the profit motive had created a class of wealthy distinct from a class of poor. On this basis, the Christian reformers contended that capitalism was 'radically unChristian', 'contrary to the spirit and example of our Lord', and obstructive to the attainment of the 'freedom

⁵⁰R. Sutton, *Capitalism, Socialism and The Church*, Sydney, 1942, p. 12; CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1945, pp. 105, 106; See also *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, p. 92.

⁵¹CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1948, p. 143; See also Alan Walker in *SMH*, 13th January 1945, p. 9.

and the dignity of man'.⁵² They argued that the crises of the late 1920s and 1930s had been 'unavoidable in a system of inter-national [sic] finance capitalism serving the profit-motive'.⁵³

The Christian social reformists designed their alternative economic system to protect the rights of the community as a whole. They wanted to ensure economic and social justice for the community rather than persevere with the existing economic and social systems which allowed individuals to gain wealth and power to an extent which jeopardised the prosperity and democratic freedom of the rest of the community. This concern was expressed in the central theme of their plans for economic reform: the decentralisation of power and wealth.

In their attempts to avoid a repeat of the devastation of the Depression, the Christian reformists were concerned to achieve a better deal for the working man and his family through post-war reconstruction. Full employment and home ownership were all strongly advocated as measures which would deliver social justice to the worker.⁵⁴ These reforms were generally supported in other post-war reconstruction planning, (such as the ALP's White Paper on full employment), and were aimed at rectifying the hardships suffered by men during the Depression.

⁵²G. Powell, *The Christian Basis of the New Order*, 2nd ed., Presbyterian Bookroom, Melbourne, 1943, pp. 27-29; PQC, *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, p. 95; ECCA, 'For Freedom' (1942) in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 30; W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 6; *The Catholic Worker*, op.cit., p. 13; J. S. Moyes, *Australia: The Church and the Future*, (Moorhouse Lectures), Melbourne, 1941, pp. 45-48; R. Sutton, *The Church and the Working Class*, Glebe, 1943, pp. 14-15.

⁵³W. Coughlan, *Christian Action Today*, p. 11; W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 6; G. Powell, op.cit., p. 27; ECCA, 'Justice Now!' (1941), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 14-25; CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1940, p. 90; J. S. Moyes, op.cit., p. 44.

⁵⁴ECCA, 'Justice Now!' (1941), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 22-23; PQC, *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, p. 89; CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1945, p. 106.

The Christian reformers extended this idea of justice for the worker by applying their concept of Christian democracy. They argued that all workers should have a stake in the ownership and control of industry. The reformers contended that this would both improve living standards in the short term and ensure the continuation of employment and the wider distribution of wealth in the long term, thus avoiding the possibility of another economic collapse in the future. In his pamphlet *Post-War Problems* (1944), Coughlan argued that a failure to address the issue of ownership and power would lead to disaster:

Monopoly within capitalism *may* mean lower prices and considerable technical efficiency; but it *must* mean a restrictive policy in production; power for a few over thousands of people's destinies; diminishing control by the people over their own lives; the limiting rather than the expanding of choice of occupation; inevitable alternation of boom and slump...⁵⁵

The other Protestant groups maintained a similar line. The Presbyterian CSOC contended that 'every citizen should have a voice in the conduct of his business or industry which is carried on by means of his labour',⁵⁶ while the Methodist PQC took this idea further, stating that 'a basis should be sought for industry that will enable the spirit to be good will, the purpose service, the method co-operation, and the result a more equitable distribution of the wealth produced.'⁵⁷

The idea of decentralising wealth and power through workers' ownership and control of industry was most fully developed by the Catholic bishops in their 1942 Social Justice Statement *For Freedom*, which outlined their concept of the 'Industrial Councils'. The Industrial Councils were to be instituted as an organisation composed of trade unionists and employers to promote the self-government of industry and to give workers a voice in wages, working conditions

⁵⁵W. Coughlan, *Post-War Problems*, CSOM, Sydney, 1944, p. 6.

⁵⁶CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1945, p. 106.

⁵⁷PQC, *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, pp. 95-96.

and the development of their own industry.⁵⁸ Although the 'Industrial Councils' bore some similarities to the industrial reforms implemented by fascist governments in Spain, Italy and Portugal, the Australian Catholic version aimed to encourage the redistribution of wealth and power, rather than to dismantle trade unionism.⁵⁹

The Catholic bishops' opposition to monopoly ownership was extended to big business. They were dismayed at the ability of big business to overwhelm small business through undercutting and advertising. To rectify the situation, they recommended 'the taxation of large aggregations of capital and advertising', which could then be redistributed to small business.⁶⁰

This concern for small business and local industry was also promoted in the Catholic bishops' rural reconstruction policy. In their 1945 Statement *The Land is YOUR Business*, the bishops argued for the establishment of farm co-operatives and the decentralisation of city-based industry to aid rural reconstruction and prevent poverty in rural areas.⁶¹ They advocated the establishment of rural credit cooperatives, a control over land prices, the restoration of the 'family-farm' and a limitation on the amount of land one person could own.⁶² Although Protestant social reformers made a few references to the rural problem, rural reconstruction was mainly a Catholic issue in Australia, closely tied to their support of small

⁵⁸ECCA, 'For Freedom' (1942), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 32-33; ECCA, 'Pattern for Peace' (1943), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 43; See also ECCA, 'Justice Now!' (1941), in M. Hogan (ed.) *Justice Now!*, pp. 20, 22, 25; ECCA, 'The Family', in M. Hogan (ed.) *Justice Now!*, pp. 51-56; ANSCA, 'The Land is YOUR Business' (1945), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 65-6, 71-5.

⁵⁹R. Murray, *The Split: Australian Labor in the Fifties*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1970, p. 48; M. Hogan, 'Australian Catholic Corporatism: Proposals for Industrial Councils in the 1940s', *Labour History*, 62, May 1992, pp. 94-96.

⁶⁰ECCA, 'For Freedom', in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 32.

⁶¹ECCA, 'The Land is YOUR Business' (1945), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 72-3, 74-5; B. A. Santamaria, *The Earth, Our Mother*, Araluen Publishing, Melbourne, 1945; B. A. Santamaria, *The Fight for the Land: The Progress and Objectives of the National Catholic Rural Movement*, Renoun Press, Carnegie, c. 1944; See also PQC, *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, p. 96; W. Coughlan, 'What Would a Christian New Order Be Like?', *The New Day*, February 1944, p. 8.

⁶²ECCA, 'The Land is YOUR Business' (1945), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 73-74.

industry, their concern for family life and their efforts to secure the right of the individual to own land.⁶³

For the Christian reformers, the implementation of a Christian democracy in the economic sense relied on the decentralisation of wealth, ownership and power. The importance of breaking down monopoly was reflected in their post-war reconstruction plans for industry and rural development. Their emphasis on decentralisation was a rejection of competitive free enterprise capitalism, which they contended had led to the Depression in Australia.

The Christian reformers argued that the unhindered continuation of *laissez-faire* capitalism was a prescription not only for a further depression, but for social revolution. Through the economic application of 'Christian democracy', the Christian reformers hoped to maintain political democracy and avoid the rise of totalitarianism.

In the foreword to the 1941 Social Justice Statement, *Justice Now!*, the Rev. Justin Simmonds, secretary of ECCA, stated the Catholic desire to avoid a totalitarian system:

Our keenly anticipated 'new order' will be more odious than the old if we merely succeed in exchanging the tyranny of individualistic greed for the tyranny of complete domination by the State.⁶⁴

William Coughlan espoused similar concerns to avoid totalitarianism in *Principles of Christian Social Order*:

The totalitarian state demands the citizen's total and undivided loyalty—his soul as well as his mind and body. This is a loyalty the Christian can give to God alone.⁶⁵

⁶³SEQC, *Minutes of the 15th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1948, p. 91; *The New Day*, March 1944, p. 2.

⁶⁴ECCA, 'Justice Now!' in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 14.

⁶⁵W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 4.

Among Christian social reformers, there was a shared opposition to totalitarianism, in its fascist, Nazi and communist forms. On the question of what constituted a totalitarian system however, especially with regard to communism, there were distinct differences between Protestants and Catholics.

While social reformist Protestants considered communism an inappropriate system in its totalitarian form, they were impressed by communism's attempts to solve social and economic problems, and its fostering of fellowship among workers and the underprivileged. As the Presbyterian CSOC noted:

[The] significance and the magnitude of the social problem would scarcely have been appreciated to-day had it not been that the Marxists for 100 years have been labouring both at its analysis and its solution. It is in virtue of the insights that have been provided that we can grasp the situation as it now confronts us...[and] are shamed into similar courageous action.⁶⁶

The Methodist SEQC praised communism's 'concern for the common man and its rightful call to the need for a higher degree of economic justice', but argued that in spite of this, communism's advocacy of violence and totalitarianism left it 'basically incompatible with Christianity'.⁶⁷ For the CSOM, this reasoning also prevailed. Coughlan maintained that 'even a totalitarian State that aims at the...economic security of its citizens' comes under Christian judgement when it disallows freedom of worship and of religious education.⁶⁸

For reformist Protestants, the communist system potentially offered justice to the poor. Its totalitarian expression however, denied religious freedom. On this basis, issues of State ownership and State control were not necessarily signs of totalitarian communism. Protestants did not equate the ALP's social justice policy with communism and agreed with the idea of extending government control over

⁶⁶CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, p. 149; See also G. Powell, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

⁶⁷SEQC, *Minutes of the 15th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1948, pp. 92-93; See also Alan Walker in *The Methodist*, 29th October 1949, p. 1.

⁶⁸W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 4.

individuals to implement social justice. The CSOM leadership was firmly in favour of the ALP's 'fourteen powers' legislation which aimed to extend wartime controls into peacetime for five years. Coughlan wrote two pamphlets outlining his support for the 'fourteen powers' referendum in 1944: *Post-War Problems*, which favoured Government planning over 'a welter of rival capitalist plans' and the more blatantly titled *Why I Shall Vote YES!*.⁶⁹ For social reformist Protestants, the most important determinant of totalitarian communism was the restriction of religious freedom. Protestant reformers determined that to protect religious freedom and to dissipate the attraction of communism for the workers, they should implement their own program of social justice.

The Catholic bishops however, did not view communism with any sympathy, and contended that all forms of communism were intrinsically totalitarian. Much of the Australian Catholic understanding of communism had come from the experience of the Catholic Church in Europe, where Russian communism had risen as a powerful, alternative social system. From the mid-nineteenth century, the popes had declared their opposition to communism not only as a totalitarian system which repudiated the existence of a relationship between God and humanity, but also because, they argued, communism denied private ownership to individuals, transferred the power of individuals to the State, encouraged 'class warfare' and restricted the freedom of the individual.⁷⁰ In this, communism directly confronted institutional Catholicism's appeal for the allegiance of the individual.

Traditional Catholic opposition to communism became even more sharply focussed among Australian Catholics in the late 1930s and early 1940s. There were three distinct influences for this. On an intellectual level, the papal encyclicals *Divini Redemptoris* and *Quadragesimo Anno* provided Catholic

⁶⁹W. Coughlan, *Post-War Problems*, p. 6; *The New Day*, August 1944, pp. 3, 6; Unfortunately, I have been unable to find a copy of *Why I Shall Vote YES!* and it was not reproduced in *The New Day*.

⁷⁰Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*; Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*.

intellectuals and Church leaders with an official basis for opposing communism.⁷¹ On the world front, the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), depicted in the Australian Catholic press as evidence of a world-wide struggle between the Catholic Church and communism, convinced Australian Catholics that communism was a religious adversary, rather than an ideological opponent.⁷² Thirdly, was the growth of communist representation in Australian trade unions. By 1939, members of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) had gained prominent positions in the Federated Ironworker's Association, the Miner's Federation, the NSW Public School Teacher's Federation, the Waterside Worker's Federation and the Seamen's Union.⁷³ Australian Catholics feared that through the trade unions, the communists could bring about their own social revolution, thus undermining Catholic Action.

The consequence of an acute anti-communism among Australian Catholics was that it placed severe limitations on their ability to tolerate anything remotely associated with State control over the individual. The Australian bishops contended that the realisation of social justice depended not only on the decentralisation of wealth and ownership, but also through limiting the power of the State and eliminating the dependence of the individual on the State. They declared that the power of the State must not go beyond ensuring a more equal

⁷¹Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*; Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris*; B. A. Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, p. 16; G. Henderson, *op.cit.*, p. 15; Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, *The Menace of Communism: Joint Pastoral Letter of the Australian Hierarchy*, ACTS, Melbourne, 1955.

⁷²J. Keene, 'An Antipodean Bridegroom of Death: An Australian Volunteer with Franco's Forces', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 70, 1985, pp. 254-264; P. O'Farrell, *op.cit.*, p. 389; P. Ormonde, *The Movement*, Thomas Nelson Australia, Melbourne, 1972, p. 5; G. Henderson, *op.cit.*, p. 15; B. A. Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, p. 5; For the Spanish Civil War see H. Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, rev. ed., Hamish Hamilton, London, 1986; F. Lannon, 'The Church's Crusade Against the Republic' in P. Preston (ed.), *Revolution and War in Spain 1931-1939*, Methuen, London, 1984; S. G. Payne, *Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview*, University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 1984, pp. 149-170.

⁷³R. Gollan, *op.cit.*, pp. 70-78; W. J. Brown, *The Communist Movement and Australia: An Historical Outline 1890s to 1980s*, Australian Labour Movement History Publications, Sydney, 1986, pp. 69-71.

distribution of wealth and ownership in the community. In particular, State power should not extend over individuals, family life and small communities.⁷⁴

This attitude conflicted with the ALP vision of implementing greater social justice reforms through increased State control. Indeed, the Catholic bishops' plans regarding the role of the State bore some resemblance to the UAP and Liberal Party ideals of individual initiative, independence and limited State bureaucracy.⁷⁵ The bishops' aversion to the ALP agenda was made explicit in their 1946 Statement *Social Security and Human Rights*. Although in favour of child endowment as an incentive for young couples to have more children, the bishops maintained that social security per se would not result in a more equal distribution of wealth and ownership.⁷⁶ Furthermore, social security destroyed the freedom of the individual and the family, leaving 'the ordinary Australian...to look to the Government' for services, rather than be able to afford them for (him)self.⁷⁷ Similarly, while the Social Justice Statements made no direct reference to the ALP's 'fourteen powers' legislation, *For Freedom* had strongly denounced any extension of government control, arguing that wartime restrictions should only amount to a 'temporary surrender' of liberties.⁷⁸

Although the bishops opposed State control over the individual and the family, they were in favour of State control over industries which were important for the community as a whole, such as banking.⁷⁹ Through State control, the bishops claimed that 'credit activities of the trading banks will be sufficiently controlled in the interests of the nation'.⁸⁰ They did not however, advocate

⁷⁴ECCA, 'For Freedom' (1942), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 27-37.

⁷⁵P. G. Tiver, *The Liberal Party: Principles and Performance*, Jacaranda Press, Milton, 1978, pp. 60-62; D. M. White, *The Philosophy of the Australian Liberal Party*, Hutchinson, Richmond, 1978, pp. 45-52.

⁷⁶ECCA, 'Justice Now!' in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 19-20.

⁷⁷ANSCA, 'Social Security and Human Rights' (1946), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 80.

⁷⁸ECCA, 'For Freedom' (1942), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 27-28.

⁷⁹ECCA, 'Pattern for Peace' (1943), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 47.

⁸⁰ibid.

nationalisation (State ownership). This amounted to an attempt to balance their concerns for social justice with their fear of communism.

The Catholic bishops' opposition to State welfare and to the extension of State powers indicated that they held a certain mistrust of Labor policy, effectively casting a shadow over traditional Catholic loyalty to the ALP. For Santamaria and other Catholics who were alarmed at the manifestations of communism in Spain and Australia, the defeat of communism was imperative, both to the implementation of a Catholic social order and to the very survival of the Church. They contended that they could not afford to place complete reliance on the ALP.

In 1942 a small group of Catholics in Melbourne, led by Santamaria, came together to combat the communist influence in the trade unions.⁸¹ A similar group, known as the Catholic Social Bureau, was organised in Sydney by Fr. Paddy Ryan. By 1945 these groups were absorbed into a national Catholic organisation, the Catholic Social Studies Movement (CSSM) (or 'the Movement').⁸² The Movement received its funding and direction from the bishops. As such, it was an integral part of Catholic post-war reconstruction, serving to further Catholic industrial relations reforms.⁸³ Despite the anxiety of those in the Movement, the ALP itself was not unconcerned with the threat of communism. In 1945, the ALP established the 'Industrial Groups'. Like the

⁸¹The actual year of the formation of this group in Melbourne is unclear. The best estimate seems to be late 1942 or early 1943; See G. Henderson, 'B. A. Santamaria, Santamariaism and the Cult of Personality', *Eureka Street Papers*, 1, Jesuit Publications, Richmond, 1992, pp. 45-46.

⁸²For a more detailed account of the Movement than will be given here, see G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*; P. Ormonde, op.cit.; G. Williams, 'Cardinal Gilroy and the Movement' in his *Cardinal Sir Norman Gilroy*, Aiella Books, Sydney, 1971; B. A. Santamaria, *Against the Tide*; B. A. Santamaria, 'The Movement: 1941-1960—An Outline', in H. Mayer (ed.), *Catholics and the Free Society: An Australian Symposium*, F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne, 1961; E. Champion, 'A Question of Loyalties', 50 Years of the Santamaria Movement, Conference held at the State Library of New South Wales, 2nd May 1992, *Eureka Street Papers*, 1, Jesuit Publications, Richmond, 1992, pp. 7-18; J. Warhurst, 'United States' Government Assistance to the Catholic Social Studies Movement, 1953-4', *Labour History*, 30, May 1976, pp. 38-41.

⁸³G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*, pp. 26, 39; G. Williams, op.cit., p. 51; B. A. Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, p. 70.

Movement, the Industrial Groups were designed to thwart communist power in the labour movement. By the late 1940s, the Movement had successfully infiltrated the Industrial Groups. The Groups offered the Movement the opportunity to work within the ALP itself, and potentially, to influence ALP policy and to bring it more in line with the Catholic ideal.

The reformers' concern to avoid totalitarianism was indicative of their desire to diminish the possibility of class revolution. For both Catholic and Protestant reformers, the implementation of a Christian social order, with its wider distribution of wealth, property and power, was just as much an issue of avoiding the rise of a totalitarian State as providing social justice for Australians.

In order to realise and maintain Christian democracy in its economic and political sense, the reformers also wanted to remedy various aspects of community life. They hoped to develop 'Christian democratic' attitudes to citizenship and a sense of community responsibility among the Australian people. In particular, the reformers were anxious to ensure the implementation of their ideal of Christian family life, redefine the nature of work and leisure, and educate young people in the values of a Christian democracy.

For Catholic and Protestant reformers, the Christian ideal of family life entailed the father as breadwinner and the mother as home maker and child carer. The reformers contended that this ideal of family life had been severely disrupted and destabilised by the Depression and the war. The Depression had resulted in a seriously declining birth rate and had undermined the viability of the male breadwinner, while the war had split up families, seen women working in metal and munitions factories and led to an increased incidence of child delinquency.⁸⁴

Christian reformist plans for better housing, fairer wages and full employment were not only designed to ensure social justice and avoid social revolution, but to protect their ideal of family life. The Christian social justice

⁸⁴ECCA, 'The Family' (1944), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 59; CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1945, p. 106; J. S. Moyes, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

advocates aimed to eliminate the economic need for women to work outside the home, to encourage married couples to have more children and to free the family from dependence on government assistance.⁸⁵ The Catholic bishops extended these reforms to wages, advocating the payment of a 'family wage' to working fathers. The amount of the 'family wage' was determined by the number of dependent children in the worker's home. This contrasted with the 'basic wage' (Harvester Judgement) which was based on the primary needs of a family with three children and paid to all workers regardless of their family responsibilities.⁸⁶ The determination of the basic wage meant that larger families were disadvantaged. The Catholic bishops' 'family wage' aimed to provide for large families, encourage couples to have more children and ensure that wages would always be adequate for the needs of a working man's family.

The Christian reformers' desires for full male employment and the restoration of the father as the family breadwinner led them to insist that women leave their war time jobs and return to motherhood and home-making. They contended that women's role was not breadwinning, and that unjust economic conditions had forced women into the paid work force, thus undermining women's dignity. It was on this basis that the question of equal pay for women was supported by Christian reformists. They claimed that equal pay for women would help to ensure that employers would favour male workers over female. This in turn would restore women's dignity and allow couples to have larger families.⁸⁷ For Christian reformers, the stability of men's employment and wages were vital

⁸⁵CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1945, p. 106; PQC, *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, pp. 94-95; W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, pp. 8-9; ECCA, 'The Family' (1944), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 49-62.

⁸⁶ECCA, 'Justice Now!' (1941) in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 17; S. MacIntyre, *Winners and Losers: The Pursuit of Social Justice in Australian History*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1985, pp. 54-56; P. G. Macarthy, 'Justice Higgins and the Harvester Judgement' in J. Roe (ed.), *Social Policy in Australia: Some Perspectives 1901-1975*, Cassell Australia, Stanmore, 1976, p. 41.

⁸⁷*A Christian Programme for Social Justice*, p. 5; ECCA, 'The Family' (1944) in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 45; *The New Day*, May 1944, pp. 12-13.

to the restoration of the traditional family. Women in the paid work force detracted from their plans to restore men's dignity in family life, restore women's dignity in allowing them to return to full time motherhood, and to boost Australia's population.

For the Christian reformers, the restoration of the family was crucial. The family was considered to be the basic unit of society. As such, it was the social institution from which the values of a Christian democracy could be implemented most effectively. Families, especially large families, were to be a microcosm of Christian democracy. The Catholic bishops maintained that the very future of Australia depended on the security of the family unit.⁸⁸ For the CSOM, the family was where individuals could receive 'valuable training in character and conduct', learning their place and responsibility in the wider community.⁸⁹ On this basis, the CSOM was supportive of Nursery Schools and Kindergartens, for their ability to make a contribution to the development of children's understanding of their place in the community.⁹⁰ The Christian reformers wanted the family to function as a training ground for the 'Christian democratic' values of cooperation, community-interest before individual-interest and equality.

The second area of community life which the Christian reformers wanted to redefine was community attitudes to work and leisure. They considered that industrial capitalism had transformed the nature of work from being an opportunity for self-expression and self-fulfilment to being deadening and dehumanising monotony. The Catholic bishops argued for small industry and independent craftsmanship, to allow workers more 'freedom to choose the jobs which they prefer'.⁹¹ The Protestant reformers advocated vocational guidance, the

⁸⁸ECCA, 'The Family' (1944), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 49.

⁸⁹W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, pp. 8-9.

⁹⁰W. Coughlan, *Nursery Schools: Blessing or—?*, CSOM, Sydney, 1946, pp. 3-5.

⁹¹ANSCA, 'Social Security and Human Rights' (1946), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 81.

elimination of unpleasant or dangerous occupations and the redefinition of 'work' as the worthwhile contribution of the individual to the community.⁹²

In reconstructing 'work' as personally rewarding, the Christian reformers defined leisure, not as the antithesis of work, but as further opportunity for creativity and self-cultivation. The question of leisure was a long term issue, related to the Christian reformers' middle-class disillusion with the emergence of mass popular culture in the inter-war years. Many Australian intellectuals had been fiercely critical of popular or mass culture, especially that coming from America. They maintained that American popular culture, as disseminated through radio, cinema, comics and advertising, was debasing Australia's cultural standards.⁹³ In his lecture series *The Regeneration of Civilisation* for the 1942 Moorhouse lectures, Bishop Ernest Burgmann outlined his concerns at the rise of popular culture:

The First World War had no useful moral results at all...The music of the 'Messiah' was vulgarised into 'Yes We Have No Bananas' and nice people felt that they must learn how to do the 'bumps-a-daisy'. Thus could Western civilisation be seen to be losing grip of itself.⁹⁴

Burgmann had led the 'Recreation and Leadership Movement' in the 1930s and 1940s. The Movement's motto proclaimed that 'the function of recreation is the making of a good citizen.' It advocated community centres, libraries, outdoor activities and playgrounds.⁹⁵ The CSOM reiterated these concerns in their post-war reconstruction planning, contending that people needed to be helped to 'use

⁹²W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 7.

⁹³R. White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1981, pp. 141-154; L. Johnson, 'Sing 'Em Muck Clara: Highbrow versus Lowbrow on Early Australian Radio', *Meanjin*, 41, 2, June 1982, pp. 211-213; J. Rickard, *Australia: A Cultural History*, Longman, London, 1988, p. 191-192.

⁹⁴E. H. Burgmann, op.cit., p. 84.

⁹⁵Recreation and Leadership Movement, *The Community Centre as a Force for Social Reconstruction*, Sydney, 1941; W. Coughlan, 'The Place of Recreation in the Community' [address given at the Conference on Recreation and Leadership, 15th October 1936]; PQC, *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, p. 89.

their free time in constructive and creative ways'.⁹⁶ For their part, the Catholic bishops spoke of the need for 'a positive appreciation of the finer ideals' to enable young people especially to distinguish what was 'sane and normal' from what was 'silly romanticism or cheap vulgarity'.⁹⁷

Finally, to perpetuate these ideas of family life and work/leisure, the Christian reformers strove to reform children's education at church and school. Coughlan argued that the current education system and the efforts of Church youth groups failed to prepare young people for a Christian adulthood.⁹⁸ Furthermore, the CSOM contended that there was little point in simply providing 'more and better religious instruction': all education needed to be structured on a Christian basis.⁹⁹

The Catholic bishops echoed these concerns for education to have a 'basis fundamentally Christian', although they contended that only an independent Christian education system, such as the Catholic one, could deliver this.¹⁰⁰ The Catholic bishops also attempted to educate youth in Christian social order ideals through Catholic Action. In 1941 ECCA recommended the establishment of three Catholic Action youth groups: the Young Christian Workers (YCW), the National Catholic Girls Movement (NCGM) and the Young Christian Students (YCS).¹⁰¹ All three organisations were committed to winning converts to Christianity, influencing youth to maintain Christian moral standards and Christianising the social order, albeit on a small scale.¹⁰² They were trained to utilise the Belgian

⁹⁶W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 8.

⁹⁷ECCA, 'The Family' (1944), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 61.

⁹⁸W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 8; W. Coughlan, *Training for Christian Citizenship*, CSOM, Sydney, 1945, n.p.; *The New Day*, November 1944, pp. 1-2, December 1944-January 1945, p. 4 and March 1945, p. 6.

⁹⁹W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁰ECCA, 'Pattern for Peace' (1943), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 47; ECCA, 'The Family' (1944), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 59.

¹⁰¹For further information on the establishment of these organisations, see G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*, pp. 23-25.

¹⁰²Young Christian Students' Movement, *Handbook*, 2nd ed., Young Christian Students' Movement of Australia, Melbourne, 1949, pp. 7, 11; Young Christian Workers' Movement, *Constitution of the Young Christian Workers' Movement of Australia*, n.d., pp. 1-8; Young

Catholic Action 'Enquiry method' in order to solve social and moral problems. The Enquiry method involved the individual application of social justice principles by the members of Catholic Action youth organisations. After witnessing a particular act of social injustice or moral indifference, Catholic Action youth were then to decide how it conflicted with Catholic principles. Finally, Catholic youth were to take individual action to remedy the situation, such as encouraging an observed wrong-doer to reform or removing unchristian influences from the work environment.¹⁰³

Through education and Christian youth organisations, the Christian reformers hoped to instil their ideas of work and leisure, family life, and social justice. These factors were an integral part of their 'Christian democracy', which itself would not only deliver justice to the Australian community, but would help to quell the possibility of a totalitarian uprising or a social revolution.

The plan for a Christian society however, was deeply rooted in the trials and hardships of the past, with its debilitating Depression, the rise of totalitarianism and the belief that the inter-war period had seen the disintegration of community life. One consequence of this focus on the post-1918 era was that it drew attention to the past and led the reformers to ignore some of the issues of the present. Although there was a movement to secure citizenship for Aborigines led by CSOM member A. P. Elkin, Christian reformers made little mention of Aboriginal issues in their post-war plans.¹⁰⁴ This contrasts sharply with the New Zealand Churches' Conference on Christian Social Order (1945), where the first issue on the agenda was the restoration of Maori self-determination.¹⁰⁵ Another

Christian Workers' Movement, *Challenge!: Manifesto of the Young Christian Workers*, ANSCA, Melbourne, 1943.

¹⁰³G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*, pp. 10-11, 29.

¹⁰⁴A. P. Elkin, *Citizenship for the Aborigines*, Australasian Publishing Co., Sydney, 1944; See also N. Loos and R. Keast, 'The Radical Promise: The Aboriginal Christian Cooperative Movement', *Australian Historical Studies*, 25, 99, October 1992, pp. 286-301.

¹⁰⁵G. Mirams, *Christchurch 1945: An Account of the Conference on Christian Order*, Presbyterian Bookroom, Dunedin, 1945, pp. 11-14.

contemporary issue was immigration. While Catholic social reformers promoted immigration as a solution to their plans for rural settlement and a higher birth rate, Protestant reformers made very few references to immigration.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps more surprising, was that the war itself, the aftermath of which the Christian reformers were so carefully planning, also received minimal attention.

Throughout the planning statements and pamphlets of the Christian social reformers, there were no references to overseas battles, the Kokoda trail, or the plight of Australian POWs in Changi and on the notorious Thai-Burma railway. Even the horror of the holocaust and the atomic bomb aroused little interest beyond an initial response of shock and condemnation among the majority of Christian social reformers. Only the Methodist SEQC, led by one of their more prominent members, the Rev. Alan Walker, carried an anti-war and anti-bomb message through from the 1940s into the 1950s and beyond.¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, there was scant mention of how best to effect the demobilisation of the armed services. This was not just a Christian phenomenon, but a broader post-war reconstruction issue. The CSOM had published a list of steps the Church could take to assist the rehabilitation of the services in their pamphlet, *They're Coming Back: The Church and the Demobbed* (1946) and even tried to recruit returned soldiers into the CSOM, but made no mention of the issue thereafter.¹⁰⁸ Earlier, the St. James' CSOM group had attempted to discover how they could assist with the future demobilisation and the rehabilitation of mentally ill servicemen (in light of their observations of returned soldiers after the First World War), but found few organisations or facilities available to work with in Australia.¹⁰⁹ The Labor government instituted post-war reconstruction plans for

¹⁰⁶ECCA, 'The Land is YOUR Business' (1945), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 65-67.

¹⁰⁷*Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1948, pp. 92-94; *Minutes of the 17th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1954, pp. 136, 137.

¹⁰⁸W. Coughlan, *They're Coming Back: The Church and the Demobbed*, CSOM, Sydney, c. 1946, n.p.; *The New Day*, March 1946, pp. 1-5; PQC, *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, p. 90.

¹⁰⁹*Minutes of St. James Group of CSOM Meeting*, 12th July 1944 and 9th August 1944.

the retraining and education of ex-servicemen, but these paled in significance next to their plans for housing, employment and immigration.

In the effort to make Australia 'a land fit for heroes', where the great majority of the 'heroes' had served on the home front, social justice for all Australians after a crippling Depression, rather than the demobilisation of returned soldiers, became of paramount concern to post-war planners. Although Australia itself was under attack, the Second World War did not have the personal and social impact of the Depression or of the First World War. Nor was there any of the sectarian bitterness surrounding conscription or the virtue of the war which had characterised Christian attitudes to the First World War. Christians were geared to the future avoidance of another war or totalitarian uprising, rather than to rallying public opinion for or against the current one.

In the early 1940s, the popularity of Christian reformist ideals was at its height. The war years however, presented a stark contrast with the political, social and economic climate of the later 1940s and 1950s. In an address to the 4th Annual Meeting of the CSOM titled 'Christian Social Order at the Crossroads', the Rev. John McIntyre, professor of theology at the Presbyterian Theological Hall, director of the Presbyterian CSOC (1949-1951), and non-Anglican member of the CSOM, outlined the central problem faced by advocates of a Christian social order in the late 1940s:

[The] application of certain laudable reformist principles has even at this early stage created problems, which were quite unforeseen when these principles were still in the realm of the imagination, or of idealist leftist sermons from our pulpits.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰'Christian Social Order at the Crossroads', *The New Day*, December 1947, p. 2; The address was repeated at the 1948 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia. See CSOC, 'Christian Social Order at the Crossroads', *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1948, p. 150.

McIntyre discussed a series of Christian social order principles which had been rendered conceptually problematic by the late 1940s. Communism, post-war prosperity and consumerism, immigration, the changing structure of the family, urban expansion and developments in education posed serious challenges to many of the ideals encompassed by the 'Christian democracy'. Furthermore, the Christian reformers' intellectual and theological basis for their new social order went directly against the theological and political basis of the mainstream Church's vision for the post-war period. The social, economic and political changes of the late 1940s and 1950s, along with the often harsh realities of Church politics, were to cause a myriad of unforeseen problems for the Christian social justice advocates.

CHAPTER 2: CONSERVATIVE POST-WAR PLANNING

Theological and political conservatism was overwhelmingly predominant in the Australian Churches, especially in Sydney. Although the CSOM had the support of bishops like Burgmann and Moyes, and the Catholic social justice reforms were, at least in theory, endorsed by all Catholic bishops, the balance of power within the Sydney Churches lay decidedly with conservative leaders.

The mainstay of Protestant conservatism in Sydney was the Sydney Anglican diocese. Anglican conservatives were led by Archbishop Howard West Kilvinton Mowll (1934-1958). Mowll was born in 1890 in Dover, England. He attended Kings College, Cambridge where he was president of the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union, a conservative Evangelical student organisation. Mowll's ecclesiastical prowess and leadership saw him advance quickly through the ranks of the Church. By 1926 he had been appointed Bishop of the diocese of West China. He was enthroned as the Archbishop of Sydney in 1934, aged only 43, and went on to become Anglican Primate in 1947.¹

The leaders of the other Protestant Churches were elected on a yearly basis. Commonly (though not always), these men were conservative. Many of them served as denominational representatives on the NSW Council of Churches, a body formed by the Protestant Churches in 1923 to uphold Protestant institutions such as Sunday Observance and dancing.² Conservative Protestant churchmen also belonged to various 'Protestant' organisations, such as the United Council of Protestant Action (UCPA), the Loyal Orange Institution and the Protestant Truth

¹M. L. Loane, *Archbishop Mowll: The Biography of Howard West Kilvinton Mowll, Archbishop of Sydney and Primate of Australia*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1960; M. L. Loane, *Makers of Our Heritage: A Study of Four Evangelical Leaders*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1967, pp. 147-182; S. Judd and K. Cable, op.cit., pp. 228-229.

²D. E. Hansen, 'The Origin and Early Years of the New South Wales Council of Churches', *Journal of Religious History*, 11, 1981, pp. 452-469; In 1937 the Anglicans officially withdrew from the Council, due in part to opposition from the non-Sydney dioceses to the Evangelical tone of the Council. In 1946 however, there was growing support for ecumenicalism, and the Anglicans rejoined the Council.

Society. These groups were fiercely anti-Catholic. They virulently opposed government legislation which appeared to grant concessions to Catholics, conducting anti-Catholic protest rallies, distributing anti-Catholic propaganda leaflets and opposing any apparent diminution of Protestant influence in Australian society.

Prominent conservative Protestant leaders included Methodists such as the Rev. Robert Lew, President of the NSW Conference (1949-1950) and President-General of the Methodist Church (1954-1957) and the Rev. Percy Black, President of the NSW Conference (1940-1941) and editor of *The Methodist*. Presbyterian conservatism was represented by leaders such as the Rev. William Cumming Thom, Moderator of the NSW Assembly (1955) and president of the NSW Council of Churches. Baptist conservative leaders included the Rev. Wilfred I. Jarvis, secretary of the NSW Council of Churches, and the Rev. Alan C. Prior, editor of *The Australian Baptist* from 1949 and President of the NSW Baptist Union (1955-1956). Other conservative Anglican leaders were Archdeacon Thomas Hammond, Principal of Moore College (1935-1959), Bishop William Hilliard the Bishop-coadjutor of Sydney, and the Rev. Bernard Judd, President of the NSW Temperance Alliance after 1955 and secretary of the NSW Council of Churches from 1957.³

The Catholic Church in Sydney was also dominated by conservatives. From 1940 to 1971, Sydney Catholicism was headed by Archbishop Norman Thomas Gilroy. Gilroy was born in Glebe in 1896. In 1917 he began studying for the priesthood at St. Columba's College, Springwood. In 1919 he continued his studies at the Urban College of Propaganda in Rome. He was ordained in 1923. By 1935 he had become Bishop of Port Augusta and in 1937, Coadjutor Archbishop of Sydney. He was enthroned as Archbishop of Sydney three years

³Biographical details from *Who's Who in Australia 1959* and B. Dickey (ed.), *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, Evangelical History Association, Sydney, 1994.

later, aged forty-four, and became the first Australian-born Cardinal in 1945.⁴ Other prominent conservative Catholics included Brian Doyle, assistant editor of *The Catholic Weekly*, and the Rev. Dr. Leslie Rumble MSC, a Catholic apologist renowned for his 'Question Box' radio program on 2SM.⁵

Like their social reformist colleagues, conservative Christians also looked to the post-war period as a time to redress the problems of the inter-war years. While the Depression had prompted social justice concerns for Christian social reformists such as Santamaria, Coughlan and Burgmann, the main conclusions conservative Christian leaders drew from the 1930s were markedly different.

For the political right generally in Australia, the Depression had aroused fears that communism would take hold in Australia. The mobilisation of the CPA's Unemployed Workers' Movement and the populist rhetoric of NSW premier Jack Lang evoked conservative horror that communism was in the ascendant, threatening the survival of democracy. These fears encouraged the formation of right-wing paramilitary groups such as the *White Guard* and the *New Guard*.⁶ Political organisations such as the *All for Australia League* were also formed, espousing loyalty to the British Empire, an end to party politics and the restoration of 'sane' (ie. non-Labor) government.⁷ Conservative Protestants were largely in sympathy with the aims of the right-wing paramilitary groups and the *All for Australia League*, supporting their calls for a return to Protestant moral

⁴G. Williams, op.cit., pp. 16-49; N. T. Cardinal Gilroy, 'The Tinsel of the World' in G. L. Kane (ed.), *Why I Became a Priest*, Browne and Nolan, Dublin, 1954, pp. 33-42.

⁵G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*, pp. 71, 73-75; E. Campion, *Australian Catholics*, pp. 134-136.

⁶J. McCarthy, 'All for Australia: Some Right-Wing Responses to the Depression in New South Wales, 1929-1932', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 57, 2, June 1971, pp. 162-169; M. Cathcart, *Defending the National Tuckshop: Australia's Secret Army Intrigue of 1931*, Melbourne, 1988, pp. 32-43; A. Moore, *The Secret Army and the Premier: Conservative Paramilitary Organisations in New South Wales 1930-1932*, NSWUP, Kensington, 1989, pp. 74-104.

⁷J. McCarthy, op.cit., pp. 165-167; M. Cathcart, op.cit., pp. 76-77.

virtues, the safeguarding of 'British' values and reiterating their firm opposition to communism.⁸

The Depression also intensified conservative Catholic fears of the 'communist threat'. Unlike Archbishop Mannix, who had encouraged the *Campion* society to find a Catholic alternative to capitalism and communism, Gilroy remained focussed on opposing communism. To combat communism, Gilroy favoured an authoritarian and pious Catholicism. As an ultramontanist, Gilroy argued that the laity was highly vulnerable to the forces of communism and needed to be guided and led by the clergy. Favouring the Italian model of Catholic Action, Gilroy hoped to increase Catholic devotion and piety through clergy-controlled Catholic organisations such as the Legion of Mary, the Holy Name Society, the Legion of Catholic Women and the St. Vincent de Paul Society.⁹

By the end of the 1930s, conservative fears of communism and socialist revolution had not abated. Although the UAP remained secure in office between 1932-1941, the Depression had seriously undermined the conservative political platform. By the end of the 1930s, the UAP itself was in complete disarray, racked by internal division and facing sharp criticism from the conservative press.¹⁰ Worse still for the conservatives, the Labor Party was rising in confidence. An ineffective Menzies resigned from the leadership of the UAP in 1941 and less than six weeks later, John Curtin was able to form a Labor government after two independents crossed the floor. This was followed by a convincing ALP victory in 1943. Conservative forces, which included the remnants of the UAP, the *Institute of Public Affairs* (a businessmen's organisation) and the *Australian Women's National League*, (a women's organisation opposed to socialism and nationalisation and in favour of God,

⁸P. Nicholls, 'Australian Protestantism and the Politics of the Great Depression, 1929-31', *Journal of Religious History*, 17, 2, 1992, pp. 210-220; J. McCarthy, op.cit., pp. 162-163.

⁹Brian Doyle in *The Catholic Weekly*, 1st March 1945, p. 7; *The Catholic Weekly*, 30th May 1946, p. 1.

¹⁰P. G. Tiver, op.cit., p. 31.

Throne, Empire and women's participation in politics) rallied to form the Liberal Party in 1944.

A further issue of concern in the 1930s for conservative Christians was theology. The 'Samuel Angus affair' in the NSW Presbyterian Church was symbolic of the conservative fears surrounding the growth of theological liberalism among Australian Christians.¹¹ Dr. Samuel Angus was the Presbyterian professor of New Testament at the United Theological Faculty of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches. He was a liberal theologian, encouraging his students to develop an 'intellectually unassailable' theology. Some of his more controversial theological ideals included the dismissal of the doctrine of the Trinity and the rejection of a literal understanding of the virgin birth and the resurrection.¹² The NSW Presbyterian Church attempted to charge him with heresy, claiming that his teachings were 'not in harmony with the accepted doctrines of the [Presbyterian] Church'. Angus' notoriety was not confined to the Presbyterian Church, spreading alarm right through the conservative circles of the Australian Churches.¹³ Leslie Rumble and Wilfred Jarvis wrote pamphlets condemning the theology of Angus, while the Methodist Church withdrew its students from the United Theological Faculty after one student, Dudley Hyde, had written 'heretical doctrine' in an exam.¹⁴

Conservative Evangelical Anglicans were also concerned about the theology Angus represented. They became suspicious of those within their Church who had social and professional associations with Angus, such as Archdeacon Davies and Arthur Garnsey.¹⁵ When the Sydney archbishopric became vacant in 1933, conservative Evangelical Anglicans were strongly in favour of electing an

¹¹For a fuller discussion of the Samuel Angus affair, see S. Emilsen, op.cit.

¹²S. Emilsen, op.cit., pp. 227-228.

¹³ibid., pp. 199-200.

¹⁴L. Rumble, *A Disciple of Dr. Angus*, Sydney 1939; L. Rumble, *Dr. Angus—or Christ*, Sydney, 1934; W. L. Jarvis, *New Testament Christianity and the Philosophy of Dr. Samuel Angus*, Sydney, 1939; S. Emilsen, op.cit., p. 289.

¹⁵S. Judd and K. Cable, op.cit., p. 227.

Evangelical leader who would maintain an exclusively conservative Evangelical line, rather than a more moderate churchman, such as the previous Archbishop John Wright, who had been able to retain more varied (and liberal) theological viewpoints within the diocese.¹⁶ Mowll's ascendancy to the Sydney archbishopric was achieved through the careful manoeuvring of conservative Evangelicals. The growing popularity of the social gospel, as seen by the establishment of the SQC in 1932, and increasing theological antagonism between conservative and non-conservative Sydney Anglicans, summoned Mowll to consolidate the influence of conservative Evangelicalism in the Sydney diocese. His ill-advised and badly handled repudiation of the 'Memorialists' was a conspicuous sign of the uncompromising attitude of conservative Evangelical Anglicans at this time.¹⁷

Like the conservative political forces, conservative Christians took the opportunity to regroup in the 1940s. Just as fears of another depression had encouraged social reformist Christians in Melbourne to collaborate in post-war planning, the conservative 'crises' of the 1930s and 1940s led conservative Christians to band together on a political and theological basis, overcoming denominational loyalties. In June 1943, the Anglican Archbishop Howard W. K. Mowll and the Catholic Archbishop Norman T. Gilroy released *The Sydney Archbishops' Statement*, which outlined the conservative Christian platform on post-war reconstruction.

The Sydney Archbishops' Statement began with the following declaration:

In view of the importance of a right approach to the problems that must arise in connection with post-war reconstruction, we hope that the following statement, which we have signed, may be a help in guiding the thoughts of the community...¹⁸

¹⁶ibid., p. 226.

¹⁷ibid., pp. 238-240; M. L. Loane, *Archbishop Mowll*, pp. 143-148; D. Garnsey, op.cit., ch. 6; S. Emilsen, op.cit., pp. 164-169.

¹⁸*The Sydney Archbishops' Statement*, Sydney, 27th June 1943.

The Archbishops' insistence that theirs was the 'right approach' to post-war reconstruction was a clear indication that they were opposed to the social justice solutions being proposed by the ALP, trade union groups and sections of the Christian Church. *The Archbishops' Statement* provided conservative Christian solutions to what the Archbishops perceived to be the problems of the inter-war years. The statement was divided into six sections: 'Christian Principles', 'God's Law', 'State Relationships', 'Social Consequences', 'Social Order' and a concluding section, 'Christian Ideal'. As much overlap occurred between sections, the contents of the statement will be discussed under its two central themes: the role of individual in society; and the role of the State.

The Sydney Archbishops' Statement opened with an outline of the Archbishops' views on the duty of the individual to worship God and to obey God's laws. Individuals were exhorted to fulfil personal obligations to God, family and the State by '[having] reverence for God's name', 'pay[ing] lawful debts', and refraining from the impulse to 'eat and drink to excess'.¹⁹ This opening section highlighted the key issues regarding the conservative understanding of the individual's obligations to God and the role of the individual in society, which were to colour their whole approach to post-war reconstruction.

For conservative Christians, the individual's obligation to God was to maintain Christian moral values in personal life. In his 1943 Lenten Pastoral Letter, Gilroy had argued that the worst effect of the war was not 'material destruction' or even 'physical suffering and death'. He opined that the greater evil of the war was 'moral wreckage'.²⁰ Gilroy, Mowll and other conservative Christian leaders argued that the war was partly God's punishment for the sinfulness of Australians.²¹ In order to make amends, Mowll contended that a

¹⁹ibid.

²⁰N. T. Cardinal Gilroy, *Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Faithful of the Archdiocese of Sydney*, Lent, 1943, n.p.

²¹*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1942, p. 48; N. T. Cardinal Gilroy, *Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Faithful of the Archdiocese of Sydney*, Lent, 1942, n.p.; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1940, p. 79 and 1942, p. 80;

revival of personal morality, piety and Christian religion were needed. In November 1945, his first post-war address to the Sydney Anglican Synod outlined the conservative Evangelical plan for the future:

For our part we need to proclaim urgently that reverence for God's commands and a strong sense of man's high destiny as being made in the image of God are the only foundation principles that offer a permanent guarantee of unity and purpose and fundamental justice between the peoples of the world.²²

Mowll claimed that 'reverence for God's commands' in the community would help solve post-war social problems such as divorce, juvenile crime and excessive alcohol consumption.²³

The importance attached to the personal morality of the individual guided the conservative Christian view of the individual's role in society. In their statement, the Archbishops had argued that the individual's first obligations were to obey the 'authority' figures of 'God', 'family' and 'State', in order to ensure the well being of the community.²⁴ A practical application of the conservative Christian understanding of the need for the individual to submit to authority can be seen in their response to women working during the war. In 1945, Mowll argued that women must conform to their God-ordained role as home maker in order to maintain a stable society for the post-war era:

Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1942, p. 89; R. Ely, 'The Forgotten Nationalism: Australian Civic Protestantism in the Second World War', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 20, 1987, pp. 62-64; J. Mansfield, 'Social Attitudes in the Church of England', p. 200.

²²*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, p. 36; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1948, pp. 47-8, 51; *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, May 1945, p. 3.

²³*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, pp. 36-41 and 1942, pp. 53-57.

²⁴*The Sydney Archbishops' Statement*.

The old sanctions of reverence and dignity, the old regard for woman as God's appointed help to man, must be continued if we are to secure the future that we all desire.²⁵

Unlike the Christian reformists, encouraging women out of the paid work force was not a question of social justice. For conservatives, working wives and mothers threatened the fabric of society, and were directly responsible for the rise of social problems such as juvenile delinquency, as *The Methodist* explained in 1946 when surveying the case of a delinquent boy:

The mother has worked for ten years for selfish reasons...The family has not attended church regularly since the mother went to work. The situation in this case, like so many of its kind, seems a perfect environment for the spawning of juvenile delinquency.²⁶

The conservative Christian understanding of society meant that women were not free to practise their individual initiative and compete (with men) in the sphere of work. They were to pursue their individuality only within the framework of their duties to God, family and State, which conservatives argued entailed child rearing and home making. The conservative concept of the freedom of individual was extended to religion, association, free speech and free enterprise, but was limited to the authority of God (Christian moral values), the State and the family.

Apart from obeying authorities, individuals were also to fulfil obligations to contracts, employers, parents, children, employees, friends and neighbours.²⁷ This definition of the individual's duty had an important consequence for the conservative ideal of society, which sharply distinguished conservative Christians from their social reformist colleagues. It maintained that individuals were only bound to fulfil their obligations as far as their immediate circle of contacts extended. This contrasts with the social reformists' idea of the individual fulfilling

²⁵*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, p. 40.

²⁶*The Methodist*, 9th March 1946, p. 3; *The Catholic Weekly*, 4th October 1945, p. 1; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, p. 40.

²⁷*The Sydney Archbishops' Statement*.

duties to the whole community, and ensuring that their actions did not endanger any aspect of social justice for the rest of the community.

The authors of *The Archbishops' Statement*, along with other conservative Christians, argued that individuals must succumb to the laws of Church and State in order for a new Christian social order to rise from the turmoil of the 1930s. At the same time, *The Archbishops' Statement* also argued that the State must protect and uphold the freedom of the individual, especially the individual's right to participate in private enterprise.

The Archbishops contended that the State's duty was to regulate the conduct of citizens in relation to their community, to ensure 'freedom for the individual', by upholding 'the rights of man to private property', protecting moral and religious values, making provisions for Christian education in schools and safeguarding the family through a policy of full employment and social services.²⁸ These values were similar to the Christian social reformists' ideal of the State in many respects. They were also important for the Left and Right, as seen with the ALP's post-war reconstruction platform and the Liberal Party's Constitution (1945), where 'freedom of speech, religion and association', 'freedom of citizens to choose their own way of living, subject to the rights of others', access to social services, protection of the family and employment for 'all willing and able to work' were important tenets.²⁹ The main difference however, between reformist and conservative Christians regarding the concept of the State's role, was that conservatives argued that capitalism was the economic expression of the individual. Conservatives further contended that the individual's right to participate in the economy through their own initiative and enterprise must also be protected by the State.

Menzies' famous 1942 speech *The Forgotten People*, spoke of the claim of those who are 'self-sacrificing, and saving, and forward looking' to better

²⁸ibid.

²⁹*Objectives of the Liberal Party as set out in the Constitution*, 1945, pp. 3-4.

and social rewards than the 'stupid and improvident'. Only competition and the opportunity for the individual to apply their own initiative and enterprise made for 'dynamic democracy', without which, Menzies argued, the 'whole business of life will become foundationless'.³⁰ This idea of individual effort to achieve 'just reward' was a hallmark of Protestantism.³¹ There is evidence that Gilroy's childhood experience also led him to favour 'austerity' and hard work over 'improvidence':

[My father's] appreciation of social life, coupled with the neglect of his flourishing business, led to financial disaster. This gave me a positive abhorrence of social life.³²

The idea of rewarding individual effort with wealth and power underpinned conservative attitudes to capitalism and totalitarianism. For conservatives, the preservation of the individual's ability to participate in free enterprise and competition meant that the State should encourage individuals to compete with others for economic reward, rather than simply provide welfare. In other words, the State should not seek to redistribute wealth and ownership in society. This was implicit in the Archbishops' understanding of totalitarianism:

[Any] form of State organisation is to be condemned which...ignores or denies man's fundamental duty...to worship God...wholly subordinates the individual or the family to the State...[and] *concentrates power in the hands of a few...*

Nazism, Fascism and Communism are to be condemned on these grounds.³³ (my italics)

³⁰R. G. Menzies, 'The Forgotten People' (1942) in his *The Forgotten People and Other Studies in Democracy*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1943.

³¹R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, 2nd ed., John Murray, London, 1936, pp. 175-193.

³²N. T. Cardinal Gilroy, 'The Tinsel of the World', p. 34.

³³*The Sydney Archbishops' Statement*.

The Archbishops' condemnation of communism with Nazism was indicative of their opposition to state control, rather than their objection to all forms of monopoly. They did not agree with the Christian social reformists that capitalism was a precursor to totalitarianism for its consolidation of financial power 'in the hands of a few'. For Christian conservatives, capitalism was a guarantee of individual freedom.

The conservative Christian contention that capitalism preserved an important aspect of individual freedom, along with the belief in the idea that the individual must obey authority, encouraged their solution to the prospect of totalitarianism and class warfare:

The solution of the economic problem of capital and labour is to be found, we believe, in co-operation rather than in antagonism and class warfare. The interests of employer and employee are mutual; each has duties towards the other and to the community.³⁴

For the Sydney Archbishops, a better society depended not on the dissolution of class through the redistribution of wealth and power, but on the resolution of class hostility through all individuals adhering to Christian standards of personal morality. Mowll and Gilroy maintained that class warfare could only be nullified through employers and workers fulfilling their duties and moral obligations toward the community, and the State protecting the rights of all individuals, not just those of 'capitalists' or 'workers'.

This understanding of class in Australian society was similar to that held by right-wing political forces in the 1930s and 1940s, and indeed, became one of the key doctrines of the newly formed Liberal Party.³⁵ For Menzies, admission to the middle-class depended on 'moral qualities' rather than socio-

³⁴ibid.

³⁵P. Loveday, 'The Liberals' Image of their Party' in C. Hazelhurst (ed.), *Australian Conservatism: Essays in Twentieth Century Political History*, ANUP, Canberra, 1979, pp. 244-245; J. Brett, *Robert Menzies' Forgotten People*, Sun Australia, Sydney, 1992, p. 42.

economic status, denying the existence of political conflict in Australian society.³⁶ The appeal to common concerns of family and home instead of class and work was a way of maintaining a sense of social cohesion. In the process, communism was transformed into a threat to democracy, home and moral values. The conservative Christian insistence on obedience to God, family and State authority was also a way of maintaining social cohesion, in a society where individuals were defined out of their competitiveness and independence.³⁷ In contrast, the idea of competition and aggressive individualism in society was the very antithesis of what the Christian reformers saw as a basis for community and family life.

The Archbishops' Statement then, mapped out the conservative design for post-war Australia. The content of the statement reflected the conservatives' particular experience of the post-1918 years. Their main concerns were to avoid the rise of a totalitarian communist regime, avert moral decline and revive the status of the Christian Church in the community. To achieve these ends in the post-war world, conservative Christians planned to increase the religiosity of youth, expand overseas missions and evangelise the nation.

An important aim of conservative Christian post-war reconstruction was to encourage youth into the Church. Plans for youth centred on religious education and the invigoration of Christian youth organisations.³⁸ Baptists proclaimed that it was 'essential to recruit youth and maidens as members of the Church of Christ' for the post-war future. Conservative Catholics made plans to establish a new youth organisation, while Anglicans designed a new syllabus for religious education in schools.³⁹

There was also an interest in expanding overseas mission fields for the post-war period. In light of the war, there was much concern among conservatives to

³⁶J. Brett, op.cit., p. 42.

³⁷ibid., pp. 71-72, 149.

³⁸*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1940*, p. 80; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 11th April 1945, p. 4.

³⁹*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book, 1942-1943*, p. 14; *The Catholic Weekly*, 4th January 1945, p. 1; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney, 1941*, pp. 60-61.

Christianise the Pacific region not only to spread the Christian faith, but to protect Australia's religious culture from unwelcome influences. As a *Catholic Missions* article noted in 1944:

Preaching the gospel for Australians will no longer be a matter of spreading the Faith. It may well be the only sure means of preserving our own Christian civilisation.⁴⁰

Conservatives hoped that through the evangelisation of the world, future peace would be assured and Australia's 'Christian culture' would remain undisturbed.⁴¹

The most important conservative Christian plan for post-war reconstruction was evangelism. Through evangelism, Methodists hoped to bring about a 'Christian reformation', which they argued, would put an end to problems such as the liquor trade, gambling, Sunday desecration, class division, the 'worship of money', 'the mad partisanship of our politics', 'the empty cradle and its hideous explanation', slums and the 'unsocial nature of our society'.⁴² The NSW Presbyterian Church Life and Work Committee contended that the post-war period could best be prepared for 'by intensifying the spiritual appeal in all the ways of our life'. In 1945 the Presbyterians launched a post-war Victory Thanksgiving Fund to finance the evangelisation of youth, encourage non-church goers into the life of the Church and establish Christian missions overseas.⁴³ Baptists also looked to the post-war as an opportunity to revive religiosity.⁴⁴ Mowll urged the Anglican Church to 'mobilise' all members for a Campaign of Lay Witness and established a fund to build more churches.⁴⁵ For their part,

⁴⁰*Catholic Missions: Official Organ of the Pontifical Mission Works in Australia*, July-August, 1944, p. 3.

⁴¹*ibid.*; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1941, p. 58; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1940, p. 80.

⁴²*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1942, p. 80, 1943, and 1944, p. 83.

⁴³*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 11th April 1945, p. 4.

⁴⁴*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1940-1941, pp. 9-11, 1942-1943, and 1943-1944, p. 12.

⁴⁵*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1941, p. 57, 1942, pp. 55, 62.

conservative Catholics aimed at increasing personal piety through encouraging dedication to the Rosary and involvement in Catholic Church organisations, in accordance with their interpretation of Catholic Action.

Through evangelism, mission, education and youth, conservative Christians hoped to extend and protect Christian religiosity in Australia. They envisaged the post-war period as a time of renaissance for the Church, where the Church would achieve a new status in Australian society, thus securing its importance to the new post-war world. This contrasted with the Christian social reformists' hopes to promote the Church as an agent for socio-economic reform.

Conservative Church leaders were steadfastly opposed to the social justice solution being proposed by social reformist Christians. The Rev. Arthur Sanders, president of the NSW Methodist Conference in 1951, maintained that there was a great difference between the long term effectiveness of 'humanitarian' reform and Christian evangelism:

...may we ever remember that a clear line separates the humanitarian and his progress of reform from the Christian and his gospel of Redemption through Christ. While each will agree with the other that certain evils stand in need of correction, the Christian will assert, as the humanitarian will not, that there can be no new order of lasting value except it be the work of the Holy Spirit...⁴⁶

The Rev. Wilfred Jarvis noted that only 'world-wide evangelisation' would make for 'righteousness and happiness', while Methodist leader the Rev. Sam McKibbin, argued that 'proposals of a man-made millennium' and 'blue prints for Utopia' would not suffice for post-war reconstruction, and that rather, the time had come for 'another great spiritual revival'.⁴⁷ In a similar vein, Brian Doyle

⁴⁶*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1951, p. 57.*

⁴⁷Rev. S. McKibbin in *SMH*, 31st December 1945, p. 4; Rev. W. I. Jarvis in *SMH*, 14th January 1946, p. 4; See also *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1946, p. 88; Sydney Diocesan Magazine, May 1945, p. 3.*

argued that Catholic Action was meant to be 'essentially spiritual', rather than 'largely material'.⁴⁸

Within the Churches themselves, the early popularity of Christian social reform in post-war reconstruction groups was unsettling for conservatives. At the 1947 Anglican Synod, Mowll outlined the conservative Evangelical plan for the diocese, expressing his concern at the appeal of the 'social gospel':

I am not unaware of the criticism which may be levelled at a return to the appeal to the individual to be reconciled with God. I know that some, possibly some who are listening to me, will say that what we need today is a broad Social Gospel...Some critics talk of men who are intent of saving their own souls as if that were a matter of reproach...To all such strictures there is a convincing reply. God Himself when He delivered His Code began with the individual...And Evangelicals can point to the same law operating at the rise of the movement we are now considering.⁴⁹

Mowll's defensive critique of Evangelicalism and his derision of the 'social gospel' approach was characteristic of the ideological battle being waged in the Churches. Particularly powerful was Mowll's reference to 'the rise of the movement we are now considering' for its implication that the future of the Church through evangelism was threatened by the dissension and disunity fostered by the 'social gossellers'. Significantly, his use of the word 'we' emphasised the dominant position of the Evangelical faction. It dismissed the claims of the 'social gossellers' not only by appealing to the authority of God, but by subtly reminding them of the balance of power in the Sydney Anglican diocese.

Mowll's overriding concern for the revival of personal morals and religion, rather than the implementation of social justice measures, was made explicit in his 1941 address to the Sydney Synod:

Many are urging the importance of housing schemes...But the basis for a happy community life lies in right personal relationships, in self-respect

⁴⁸B. Doyle in *The Catholic Weekly*, 1st March 1945, p. 7.

⁴⁹*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1948, pp. 51-52.

and respect for others, in faithfully doing our duty in the task that enables us to earn our daily bread...Our Prime Minister [Menzies] urges us to be thrifty and save.⁵⁰

It was not that Mowll was opposed to housing schemes for needy Australians. The previous year he had urged the provision of 'economic homes at a reasonable rental' for post-war reconstruction.⁵¹ His stress on individual effort and saving however, echoed the UAP/Liberal line that housing should not be 'unearned' or doled out by the State. Furthermore, Mowll's concern that individuals in society should 'faithfully' do their 'duty' to earn their 'daily bread' emphasised his solution for the reconciliation of class conflict through the adherence of individuals to Christian standards of personal morality, rather than the implementation of economic justice by the State.

Conservative Catholics were also adverse to the social justice solution to post-war reconstruction. Gilroy remained opposed to the Melbourne version of Catholic Action throughout the 1940s and 1950s. When the first Social Justice Statement was prepared in 1940, Gilroy refused to endorse it, issuing an alternative statement entitled *The Catholic's Duty in Australian Social Reform* in Sydney.⁵² Although Gilroy was appointed to ECCA (the body which endorsed the Social Justice Statements between 1941 and 1945), he quickly ceased his involvement with their activities.⁵³ Gilroy was also appointed to the Episcopal Committee for the direction of Santamaria's Movement, but did not attend any of its meetings.⁵⁴

In the early 1940s, the seeming disinterest of the conservatives in the social justice concerns of reformist Christians, intellectuals and the then popularly supported ALP, attracted criticism not only from the Left, but from other more

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 1942, p. 53.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, 1941, p. 56.

⁵² E. O'Brien, *The Catholic's Duty in Australian Social Reform*, 3rd ed., E. J. Dwyer, Sydney, 1940.

⁵³ G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*, p. 18.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 26.

conservative bastions. The release of *The Archbishops' Statement* occasioned much public censure for its apparent indifference to contemporary social issues.

CSOM member Ernest Burgmann and the assistant secretary of the Communist Party of Australia, R. Dixon, were upset over the Archbishops' condemnation of communism on the same terms as their condemnation of Nazism and Fascism. Burgmann and Dixon feared that the statement could be interpreted as a slur against the Soviet Union, an Allied nation fighting with Australia against Nazism and Fascism.⁵⁵

The second area of criticism came from those who considered the statement to be too theologically conservative. CSOM leader the Rev. Edwin J. Davidson found *The Sydney Archbishops' Statement* reactionary and uninspiring:

[The Statement] does not seem to meet the social, economic, and moral realisms of our day...There is little in it to suggest that Christianity is to become what it obviously once was—a creative and revolutionary religion. The very wording of the document reflects a predilection for the conservative spirit of medieval Scholasticism.⁵⁶

An editorial discussing *The Archbishops' Statement* in *The Sydney Morning Herald* four days later clearly reiterated Davidson's concerns:

In this critical hour of human history, Christianity, if it is to be true to its own essence, must cease to function as a conservative religion. It must recapture its incomparable capacity for daring thinking and revolutionary action.⁵⁷

The tone of the editorial was unusual for *The Sydney Morning Herald*, a paper which usually propounded a more conservative viewpoint. The directors of the Fairfax paper however, were committed Anglicans. Vincent Fairfax, a

⁵⁵*SMH*, 29th June 1943, p. 4 and 30th June 1943, pp. 6, 9; *The Daily Telegraph*, 28th June 1943, p. 4 and 29th June 1943, p. 4.

⁵⁶*SMH*, 29th June 1943, p. 4; *SMH*, 2nd July 1943, p. 3; D. Garnsey, op.cit., p. 204.

⁵⁷Editorial, *SMH*, 3rd July 1943, p. 8.

director of John Fairfax and Sons Pty. Ltd., was closely involved with the Anglican Church, being a Trustee of the Church of England Property Trust and a warden of his local church, St. Mark's at Darling Point. He firmly believed in a practical and benefactory Christianity. His elder brother, Warwick, who was the proprietor and governing director of the Fairfax empire, had a more intellectual interest in Christianity, and was also an assiduous member of St. Mark's.⁵⁸ The editorial may have reflected a personal liking for Davidson and his theology. Davidson had been the assistant minister of St. Mark's between 1936 and 1938.

The support of *The Sydney Morning Herald* for Davidson's criticism of *The Archbishops' Statement* was evidence of the popularity of social reform among a broad range of Anglicans in the early 1940s. Davidson's aspiration for Christianity to become 'creative and revolutionary' and the editorial's concern that 'Christianity...must cease to function as a conservative religion' reflected the enthusiasm of the early 1940s for the Church to change the application of Christian faith in Australian society to include social institutions as well as individuals.

The CSOM, the CPA and even *The Sydney Morning Herald* had expressed reservations about the content of the statement. Despite this, the statement did receive some endorsement. The first source of support was Australian political leaders. Prime Minister John Curtin and Opposition Leader Arthur Fadden both expressed their pleasure at the Anglican and Catholic Archbishops' cooperative writing of the statement.

Inter-denominational collaboration was a typical pattern of response among Australian Christians when they felt that commonly held moral values were under threat, or saw an opportunity to more effectively promote their ideals. In the late nineteenth century, conservative Christians had contended that the growing confidence of science to explain the creation of the world, the rise of European

⁵⁸V. J. Carroll, *The Man Who Couldn't Wait*, Heinemann, Melbourne, 1990, p. 9; 'Fairfax, Vincent' and 'Fairfax, Warwick' in *Who's Who in Australia*, 1959.

socialism and communism, and the liberalisation of divorce laws threatened the effectiveness of their moral influence in society.⁵⁹ As Walter Phillips has noted, Catholics and Protestants had also joined forces briefly in the late nineteenth century to fight moves in South Australia to lower the age of consent and to campaign for God to be recognised in the constitution.⁶⁰ Protestants had tried to encourage Catholic leaders to petition parliament to maintain more stringent divorce laws, but in this case Catholics had declined on the grounds that they considered marriage a spiritual matter over which the State had no authority.⁶¹

In the post-war period, there was a growing movement towards Christian cooperation. The ecumenical movement was achieving consolidation through the World Council of Churches (WCC). As president of the Australian Council for the WCC (ACWCC) in 1946 and senior delegate to the inaugural WCC Assembly at Amsterdam in 1948, Archbishop Mowll was most enthusiastic about the promise of the ecumenical movement and the opportunity it presented for Christians to work together to achieve common ends. The early 1940s period of post-war reconstruction provided a particularly good environment for Christian collaboration, as social reformists in Melbourne and conservatives in Sydney worked together to present their vision of the future.

The second source of support for *The Archbishops' Statement* was conservative Protestant leaders of the Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist Churches. Although these leaders had openly endorsed the statement however, they were perturbed that Mowll had seen fit to combine forces with the Catholic Church, but not with his fellow Protestant Churches.⁶²

The newspapers of the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches expressed great dismay that their Churches had not been included in what *The Methodist* called 'one of the most important ecclesiastical pronouncements in

⁵⁹A. R. Vidler, op.cit., pp. 112-122.

⁶⁰W. Phillips, op.cit., p. 271.

⁶¹ibid., pp. 128-129, 196-197.

⁶²*SMH*, 30th June 1943, p. 9; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 7th July 1943, p. 16.

Sydney'.⁶³ While neither Mowll nor Gilroy gave any official explanation as to why the other Churches had been excluded, it could be argued that as 'Archbishops' they sought to give the statement a more authoritative leaning.

Nevertheless, Methodists and Presbyterians were in favour of the statement's content, and relatively unconcerned with the Christian reformists' and the Left's criticism that its condemnation of communism might be offensive to Australia's Soviet allies. *The New South Wales Presbyterian* made no reference at all to the controversy, while *The Methodist* defended the statement's condemnation of Russian communism, arguing that 'in the interests of Christian faith and the Christian life the aggrandisement...of any State...should not be allowed to go to any lengths dictators and bureaucrats may think fit'.⁶⁴

Baptists were somewhat more critical of the statement than the other Protestants. Uncharacteristically, *The Australian Baptist* roundly condemned the statement's social program, arguing that it was conservative. They claimed that the condemnation of Communism with Nazism was offensive to Australia's war time allies. They even quoted Davidson's *Sydney Morning Herald* article, and noted that 'a bishop' (Burgmann) had also disapproved. *The Australian Baptist* seemed wholly unaware of Burgmann's and Davidson's motives in opposing *The Archbishops' Statement*. Furthermore, the only original criticisms they made were that Baptists had been left out of designing the statement and that the statement had completely ignored spiritual questions.⁶⁵ *The Australian Baptist's* criticism of the statement's social program was more expressive of their hurt feelings than a reflection of Baptist social thought; their real concern was the lack of spiritual content.

⁶³*The Methodist*, 3rd July 1943, p. 3; *The Australian Baptist*, 6th July 1943, p. 4; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 7th July 1943, p. 16.

⁶⁴*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 7th July 1943, p. 16; *The Methodist*, 3rd July 1943, p. 3 and 10th July 1943, p. 3.

⁶⁵*The Australian Baptist*, 6th July 1943, p. 4.

Intellectuals, Christian reformists and the Left remained unimpressed with the Archbishops' agenda for post-war reconstruction and its continued support for the status quo. Within conservative Christian circles however, there was a general support for the principles enunciated by the statement. Evangelism, social cohesion, individual freedom and anti-communism were the mainstays of the conservative Christian agenda for the future Australian society.

The conservative agenda for post-war Australia was reiterated in 1951 with the release of *A Call to the People of Australia* (or *The Call*) on the 11th of November (Remembrance Day). *The Call* was signed by the leaders of the Anglican, Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches and the Chief Justices of all Australian states. It was read over the ABC after the 7pm news and printed in every daily newspaper in Australia, with editorial support.⁶⁶

The central crux of *The Call* was that communism, moral apathy and political dissension were endangering Australia's future as a Christian and democratic country.

Australia is in danger. We are in danger from abroad. We are in danger from moral and intellectual apathy, from the mortal enemies of mankind which sap the will and darken the understanding and breed evil dissensions.⁶⁷

The Call proposed that Australians strive for unity and individual honesty to help solve Australia's problems.⁶⁸

The Sydney Morning Herald was greatly supportive of *The Call*, praising its authors for uniting to give a 'warning' to complacent Australians. The *Herald's*

⁶⁶See for example *SMH*, 12th November 1951, p. 2; *Daily Telegraph*, 12th November 1951, p. 3.

⁶⁷*A Call to the People of Australia*, 1951.

⁶⁸*ibid.*; For further discussion of 'The Call' see M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, pp. 1-3, 232; *The Report of the Standing Committees in Support of the Call to the People of Australia*, Melbourne, 1952-1955; *Report of the New South Wales Call Committee to the 6th Annual Meeting of Supporting Organisations*, January 1958, n.p.

strong endorsement of *The Call* stands in contrast with its earlier disapproval of *The Archbishops' Statement* as conservative and unimaginative. This was indicative of a wider political trend away from social reform and towards anti-communism and social cohesion in Australian society.

The release of *The Call* on Remembrance Day was important, in its implicit link with Australia's military past and British heritage. In 1951, *The Call* asserted that Australians were facing a new war against communism and moral apathy. Significantly, Remembrance Day had also been the day when the *Who's for Australia League* was launched in 1929.⁶⁹ Along with the *New Guard* and the *All for Australia League*, the *Who's for Australia League* had promoted moral virtue, political consensus and anti-communism. In the early 1950s, with the recent electoral defeat of the ALP and the declining profile of the social reformist Christian agenda within the Churches, *The Call* acted to reassert and defend the conservative Christian position.

The Call was also a claim that post-war Australian society was not progressing in the direction desired by the mainstream Church and by conservative community leaders. Like *The Archbishops' Statement*, *The Call* promoted moral responsibility and cooperation between employers and employees. Conservative Protestant and Catholic Church leaders, in common with other conservative community leaders, perceived that communism, industrial disputes, changing moral values and 'selfishness' were thwarting their visions for post-war Australian society. The Protestant Churches also saw themselves losing political ground over traditional areas of authority, such as Sunday Observance and dancing. For conservative Christian leaders, *The Call* was an attempt to maintain what they believed was Australia's Christian and democratic heritage through promoting national unity, political conservatism and respect for the values of the Christian Church.

⁶⁹J. McCarthy, op.cit., p. 163.

The Church's involvement with post-war reconstruction in the early 1940s was part of a broader movement in Australian society. The early aspirations of the Church for post-war reconstruction were intended to promote a particular set of political and social values as democratic and Christian. In doing so, Christians hoped to avoid the various crises of the inter-war years and secure a leading role in post-war Australian society for the Church. The prominence of social reformist groups such as the CSOM and the unfavourable public reception of *The Archbishops' Statement* were representative of the dominant political mood in the Australian community. By the late 1940s and early 1950s however, Christians realised that certain aspects of the new social, political and economic order were having an adverse effect on the potential realisation of their original plans and expectations. There would be much disagreement within the Church as to the nature of the emerging post-war society and how the Church should best respond.

**PART TWO: POST-WAR AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY AND THE
CHURCH**

CHAPTER 3: COMMUNISM

The early 1940s had seen numerous expressions of hope for a just society. The desire to avoid another depression and to foster democracy was evident in government, Christian and community plans for housing, employment and economic security for all. The end of the war however, saw the emergence of a new political world order. A particular feature of the new world order was the overturning of the old colonial regimes in Asia and Africa by indigenous nationalist/communist movements. A further aspect of the new world order was the Cold War. The development of the atomic bomb by the Soviet Union and the United States' development of the hydrogen bomb in 1950 led to increased international tensions between communist and democratic nations.¹ As a representative of the Australian Presbyterian Church at the 1947 Oslo World Conference of Christian Youth, Bruce Mansfield reported that there was evidence of growing international tensions among delegates due to the emerging new world order.² In Australia, the new world order was creating much uncertainty about the danger of communism and encouraging a move away from the social justice issues.

In this environment of change and uncertainty, conservative politicians, Christians and community leaders were able to portray a series of post-war domestic and international crises as evidence of the 'communist threat'. In Australia, the years between 1945 and 1949 saw a spate of strikes by trade unions where millions of working days were lost.³ Conservative political forces argued that trade union action was part of a communist revolutionary front, designed to destroy political, social and religious freedom in Australia.⁴ In mainstream

¹G. Herken, *The Winning Weapon: The Atomic Bomb in the Cold War 1945-1950*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1980, p. 304; *SMH*, 21st September 1950, p. 1.

²B. Mansfield, 'Oslo 1947: Report on the World Conference of Christian Youth', pp. 16-19, CSAC Archives, CN8 uncat. MSS, Mansfield Papers.

³W. J. Brown, *op.cit.*, pp. 174-178; R. Gollan, *op.cit.*, pp. 239-242.

⁴R. Gollan, *op.cit.*, pp. 178, 181.

Church newspapers, the protracted coal strike of 1949 was portrayed as the insidious hand of communism, hindering the work ethic and dividing the nation.

The Catholic Weekly maintained:

During the past six weeks the Australian public has been treated to some of the worst manifestations in its history of tyranny by the extreme Left [sic]. At the behest of Communist leaders, Australian coal miners put hundreds of thousands of fellow workers on the rack of unemployment.⁵

Other Church papers contained similar sentiments. *The Methodist* argued that the coal strike had left Australia 'a sadly and seriously divided country', while *The New South Wales Presbyterian* depicted the coalminers as 'decent hardworking Christian men' being duped by communist leaders.⁶ Conservative Church leaders and politicians did not see the strikes as an attempt by trade unions to hold employers to war-time promises of wage increases, better working conditions, the lifting of wage-pegging regulations and a forty-hour working week.⁷

Despite the tensions in the labour movement between the ALP and the CPA, exacerbated by Chifley's use of the army to break up the 1949 coal strike and the ALP's support of the Industrial Groups, the Liberal-Country Party exploited the national situation to its full advantage, consistently portraying the ALP's social reforms as communist. In 1949 the Federal Labor Government lost power to the Liberal-Country Party. The CPA declined from 16,280 members in 1945 to 6000 members by 1952.⁸

Conservatives also depicted the emerging new world order as a communist design. At the beginning of the Second World War, all of South-East Asia had

⁵*The Catholic Weekly*, 11th August 1949, p. 4; Standing Committee of the Catholic Bishops in Australia, 'Peace in Industry' (1947), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 88-89.

⁶*The Methodist*, 6th August 1949, p. 3; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 15th July 1949, p. 4; *The Church Standard*, 2nd June 1950, p. 4.

⁷R. Gollan, op.cit., pp. 178, 181-182; W. J. Brown, op.cit., pp. 151-154; T. O'Lincoln, *Into the Mainstream: The Decline of Australian Communism*, Stained Wattle Press, Sydney, 1985, pp. 53-57.

⁸R. Gollan, op.cit., p. 171.

been under the control of various Western powers. By the end of the war, a number of Asian nationalist movements had arisen. These movements, often inspired by local forms of communism, aimed to bring about self-determination and an end to European control. Attempts by the Dutch and the French to regain their colonial territories in Indonesia and Indo-China failed, while the United States granted the Philippines independence in 1946. In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek's government in China fell to the Chinese communists led by Mao Zedong, and in 1950, communist North Korea invaded South Korea in an attempt to reunite the country. This left Australia an almost solitary Anglo-Saxon, Western and 'Christian' outpost in a sea of largely non-Anglo-Saxon and non-Christian cultures.

The Menzies government and the conservative leaders of the Australian Churches argued that Asian nationalism and the fall of the old colonial regimes was part of a monolithic communist expansion in the world which directly threatened Australia.⁹ At the 1949 NSW Methodist Conference, the Rev. Robert Lew contended in his presidential address that communism had become 'a world menace' and was 'rapidly extending its frontiers in almost every country'.¹⁰ *The Catholic Weekly* and the Anglican paper *The Church Standard* noted that the fall of Asian countries to communism left Australia's position 'more unsettled than ever' as the conflict edged 'nearer our own shores'.¹¹

Against this barrage of anti-communist rhetoric, CSOM leaders were determined to maintain what they considered to be a 'balanced' view towards the communist issue:

⁹K. S. Nathan, 'Australia and South East Asia: From Cooperation to Constructive Engagement', *The Round Table*, 319, 1991, p. 336; D. McLean, 'American and Australian Cold Wars in Asia', *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, 9, 2, 1990, p. 34.

¹⁰*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1949, p. 89.

¹¹*The Catholic Weekly*, 6th January 1949, p. 4; *The Church Standard*, 15th September 1950, p. 1.

To the great majority, Communism, the USSR, the Australian Communist Party, and so on are synonymous with evil and social anarchy and anti-Christ...That is not the view of the Christian Social Order Movement which invites...every man and woman who really wants to know the truth about all social problems [sic].¹²

To enhance their commitment to understanding the communist position, and in an attempt to provide a forum for a 'balanced' viewpoint on communism in the increasingly emotional political environment of the late 1940s, the CSOM leaders undertook two main strategies. First, whole editions of *The New Day* were devoted to debating communism, drawing on the opinions of a wide cross-section of Australian society.¹³ Secondly, Coughlan, Davidson and another CSOM member, the Rev. George Cranswick, joined the Australian-Russian society. As such, the CSOM did not take a firm stand for or against communism.

Neither the Left nor the Right sympathised with the CSOM's efforts to hold the middle ground. Communists accused the CSOM of deliberately inviting 'the most vicious red-baiters' to contribute to *The New Day*.¹⁴ By 1948, Coughlan, Davidson and Cranswick had decided that the Australian-Russian Society no longer provided opportunity for a balanced appraisal of communism and resigned.¹⁵ Their resignation sparked widespread censure, with conservative Christians questioning the propriety of Church leaders engaging in 'politics' and CPA members accusing the CSOM of being the pawns of the Right.¹⁶ Within the

¹²*The New Day*, January 1948, p. 1; J. S. Moyes, *The Communist Way of Life and the Christian's Answer*, 1st ed., Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1952, pp. 24-28; J. Mansfield, 'The Christian Social Order Movement', p. 123.

¹³*The New Day*, January 1948 and February 1948.

¹⁴*The Tribune*, 17th January 1948, p. 5; *The New Day*, February 1948, p. 1.

¹⁵*The New Day*, October-November 1948, pp. 1-2.

¹⁶See *SMH*, 1st September 1948, p. 2, 4th September 1948, p. 2 and 7th September 1948, p. 2; *The Tribune*, 11th August 1948, p. 5; For further information on this controversy, see J. Mansfield, 'Social Attitudes in the Church of England', pp. 287-291.

CSOM itself, members were growing uneasy with Coughlan and Davidson's position on communism.¹⁷

The Rev. Professor John McIntyre's paper, 'Christian Social Order at the Crossroads' raised a further problem for Christian social order ideology in the new political climate. McIntyre argued that the Christian reformists' position that the needs of the community should override the privileges of individuals did not address the question of the rights of minorities in a democracy.¹⁸ McIntyre also raised the problem of 'planning versus freedom', claiming that in the late 1940s, post-war economic and social planning was increasingly being associated with totalitarianism.¹⁹ Furthermore, in their concern to decentralise ownership, did this represent 'the first stage in a socialisation which is the complete anti-thesis [sic] of laissez-faire'? These issues were particularly important in the late 1940s climate of political polarisation with regard to the ALP banking legislation.

During 1945, the ALP drew up banking legislation which would redefine the role of the banks in post-war society and place a number of controls over interest rate policies. With a Labor majority in both Houses, the Banking Bill (1945) was easily passed, however the banks were able to successfully challenge several aspects of the new Banking Act as unconstitutional. Chifley countered in August 1947 with a declaration that Labor intended to nationalise the banks.²⁰

In his pamphlet *Money and Banking: A Christian View*, written in 1945 in response to the ALP's Banking Bill, Coughlan had been fiercely critical of what he saw as the banks' 'self-interested' motives:

¹⁷J. Mansfield, 'Social Attitudes in the Church of England', pp. 280-283; ABC, 'The Story of the Christian Social Order Movement', [transcript of ABC radio program 'Encounter'], 14th November 1976, p. 16.

¹⁸J. McIntyre, 'Christian Social Order at the Cross-Roads', *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1948, pp. 150-151.

¹⁹ibid., p. 143.

²⁰A. L. May, *The Battle for the Banks*, SUP, Sydney, 1968; P. Love, op.cit., pp. 147-169; R. Catley and B. McFarlane, op.cit., p. 65.

Private banks are part and parcel of the capitalistic set up. They are concerned not only to make profit for themselves, but also to assist in the maintenance and consolidation of capitalism as a system.²¹

Despite his staunch opposition to the continuation of a privately owned and controlled banking system, Coughlan had been guarded towards the idea of bank nationalisation. Coughlan maintained that while government control of the banks was essential, nationalisation was unnecessary, and should only be implemented by referendum.²² At the time, Coughlan gave no specific reason for his opposition to bank nationalisation.

When nationalisation was actually proposed, the CSOM remained officially non-committal. The October 1947 issue of *The New Day* contained several articles expressing opinions for and against the bank nationalisation proposal. Contributors included Prime Minister Chifley, economist J. D. B. Miller and a CSOM member who happened to be a bank manager (and was staunchly opposed to bank nationalisation).²³ Coughlan himself wrote a non-committal article titled 'Has Christianity Anything to Say'? There were some individual CSOM members who were supportive of bank nationalisation, namely Burgmann and his diocesan registrar the Rev. Harry Reynolds, but their attitude was not openly condemned or applauded by the CSOM.²⁴ Only through an anonymous article (probably by Coughlan) titled 'Stray Reflections on the Banking Crisis' was it noted that 'one bishop (not unknown to *New Day* readers)' (Burgmann) had been 'savagely attacked for 'meddling' again' by conservative politicians and Protestant churchmen who had argued that the Church should keep out of political affairs.²⁵

The conservative Protestant leaders' criticism of Burgmann for involving the Church in politics was somewhat hypocritical. In a sermon delivered at

²¹W. Coughlan, *Money and Banking: A Christian View*, CSOM, Sydney, 1945, p. 6.

²²ibid., p. 10.

²³*The New Day*, October 1947, pp. 1, 8-12.

²⁴*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 14th February 1945, p. 4; *The Tribune*, 24th September 1947, p. 6; *The New Day*, October 1947, p. 12.

²⁵*The New Day*, October 1947, p. 12.

St. Andrew's Cathedral just after Chifley's announcement of the bank nationalisation scheme, the Rev. Dr. Stuart Barton Babbage (Dean of Sydney) contended that the failure to curb political power always resulted in totalitarianism.²⁶ While claiming that they had declined to take sides, the Anglican paper *The Church Standard* argued that the ALP's failure to hold a referendum on bank nationalisation was a 'highly undesirable move in the totalitarian direction'.²⁷ The Rev. Alan C. Prior of the NSW Baptist Union was reported in *The Sydney Morning Herald* as stating that Baptists were 'not espousing the cause of any section of the community' but were concerned that 'the abolition of facilities for private enterprise...[was] a denial of human freedom and democratic rights inherent in the British way of life'.²⁸ Baptists were warned at their Assembly that 'there was a distinct possibility of all Commercial [radio] Stations being brought under Government control'.²⁹ The Moderator of the NSW Presbyterian Assembly, the Rev. William Grant, contended that the ALP was 'making a systematic attack on the personal liberty of the individual'.³⁰ *The Methodist* also joined the controversy, contending that bank nationalisation was a step towards communism.³¹ In his pamphlet *The Layman and the Social Order* (1948), Coughlan noted with dismay that 'quite a number of churchmen' who had declined to speak out against 'the exploitations and inhumanities suffered day to day by large sections of our community', had become involved in the political debate surrounding bank nationalisation.³² The involvement of conservative Protestant leaders in the bank nationalisation issue, despite their contention that the Church should keep out of secular politics, was a further aspect of the integral relationship between the Church and its society.

²⁶*SMH*, 18th August 1946, p. 5.

²⁷*The Church Standard*, 22nd August 1947, p. 3, 19th September 1947, p. 3 and 26th September 1947, p. 3.

²⁸*SMH*, 20th September 1947, p. 8.

²⁹*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1947-1948, p. 151.

³⁰*SMH*, 27th September 1947, p. 5.

³¹*The Methodist*, 30th August 1947, p. 3.

³²W. Coughlan, *The Layman and the Social Order*, CSOM, Sydney, 1948, n.p.

By not taking a stand one way or the other over bank nationalisation, the CSOM was providing a forum for open debate, as they were attempting to do with the communism issue. On the other hand, the CSOM was not addressing how bank nationalisation challenged stated CSOM ideals. In the event, the banks, the Liberal Party and other conservative forces were able to play on community fears of communism and totalitarianism, portraying the bank nationalisation policy as 'an advanced step to regiment and control every individual's way of life'.³³ The effective rallying of conservatives rendered the ALP's concerns to avoid another depression seem faltering and irrelevant, while the CSOM's own program of economic democracy was now left with questions over whether a planned economy was a sign of encroaching totalitarianism, and whether the emphasis on the community rather than the individual was a form of collectivism.

The CSOM's inability to resolve these questions and their failure to redesign their social and economic policies in light of the political changes of the late 1940s began to affect cohesion among CSOM members. The CSOM's policy of seeking to understand communism led to accusations from mainstream conservative Christians that the CSOM was 'soft' on communism. The banking crisis also led to tensions within the CSOM for those who were opposed to bank nationalisation and, in the absence of any committal stand on the issue, were critical of Coughlan's overwhelmingly negative attitude to the banks and failure to 'admit that they have done any good thing'.³⁴

For the CSOM, the main effect of the political changes at home and abroad was the stifling of their political reformist ideals for post-war reconstruction. A policy of guarded support for communism's social program was no longer feasible, while the attempts of Coughlan and Davidson to resist the growing tide of anti-communist fervour laid them open to attack from communists and

³³A. L. May, op.cit., pp. 21, 25, 51.

³⁴Addendum, in W. Coughlan, *Money and Banking: A Christian View*.

conservative Christians alike. In this environment, the CSOM lost members and was less able to pursue its social reform goals.

The anti-communist political mood of the late 1940s also affected Catholic social reformist visions. For the Catholic bishops, staunch opposition to communism, as well as capitalism, had always been a factor in their construction of a Christian society.³⁵ The emergence of the Cold War and the communist capture of key trade union positions in the Australian labour movement provided an incentive for the redirection of the bishops' attentions in their efforts to establish a Christian society. This can be seen most clearly in the Social Justice Statements of the late 1940s.

Catholic reformist concerns to defeat communism led to the development of two new themes in the Catholic Social Justice Statements: first, the importance of the individual's moral responsibility; and secondly, the relationship between Asian poverty and Australian national security. Through maintaining adherence to moral obligations in the community and encouraging the development of a sense of Christian charity towards Asia, the Catholic hierarchy hoped to circumvent a communist advance in Australia and Asia.

To maintain social unity and class harmony, the Social Justice Statements *Peace in Industry* (1947) and *Morality in Public Life* (1950) stressed the importance of individual responsibility in making moral, unselfish decisions. *Peace in Industry* advocated the role of the individual in industrial affairs, encouraging employers to uphold workers' rights, the press to alert their readers to the danger of communism, trade unionists to eliminate communism from their unions and politicians to safeguard democratic practices in trade unions to defeat communism.³⁶ *Morality in Public Life* implored trade unionists, farmers,

³⁵ECCA, 'Justice Now!' (1941), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 24; ECCA, 'For Freedom' (1942), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 27.

³⁶Standing Committee of the Catholic Bishops of Australia, 'Peace in Industry' (1947), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 92-95; See also B. A. Santamaria, 'The Movement: 1941-1960', p. 60.

employers and the State to ensure that their actions and policies were in the interests of the Australian community, rather than to further their own aims.³⁷ This political ideal of individual action had its religious aspect as well. In *Peace in Industry*, Catholics were invited to pray and be penitent to defeat communism.³⁸ Post-war Australian Catholic piety reflected its aversion to communism through the cult of Fatima and devotion to the Rosary. Dedication to Our Lady of Fatima and to the Rosary, which had been actively encouraged by Gilroy in his Lenten Pastoral Letters during the war, was given new direction in the 'war' against communism.³⁹ This line of action against communism was reflective of the Sydney hierarchy's version of Catholic Action.

The emphasis on individual moral obligation conflicted with earlier Social Justice Statements. At the beginning of the post-war period, the Catholic bishops had been concerned to promote social and economic justice to ensure that the rights of workers and the poor were respected (ie. 'Christian democracy'). Through the Industrial Councils for example, the bishops had attempted to redistribute wealth and power to the workers. By the late 1940s however, the Industrial Councils had been abandoned and the bishops were encouraging 'individual responsibility' for workers, in common with the signatories of *The Call*. Workers were advised to cooperate with employers and to seek a 'Christian' solution to their problems.⁴⁰

By the early 1950s, the Catholic bishops perceived that the 'crisis' in the unions was over, contending that the Movement had made substantial inroads

³⁷Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Morality in Public Life' (1950), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 131-133.

³⁸Standing Committee of the Catholic Bishops of Australia, 'Peace in Industry' (1947), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 92.

³⁹N. T. Cardinal Gilroy, *Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Faithful of the Archdiocese of Sydney*, Lent, 1943 and 1948, n.p.; *The Catholic Weekly*, 1st January 1953, p. 13, 15th January 1953, p. 5, 12th February 1953, p. 2, 14th January 1954, p. 1 and 28th October 1954, p. 8; K. Massam, 'The Blue Army and the Cold War: Anti-Communist Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in Australia', *Australian Historical Studies*, 24, 97, 1991, pp. 423-426.

⁴⁰Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Morality in Public Life' (1950), M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 126-127, 132-133.

against communist power in the trade union movement.⁴¹ For Movement supporters however, the communist threat to Australia was not over. They saw the emergence of Asian nationalist/communist movements as a prelude to a communist empire which would engulf Australia. The apparent danger of the post-war Asian political situation was intensified by pressure from the ALP Left for the ALP to recognise China's communist government and to oppose Menzies' 1951 Bill to ban the Australian Communist Party.⁴² For Movement followers, the rise of Asian communism provided the impetus for them to work within the ALP Industrial Groups and right factions to block any 'concessions' to communism in Labor's domestic and foreign policy, thus rendering the ALP more acceptable for Catholic support.⁴³

The 1948 Social Justice Statement, *Socialisation*, which concerned the prospect of bank nationalisation, made similar efforts to 'moderate' ALP policy for Catholics. The 1943 Social Justice Statement, *Pattern for Peace*, had come out against the nationalisation of banks and insurance companies, favouring a system of public control.⁴⁴ This was in keeping with the Catholic bishops' concern to limit State ownership and State control over individuals, but to allow State control over nationally important industries. Mannix and Archbishop James Duhig of Brisbane maintained this line during the 1947 bank nationalisation controversy, as did Brian Doyle and Leslie Rumble.⁴⁵ Santamaria and Gilroy however, moved away from the 1943 Statement, supporting 'selective nationalisation'.⁴⁶ This curious alignment can be attributed to Santamaria's support for some forms of nationalisation and determination to maintain Catholic support for the ALP, and to

⁴¹R. Gollan, *op.cit.*, pp. 170-171; G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*, pp. 33-34; P. Ormonde, *op.cit.*, pp. 14-15, 34-7.

⁴²B. A. Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, p. 120; B. A. Santamaria, 'The Movement: 1941-60', p. 81; P. Ormonde, *op.cit.*, pp. 14, 23-24; R. Murray, *op.cit.*, pp. 55-56.

⁴³For an assessment of the Movement's role in the ALP split of 1954-1957, see R. Murray, *op.cit.*, pp. 60-65, ch. 12, pp. 199-203.

⁴⁴ECCA, 'Pattern for Peace' (1943), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 47.

⁴⁵A. L. May, *op.cit.*, pp. 55-56; B. Doyle, *Catholics and Labor's Socialist Objective*, Haberfield, 1949, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁶A. L. May, *op.cit.*, pp. 55-56.

the close ties between the Sydney hierarchy and the ALP.⁴⁷ Santamaria and Gilroy's view won through. In the 1948 Social Justice Statement *Socialisation*, the bishops were endorsing the idea of selective nationalisation.

The nationalisation of the trading banks is not, in itself, opposed to the principles of social morality. It only becomes so if intended as one step towards advancing a system of total Socialism.⁴⁸

The statement had defined 'socialisation' (nationalisation) as the State ownership of those public utilities 'which cannot safely be left in private hands'. In this way, 'socialisation' had been defined as distinct from 'communism' and 'socialism' and was an acceptable proposition for Catholics to support.⁴⁹ Overall, *Socialisation* was ambivalent about the propriety of the bank nationalisation issue, leaving Catholics to decide for themselves whether Labor's bank nationalisation policy amounted to 'one step towards...total Socialism'.⁵⁰ The non-committal stance of the Catholic bishops over the highly contentious issue of bank nationalisation highlighted the fine line that was emerging in the late 1940s between Catholic opposition to communism and government intervention (as stated in *Pattern for Peace, Social Security and Human Rights* and *Peace in Industry*) and Catholic commitment to the ALP. In this sense, *Socialisation* represented an effort to permit Catholics to maintain their traditional loyalty to the ALP, especially as opposition to communism and government intervention was closer to Liberal Party ideology.

Doyle and Rumble however, maintained their staunch opposition to the ALP's bank nationalisation policy. They began to publicly question the motives of

⁴⁷G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*, p. 71-72; M. Hogan, 'The Sydney Style', pp. 42-45.

⁴⁸Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Socialisation' (1948), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 109.

⁴⁹*ibid.*, p. 99; G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*, pp. 70-72.

⁵⁰Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Socialisation' (1948), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 110.

the ALP and to discourage Catholics from supporting it. In a radio address in August 1949, Leslie Rumble stated:

As things stand, those who vote Labor may quite well be voting...for an unconditional and unrestricted socialisation which Catholics...must regard as utterly opposed to the natural moral law and the clear teachings of all Papal Encyclicals on the matter.⁵¹

A year earlier, Doyle had written an article in *The Sydney Morning Herald* which claimed that there was an irrevocable split between the ALP and the Catholic Church. He followed this article with a pamphlet *Catholics and Labor's Socialist Objective* (1949) and used *The Catholic Weekly* to mount a campaign against Labor.⁵²

In politics as well as piety, communism transformed Catholic ideas of the roles of the individual and the State in society. This was sometimes tempered by concerns about the relationship between the Catholic Church and the ALP, and ultimately led to the intervention of the Movement within the ALP. The 1950s also saw a widening of Australian concerns to Asia. The Catholic bishops argued that the growth of communism in Asia was fuelled by Asian poverty. Fears of Asian communism shifted their social justice focus from Australia to its impoverished northern neighbours.

Asian poverty was a prominent theme in the statements *The Future of Australia* (1951), *Food—or Famine? A Critical Moral Issue* (1952) and *Hunger* (1956), while concerns for Australia's national security were manifest in *Land Without People* (1953) and *The Big Cities* (1955). In *The Future of Australia*, the bishops made repeated references to the duty of Australia as a Christian country towards Asia:

⁵¹cited in B. Doyle, op.cit., p. 2.

⁵²B. Doyle, op.cit.; G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*, pp. 71, 73-74.

The survival of Australia as an independent nation for fifty years since Federation must appear as an historical anomaly. To the North of Australia lie a thousand million people suffering in dreadful poverty which must be seen to be realised.⁵³

This excerpt raises two important issues. First, the reference to Asia as being situated '[t]o the North of Australia' was novel. Prior to the Second World War, Australian euro-centrism meant that Asia was usually referred to as 'the East'. Some Churches continued to view Asia from a European perspective, as indicated by *The Methodist* article 'Our Eastern Neighbours' and *The Australian Baptist* article 'The Rising East is Asking Questions' which both appeared in early 1950.⁵⁴ Secondly, the recognition of Asian poverty was also a relatively new development, not seen in the earlier Social Justice Statements. Although *The Land is YOUR Business* (1945) made reference to '1,000,000,000 Asiatics...within a weeks flying time of Australia', the main concern there was the possibility of an Asian military invasion of an underpopulated Australia, rather than the ability of Australia to provide food for starving Asian people, as in *Food—or Famine and Hunger*.⁵⁵

The new recognition of Asia's true geographical position in relation to Australia and the desire to be neighbourly and charitable towards Asia sprang not only from a Christian motive to help the Asian people from poverty, but also from the 'threat' posed to Australian security by an indigenously governed and communist Asia. *The Future of Australia* enunciated these fears:

⁵³Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'The Future of Australia' (1951), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 136; Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Food—or Famine? A Critical Moral Issue' (1952), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 143.

⁵⁴*The Methodist*, 21st January 1950, p. 4; *The Australian Baptist*, 9th May 1950, p. 1.

⁵⁵ECCA, 'The Land is YOUR Business' (1945), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 65.

The great issue which faces the Australian people today is whether Australia will survive as a nation of European origin and of Christian culture beyond what, in the view of history, would be but a few years.⁵⁶

and

The aim of Communism is the military and political conquest of the entire world. Asian Communism's part in the master plan is to unfurl the Red Flag over the Pacific and Indian Oceans. This includes the conquest of Australia.⁵⁷

The Catholic bishops contended that the new Asia presented a crisis to Australia's political future. Rather than continue advocating social justice for Australia to prevent communism, the bishops began insisting on social justice for Asia to prevent communism in Australia. Local 'defence' measures now consisted of protecting the family and encouraging individual moral responsibility to achieve social harmony.

Traditional Catholic opposition to communism was vigorously asserted and emphasised in the late 1940s. Personal and public morality, and the duty to foster cooperation and industrial harmony in the community, overrode their earlier emphasis on economic justice. The revival of self-determination in Asia drove concerns beyond seeking economic and social justice for Australia to preserving Australia's political and cultural identity. The earlier Catholic reformist position of opposing both capitalism and communism as inadequate socio-economic systems was maintained by *The Catholic Worker* and by the YCW.⁵⁸

In contrast, the political atmosphere of the late 1940s and 1950s did not significantly divert the conservative Christian agenda, but served to give their

⁵⁶Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'The Future of Australia' (1951), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 136.

⁵⁷*ibid.*, p. 138.

⁵⁸P. Ormonde, *op.cit.*, pp. xi-xii, 86-85; G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*, pp. 34, 153.

earlier pursuits further credence. Conservatives called for political and theological unity within the Church, arguing that a divided Church was less able to confront the communist enemy. Methodists were regularly reminded by their Evangelical leaders of the problems caused by divisions between 'conservative' and 'leftist' Christians, and were told to put aside their differences for the Kingdom of God.⁵⁹ Presbyterian leaders made efforts to streamline theological opinion amongst their clergy in 1948, after their Church Life and Work Committee had determined that doctrinal difference was having 'a detrimental effect upon the clarity with which God's Word [was]...proclaimed' and resulting in 'confusion in the minds of many'⁶⁰ Coughlan noted retrospectively that the late 1940s had seen 'increased suspicion of anything slightly pink' in the Churches.⁶¹

A second area in which the emergence of anti-communism in the late 1940s aided the conservative Christian agenda was overseas evangelism, especially with regard to Asia. During the Second World War, Australian Churches had sent medical aid, food, clothing and 'spiritual' help to war torn Asia, out of humanitarian concern and in the interests of fostering cultural and economic ties between Australia and Asia.⁶² The late 1940s saw their humanitarian motives fused with fears that Asia was evolving into a potential military threat. The Australian Churches began to pay increasing attention to evangelistic missionary ventures in Asia.

The post-war period saw significant developments in the Churches' missionary policies towards the Asia-Pacific region. While many of the Australian Churches had already established mission stations in Asia, the late 1940s and 1950s saw a new emphasis on existing Asian missions and efforts to expand Australia's mission fields in the region. In the early 1950s, Mowll began to stress

⁵⁹*The Methodist*, 24th January 1953, p. 2 and 13th February 1954, p. 7.

⁶⁰*Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1949, p. 118.

⁶¹ABC, op.cit., p. 16.

⁶²*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1943, p. 59, 1944, p. 50 and 1945, p. 86; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 8th December 1943, p. 1; *The Methodist*, 13th November 1943, p. 1.

the importance and urgency of evangelistic work in Asia, recommending the strengthening of existing Anglican missions in India (Hyderabad, Dummagudem and Khammammett), Pakistan, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, North Borneo and Japan.⁶³ The other Protestant Churches also worked to establish new Asian and Pacific fields, while augmenting their existing ones. In 1947, the Baptists, who had maintained a mission in East Bengal (now East Pakistan) since 1884, extended their work to Assam (Northern India) in partnership with an American Baptist mission. In 1949 an Australian Baptist mission was set up in New Guinea and in 1955 missionary work was begun in Irian Jaya.⁶⁴ In 1951, the Methodist Overseas Mission Department established a new mission station in New Guinea. The Presbyterians maintained their missions in India and Korea, expanding their work in New Hebrides in 1950 and establishing a mission in West Timor in 1955.⁶⁵ The Catholic Church extended mission work in Pacific and Asian regions too, particularly in New Guinea, Japan and the Pacific Islands.⁶⁶

The 1950s were also a boom period for Pacific and Asian missions in terms of increasing overseas mission offerings and the number of new missionaries leaving Australian shores. In the Sydney Anglican diocese alone, the highest contributions by individual churches of £700 each to the Church Missionary

⁶³*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1950, p. 45 and 1954, pp. 39-41; *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, June 1951, p. 56; The Church Missionary Society of Australia and Tasmania, New South Wales Branch, *Annual Report*, 1953, 1955/6; K. Cole, *A History of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*, Church Missionary Historical Publications, Melbourne, 1971, p. 32; W. Lawton, 'The Winter of Our Days', pp. 8-10.

⁶⁴*The Handbook of the Baptist Union of New South Wales*, 1954-1955, p. 82; J. Redman, *The Light Shines On: A Story of One Hundred Years of Australian Baptist Missionary Work, 1882-1982*, Australian Baptist Missionary Society, Hawthorn, 1983, pp. 115-117, 118, 167.

⁶⁵*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1951, p. 90; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1950, p. 162 and 1955, p. 136; Report of the Australian Presbyterian Missions, *Hand to the Plough*, Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions, Sydney, 1961, pp. 10, 13.

⁶⁶*Catholic Missions: Official Organ of the Pontifical Mission Works in Australia*, July-August 1944, p. 3 and January-February 1946, p. 1 and July 1947 p. 1; C. Hally, *Australia's Missionary Effort*, ACTS, Melbourne, 1973, pp. 18-21; ACWCC, *Your Neighbours Need You: A Study of Missionary Opportunities for Australian Youth*, ACWCC, Sydney, 1951; ACWCC, *Our Asian Neighbours: Articles on the Churches of East Asia*, ACWCC, Sydney, 1959.

Society (CMS) in 1952 grew to over £800 each in 1953 and over £1000 each in 1955/1956.⁶⁷ The Foreign Missions Committee of the NSW Presbyterian Church reported to their Assembly that between 1951 and 1952 denominational giving to foreign missions increased by £2000 in the Presbyterian Church, £7000 in the Baptist Church and £15,000 in the Methodist Church.⁶⁸ Catholic donations to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, a Pontifical Mission Aid Society, more than tripled between 1941 and 1955.⁶⁹ Similarly, between 1945 and 1960 the number of Presbyterian missionaries increased from thirteen to sixty.⁷⁰ The NSW Baptist Church also experienced a surge in missionaries, from thirty-six missionaries in 1944 to seventy-six missionaries in 1954.⁷¹

The increase in overseas mission offerings (even when taking inflation into account) and in the number of people engaging in missionary work on Asian shores suggests widespread enthusiasm for Church ventures into Asia and the Pacific among lay Christians during the late 1940s and early 1950s. The importance of Asian communism as a rationalisation for these enterprises can be seen in two ways. First, in the conservative Christian understanding of the post-war relationship between Asia and Australia; and second, in the conservative Christian support for the Colombo Plan.

Although there were appeals to Australian Churches for help from Christian Churches in Asia who feared local communist uprisings,⁷² Australian Christians were keen to convey their role in Asia as the fulfilment of a type of 'manifest destiny'. The title of the ACWCC missionary pamphlet, *Your Neighbours Need*

⁶⁷The Church Missionary Society of Australia and Tasmania, New South Wales Branch, *Annual Report*, 1952, 1953, 1955/6.

⁶⁸*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1952, p. 143.

⁶⁹C. Hally, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

⁷⁰*Yearbook of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1946, p. 98 and 1960, pp. 89-90; See also K. Cole, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

⁷¹*The Handbook of the Baptist Union of New South Wales*, 1954-1955, p. 82.

⁷²*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1955, p. 136; *The Catholic Weekly*, 8th July 1954, p. 7; *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, June 1950, p. 69; Indonesian Catholic Hierarchy, 'Nationalism in Asia' *Catholic Documentation*, March 1956, pp. 102-104.

You (1951) conveys the idea that the Australian Church had a duty to convert Asia.⁷³ Moreover, conservative Christians feared that Australia would face war and invasion if the Church failed to evangelise the Asian people. As *The New South Wales Presbyterian* noted in 1949:

There are 1,500 millions of coloured people to the north of us who still might be our friends. If we are so incredibly foolish and shortsighted as to make them our enemies, we seal the doom of our children.⁷⁴

Conservative Christians advocated evangelism to transform Asia into a friendly Christian neighbour, thus preventing an Asian communist invasion.

From the perspective of the Churches, the new global political situation meant that Australia's future could in no way be assured. Growing awareness of Asia raised questions of military superiority and political stability for Australia. For conservative Christians, evangelism provided an answer to these problems. Through Christian missions, conservatives hoped to create religious ties between Australia and Asia.

The Australian government shared the conservative Christian concern to lessen the appeal of communism in Asia. They advocated sharing Australia's bountiful resources with its poorer neighbours (possibly dulling the sting of the White Australia Policy at the same time). Percy Spender, minister of the Department of External Affairs, was a strong advocate of modernising and strengthening the Asian economy, a tenet which formed the basis of the Colombo Plan.

The Colombo Plan was a policy designed at the Conference of Commonwealth Nations held in Colombo, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1950. It was decided that wealthier Commonwealth nations, such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and Britain had a moral obligation to assist poorer Commonwealth

⁷³ACWCC, *Your Neighbours Need You; Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1954, p. 39.

⁷⁴*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 22nd April 1949, p. 5; See also *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, 20th March 1951, p. 19.

nations such as India, Pakistan and Ceylon.⁷⁵ After the Colombo Plan was launched in July 1951, non-Commonwealth countries also joined the scheme, both as contributors and as recipients, including the United States (1951), Vietnam (1951), Thailand (1954) and the Philippines (1954). 'Assistance' took the form of agricultural aid, social services, literacy programs, the improvement of transport facilities, education and training.⁷⁶ One example was the construction of an iron and steel complex at Durapur, India, with money lent by Britain and training for the Indian engineers who would operate the complex provided by Australia, Britain and the United States.⁷⁷

For their part, Church leaders thoroughly endorsed the Colombo Plan. Archbishop Mowll commended the Plan to the Sydney diocese at the 1951 Sydney Anglican Synod, as indeed did the Catholic bishops in their Social Justice Statement *The Future of Australia*.⁷⁸ Church members were encouraged to adopt tolerant attitudes to Asian people, especially towards those Asians studying in Australia as part of the Colombo Plan. As Mowll pointed out to his synod:

Over a thousand students from the countries to the north of us have come to Australia, through the Colombo Plan, U.N.E.S.C.O. and other sources, and 500 of them are in Sydney. How important it is that they should realise that we are a friendly people.⁷⁹

The essence of Mowll's challenge was taken up by St. John's Anglican Church in Darlinghurst, Sydney, which set up an Overseas Fellowship in 1959. The

⁷⁵Report by the Commonwealth Consultative Committee, *The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia*, Sept-Oct 1950, H.M. Stationary Office, London, 1950; H. E. Cowie, op.cit., pp. 271-272; K. S. Nathan, op.cit., p. 337; R. Ward, op.cit., pp. 316-317.

⁷⁶Report by the Commonwealth Consultative Committee, op.cit., p. 13; Colombo Plan Bureau, *The Colombo Plan: Facts and Figures*, 2nd ed., Colombo Plan Bureau, Colombo, 1965, pp. 6-7.

⁷⁷Colombo Plan Bureau, *The Colombo Plan Story: Ten Years of Progress 1951-1961*, Colombo Plan Bureau, Colombo, 1961, p. 3.

⁷⁸*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1952, p. 6; *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, June 1951, pp. 55-56; Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'The Future of Australia' (1951), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 140-141.

⁷⁹*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1952, p. 6.

Fellowship aimed to offer Asian students studying in Sydney the church's friendship and support, with the long term aim of Christianising the students.⁸⁰

For mainstream Church leaders, the Colombo Plan presented a unique opportunity to supplement Western aid with Western religion in Asia. It paralleled the Protestant missionary ventures of the nineteenth century into the British colonies of India, China and Africa, where the Churches served to 'complement' the activities of the State.⁸¹ As Mowll noted in 1953,

Australia is a near neighbour to more than 1,100 million people who are now in the most impressionable state in their history. The people [are] now like soft wax, ready to receive impressions...Just as Australia has its part in the Colombo Plan to offer financial, cultural and scientific aid to Asia, so the Church should offer a spiritual plan.⁸²

The new missionary emphasis on Asia however, did not mean that other mission fields, where they existed, diminished. From the perspective of the Australian Churches, Asia's new political situation was but one part of a wider global change.

The Anglican East African mission in Tanganyika remained important to the Anglican CMS in Australia throughout the 1950s and beyond, acting to retain the Australian Anglican Church's links with Britain and British interests.⁸³ The rise of Islamic and communist inspired independence movements in Britain's East African colonies and the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya (1952-1959) were ominous signs that the sun was at last setting on the British Empire. As the speaker at the 1948 Moorhouse lectures, Archbishop Mowll outlined the nature of the threat facing British Protestantism:

⁸⁰*St. John's Overseas Fellowship Minute Book, 1959-1967*, 12th January 1959.

⁸¹See for example J. W. Kaye, 'Christianity in India' in his *The Administration of the East India Company*, Bentley, London, 1853, pp. 625-662.

⁸²*SMH*, 15th May 1953, p. 2.

⁸³The Church Missionary Society of Australia and Tasmania, New South Wales Branch, op.cit., 1952-1957/8, passim.

Widely classified, the political force of the globe shows four great movements, all totalitarian, and seeking to answer the world's longings for personal security, social justice and opportunity, gaining mass support to dominate the world. These are 1. Post-war Fascism, 2. Communism, 3. Pan-Islam, 4. Political Romanism.⁸⁴

Mowll concluded his speech with a call to 'outthink and outmode the rivals of the Christian Church'.⁸⁵ For the Australian Protestant Churches, the African and Asian peoples' search for alternatives to European colonialism and its associated faith was threatening the very existence of the world as they understood it. The evangelism of Asia and Africa was Australia's duty as a member of the British Commonwealth and as a safeguard for the British race in Australia.

Growing fears of communism in Australia at the end of the 1940s had radically altered the standing of social justice advocates in the Churches. It led the Catholic bishops to drop their criticism of capitalism and focus their energies towards anti-communism and Asia, moving them closer to the political position of conservative Christians. While the Melbourne Catholic hierarchy continued to advocate a lay-based Catholicism to defeat communism, which received its ultimate expression in the Movement, the 'Sydney' attempt to ward off communism through prayer and piety was gaining popularity in the Catholic community. Widespread concern for Asian communism, which Catholic leaders of all theological and political persuasions contended was threatening Australia, legitimised the extension of missionary endeavours and developmental aid in Asia and the Pacific.

Within the Protestant Churches, the late 1940s brought a reversal of fortune for groups such as the CSOM and their conservative colleagues. Anti-communist fervour in the Christian community detracted from the position of the CSOM,

⁸⁴H. W. K. Mowll, *Seeing All the World: A Study of Christian Missions Today*, (Moorhouse lectures), S. John Bacon, Melbourne, c. 1948, pp. 13-19, 51.

⁸⁵*ibid.*, p. 95.

causing it to lose support and leaving it without a clear platform of reform. The hope for a Christian social order as a means of avoiding the devastation of another depression was no longer politically viable in a society feeling vulnerable to the rise of communism in Asia and weary of trade union strike action. For conservatives, the political uncertainties of the post-war period gave their arguments about communism more credence. The Australian Government's endorsement of Asian development through the Colombo Plan was a further boost to their agenda. While in the long term, the rise of anti-communist sentiment did not result in a renaissance for conservative Christianity in Australia, it did serve to put them in a strong position to argue against the social reformists' visions of a Christian social order.

CHAPTER 4: IMMIGRATION

During the war, the Churches had been in favour of an increased population for Australia. The fall of Singapore (1942) and the Japanese thrust into South-East Asia and the Pacific, with their war slogan 'Asia for the Asians', had raised considerable alarm in Australia, exacerbating old fears of the 'Yellow Peril' that the burgeoning Asian population would eventually overcome an 'under populated' Australia.¹

For the most part, the early plans of Church leaders to expand the population had revolved around increasing the Australian birth rate, with some recommendations from the social reformist camps for limited immigration.² Increasing the birth rate had been the original hope of the Labor government too, seen in their increase of the maternity allowance and child endowment payments. With the continuation of a relatively low birth rate and the desire to increase the population quickly to meet labour shortages and defence concerns the Australian government and the Churches began looking favourably on immigration.³ Although the Colombo Plan and Christian missionary work in Asia were designed

¹H. R. Cowie, *Asia and Australia in World Affairs*, vol 3, 2nd rev. ed., Thomas Nelson, Melbourne, 1987, p. 226.

²W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 9; *The New Day*, March 1944, p. 2; ECCA, 'Pattern for Peace' (1943), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 41-42; ECCA, 'The Land is YOUR Business' (1945), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 65-67.

³C. A. Price, 'Overseas Migration to Australia: 1947-1970' in his *Australian Immigration: A Bibliography and Digest*, no. 2, 1970, A3; New Settlers' League (New South Wales) in Association with the Good Neighbour Councils of Australia, *Annual Report*, 1951-1952, p. 1 and 1952-1953, p. 15; G. Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants 1788-1988*, 2nd ed., Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1990, p. 129; S. Castles, 'Australian Multiculturalism: Social Policy and Identity in a Changing Society' in G. P. Freeman and J. Jupp (eds.), *Nations of Immigrants: Australia, the United States and International Migration*, OUP, Melbourne, 1992, pp. 184-185; F. Hawkins, *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared*, NSWUP, Kensington, 1989, pp. 31-37; G. Bolton, op.cit., pp. 54, 55-57; On the Churches see Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'The Future of Australia' (1951), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 139; Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Land Without People' (1953), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 152-158; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, p. 37.

in part to prevent Asia from turning to communism, large-scale immigration was a social policy which promised to protect Australia in the event of an Asian communist invasion.

Chifley created the new Department of Immigration in 1945, placing it under the direction of Arthur Calwell.⁴ Post-war immigration to Australia was to alter the racial and cultural composition of what, for the previous century and a half, had been an overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon and Protestant Australia. Migrants and displaced persons came to Australia from Britain, the Baltics, and Eastern and Southern Europe, swelling the net population by 844,547 persons between 1945 and 1956.⁵ This new racial and cultural milieu created specific problems for Christian post-war visions.

For conservative Protestants, immigration was viewed as a potential threat to Australia's British culture and Protestant ascendancy. Protestants preferred British or European Protestant migrants, arguing that such migration would help preserve Australia's cultural, racial and religious heritage.⁶ In 1945 the newly established Methodist Migration Organisation stated its three aims as being:

- a) To render aid to necessitous people of British descent, or other suitable persons of foreign extraction...
- b) To strengthen the life and security of our Commonwealth by additions to its population of law-abiding, industrious and thrifty people of good character...
- c) To foster the growth of the Methodist Church and other kindred Protestant Churches by securing their just proportion of immigrants.⁷

⁴G. Sherington, op.cit., pp. 129-136; F. Hawkins, op.cit., pp. 32-37.

⁵*Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*.

⁶*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, pp. 37-38, 68; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1947-1948, pp. 23, 59; *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, p. 43; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1948, pp. 122-3; *The Australian Baptist*, 17th November 1954, p. 1.

⁷*Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, p. 43; See also *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, p. 68.

The concern for Protestant Churches to secure 'their just proportion of immigrants' asserted the Protestant consideration that immigration should not upset the prevailing 'British' Protestant culture of Australia.

While there was nothing to suggest that the Australian government wished to maintain the Protestant majority through migration, they were interested in retaining Australia's racial and cultural characteristics, with Arthur Calwell promising ten British migrants for every non-British migrant to Australia and promoting a policy of migrant assimilation.⁸ Under the Commonwealth Nomination Scheme, British ex-servicemen were offered free passage to Australia, while civilians could migrate for £10 per adult and £5 per child aged fourteen to nineteen, with free passage for children under fourteen years of age, provided that they stayed in Australia for at least two years.⁹ Initially, the Protestant Churches were pleased with the government's immigration scheme:

The co-operative Immigration scheme being carried out by the British and Australian governments has resulted in many thousands of British people coming to Australia within the past two years. Many more are yet to come. The conditions make it easy for British people to come to Australia.¹⁰

Despite the pointed efforts of the government to secure British migrants, the Protestant Churches were not reticent in setting up their own immigration schemes and committees to ensure that their particular goals for post-war immigration were met.

In 1945 the Protestant Churches in Melbourne established the Federal Inter-Church Migration Committee (FICMC). The FICMC supplied Protestant Churches all over Australia with the personal details of migrants belonging to

⁸S. Castles, *op.cit.*, p. 184.

⁹G. Sherington, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

¹⁰*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book, 1949-1950*, p. 149; See also *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1948*, p. 122; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney, 1951*, pp. 51-52.

their denomination and arranged for chaplains to meet the ships at Fremantle and travel with the migrants for the rest of their journey.¹¹ Individual Church Immigration Committees also made contact with their respective denominational body in Britain or northern Europe to arrange passage to Australia for migrants of their own denomination, and made efforts to organise suitable accommodation and employment for the newly arrived migrants.¹²

The Baptist and Presbyterian Churches were particularly vigorous in their support for British immigration, as well as in the execution of their own immigration campaigns. The Baptist Church, as a relatively small Church, saw immigration from Britain as a way of significantly boosting their denominational membership. As *The Australian Baptist* proclaimed:

The Commonwealth can have no better immigrants than British and no better British than Baptist.¹³

In 1947, the Australian Baptist Church consciously set out to assist Baptist migrants to come to Australia. The recommendations of the Baptist Union of Australia's Immigration Committee were:

1. That the State [Baptist] Unions be urged to take steps to assume the prosecution of a strong Baptist Immigration policy.
2. That the Executive be instructed to do all possible to help Baptists to come to this country and that authority be given to acquire hostels for this purpose.¹⁴

¹¹*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1948, p. 194.

¹²See for example *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1951, p. 51; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1948-1949, pp. 63, 163-165; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1950, p. 177; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1949, p. 203.

¹³*The Australian Baptist*, 12th October 1948, p. 4.

¹⁴*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1947-1948, p. 59.

Several Baptist churches volunteered time and money to help migrants. In 1950 it was reported to the NSW Baptist Assembly that Auburn Baptist Church had held a concert to raise funds for Baptist immigration, while Concord Baptist Church had decided to contribute a regular sum from their Communion offerings to the NSW Baptist Immigration Committee.¹⁵ *The Australian Baptist* proudly told of how the minister of Clemton Park Baptist Church had personally visited all migrant families. The Clemton Park Baptist Ladies' Guild gave flowers to all the women migrants and invited them and their families to a fellowship tea.¹⁶

The Baptists were greatly displeased when British Baptist migrants did not respond to these gestures in the desired manner:

Those [Baptist migrants] who have arrived and been met who are of real value [sic] have been linked with our churches, and in some cases have proved a real help to the Church. On the other hand we have been most disappointed with some we have laboured for over 12 months to get to this country only to find that they are of no value to the Church in the area in which we have been able to send them.¹⁷

For Baptist Church leaders, British migrants were 'valuable' for their ability to add to the proportion of Baptists in Australia, thus fulfilling Baptist Church hopes for Church expansion in the post-war period. Just as government-assisted migrants were expected to repay their debt to the Australian government by staying in Australia for at least two years, Baptist leaders hoped that the migrants they had sponsored would 'repay' them by joining their local Baptist church and helping the wider Church to achieve its goal of evangelism and revival. The Baptist leaders' expression of disappointment in the failure of some of the British Baptist

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 1950-1951, p. 144.

¹⁶ *The Australian Baptist*, 1st August 1950, p. 8.

¹⁷ *The Handbook of the Baptist Union of New South Wales, 1954-1955*, p. 58; See also *Minutes of the 17th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia, 1954*, p. 271; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1951*, p. 148; J. J. Mol, 'Churches and Immigrants', *Research Group for European Migration Problems*, 9, 5, May 1961, p. 33.

migrants to join the Australian Baptist Church was indicative of the central ideology underlying Australia's post-war immigration program. Migrants were 'allowed' to come to Australia not for their own sake, but to further Australia's national interests, or in this case, the interests of the Baptist Church. The migrants in turn were expected to be grateful and compliant.

The Presbyterian Church, having just discovered through the 1947 census that it had slipped from being the third to the fourth largest Church in Australia, was also keen to expand its membership. The Presbyterian Committee of Immigration was pleased to report in 1949 that 'the percentage of Presbyterians who arrived [in 1948] shows that we are getting our full quota'.¹⁸ The concern to cater only for Presbyterians, rather than for migrants of other denominations, was an issue for the Reverend D. W. Wilcox, convenor of the Sub-Committee on Nominations of the Presbyterian Committee of Immigration:

Owing to the lack of an active campaign by other Churches in this State we find ourselves faced from time to time with applications from excellent people who are not Presbyterians...Often these people are hard to place and it raises the general question of how far to go? Where it is a case of one partner being a Presbyterian, this is treated as a case for us to handle, except in one instance where a Presbyterian married an Italian woman who was a devout R.C. [Roman Catholic]. Their application was turned down, for it was felt that this was not within the wish of the Assembly.¹⁹

Wilcox's statement reveals two important aspects of the Presbyterian perspective on immigration. First, Presbyterians saw immigration as a means of artificially and quickly increasing the membership of their Church, and did not wish to invest their efforts in non-Presbyterians. Secondly, Presbyterians were concerned that immigration should maintain the overall Protestant balance of power, rather than contribute to the number of 'devout' Catholics. Wilcox's concern over Catholic

¹⁸*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1949*, p. 158.

¹⁹*ibid.*, 1950, p. 179.

migrants was shared by the other Protestant denominations, as a 1950 report in *The Australian Baptist* disclosed:

Our most alarming fact is the report of the intention of the Commonwealth Government to bring, as part of the immigration programme, 500,000 Italians to Australia within the next five to ten years...The basis of our objection is that the entry of half a million Italians means that we gain in population and lose in quality by the addition of a mixed multitude of Roman Catholics and Communists.²⁰

The objections raised in *The Australian Baptist* over migrants who were Catholic, Italian and possibly communist were testament to the Protestant desire for Protestant, British and non-communist migrants. Protestants argued that their preferred type of migrant would more easily assimilate into Australian society. They were greatly concerned at the disproportionate number of Catholic and non-British migrants entering Australia, fearing the effect they would have on Anglo-Australian Protestant culture. *The Methodist* urged church members to nominate 'co-religionists' while Presbyterians noted with concern that if current trends persisted, '29,000 more aliens than British migrants' would arrive in Australia in 1952.²¹

Much of the Protestant antagonism towards Catholic and non-British immigration was due to the decline in British (Protestant) migration during the early 1950s and an increase in migration from southern and eastern European countries where the main Christian denominations were not Protestant but Catholic or Orthodox. Charles Price, a demographer at the Australian National University, reported in 1957 that the proportion of Catholic migrants was double the proportion of Catholics in the pre-immigration Australian population, while

²⁰*The Australian Baptist*, 5th December 1950, p. 2; See also *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1955, p. 50; *The Methodist*, 30th October 1954, p. 12.

²¹*The Australian Baptist*, 5th December 1950, p. 2; *The Methodist*, 28th January 1950, p. 3 and 30th October 1954, p. 12; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1952, pp. 161-2.

the proportion of Protestants, especially Methodists, was much lower.²² Jerzy Zubrzycki's research confirmed Price's findings, showing that in 1954 the Protestant Churches had a higher percentage of Australian born members than did the Catholic Church.²³

	<u>Australian born</u>	<u>Born outside Australia</u>
Anglican	88.50%	10.33%
Baptist	88.75%	9.95%
Catholic	82.24%	17.44%
Methodist	94.27%	5.44%
Presbyterian	87.28%	11.53%

Source: J. Zubrzycki, op.cit., p. 56.

The decline in the number of British Protestant migrants partly reflected the British government's unwillingness to encourage emigration on the scale desired by Australia. Britain's low birth-rate in the 1930s and post-war labour shortages meant that young skilled workers, the type of migrants most sought by Australia, were needed to rebuild its own economy.²⁴ A further reason for the decline in British immigration was the Australian government's decision to discontinue the Commonwealth Nomination Scheme for British migrants in 1952. It was reported to the 1953 NSW Presbyterian Assembly that transportation difficulties, the economic recession of the early 1950s (which had led to a reduction in the number of all immigrants to Australia), problems finding employment and housing for

²²C. A. Price, 'The Effects of Post-War Immigration on the Growth of Population, Ethnic Composition and Religious Structure of Australia', *Australian Quarterly*, 29, 4, 1957, p. 37; See also C. A. Price 'The Integration of Religious Groups in Australia', *International Migration*, 1, 3, 1963, p. 192.

²³J. Zubrzycki, *Immigrants in Australia: A Demographic Survey Based Upon the 1954 Census*, MUP, Parkville, 1960, pp. 56-57.

²⁴G. Sherington, op.cit., p.131; *Current Affairs Bulletin*, 'British Emigration—The End of an Era?', 24, 6, July 1959, pp. 86-87; *The Methodist*, 28th January 1950, p. 3.

British migrants and the cost of bringing them to Australia were the main reasons for the scheme's closure.²⁵

The vast majority of nominally Protestant immigrants were British. The declining number of British migrants, therefore, directly affected the Protestant Churches in Australia.²⁶ Between 1947 and 1951, 41.4% of Australia's migrants were British. During the following decade this dropped to 32.6%.²⁷ The Protestant Churches were greatly concerned with this state of affairs and sought to rectify the situation. The Immigration Committee of the General Conference of the Methodist Church urged the State Conferences to reverse their current policy to make immigration easier for intending British migrants:

May I suggest that...instead of asking our friends of the British Conference to go to considerable trouble to send us particulars concerning intending Methodist migrants for publication in our Methodist papers here, we collect a list of positions vacant here and accommodation available, that we may send for publication in the *Methodist Recorder* in the British Isles.²⁸

A further solution to the Protestant Churches' problem was sought through the generosity of lay members. Despite housing problems and the recession of the early 1950s, all of the Protestant Churches implored their members to sponsor British migrants or to forward information regarding employment and housing to their respective Immigration Committees.²⁹ The Protestant Churches support for the 1957-1958 government endorsed 'Bring out a Briton' campaign was similarly

²⁵*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1953, p. 156 and also 1954, pp. 138-139; See also *The Methodist*, 28th January 1950 p. 3; G. Sherington, op.cit., p. 134.

²⁶C. A. Price, 'The Integration of Religious Groups in Australia', pp. 193-194.

²⁷G. Sherington, op.cit., p. 153.

²⁸*The Methodist*, 9th October 1954, p. 12.

²⁹*The Australian Baptist*, 31st January 1950, p. 7; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1949, pp. 52-53 and 1950, p. 49; *The Methodist*, 18th March 1950, p. 11 and 30th October 1954, p. 12; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1953, p. 156 and 1956, p. 160.

oriented, with Church leaders devising a number of ways for local church clergy and laity to support the scheme.³⁰

When the number of British migrants declined, Presbyterians turned to Holland and the Dutch Reformed Church. The Dutch Reformed Church and the Presbyterian Church were both of the Reformed Protestant tradition. The Australian Presbyterian Church set up a migration program with the Reformed Church in the Netherlands to find employment and accommodation for Dutch migrants. While not British, Dutch migrants proved a valuable source of Church members for the Presbyterian Church, helping to momentarily increase Presbyterian representation in the Australian community.³¹ Protestants contended that immigration should maintain and build up Protestant numbers, in order to secure conservative Protestant visions for Australia's future. As such, Protestant support for immigration was tempered by the extent to which the prevailing Protestant dominance was affected. With an increase in Catholic migrants, conservative Protestant post-war plans were placed under challenge.

The shift from British and northern European migrants to southern and eastern European migrants was more suited to Catholic immigration plans. Yet while the increased proportion of Catholic migrants met the Australian Catholic schemes for boosting Catholic representation in the Australian community, it presented a threat to the singularity of the Irish-Australian expression of Catholicism. This had particular consequences for the practice of Catholicism at the parish level in Australia.

In the early 1940s, the Catholic bishops had been arguing for immigration from countries with a high birth rate, such as Italy, in order to fulfil three of their aims for a Catholic society: to boost the Australian birth rate; to establish a

³⁰*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1958, pp. 235-237; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1958, p. 70; *Minutes of the 18th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1957, p. 29.

³¹*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1954, pp. 139-140; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1951 p. 137 and 1954, p. 119.

Catholic peasantry on the land; and to increase the proportion of Catholics in Australia.³² By the end of the 1940s, they were also contending that immigration was a sure bulwark against communist invasion from Asia, and that by linking immigration with rural land settlement, thus dispersing the population away from the cities, Australia could survive atomic warfare.³³

The Catholic experience of post-war immigration has been well documented by historians, dealing with the measures undertaken by the Australian Catholic Church to assist Catholic migrants³⁴ and the reception of such by the migrants themselves.³⁵ All accounts are in agreement concerning the response of the Australian Catholic Church to post-war immigration: that the Church's main concern was to preserve the Australian parish structure and encourage Irish-Australian religious expression, at the expense of the migrants' own understanding and practice of the Catholic faith. Frank Lewins and Adrian Pittarello have argued that the Church's immigration policy did not comply with directives from Rome such as the papal encyclical *Exsul Familia* (1952) which emphasised the need for special pastoral care for migrants. Instead, the Australian Catholic response to

³²ECCA, 'The Land is YOUR Business' (1945), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 66.

³³*ibid.*; Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Land Without People' (1953), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 157, 158; Members of the Australian Hierarchy, 'The Big Cities' (1955), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 174; See also *The Catholic Weekly*, 1st April 1948, p. 4.

³⁴F. Mecham, *The Church and Migrants 1946-1987*, St. Joan of Arc Press, Haberfield, 1991; A. Pittarello, 'Multiculturalism and the Catholic Church', *Occasional Papers*, no. 8, Sydney, 1986; A. Pittarello, 'Migrants and the Catholic Church in Australia', *Australasian Catholic Record*, 65, 2, 1988, pp. 141-150; F. Lewins, 'The Italian Problem in Australia: Forty Years Later', *Australian Catholic Record*, 56, 1, 1979, pp. 3-10; F. Lewins, *The Myth of the Universal Church*, ANUP, Canberra, 1978, pp. 33-54.

³⁵A. Pittarello, *Soup Without Salt: The Australian Catholic Church and the Italian Migrant*, Centre for Migration Studies, Sydney, 1980; L. Bertelli and R. Pascoe, 'Immigrant Italians and the Australian Catholic Church: Folk Festivals and the Evil Eye' in A. W. Ata (ed.), *Religion and Ethnic Identity: An Australian Study*, vol. 1, Spectrum Publications, Richmond, 1988; G. Visentin, 'Australian Parishes and Italian Immigrants', *C.I.R.C. Papers*, no. 1, 1980, pp. 1-17; M. Kelly, 'Problems Associated with a Parish Comprised of Australians of Italian and Irish Descent', *Australasian Catholic Record*, 56, 1, 1979, pp. 30-39; A. Pittarello, 'Migrants and the Catholic Church'.

immigration reflected broader Australian cultural and political attitudes.³⁶ The Archbishops' and Bishops' *Pastoral Letter on Immigration* (1950), addressed to Australian-born Catholic parishioners, outlined their expectations that migrants would conform to Australian religious and social customs:

Be tolerant of their customs which differ from our own. In time they will learn our ways and adopt them. Help them to understand our customs.³⁷

Implicit too in the Bishops' letter was that Australian-born lay Catholics would take responsibility for helping migrants to assimilate.³⁸

A prime example of the discrepancies in Catholic migration policy between Rome and Australia was the failure of the Australian Catholic Church to implement 'ethnic parishes', as recommended by the papal encyclical *Exsul Familiae*. The encyclical stated that ethnic parishes were not to be geographically determined, but were to consist of Catholics of a particular ethnic group, with their own ethnic priest. Although migrant priests were encouraged by the Australian Catholic hierarchy to come to Australia, they were integrated into the local parish structure as interpreters or assistant priests, rather than established as priests for non-geographical ethnic parishes.³⁹ Lewins has further noted that the arrival of migrant priests in Australia to assist Catholic migrants, such as the Scalabrinians and the Pauline Sisters from Italy, was the result of Italian Catholic concerns for the pastoral care of Italian emigrants rather than Australian Catholic immigration policy.⁴⁰

³⁶F. Lewins, *The Myth of the Universal Church*, pp. 50-52; F. Lewins, 'The Italian Problem in Australia', pp. 4-5; A. Pittarello, 'Migrants and the Catholic Church', p. 142; See also L. Bertelli and R. Pascoe, *op.cit.*, p. 236.

³⁷Archbishops and Bishops of Australia, *Pastoral Letter on Immigration*, Sydney, 1950, p. 3.

³⁸See also *The Catholic Weekly*, 19th July 1951, p. 4.

³⁹I. Ercole, *A Living History: The First 25 Years of the Italian Catholic Federation in Australia*, Italian Catholic Federation, Bulleen, 1985, p. 5; A. Pittarello, 'Migrants and the Catholic Church', pp. 151, 153.

⁴⁰F. Lewins, 'The Italian Problem in Australia', p. 4.

This reluctance to establish ethnic parishes and the concern to assimilate migrants into the local parish system was not only indicative of the Catholic Church's support for the government's assimilation policy. It also reflected practical considerations for the local parishes. There was concern among parish priests that the establishment of ethnic parishes would result in a loss of financial contributions from migrants to their local church and its school. Priests felt that their parish would lack cohesion if some of their 'geographical parishioners' were supporting an external parish.⁴¹ This sense of cohesion was also felt to be strained by the migrants' different expression of Catholic faith within the parish. In the case of Italian-born Catholics, their aversion to regular Mass attendance and their celebratory feast days were cause for concern among the Catholic hierarchy and Australian-born lay Catholics.⁴² Certainly, some parishes made use of migrant chaplains or supported their local migrant communities in other ways. St. Mark's Catholic Church at Drummoyne provided an Italian speaking priest to hear confessions for Italian-born parishioners, while St. Kieran's Catholic Church at Manly Vale supported a 'Mission for the Italian Community' led by the Capuchin Fathers.⁴³ According to Adrian Pittarello however, other parishes were not so accommodating, and saw the introduction of migrant chaplains or other such pastoral aids for migrants as an impediment both to the traditional function of the parish and to successful migrant assimilation into the parish.⁴⁴ Priests and bishops

⁴¹F. Lewins, *The Myth of the Universal Church*, pp. 54, 67; See also A. Pittarello, 'Migrants and the Catholic Church', p. 153.

⁴²L. Bertelli and R. Pascoe, op.cit., p. 236; M. Kelly, op.cit., p. 32; G. Baggio, 'Hints for the Understanding of the Ethnic, Social and Religious Background of the Italian Migrants', *Australasian Catholic Record*, 56, 1, 1979, pp. 11-21; A. Pittarello, 'Migrants and the Catholic Church', pp. 147-149; A. Pittarello, *Soup Without Salt*; F. Lewins, *The Myth of the Universal Church*, p. 67; See also E. Silkalns, 'The Role of the Latvian Churches in Australia in the Maintenance of the Latvian Ethnic Identity', in A. W. Ata (ed.), op.cit., pp. 169-170.

⁴³*Church Notices: St. Mark's Catholic Church, Drummoyne*, 22nd December 1957; See also J. T. Conway (ed.), *St. Mark's Parish Centenary, Drummoyne 1887-1987*, Drummoyne, 1987, pp. 87, 107, 116; Letter to Fr. J. O'Byrne from Cardinal Gilroy dated 28th March 1959, St. Kieran's Catholic Church, Manly Vale.

⁴⁴A. Pittarello, 'Multiculturalism and the Catholic Church', p. 6; See also F. Lewins, *The Myth of the Universal Church*, p. 54.

alike were concerned that if migrants did not fully integrate into their geographical parishes it would threaten the financial viability of the local parish.

Financial stability was particularly important for the local Catholic parish. Although the Church welcomed the influx of Catholics, the extent of Catholic migration far exceeded their expectations. By 1954, 17% of Catholics in Australia had been born outside Australia.⁴⁵ This placed considerable strain on Catholic schools and church finances:

At the present moment our Catholic schools are overcrowded, and our parish equipment is becoming inadequate to meet the phenomenal pressure placed upon them by the recent influx of Catholic migrants...all Catholic newcomers will have to take their full share in the financial responsibility involved.⁴⁶

This extract from the 1957 Social Justice Statement, *Australia's Bold Adventure*, reveals the problems confronted by migrants and the local parishes in the immediate post-war period. European-born Catholics were unaccustomed to the idea of the complete financial independence of the Australian Catholic Church from the State, such that the laity was expected to financially support the clergy, members of religious orders, schools and church buildings.⁴⁷ Some migrants were unwilling or unable to pay for a Catholic education for their children, especially when state education was free.⁴⁸ Parishes with a high concentration of migrants, which were usually those in working-class suburbs, were faced with the prospect of overcrowded and inadequately funded schools.⁴⁹ This created a difficult

⁴⁵J. Zubrzycki, op.cit, p. 56.

⁴⁶Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Australia's Bold Adventure' (1957), in M. Hogan (ed.), op.cit., p. 194; See also K. S. Inglis, 'The Australian Catholic Community' in H. Mayer (ed.), op.cit., p. 28; H. Praetz, *Building a School System: A Sociological Study of Catholic Education*, MUP, Carlton, 1980, p. 55.

⁴⁷Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Australia's Bold Adventure' (1957), in M. Hogan (ed.), op.cit., p. 194; See also P. O'Farrell, op.cit., pp. 404-5.

⁴⁸M. Kelly, op.cit., p. 35; P. O'Farrell, op.cit., p. 405; A. Pittarello, *Soup Without Salt*, pp. 58-59.

⁴⁹G. Baggio, op.cit., pp. 11-21.

problem for the Catholic hierarchy, who considered that the Catholic schools were important agents for assimilating migrant children, not only into Australian society (a function which state schools also performed), but into the Irish-Australian Catholic Church.⁵⁰

Maintaining the Australian Catholic tradition in the face of European migrants' expressions of Catholicism became a paramount concern for the Australian bishops. The large number of European Catholic migrants constituted a threat to the Irish Catholic model of the Church and to the local parish structure. Despite directives from Rome, the Australian bishops were reluctant to implement ethnic parishes or special pastoral care for migrants, expecting migrants to contribute and conform to the Australian parish. Although immigration was an important aspect of building a new post-war society based on Catholic standards, the problems of maintaining the Irish-Australian character of Catholicism and the lay-supported parish system were obstacles to support for immigration in accordance with Rome's teachings.

For Protestants and Catholics, immigration was viewed as a means of fulfilling their own post-war goals of Church expansion. The question remains however, as to whether this was the only factor in the Churches' interest in immigration. In order to decide this, it is necessary to consider the Protestant and Catholic Churches' attitudes to other migrant and immigration issues, such as the fate of Orthodox migrants, migrant camp conditions, employment problems among migrants and the deportation of Asian refugees.

By 1954, Orthodox migrants constituted 0.83% of the Australian population, the seventh largest religious group. No Protestant or Catholic Church leaders even mentioned the situation of Orthodox Christian migrants in any of their statements and comments on immigration. Nor did they provide any assistance to these migrants. Serbian migrants were helped to find work and accommodation by the

⁵⁰F. Lewins, *The Myth of the Universal Church*, p. 54.

Serbian community in Australia.⁵¹ The influx of Serbian migrants prompted the establishment of the first Serbian Orthodox parish in Australia in the Sydney suburb of Warriewood in 1951.

The generally appalling conditions of migrant camps, the government's refusal to recognise migrants' professional qualifications and migrant unemployment did not prompt official Protestant and Catholic protests either. *The Church Standard* was one of the few Christian voices to raise these issues and to berate the Churches for failing to do likewise:

The tragedy of Church history lies in the fact that again and again the Church has failed...What has been the attitude of the Church to this persecution of the helpless stranger in our midst? The Church cannot plead ignorance for these matters have been discussed in the Press.⁵²

One of *The Church Standard's* main concerns was the separation of married couples during the compulsory two year period of work in government public works projects. With government work programs spread right across eastern Australia, husbands and wives were sometimes placed hundreds of kilometres apart, with the lucky ones able to see each other on weekends.⁵³ Under the auspices of the ACWCC, Bishop John Moyes, the Rev. J. W. Hobbin and a Lutheran priest, C. W. Stolz, also spoke of their concern at the separation of married migrant couples and of the uncomfortably hot corrugated iron housing in the camps.⁵⁴ But these voices of compassion were coming from a few concerned individuals. With the exception of the ACWCC, there were no official Church protests from Synods or Assemblies or in the press. The conservative Christians'

⁵¹T. Kazich (ed.), *Serbs in Australia: History and Development of Free Serbian Orthodox Church Diocese for Australia and New Zealand*, Monastery Press, Canberra, 1989, pp. 91, 112; See also M. P. Tsounis, *The Story of a Community: A Short Pictorial History of the Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia*, Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia, 1990, pp. 33, 35-49.

⁵²*The Church Standard*, 7th October 1949, p. 3; See also *SMH*, 9th July 1949, p. 11.

⁵³T. Kazich, op.cit., p. 87.

⁵⁴*SMH*, 15th February 1950, p. 4; See also *SMH*, 13th October 1952, p. 1; *The Church Standard*, 8th July 1949, p. 3.

seeming lack of interest in the separation of married migrant couples was unusual, given the traditional Church concern for marriage and family life. This situation emphasised their indifference to the personal difficulties experienced by migrants and their overwhelming concern for denominational growth through immigration.

On the question of Asian refugees there was similar official silence. During the Japanese invasions of 1942, a number of South-East Asian people had sought asylum in Australia. Calwell's determination to maintain the White Australia Policy and Labor's traditional concern that non-white labour would undercut Australian living standards led to legislation sanctioning the deportation of all Asian war refugees in 1949. The CSOM and a few individual Church leaders were disgusted with Calwell's decision to deport the refugees. Their disapproval mainly hinged on the fact that expelling the refugees was splitting up marriages between Asians and Australians.⁵⁵ Indeed, the refugee deportation incident was one of the few times the immigration issue was mentioned in *The New Day*, which generally contained very little comment on post-war immigration.

Only the Anglican Church officially registered its disapproval at the deportation. The Sydney Synod passed two resolutions (moved by Bishop Venn Pilcher and William Coughlan) questioning the wisdom of a rigorous application of the White Australia Policy and calling for a limited quota of Asian migrants. Archbishop Mowll, who had been president of the ACWCC in 1946 and the Bishop of West China before assuming the archbishopric of Sydney, also voiced his concern at the situation in two of his pastoral addresses.⁵⁶

The question of the continued application of the White Australia Policy in governmental immigration policy drew little concern from conservative Church leaders in the early post-war period. Although a number of Christian individuals, the Anglican Board of Missions and the ACWCC had denounced Australia's

⁵⁵*The New Day*, October 1949, pp. 1-2 and July-August 1947, pp. 3-4; *The Church Standard*, 2nd September 1949, p. 3.

⁵⁶*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1948, pp. 66, 69 and 1950, pp. 50, 68.

restricted immigration policy since the late 1940s,⁵⁷ for most socially conservative Christians the White Australia Policy remained defensible. When the CSOC had attempted to pass a motion urging all Presbyterians to dispense with the term 'White Australia' and declare their objection to the White Australia policy, it was opposed by the Presbyterian Assembly.⁵⁸ In the mid-to-late 1950s however, the overall question of the White Australia policy began to provoke official Church criticism. Church leaders began to recommend a quota of Asian migrants, on the grounds of that an exclusory policy was unchristian and gave Asians cause to reproach Australia for racism.⁵⁹

Church support for immigration was tempered by the extent to which immigration met with their own post-war ideals. Essentially, Protestant and Catholic leaders were interested in immigration as a means of artificially increasing their own denominational representation in the Australian community, thus fulfilling their post-war plans for evangelism and expansion. This meant that while all of the Churches were supportive of migration to bolster Australia's population as a defence measure against Asia and communism, they were reluctant to accommodate anything which interfered with their own religious culture.

The pointed efforts of Church leaders to encourage migrants of their own denomination to Australia was not a new phenomenon. Protestants had a long history of trying to bring British Protestants to Australia and having Catholic (Irish) immigration reduced, while Catholics themselves sought to bring out more

⁵⁷*SMH*, 17th December 1945, p. 4 and 9th February 1948, p. 4; A. Walker, *White Australia*, Sydney Christian Distribution Association, Sydney, 1946; CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1952, p. 120; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1949-1950, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁸*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1952, p. 120 and 1953, p. 119.

⁵⁹*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1955, p. 85; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1958, p. 184 and 1959, p. 87.

Irish migrants.⁶⁰ By the end of the Second World War, little had effectively changed, and the Churches' older ideas about immigration were absorbed into their post-war strategy. Australian Catholics essentially ignored the demands of their hierarchy to set up ethnic parishes, concentrating on getting European Catholic migrants to conform with the Australian practice of Catholicism. Protestants worked to defeat the post-war intake of Catholics by promoting British and northern European migration, hoping to use immigration to regain and enlarge their past status and power. The fact that there was little official concern for the day-to-day experiences of the newly arrived migrants, especially those who were not Protestant or Catholic, only emphasises the self-seeking nature of post-war Church attitudes to immigration. It further exemplified the inability of Church leaders to acknowledge the new ethnic diversity in Australia, as they continued to view the immigration issue in terms of Protestantism versus Catholicism.

The great burden of responsibility for the success of Church immigration policies was placed on the laity. Lay Protestants were called to find accommodation and employment to entice British migrants to Australia, while lay Catholics were instructed to help the largely non-British and non-Irish migrants assimilate into the Australian parish structure. The question of lay responsibility in the Churches was to be a thorny one as the 1950s progressed, with lay people under considerable pressure from Church leaders to involve themselves in the wider Church.

Although the Australian Catholic hierarchy's insistence on migrant assimilation and refusal to accommodate migrant expressions of Catholicism caused much disruption and disorientation for migrants, resulting in some leaving the Church for good, in the long term, the Catholic Church was numerically strengthened. For all their efforts, the Anglican, Methodist and Baptist Churches were left with a proportionally declining nominal membership, while the

⁶⁰P. O'Farrell, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-85, 109-110; K. Inglis, 'Replenishing the Flocks: Migrants and the Churches', *Nation*, 7, 20th December 1958, pp. 13-14.

Presbyterians enjoyed a brief respite in the mid 1950s thanks to Dutch immigration.

Immigration was not the only factor mitigating against a continuation of Protestant dominance. Throughout the post-war period, rising living standards, more opportunity for leisure, and changing moral and social values, especially within the Protestant community itself, left conservative Protestant leaders bemoaning their present circumstances. From their perspective, this situation meant that the British-Protestant quality of Australian culture, as they understood it, was under direct threat. In turn, their hopes for extending their own influence in the post-war Australian community were jeopardised. This situation would see Protestant leaders grow increasingly anxious about the prospect of their designs for the post-war period.

CHAPTER 5: CONSUMERISM AND LEISURE

Through their post-war reconstruction planning, the Christian social reformists had hoped to avoid the Depression and the economic misery which had followed the First World War by replacing the competition and profit motive of *laissez-faire* capitalism with an economic system based on 'Christian democracy' and social justice for the worker. In contrast, conservative Christians had advocated the preservation of capitalism as a guard against totalitarian communism. Conservative Christians, Protestants especially, were also supportive of capitalism as moral system, under which individuals needed to maintain strict standards of austerity and personal morality in order to harvest the rewards. By the early 1950s however, the social justice advocates' desires for economic reform and the conservatives' concerns for personal moral standards were becoming increasingly untenable. The post-war capitalist economy had delivered high living standards and a new wave of mass consumerism. These developments directly confronted the post-war reconstruction plans of reformist and conservative Christians.

Despite the political uncertainty which emerged in the new world order after the war, the world economy rapidly expanded. There was high demand for Australia's traditional products of wool, wheat and minerals. Wartime rationing of essential goods was finally ended in 1950 with Menzies' deliverance of his election promise to end petrol rationing. While the ideological basis of the Liberal Party was non-interventionist government, they were content to retain Labor's social welfare policies and to broadly base their economic policy on Keynesianism.¹ After the recession of the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Australian economy launched into what is commonly referred to as 'the long

¹R. Catley and B. McFarlane, *op.cit.*, pp. 66, 79.

boom'. For most (though not all) Australians, this meant higher living standards than ever before.²

The post-war implementation of Keynesian macro-economic management led to a consumer-based economy founded on mass production and high wages.³ Post-war labour shortages helped to ensure high wages and low unemployment. The average minimum weekly wages for adult males increased from around £8/10/- in 1949 to £14/19/- in 1955, an increase of 56.9%. Real income however, was hampered by inflation, which rose steadily throughout the early post-war period, peaking at 21% in 1952.⁴ After the recession of the early 1950s, where unemployment rose to 4% during the winter months of 1952, near full employment was the norm, with unemployment remaining below 2%.⁵

With higher wages and low unemployment, more Australian families could now afford to buy their own homes. In 1947, 53% of homes in Sydney were owner occupied. By 1961 this figure had climbed to 70%.⁶ Australian car ownership also increased, from 12.4% of the population in 1945 to 27.6% by 1960.⁷ New advances in science and technology resulted in the invention of a wide range of labour saving devices, clothing materials and 'beauty enhancing' commodities. Post-war advertising transformed the home into a centre of

²S. Garton, *Out of Luck: Poor Australians and Social Welfare*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1990, pp. 146-150; J. Miller, *Koori: A Will to Win*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1985, pp. 181-183, 185-186; R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History: Poverty and Progress*, 2nd ed., Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1992, p. 195.

³G. Cross, *Time and Money: The Making of Consumer Culture*, Routledge, London, 1993, pp. 184-185; See also R. Maddock, 'The Long Boom 1940-1970', *Working Papers in Economic History*, no. 29, September 1984, p. 4; M. T. Daly, *Sydney Boom, Sydney Bust: The City and its Property Market 1850-1981*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1982, pp. 169-170.

⁴R. A. Foster and S. E. Stewart, *Australian Economic Statistics 1949-50 to 1989-90*, Reserve Bank of Australia, 1991, p. 176; R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving, op.cit., p. 195.

⁵R. Maddock, 'The Long Boom 1940-1970' in R. Maddock and I. McLean (eds.), *The Australian Economy in the Long Run*, Cambridge University Press, Sydney, 1987, pp. 98-99.

⁶M. T. Daly, op.cit., p. 172; See also C. Allport, 'Nicely Furnished Cottages: Government Housing for Black and White Australians' in J. O'Callaghan (ed.), *The Australian Dream: Design of the Fifties*, Powerhouse Publishing, Haymarket, 1993, pp. 108-117.

⁷*Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, 1949 and 1960.

consumerism, with female home-makers as the main consumers and the focus of advertising.⁸ Ideals of youth, beauty, modernity, manliness, femininity, excitement and sex appeal were employed by advertising executives to encourage Australians to buy their own homes, cars and consumer durables, while the implementation of credit and instalment finance radically altered spending practices.⁹ Another important change in Australian living standards was the shortening of the working week from forty-eight to forty hours in 1947-1948. This allowed workers greater opportunities for leisure. Furthermore, it created a demand for more leisure facilities in the community.

The post-war economy revolutionised the concepts of work, leisure and spending in Australian society. Reforms in the workplace, many of which had been demanded by the unions in the strikes of the late 1940s, resulted in higher wages, more disposable income and more leisure time for most Australians. Although the Christian reformers welcomed the rise in living standards, they were apprehensive about the state of the economy, arguing that it had not delivered economic security for the worker. Nor had it brought forth a more equal distribution of wealth in Australian society.

Although the Catholic bishops were now more concerned about the danger of communism, their 1954 Social Justice Statement *The Australian Standard of Living* signalled a brief return to their earlier concerns for social justice. With Catholic tensions mounting over the Movement and the nature of Catholic Action, a reiteration of their family wage policy was a means of reaching consensus.¹⁰ In

⁸M. J. Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn: The Cultural Politics of Consumption*, Routledge, London, 1993, pp. 90, 91; See also E. Fromm, 'The Psychological Aspects of the Guaranteed Income' in R. Theobald (ed.), *The Guaranteed Income: Next Step in Economic Evolution?*, Doubleday and Co., New York, 1966, p. 179.

⁹G. Whitwell, *Making the Market: The Rise of Consumer Society*, McPhee Gribble Publishers, Melbourne, 1989, pp. 4-5; S. Lees and J. Senyard, *The 1950s: How Australia Became a Modern Society and Everyone Got a House and Car*, Hyland House, South Yarra, 1987, p. 67; B. Carroll, op.cit., pp. 43-51.

¹⁰G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*, pp. 85-91; M. Hogan (ed), *Justice Now!*, p. 159.

their 1954 Statement *The Australian Standard of Living*, the Catholic bishops argued:

A large majority of Australia's breadwinners are wage earners. This is not a situation of which any community can feel proud. The Catholic Church has never ceased to declare that unless the control of productive property, of the means of production, is as widely decentralised as technical processes will permit—unless workers are also owners—the institution of the family will be imperilled and the community as a whole based on unstable foundations.¹¹

The bishops contended that despite post-war prosperity, the continuation of the Australian wage system had meant that no steps had been taken to implement their 'family wage' system, while the effects of inflation had devalued wages and pensions.¹² For the bishops, the failure of governments to implement the 'family wage' and to ensure that ownership was more widely distributed in Australian society imperilled the institution of the family, because it did not guarantee that a father would be able to adequately provide for his children. In this situation, a father would have to rely on government support and on the wages of his wife for work outside the home, thus depriving their children of her care and compromising his role as the family breadwinner.¹³

The Catholic bishops were also condemnatory of the continued tendency towards monopoly in the post-war economy. The post-war period had seen the consolidation of big business in the Australian economy and growth in the overall scale of large individual companies.¹⁴ In their 1948 Social Justice Statement, *Socialisation*, the Catholic bishops were dismayed at the ability of big business to

¹¹Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church of Australia, *The Australian Standard of Living* (1954), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 160.

¹²*ibid.*, pp. 161-164.

¹³ECCA, 'Justice Now!' (1941), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 16; ECCA, 'The Family' (1944), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 57.

¹⁴R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving, *op.cit.*, pp. 185, 196.

conduct expensive and exploitative advertising campaigns to the detriment of their small business competitors:

Much modern advertising places a premium on dishonesty. Modern advertising too often trades in immorality and preys on man's baser passions. The millions of pounds which are spent annually on advertising...add substantially to the cost of living. In addition, great corporate enterprises use the immense funds at their disposal to secure a nation-wide distribution for their goods, thus limiting local markets for the products of smaller enterprises. It is difficult to find moral or even economic justification for the structure of modern advertising.¹⁵

The bishops expressed similar opposition to the decreasing incidence of small farm holdings in rural Australia. The severity of the Depression in rural Australia and the extent of rural debt meant that the 1930s and 1940s saw an exodus of over 200,000 people, many of whom had previously owned small family farms, from rural areas to the cities.¹⁶ Their farms were bought by wool and wheat farmers investing in large land holdings with expensive harvesting machinery.¹⁷ In 1938-1939, the average rural holding had been 3537 acres. By 1956-1957 the average rural holding had increased to 4512 acres.¹⁸

The bishops' objectives were successfully undermined by the growth of monopoly, the development of post-war rural industry and the high living standards being delivered by Australian capitalism. Protestant social reformists had also hoped to improve the living standards of workers. By December 1947

¹⁵Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Socialisation' (1948), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 107; See also ECCA, 'For Freedom' (1942), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 30; ECCA, 'Pattern for Peace' (1943), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 44; ANSCA, 'Social Security and Human Rights' (1946), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 81-84.

¹⁶*Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, 1947, 1948, 1956.

¹⁷B. R. Davidson, *European Farming in Australia: An Economic History of Australian Farming*, Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., Amsterdam, 1981, pp. 299, 309, 320, 339; P. Ashton and K. Blackmore, *On the Land: A Photographic History of Farming in Australia*, Kangaroo Press, Kenthurst, 1987, pp. 170, 172.

¹⁸*Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, 1950, 1962.

however, many social reformist Protestants were aware that many of the economic reforms they had advocated had several undesirable side-effects, and that they needed to rethink some of their goals.

In his paper, 'Christian Social Order at the Cross-Roads', the Rev. Professor John McIntyre argued that certain aspects of the economic changes advocated by Christian social reformers in the early 1940s had become problematic by the late 1940s.¹⁹ The concept of adequate leisure time for workers had been supported by Christian social reformers, so long as there were facilities in place for the 'constructive and creative' use of leisure.²⁰ McIntyre argued that the reality of more leisure time for workers however, had raised three specific problems for Christian social order ideology.

In granting more leisure time to workers, Australia's rate of production would be considerably slowed. McIntyre was concerned that this would ultimately disadvantage the living standards of the Australian population as a whole. For Christian social justice advocates to unreservedly support such a reform would conflict with the Christian social order ideal that the rights of one group of people should not jeopardise those of the entire community.²¹ Secondly, the increase in leisure time had devalued the work ethic and done nothing to alleviate the unpleasantness and drudgery of much work. More leisure time had bypassed the Christian social reformists' desire to make work more vocational and personally rewarding.²² Thirdly, the reduction of working hours had not been accompanied by education in a more 'adequate' use of leisure time. Mass entertainment

¹⁹J. McIntyre, 'Christian Social Order at the Cross-Roads', *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1948, pp. 151-152.

²⁰W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 8; CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1945, p. 106; *The New Day*, January-February 1947, p. 3.

²¹*The New Day*, February 1944, pp. 8-9 and October 1944, p. 3; W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 3.

²²CSOM, *Work! The Christian View*, CSOM, Sydney, 1950, p. 2; *Minutes of the 17th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1954, p. 139.

remained as the most popular form of leisure, denying individuals a chance to enrich their cultural experience and to express themselves creatively.²³

McIntyre's paper also analysed the Christian social order principle that 'the working man should have a new deal'. Christian social order advocates were generally in sympathy with workers' issues. In an article in *The New Day* titled 'What's Behind the Strikes?', Edwin Davidson had stated 'The Church must come down on the side of those whose claim to justice is long overdue'.²⁴ McIntyre argued however that by the late 1940s, strikes had become the unions' main way of achieving an economic end and were now frequently and indiscriminately used by a wide variety of trade unions. The serious disruptions to society caused by the strikes of the late 1940s meant that the use of the strike had now become not only a social justice issue, but an issue concerning the rights of the whole community. McIntyre challenged Christian reformists to discover 'whether there is not some other technique available which achieves the same ends by a less disastrous means'.²⁵ Another related issue McIntyre raised was whether, in a complex economic system, the pursuit of individual worker objectives would ultimately prove detrimental to the workers. He quoted the opinion of an 'expert' on the wider ramifications of the introduction of a forty hour working week. McIntyre's expert claimed that unless there was a ten percent increase in managerial efficiency, the cost of living would inevitably rise, a situation which would be injurious to the workers.²⁶

Notwithstanding McIntyre's observations of the inadequacy of their economic reforms, many Protestant social reformists continued to be critical of the new economic order on the grounds that it had lulled Australians into a false

²³W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 8.

²⁴*The New Day*, December 1945-January 1946, pp. 6-8.

²⁵J. McIntyre, 'Christian Social Order at the Cross-Roads', *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1948, p. 153.

²⁶*ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

sense of security, as the Presbyterian CSOC explained to the NSW Assembly in 1952:

[While] there is much coming and going in politics and social affairs there is no longer the sense of urgency which was to be found in the 1930s. The impression is that for the people of Australia life is very comfortable and satisfactory, for wages are high and unemployment low. And it seems that the Christian Church has succumbed to this complacency; there is a belief that the social order is quite satisfactory.²⁷

The Rev. Alan Walker of the Methodist SEQC also persisted in condemning capitalism as an unjust economic system, portraying it in his book *Australia Finding God* (1953) as 'a few years of sanity between the chaos and distress of depression and inflation'.²⁸

Not all reformist Christians however, despaired of the economic situation. A post-war economy characterised by high wages and full employment rendered fears of another depression unrealistic. As early as 1945, members such as the Rev. Kenneth T. Henderson were arguing for the CSOM to broaden its points of reference on economic and other related issues.²⁹ Along with communism, the post-war economy began to cause division among social reformist Christians in the late 1940s.

With the advent of suburban expansion, the manufacturing boom and mass retailing, the federal Labor government's post-war reconstruction initiatives of employment, welfare and housing had been transformed into a strategy for

²⁷CSOC, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1952, p. 119.

²⁸A. Walker, *Australia Finding God: The Message of the Mission to the Nation*, General Conference Literature and Publications Committee of the Methodist Church of Australasia, Sydney, 1953, p. 18; A. Walker, *Heritage Without End*, General Conference Literature and Publications Committee of the Methodist Church of Australasia, Sydney, 1953, pp. 73-74; SEQC, *Minutes of the 17th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1954, p. 138.

²⁹*The New Day*, December-January 1945-1946, p. 3; J. Mansfield, 'Social Attitudes in the Church of England', pp. 276-277.

encouraging social homogeneity, rather than economic and social justice.³⁰ The success of this shift in socio-economic focus had deep ramifications both for Christian and secular post-war reconstruction ideals. As the Keynesian consumer culture delivered higher material living standards, the Christian social reformists' desire to reform capitalism seemed less relevant. This had the effect of negating their broader concerns about leisure and work.

The economic fortunes of the late 1940s did not profit the conservative Christian agenda either. The introduction of credit facilities, increasing opportunities for leisure and the ability of advertisers to exploit hedonistic values to sell their products in the post-war period all combined to starkly confront the Protestant work ethic. Although conservatives had welcomed economic prosperity, they were concerned that the rise in Australian living standards had created two problems: a decline in religiosity; and indifference to personal moral values.

Conservative Church leaders argued that the rise in Australian living standards had been accompanied by a decline in the community's religiosity. As *The Catholic Weekly* stated:

Higher wages, shorter hours, and full security for the worker, and largely inflated incomes for business people, instead of resulting in a feeling of gratitude, have bred an unhealthy arrogance and contempt for the feelings of others...This state of affairs is closely linked with the nationwide drift from the devout practice of religion, and unquestionably conditions will deteriorate further...³¹

Protestant leaders firmly agreed with their Catholic colleagues. In his 1948 address to the NSW Baptist Assembly, the president of the Baptist Union, Mr. A.

³⁰R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving, op.cit., p. 185; P. Smyth, 'A Legacy of Choice: Economic Thought and Social Policy in Australia, the Early Post-War Years', *Social Welfare Research Centre*, 9, May 1989, p. 1.

³¹*The Catholic Weekly*, 10th May 1951, p. 4.

C. Joyce, noted that while the improved living conditions had brought 'beneficial changes in the social life of the people', they had also caused 'harmful changes in the spiritual lives of many of the people', while in 1955 the NSW Methodist Conference was warned of the 'peril of prosperity'.³²

In addition to religious decline, conservative Christians were also concerned that rising living standards had produced moral apathy. Church leaders made various efforts to check what they perceived to be the detrimental effects of the post-war consumer culture on traditional Christian moral values. The increasing market for comic books and cheap romance and detective novels prompted conservative Church concerns regarding the use of leisure and the moral impact of mass consumerism.³³ The NSW Baptist Union expressed concern over 'an increase of the display and sale of publications and syndicated comics of a salacious, obscene and indecent nature in shop windows'.³⁴ The Sydney Anglican Synod resolved to appoint a committee to investigate 'the production of films, magazines, books, posters and advertising which capitalises on the human interest in sex'.³⁵ Fr. John Leonard, director of the Catholic Youth Organisation (CYO), spoke out against 'beach-girl contests' because of what he regarded as the inadequacy of the contestants' attire:

I am well aware that there are many who have been so far misled by the fashions of a semi-pagan society that they regard talk of this kind as exaggerated and narrow minded...No priest wastes his time expressing his own opinion on this matter; what has been said is simply the plain moral teaching of the Church of Jesus Christ.³⁶

³²*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1948-1949, p. 15; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1955, p. 68; See also *The Methodist*, 16th January 1954, pp. 1, 9.

³³M. Finnane, 'Censorship and the Child: Explaining the Comics Campaign', *Australian Historical Studies*, 23, 92, April 1989, p. 221; P. Coleman, op.cit., p. 117; S. Alomes, M. Dober and D. Hellier, op.cit., p. 16.

³⁴*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1951-1952, p. 54.

³⁵*Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1955, p. 69.

³⁶*The Catholic Weekly*, 26th February 1948, p. 1.

In the consumer climate, which appealed to the individual's desire for power, popularity, 'modernity' and fun, rather than to self-control and moral virtue, conservative Church values appeared overwhelmingly 'narrow minded' and condemnatory.

Conservative Protestants had a further concern beyond religious and moral values. They also feared that the introduction of the forty-hour working week had created a demand for 'frivolous' leisure practices. Archbishop Mowll was particularly perturbed about the religious and moral results of greater leisure and more money for factory workers:

Materialism is evidenced on all sides. The vast majority of men and women and young people pour out of factories with no thought beyond having 'a good time' and spend their leisure for themselves alone—buy lottery tickets, bet on the tote or through the bookies, spend time studying the horses' form...pandering to a materialistic form of life in which moral and spiritual values count for nothing.³⁷

Conservative Protestant condemnation of working-class pleasures had always been a feature of the Protestant approach to moral reform.³⁸ Unlike the Christian reformists however, conservative Protestant opposition to 'frivolous' leisure practices was not rooted in a concern to reform capitalism and the nature of work, but was based on their support for capitalism. As Max Weber has noted, the Protestant ethic of work, embracing the capitalist ideal that 'time is money', meant that the 'idleness' and 'frivolity' of the working-class became immoral.³⁹ This had led sixteenth century Puritans to condemn such pastimes as dancing,

³⁷*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1952, pp. 2-3; See also *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1948-1949, p. 15 and 1949-1950, p. 15; *The Methodist*, 16th January 1954, pp. 1, 9.

³⁸E. Windshuttle, 'Women, Class and Temperance: Moral Reform in Eastern Australia 1832-1857', *Push from the Bush*, no. 3, 1979, p. 17; J. D. Bollen, op.cit., p. 49.

³⁹M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930), 2nd ed., Allen and Unwin, London, 1976, pp. 48-54.

drinking, and gambling, while maintaining that austerity, thrift and hard work were paths towards an individual's salvation. By the post-war period, the issue of austerity had largely been negated by rising living standards. The decision to participate in 'idle' and 'frivolous' pastimes was no longer governed by economic restraint, and indeed, was effectively encouraged by advertising and the leisure culture.

For conservative Protestant leaders, the post-war leisure culture posed a considerable threat to their ideology and status, not only through the promotion of an alternative value system, but through the acceptance of the new consumer/leisure culture by the laity. This situation was most clearly seen in the post-war developments to the Sunday Observance issue.

The long running Sunday Observance issue received a new focus during the war. The war had created a demand for the extension of leisure facilities on Sundays. During the latter period of the war, Sunday concerts and cinema had been available for service men and women on leave, to the dismay of Protestant Church leaders, who hoped that the end of the war would see the return of restrictions on Sunday entertainment.⁴⁰ The war-time experience however, along with the emerging leisure culture and the decrease of working hours brought more public pressure for leisure facilities.

By 1948, several sporting organisations, particularly football clubs, were making requests to the Sydney City Council for permission to play matches on public ovals on Sundays. In 1951, to the horror of Protestant Church leaders, the Council was granting tennis and football clubs permission to play on Sundays.⁴¹

⁴⁰*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, pp. 40-41; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1943, p. 101 and 1944, p. 109; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1943, pp. 172-173.

⁴¹*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Conference Minutes*, 1952, p. 152; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1953-1954, pp. 54-55; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1952, p. 122.

Also in 1951, the Chief Secretary, Clive Evatt, gave permission for cinemas to screen films on Sundays. The Kings Cross Theatrette began screening films during church hours at 11:30 am on Sunday mornings, to the disgust of the neighbouring William Street Methodist Church.⁴² According to the owner-manager of the Theatrette, audience demand had led him to screen films during this time.⁴³

Protestant leaders argued that the holding of sporting functions and the opening of cinemas on Sundays were effectively diverting people from attending their local church.⁴⁴ The real problem for Protestant leaders however, was that there was little support for the maintenance of a strict Protestant Sunday among church-goers. Presbyterian Church leaders were horrified that many church-goers had appropriated Sunday as a day of at least some leisure:

A candid examination of the practices of an increasing number of professed Christians on the Lord's Day leads one to the conclusion that they are actuated by selfishness...If Christians everywhere were for conscience' sake to abstain from their own pleasures on the Lord's Day the effect on the general public would be incalculable.⁴⁵

Within the lay Christian community, reluctance to maintain a strict observation of Sunday reflected their first-hand experience of social and economic change. Like the rest of the Australian community, their lives became divided between 'work and leisure' rather than 'work and rest'. Protestant clergy calls for lay people to

⁴²*SMH*, 3rd September 1951, p. 1.

⁴³*ibid.*

⁴⁴*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, pp. 41-42; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1947-1948, pp. 7-8; *Minutes of the 16th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1951, pp. 112-113; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1946, pp. 104-105.

⁴⁵*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1951, p. 151; *Burwood Circuit Quarterly Meetings Minute Book*, 5th October 1950; K. Dempsey, *op.cit.*, p. 158; D. Wright and E. Clancy, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

resist the 'secularisation' of Sunday and protests to government bodies to retain the Protestant Sunday were to no avail.

In stark contrast to the laity, the routines of Church leaders and clergy were not affected by the forty-hour week. Often, stipend increases in accordance with the cost-of-living were not paid by local churches, and clergy themselves had little spare time, being 'on call' for most of the week. For Protestant Church leaders, the liberalisation of Sunday meant a loss of prestige and power, and was a glaring indication that their values were not paramount in Australian society.

The main focus of the post-war campaign for Sunday Observance was not to reform church-goers' attitudes however, but to oppose commercialisation. Protestant Church leaders organised three rallies to protest against the commercialisation of Sunday:

There is a real battle on...and all Protestant forces have made up their minds that this is where the battle is to be joined. The time has come when the commercialisation of Sunday by greedy commercial groups, aided and abetted by representatives of the State, must be stopped.⁴⁶

Opposing 'greedy commercial groups' had long been a factor in the Protestant Churches' fight to preserve Protestant institutions.⁴⁷ In the nineteenth century, Protestant Church leaders had made various attempts to restrict commercial ventures and entertainment opportunities on Sunday, concentrating their efforts on pubs, public libraries and museums.⁴⁸ Given their support for capitalism however, their objection to 'greedy commercial groups' was not part of an ideology of economic reform, as with the social reformists. Conservative

⁴⁶*SMH*, 2nd October 1951, p. 4.

⁴⁷K. S. Inglis, *The Australian Colonists*, MUP, Melbourne, 1974, pp. 73-83; W. Phillips, *op.cit.*, pp. 175-188; J. D. Bollen, *op.cit.*, pp. 52, 108.

⁴⁸J. D. Bollen, *op.cit.*, p. 146; W. Phillips, *op.cit.*, pp. 175-188; K. S. Inglis, *op.cit.*, p. 82; P. O'Farrell, *op.cit.*, pp. 253-4, 282.

Protestants did not oppose all commercial groups, only 'greedy' commercial groups which posed some threat to their institutional power.

The conservative Protestant tactic of blaming 'greedy commercial groups' and the laity for the undermining of their social and moral values ignored the dimensions of the new economic situation. Protestant reluctance to identify post-war capitalism as the source of encroaching 'secular' values was closely linked to conservative Christian antipathy towards communism, their belief in the freedom of the individual, and their understanding of Western prosperity.

The perceived link between Christianity and the wealth of Western civilisation was strong in conservative Christian culture, as illustrated by *The New South Wales Presbyterian's* citing of a young Asian student studying in Australia under the Colombo Plan:

I come from a Mohammedan country, where the standard of living is terribly low; this is a Christian country, and here the standard of living is high—it must be Jesus Christ who makes all the difference.⁴⁹

This comment raises an interesting paradox. On the one hand, Church leaders contended that Christianity was behind Australia's material success. In order to become truly prosperous, they argued, Asia needed the Christian faith. On the other hand, the rising living standards in post-war Australia led to fears that Australians were developing hedonistic attitudes and becoming indifferent to the Church. This situation provides a further insight into the conservative Christian missionary push into Asia. Mowll had compared the Asian nations to 'soft wax, ready to receive impressions' (Christian evangelism).⁵⁰ Unlike Australia, the

⁴⁹*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 12th February 1954, p. 7; See also *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1950, p. 47; Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'The Future of Australia' (1951), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 136, 139-141; Report of the Australian Presbyterian Missions, op.cit., p. 4.

⁵⁰*SMH*, 15th May 1953, p. 2.

potential for individual religiosity in Asia had so far been untrammelled by materialism and prosperity.

The seeming inconsistency in conservative Christian attitudes to capitalism was an integral part of the new political situation. In an era of growing anti-communism, it was highly suspect to denounce capitalism, and given their traditional support of the capitalist system and opposition to communism, few conservative Church leaders would have been inclined to do so anyway. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, post-war capitalism was delivering higher living standards, of which conservative Christians approved and indeed, saw as signs of God's favour. It was more feasible for conservatives to resort to older forms of defending Christian values against the encroaching 'secularism' and the immorality of 'greedy commercial groups', linking their concerns about consumerism into their general theme of post-war crisis. As Archbishop Mowll noted in his 1951 Christmas message:

*The rapidity of changes to our economic life gives an appalling sense that things have taken a momentum of their own—that processes which man inaugurated have got out of control and we are rushing towards disaster, unchecked and uncheckable.*⁵¹ (my italics)

The italicised words of this extract of Mowll's Christmas Message had been plagiarised from a speech at the inaugural Assembly of the WCC at Amsterdam in 1948. Mowll's source was either the WCC speech itself (Mowll had been a senior delegate to the Assembly), or more likely, Bishop Moyes' address to the Armidale Synod in 1949 (where Moyes had acknowledged the original speaker).⁵² Both Moyes and the original speaker had argued that the emergence of a 'technical society' was leading to the depersonalisation of the working man and that this had

⁵¹Archbishop Mowll's Christmas Day Message 1951, reprinted in *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, February 1952, p. 174.

⁵²J. S. Moyes, *Revival or Revolution: A Charge to Synod*, 1949, n.p.

gotten 'out of control'. Mowll however, had prefaced the extract with a comment on the timely release of *The Call* and with his concern over 'the rapidity of changes to our economic life'.⁵³ For conservatives, the consumerism and leisure culture, as promoted by commercial interests, became another piece in the mosaic of crisis, which threatened the implementation of their plans for post-war Australia, and which they felt powerless to stop.

Dissatisfaction with post-war consumerism was manifest in Christian circles. It had marginalised the visions of Christian social justice advocates, pushing their concerns for economic justice into irrelevancy. It had also displaced the Protestant work ethic, popularising leisure, consumerism and liberal moral standards, leaving conservative Christians to bemoan the decline of traditional Christian values, and with it, the authority of the Church.

Christian reformers had focussed their opposition to post-war consumerism on 'socio-economic morality'. They argued that the benefits of the new prosperity were jeopardised by the consumer culture's creation of a falsely based satisfaction with modern society and post-war corporate monopoly. The Catholic bishops found that their visions of small enterprise in industry were no longer tenable in an economy geared towards mass consumption and mass entertainment. For Protestant social reformers, such as the CSOM, the post-war consumer revolution struck at a deeper level. It completely bypassed their concerns to redefine work and leisure. Furthermore, it created unrest between those members who maintained that the rising living standards and the consumer economy of the post-war period were no guarantee of economic justice and those who contended that there were now more urgent problems to address than the Australian economy.

⁵³Archbishop Mowll's Christmas Day Message 1951, reprinted in *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, February 1952, p. 174.

Conservative Christians despaired of the effect of the post-war economic boom on the community's moral and religious standards. While they blamed higher living standards, greater leisure opportunities, exploitative advertising and consumerism as the source of moral decline, they were seemingly unable to identify capitalism and capitalist values as the driving force. In a society awash with the advertising of consumer values which encouraged spending, personal enjoyment and leisure, conservative Christians were at a distinct disadvantage to relay their message of moral restraint and frugality.

An important aspect of Christian opposition to the post-war economy was the meeting of Christian minds over the issue of powerful commercial interests. Social reformist Catholics and Protestants, with their concern that the interests of a few should not imperil the rights of the community, were opposed to the post-war economy's perpetuation of monopoly capitalism. Conservative Christians opposed the power and influence of large 'greedy' commercial interests for their ability to effectively promote values which negated their own.

In the post-war period, the battle over consumerism was to lead to a final showdown between the Church and the consumer culture over that old Protestant enemy, alcohol consumption. Changing community attitudes to alcohol and the liquor trade's utilisation of the consumer culture left the Church to combat the liquor question with a campaign to limit the financial, political and social power of the liquor trade, while the liquor trades attempted to portray drinking as 'leisure' and Church attitudes as 'wowsersism'.

CHAPTER 6: THE LIQUOR REFERENDUMS

Alcohol consumption had long been of concern to the Churches, especially to Protestants. The late 1940s and 1950s however, were to see the final resolution of the anti-liquor campaigns in NSW, with calls for early hotel closing and the restoration of local option greatly muted thereafter. The Protestant Churches' last major battle with the liquor trade was fought through the two post-war liquor referendums on hotel closing hours.

The first liquor referendum was held in 1947, as a direct outcome of the NSW Labor government's 1946 Amendment to the Liquor Act. The 1946 Amendment made alterations to the laws surrounding the serving of liquor with meals in hotels and restaurants, abolished local option, and also made provision for a referendum to decide whether hotels would close at 6pm, 9pm or 10pm.¹ Since the 1916 Liquor Referendum, NSW hotels had been required to close at 6pm.² The 1947 liquor referendum was won by the six o'clock campaign with over 62% of the vote.

The second liquor referendum was conducted in 1954, following the release of the 1951-1954 Royal Commission on Liquor Laws in NSW. The Commission had been appointed by the NSW Labor government to inquire into the adequacy and function of the state's liquor laws. One of the main recommendations of the Commission was that a second referendum on hotel hours should be held. This time, the ten o'clock vote won by 9,792 votes, a margin of 0.5%, with only thirty-six out of ninety electorates favouring ten o'clock closing.³ Although the

¹S. Redshaw, *Changes in the Liquor Law, N.S.W.*, Law Book Company of Australasia, Sydney, 1946; C. O. Smithers, J. L. Smithers and K. Smithers, *Liquor (Amendment) Act, 1946 and Regulations Thereunder*, ULVA, Sydney, 1947.

²W. Phillips, 'Six O'Clock Swill: The Introduction of Early Closing of Hotel Bars in Australia', *Historical Studies*, 19, 1980, pp. 250-266; R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving, op.cit., p. 175; *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, session 1945-46, second series, vol. 180, p. 3040.

³SMH, 3rd December 1954, p. 5; M. Lewis, *A Rum State: Alcohol and State Policy in Australia*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1992, p. 79.

1954 result was very close, it represented a considerable swing against the 1947 six o'clock vote.

The post-war liquor referendums have not been given any serious attention by historians. Historians have only referred to the referendums in passing, and have usually portrayed the attitude of the Protestant Churches to the liquor question as unreasonable and negative. They have summarily dismissed the support of six o'clock closing by the Protestant Churches in the 1947 and 1954 Liquor Referendums as conservative 'wowsers'. Keith Dunstan and others have described the Protestant Churches in the post-war period as unrealistic killjoys in their attitudes to hotel hours and alcohol consumption.⁴ Michael Hogan has interpreted the result of the 1954 referendum as a sign that 'the tide was going out for puritan legislation'.⁵ But this supposes that Protestant arguments for six o'clock closing in the post-war period were solely based on personal morality. Furthermore, it does not take into account any Catholic positions on the liquor question in the 1940s and 1950s.

This situation raises two important historiographical issues. The first is the practice of viewing the question of temperance as being a Protestant but not Catholic concern. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Protestant Churches were certainly more outspoken in their opposition to drinking than the Catholic Church was, but this does not mean that Catholics were indifferent to the question of liquor consumption.⁶ During the late nineteenth century, Protestant reformers became involved in campaigning for restrictive

⁴K. Dunstan, *op.cit.*, pp. 1-14, 123; B. Carroll, *op.cit.*, p. 224; G. Bolton, *op.cit.*, p. 130; D. Dunstan, *op.cit.*, pp. 120-122; R. Ward, *op.cit.*, pp. 333.

⁵M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, pp. 234-236; W. Phillips, *Defending A Christian Country*, pp. 274, 275.

⁶J. D. Bollen, *op.cit.*, pp. 49-53; S. Garton, 'Once a Drunkard Always a Drunkard: Social Reform and the Problem of Habitual Drunkenness in Australia, 1880-1914', *Labour History*, 53, November 1987, pp. 39-40; A. Hyslop, 'Temperance, Christianity and Feminism: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Victoria, 1887-1897', *Historical Studies*, 17, 1976, pp. 28, 36-38; M. Roe, *The Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851*, MUP, Melbourne, 1965, pp. 165-176; For Catholic attitudes to the liquor question, see P. O'Farrell, *op.cit.*, pp. 68, 206, 282-283.

legislation such as local option, early closing and prohibition to contain the liquor traffic. Catholics were opposed to limiting the trade, but strongly advocated personal self-control as the solution to the liquor question.⁷

The second problem is the tendency to depict all Church opposition to social and moral change as reactionary. By portraying Protestant efforts to restrict the liquor trade as wowserism, historians have too readily absorbed the views of the popular press. The 'wowser' first appeared in the late nineteenth century and was quickly exploited by publications such as *The Bulletin*. Norman Lindsay's famous caricature of the wowser, with its dour, disapproving expression, thin, almost asexual physique, black clothing and pointy umbrella, entrenched the wowser as a joyless denouncer of other people's (particularly men's) 'fun'. Marilyn Lake has observed that *The Bulletin's* portrayal of the wowser as one who condemned the 'male' pleasures of smoking, gambling, swearing, card playing and a sexually promiscuous bachelordom, was a response to first-wave feminism, then closely allied with the Protestant Churches.⁸ J. D. Bollen's *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales 1890-1910* (1972), attacks the wowser myth related to temperance campaigning in the nineteenth century, explaining that the Protestant Churches' opposition to alcohol was an attempt to improve social conditions.⁹ Other historians of Australian religion however, have unquestioningly accepted the 'wowser' tag for the Protestant Churches.¹⁰

Examining the arguments for six o'clock closing in their post-war context, rather than merely dismissing the entire six o'clock campaign as wowserism, highlights the close relationship between the Church and the economic circumstance of its society. The end of the Churches' long term opposition to liquor consumption was not caused by the failure of a 'wowser' policy. Instead,

⁷J. D. Bollen, op.cit., p. 50; S. Garton, 'Once a Drunkard', p. 38; P. O'Farrell, op.cit., p. 283.

⁸M. Lake, 'The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculinist Context', *Historical Studies*, 22, 86, April 1986, pp. 127-131.

⁹J. D. Bollen, op.cit., pp. 49-52.

¹⁰W. Phillips, *Defending A Christian Country*, pp. 274, 275; W. Phillips, 'Six O'Clock Swill', pp. 250-251, 259-260; R. Broome, 'Wowserism Triumphant' in his op.cit., pp. 126-161.

the six o'clock campaigns were closely related to the nature of post-war capitalism, the growth of advertising, and changing attitudes to leisure in the Australian community.

In both referendums, the liquor trade, represented by groups such as the United Licensed Victuallers Association (ULVA), the Residential Hotels Association, the Social Amenities League, the Brewers Association and the Australian Wine Producers Association, were firmly in favour of ten o'clock closing. They were opposed to the provisions in the 1946 Amendment which made the hotels' closing time determined by referendum, but allowed clubs and restaurants to serve alcohol (with meals) beyond six o'clock. The continuation of six o'clock closing, they argued, would seriously disadvantage hoteliers against restaurants and clubs.¹¹ They further maintained that longer hours would be of more benefit to the working-class public who frequented their bars, providing for 'less crowded, better spread, more congenial, more leisurely [and] more civilised drinking'.¹² For the liquor trade, the success for the six o'clock campaign would renew calls for prohibition and local option from 'the opponents of the Trade'.¹³

The liquor trade invested a great deal of money to promote their ten o'clock campaigns. In 1947 full page advertisements were placed in public newspapers and magazines by the Liquor Trades Council of NSW, urging people to vote for ten o'clock closing as 'a final answer to the prohibitionists', inferring that the Protestant Churches and the Temperance Alliance would eventually inflict prohibition on NSW if the six o'clock campaign won.¹⁴ A film showing the evils of the 'six o'clock swill' was produced (although the Temperance Alliance claimed that the 'swill' in the film was the result of an offer of free beer at a Bondi Junction hotel at eleven o'clock in the morning).¹⁵ In 1954, the ULVA

¹¹*U.L.V.A. Review*, 20th January 1947, p. 1.

¹²*ibid.*, 23rd September 1954, p. 35; See also the Social Amenities League advertisement in *The Catholic Weekly*, 18th July 1946, p. 14.

¹³*U.L.V.A. Review*, 20th January 1947, p. 1.

¹⁴See for example *SMH*, 14th February 1947, p. 7.

¹⁵*Grit*, 10th January 1947, p. 2 and 10th March 1947, p. 3.

employed a sky-writer, which wrote 'VOTE 10' in large letters across the sky.¹⁶ Ample funds gave extensive access to advertising and allowed the liquor trades to conduct a well organised campaign which promoted the ten o'clock cause as 'sane' and modern and the Churches' six o'clock campaign as unnecessarily moralistic.

While there were certainly some Christian supporters of prohibition, there was no indication in any Church publications or official statements that the Churches would have forced prohibition on Australian drinkers. Even if they had wanted to, the Churches did not have the political power to do so. The liquor trade's portrayal of the Churches' six o'clock campaign as restrictive and moralistic was a key element to their own campaign to liberalise and 'modernise' drinking habits in Australia, but it has been accepted too readily as the actual Church position by historians and the press.

The Churches' six o'clock closing campaign was conducted on three different fronts. First were those who were supportive of six o'clock closing as a temporary measure, but desired long term solutions to the broader social problems posed by alcohol consumption which went beyond restricting the trade. The Catholic Church and the CSOM were representative of this position. Secondly, was a traditionalist Protestant approach which retained elements of late nineteenth century temperance campaigning, including calls for prohibition. Thirdly, was a 'post-war' Protestant response to the liquor trade, which concentrated on attacking the machinations of the liquor trade itself. The last two approaches combined forces to lead the active six o'clock campaign.

For the Catholic bishops, the liquor referendums were not of great moment. Their Social Justice Statements do not even contain a reference to the liquor trade in relation to their concerns to curb the power of big business. Traditionally, the Catholic approach to the liquor problem was to encourage temperance rather than

¹⁶K. Dunstan, op.cit., p. 124.

attempt to restrict the liquor trade.¹⁷ Before the 1947 referendum, Cardinal Gilroy informed parishioners at St. Alban's Catholic Church, Cronulla, that whatever their opinion regarding the hour at which hotels should close, there were no two opinions about the obligation of Christians to cultivate the virtue of temperance.¹⁸

There was barely any mention of the liquor question in *The Catholic Weekly* during the 1940s and 1950s, and no stand taken during the referendum campaigns. There was however, editorial comment following both referendums. After the 1947 referendum, *The Catholic Weekly* published an explanation for not taking a stand in the six o'clock campaign:

The Catholic Weekly did not deem the issue sufficiently vital to attempt to persuade readers to favor [sic] one side or the other. We felt the matter was one for the people to decide themselves...A few readers have written castigating us for not taking a definite stand in favor [sic] of 6 p.m. closing...¹⁹

Notwithstanding their protestations, that *The Catholic Weekly* mentioned the referendum result at all indicated that they did feel the retention of six o'clock worthy of comment. Furthermore, despite the claim that they had declined to take sides, their editorial report on the 1947 referendum displayed sympathy for the six o'clock outcome, contending that 'the people had made a wise choice' and dismissing the liquor trades arguments for modernism.²⁰ Indeed, the mention of 'a few readers' who had communicated their disapproval that no stand for six o'clock was taken suggests that among some lay Catholics, restricting hotel hours was thought to be a solution to the liquor issue. In 1954, *The Catholic Weekly* editorial on the referendum reiterated its position on hotel hours, claiming that although the liquor referendum was no solution to the 'broad liquor problem', ten o'clock closing would worsen the situation, especially as there was to be a one

¹⁷*The Catholic Weekly*, 5th February 1948, p. 4.

¹⁸*ibid.*, 6th February 1947, p. 1.

¹⁹*ibid.*, 20th February 1947, p. 4.

²⁰*ibid.*

hour meal break between 6:30pm and 7:30pm, producing two 'swills' (at 6:30pm and at 10:00pm) instead of one.²¹ While *The Catholic Weekly* was uneasy about restrictions on the liquor trade, they were supportive of retaining six o'clock as a short-term solution.

The CSOM was also supportive of six o'clock closing in the short term and desirous of long term solutions to the liquor problem which went beyond constraining the liquor trade. Following the NSW government's announcement of the 1947 Referendum, the CSOM organised a forum with the social issues committees from other Protestant Churches on the questions of closing hours, intemperance, alcohol abuse and the possibility of nationalising the liquor trade.²² Earlier that year, William Coughlan had spoken to the Sydney Anglican Synod outlining the psychological and social causes of alcoholism. He stated that alcohol indulgence was a means for seeking relief from personal inferiorities and escaping from economic realities, while drinking in pubs was a way of satisfying social needs. Coughlan concluded that the drinking problem should be fought through social and economic reform, rather than through restriction of the liquor trade.

Whatever legislative and repressive measures may at once be desirable in themselves and acceptable to a majority of citizens...lasting success will require a long-range plan of reform in every important aspect of our social, economic and educational set-up.²³

For the CSOM, the hope for a broader, non-constraining approach to the liquor question was based on their post-war reconstruction desires for economic and social reform. In this they echoed the arguments of some of the nineteenth century temperance campaigners, such as the Rev. Francis Boyce and the

²¹ *ibid.*, 18th November 1954, p. 4.

²² *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 1st January 1947, p. 2; SEQC, *Minutes of the 17th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1954, pp. 140-141.

²³ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1947, p. 163; *The New Day*, January-February 1947, pp. 1-8, esp. W. Coughlan's 'Driving a Man to Drink', pp. 1-3.

Rev. Dr. Thomas Roseby.²⁴ The CSOM's call for adequate housing, community centres, full employment, education in the use of leisure and rural development were an alternative solution to the problems of alcoholism in post-war society, aimed at providing economic security and educational and creative leisure options for the community.

Essentially, both the CSOM and the Catholic Church were in favour of a broad solution to the liquor problem, which took social and economic factors into account, rather than simply restricted liquor availability. As they were unable to effect wide scale socio-economic reform themselves, they supported six o'clock closing as a temporary solution.

For those in the Protestant Churches who participated in the main campaign to maintain six o'clock closing, the desire to restrict the liquor trade was closely related to their concerns about commercialisation and advertising. The main six o'clock campaign was based on a combination of older, traditional strategies and on a 'post-war' approach which took advertising and consumerism into consideration.

The traditionalist approach was held by older and conservative Christians throughout the Protestant Churches, notably Oscar Piggott and Victor Stanton of the NSW Temperance Alliance. Both Piggott and Stanton had been involved with the temperance movement for over forty-five years.²⁵ Their traditionalist approach followed the main arguments and processes adopted in the late nineteenth century by Protestant temperance reformers.²⁶ The central tenets of their argument for six o'clock was the association of alcohol consumption with crime, poverty, moral decay and other social problems, all of which, they argued,

²⁴J. D. Bollen, *op.cit.*, pp. 51-52.

²⁵*Report of the Royal Commission (The Hon. Mr. Justice Maxwell) on Liquor Laws in New South Wales*, vol. 2, Parliament of New South Wales, Sydney, 1954, p. 1531 and vol. 3, p. 1975.

²⁶J. D. Bollen, *op.cit.*, p. 50; W. Phillips, *Defending A Christian Country*, pp. 144-148.

wreaked devastation on the lives of innocent women and children.²⁷ Older six o'clock campaigners were firmly in favour of the return of local option, and in some cases, desired prohibition.²⁸ Like his nineteenth century forbears, Piggott regarded abstinence as the only true Christian position on the liquor question.²⁹

The newer 'post-war approach' to the six o'clock campaign focussed on the effects of post-war consumerism, the leisure culture and big business monopoly. The main supporters of this approach were younger clergymen, especially those with social reformist tendencies in the Methodist Church. The generation-based division over the liquor question was made clear in a PQC report:

Discussion revealed that the matter of the public ownership of the liquor traffic was a line question in some States, and that on the whole the older temperance leaders were opposed to it, and that support for it came mainly from those who were younger.³⁰

The identification of Methodist social reformists with the active six o'clock campaign, rather than with the approach taken by the CSOM, reflected the strong anti-liquor tradition running through the Methodist Church.

The most distinctive aspect of the 'post-war' approach was that its adherents were not necessarily in favour of an abstinence or prohibitionist solution. Younger Protestants argued for a return to local option and for the maintenance of six o'clock closing because they felt that a limitation of hotels and of hotel hours was necessary to defend the public against the growing monopoly of the liquor

²⁷SMH, 12th February 1947, p. 5; *Annual Report of the 65th Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of New South Wales*, 1947, p. 11; *The Australian Baptist*, 27th January 1947, p. 7; *The Methodist*, 15th February 1947, p. 2 and 8th February 1947, p. 7 and 2nd October 1954, p. 5; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 8th October 1954, p. 15; *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, February 1947, p. 4; *Grit*, 10th February 1947, p. 3.

²⁸*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1946, p. 207.

²⁹J. D. Bollen, op.cit., p. 50; A. Hyslop, op.cit., p. 29.

³⁰PQC, *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, p. 260.

trade and liquor advertising. As an article in *The New South Wales Presbyterian* stated:

It is not against the honest citizen who wants his mug of beer that the Church stands, but against the machinations of a great impersonal business whose designs are against the wealth, health and morality of the honest citizen.³¹

This new attempt to appeal to 'the honest citizen who wants his mug of beer' was reminiscent of the nineteenth century bush parsons' efforts to adapt to the male ethos of the bush. Bush parsons found that their tolerance of drinking, swearing and smoking won men to their congregations.³² Although there was no mention, by any of the new generation of six o'clock campaigners, that their accommodation of drinking was a strategy to win men to the Church, their campaign was certainly acting in men's interests, both in its concern to 'protect' the drinker from the designs of the brewers, and in its tolerance of men's non-domestic 'pleasures'.

Moral issues and the concerns of older campaigners combined with the younger clergymen's opposition to the increased financial and political power of the liquor trade. Generation-based interests were fused in a six o'clock closing campaign fought in the interests of road safety, hotel workers' rights and democracy.

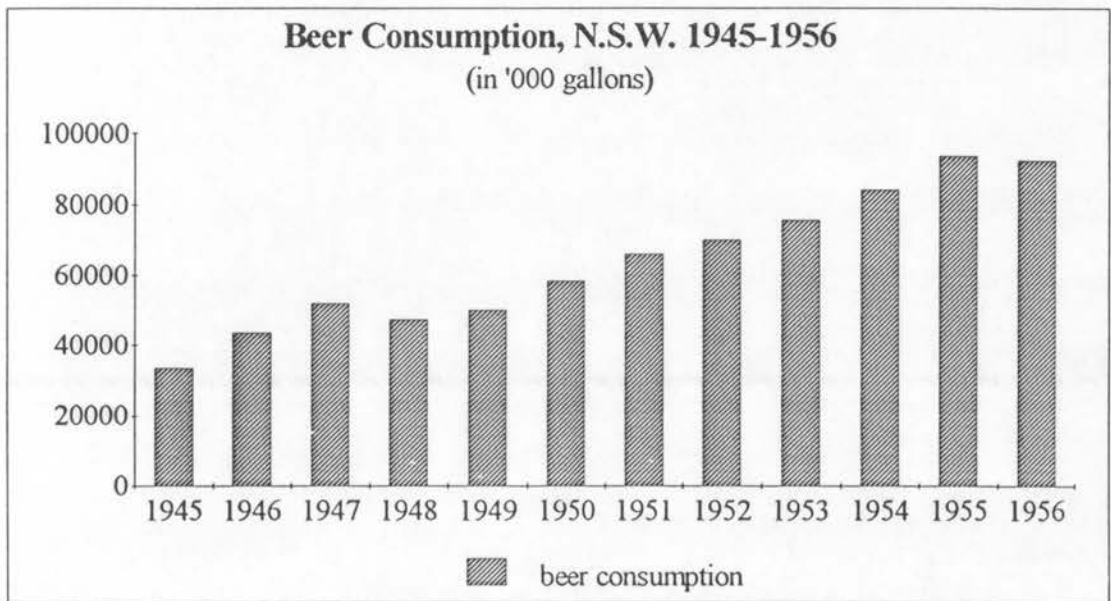
The campaigners felt that the brewers' sole motivation for seeking ten o'clock closing was their own greed, with no regard for the subsequent effects on the health and savings of the public or for the increased dangers of drink-driving.³³ Their concerns about drink-driving were based on their belief that there

³¹*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 12th February 1947, p. 4; See also *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 14th February 1945, p. 4; SEQC, *Minutes of the 15th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1948, p. 86.

³²A. O'Brien, 'A Church Full of Men: Masculinism and the Church in Australian History', *Australian Historical Studies*, 25, 100, April 1993, p. 443.

³³*The Methodist*, 13th November 1954, p. 1 and 20th November 1954, p. 3 and 30th October 1954, p. 3; *The Australian Baptist*, 27th October 1954, p. 6; *The New South Wales Baptist Year*

was a relationship between increased alcohol consumption and the road toll. Following the introduction of ten o'clock closing, Mowll reported to the 1955 Sydney Synod that there had been an immediate increase in beer consumption and a 24% increase in Australia's road toll since 1954.³⁴ According to official statistics, the increase in the road toll was only 9.6%. Furthermore, there was a 10.9% increase in the number of cars on NSW roads, which would also have added to the increase in traffic accidents.³⁵

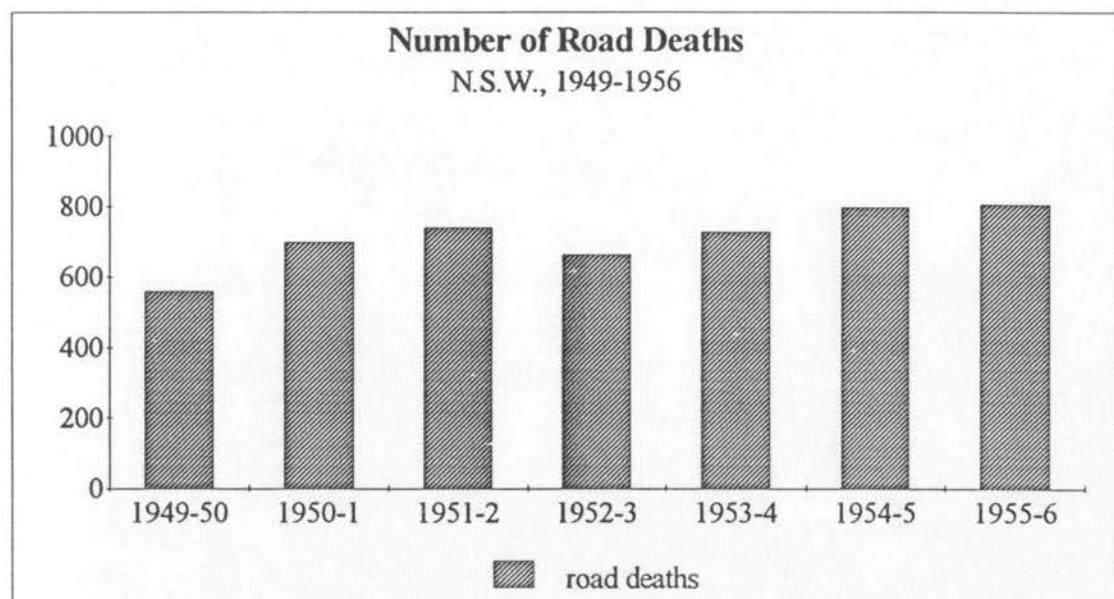


Source: *New South Wales Statistical Register*, 1951-1952, p. 522 and 1954-1955, p. 786.

Book, 1953-1954, p. 54; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 8th October 1954, p. 15 and 22nd October 1954, p. 4; *Grit*, 10th February 1947, p. 3; *Annual Report of the 72nd Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of New South Wales*, 1954, p. 5; See also *The Catholic Weekly*, 30th September 1954, p. 9.

³⁴*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1956, p. 43.

³⁵*New South Wales Statistical Register*, 1951-1952, p. 522 and 1954-1955, p. 786; *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia* (NSW figures).



Source: *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*.

Nevertheless, the Sydney Anglican Synod passed a resolution to request the NSW Premier to ensure that drink-driving became a punishable offence.³⁶ It was not until 1966 however, that drink-driving was considered to be a criminal act.

Another issue raised by the Protestant Churches was the plight of those working for the brewers and in hotels. In both the 1947 and 1954 referendum campaigns the Liquor Trades Employees Union was firmly against the extension of hotel trading hours, with the full support of the Churches. In contrast, the Hotel, Club and Restaurant Employees Union, having secured a deal with the ULVA for 'radical improvements' in award rates for hotel workers in industrial and rural areas, advised its members to vote for ten o'clock.³⁷ *The Methodist* stated that no consistent trade unionist could reasonably vote for the later hour, while *The Australian Baptist* expressed amazement that a Labor Government could contemplate any measure that would allow longer trading and working hours in any industry.³⁸ This mainstream Protestant Church concern for workers

³⁶*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1956, p. 66.

³⁷*SMH*, 7th February 1947, p. 5.

³⁸*The Methodist*, 15th February 1947, p. 3 and 13th November 1954, p. 1; *The Australian Baptist*, 18th February 1947, p. 4.

and industrial issues was unusual. For much of the 1940s and 1950s, the Protestant Churches had opposed strikes and workers' issues, fearing that the trade unions were communist infiltrated. Support for liquor trade employees and concern for their working conditions can be seen as a matter of expediency on the part of the Churches rather than a real motive for maintaining six o'clock closing, although there were certainly sections of the trade union movement which shared the concerns of the Churches over the liquor trade.³⁹

Perhaps the most poignant issue for the six o'clock campaigners was the issue of democracy in a society where one sector could manipulate the thoughts of the community through its own power and money. This concern was voiced in relation to the liquor trade's use of advertising; the belief that the trade held influence over the press; and the report of the Royal Commission on Liquor Laws.

In contrast to the liquor trade's campaign, the six o'clock campaign relied on volunteer workers to distribute leaflets and 'how-to-vote' cards, public meetings, smaller advertisements in newspapers, and local church action.⁴⁰ In 1947, when the referendum result was in favour of the earlier closing time, the six o'clock campaigners were of the opinion that only 'decent-minded citizens' had stood in the way of the 'lavish' use of money and power by the breweries.⁴¹ In 1954 however, *The Methodist* reported that the liquor trade's 'costly advertising campaign' had led to the loss of the six o'clock campaign, inferring that people

³⁹'Peter' and 'George', *Facts Behind the Liquor Commission*, 2nd ed., Dovey Publications, Sydney, 1954.

⁴⁰G. Dillon, *A Delusion of the Australian Culture: A Brief History of the Clash With Alcohol in New South Wales 1788-1983*, New South Wales Temperance Alliance, Sydney South, 1984, p. 148; Dillon records that the Temperance Alliance estimated that the liquor trade spent fifty times the amount on advertising that they did during the 1947 referendum; *The Methodist*, 11th February 1947, p. 3; *The Australian Baptist*, 27th October 1954, p. 10; *The Methodist*, 8th February 1947, p. 7 and 6th March 1954, p. 6.

⁴¹*The Methodist*, 22nd February 1947, p. 1; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 26th February 1947 and 22nd October 1954, p. 4; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book, 1947-1948*, p. 152; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1947*, p. 109.

had been seduced by the trade's advertising power.⁴² In this situation, the Churches contended that they could not possibly compete.

The six o'clock campaigners argued that with such large financial resources, the brewers had not only been able to conduct a copious and well-financed campaign, but had also been able to harness the press to their cause. Some newspapers were perceived to have gone 'out of their way' to support and defend the brewers.⁴³ The Temperance Alliance alleged that both the *Women's Weekly* and the *Daily Telegraph* had refused to publish advertisements for six o'clock closing in 1947 on the grounds of neutrality, but published advertisements for ten o'clock a few days before the referendum.⁴⁴ Unquestionably, the editorial of 14th February 1947 in *The Sydney Morning Herald* confirmed the six o'clock campaigners' accusations of press bias:

No clear-cut issue, no vital principle is involved in to-morrow's vote...Nor can it be realistically maintained that there is a clear moral issue...If the Churches, for what seem to them good reasons, are supporting six o'clock closing, so are the sly-grog dealers and others with a vested interest in the present hours...Experience the world over suggests that later closing, far from encouraging drunkenness, actually reduces it by conducing to orderliness within the bar and establishing an equation between drinking and leisure.⁴⁵

It is worth comparing this report to the support of the press for *The Call* four years later. While the press was keen to endorse the Churches in their opposition to moral decline and communism, they were not interested in encouraging the Churches' objections to later hotel hours. They did not construct drinking and hotel closing as an issue for the Churches, but as a question of modernity, where

⁴²*The Methodist*, 20th November 1954, p. 3; *The Australian Baptist*, 17th November 1954, p. 10.

⁴³*The Methodist*, 22nd February 1947, p. 3; See also *The Catholic Weekly*, 20th February 1947, p. 4; 'Peter' and 'George', op.cit., p. 5.

⁴⁴*Grit*, 10th March 1947, p. 1; G. Dillon, op.cit., p. 148.

⁴⁵*SMH*, 14th February 1947, p. 2; See also *SMH*, 13th November 1954, p. 2 and 2nd December 1954, p. 2.

Australian society lagged behind the societies of other industrialised countries. In this, *The Sydney Morning Herald* was perpetuating the older understanding of the Churches' opposition to liquor trade as wowserism, where the Churches were seeking to 'spoil the fun' of men. They were also backing the modernity issue of the liquor trade's campaign.

Church concerns that the liquor trade had used money and power unfairly in the liquor referendum campaigns were carried further by the Temperance Alliance. In their 1955 Manifesto, released after the failure of the six o'clock campaign in 1954, the Alliance accused the liquor trade of foul play which went beyond their advertising expenditure and their gaining the support of the press:

By means of its ample funds—the sordid profits of intoxication—this predatory business now dominates the State Parliaments of Australia. By donations to political parties, ever in need of money, by the presence of its direct representatives on pre-selection committees, by stifling anti-liquor and promoting pro-liquor legislation, by its boasted triumph in the matter of the wet canteen, by patronising sports clubs, by striving to overwhelm the scientific facts about alcohol with blatantly false propaganda, the 'trade' has gone far to achieve the self perpetuating policy laid down in 1933 by Britain's leading brewer Sir Edgar Sanders—**GET THE DRINK HABIT INSTILLED INTO MILLIONS OF YOUNG ABSTAINERS.**⁴⁶

Allegations about the political power of the liquor trade were abundant throughout the Churches and the Temperance Alliance, as well as in sections of the trade union movement.⁴⁷ In 1945 the Sydney Anglican Synod had called for a Royal Commission into the liquor trade to investigate its political and financial activities and to examine its impact on the war effort, morality and political life.⁴⁸ The

⁴⁶The New South Wales Temperance Alliance, op.cit., n.p.; See also *Annual Report of the 72nd Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of New South Wales*, 1954, p. 4; *The Australian Baptist*, 1st December 1954, p. 2.

⁴⁷'Peter' and 'George', op.cit., p. 1.

⁴⁸*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, p. 63.

Anglicans' call for an inquiry was heartily supported by the Methodists, whose PQC had expressed 'grave concern at the political power of the liquor traffic'.⁴⁹

These concerns of the Churches were heightened following the release of the Royal Commission on Liquor Laws in NSW (or 'the Maxwell Report'). The Commission was presided over by Justice Allan V. Maxwell, who ran investigations into the sly-grog trade, the involvement of some members of the police force in illegal bootlegging, the difficulties faced by country hotels, the issue of local option and the question of drinking facilities.⁵⁰ The Commission was assigned to investigate nine areas of the liquor trade's operation, which included ownership, the 'tied-house' system, local option, hotel licences, and the serving of liquor with meals. The ninth term, of great interest to the Churches, was 'the extent to which all or any of these matters arising under the foregoing questions operate to the detriment of the public interest'.

Of the eleven groups which were granted leave by Justice Maxwell to be represented before the Commission, Oscar Piggott, as general secretary of the Temperance Alliance, was the only representative of the six o'clock position.⁵¹ The breweries and the other liquor interests hired six King's Councils to represent their cases, while Piggott declined any legal representation, probably due to the Alliance's insufficient finances.⁵² During the proceedings, Piggott called several witnesses for the Protestant Churches' concerns of local option and six o'clock closing. All of these witnesses were of the traditionalist mould and advocated prohibition. Most had been involved with the temperance movement for over forty years and had participated in the six o'clock campaign in the 1916 Referendum.⁵³ As such, Piggott and his witnesses were not representative of contemporary Church opinion on the liquor question. Piggott told Justice W. R. Dovey of the

⁴⁹PQC, *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, p. 88; *The Methodist*, 12th January 1946, p. 1.

⁵⁰*Report of the Royal Commission*, vols. 1-4.

⁵¹*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 5.

⁵²*SMH*, 31st July 1951, p. 2.

⁵³*Report of the Royal Commission*, vol. 2, pp. 1531, 1546, 1554, 1995.

Royal Commission in 1952 that he would gladly shut down all hotels and liquor outlets regardless of the economic consequences, such was his concern at the social devastation caused by alcohol.⁵⁴ With no legal assistance, none were able to convince Maxwell of the value of six o'clock closing or local option.⁵⁵

The Commission itself was well aware that divisions existed in the Churches on the liquor question and that Piggott's view was not entirely representative. Justice Dovey tabled a list of recommendations drawn up by the Anglican SQC on issues surrounding the availability of alcohol. The SQC had roundly opposed prohibition and advocated the enforcement of hotel closing times, low-alcohol beer, nationalising the liquor industry, and the construction of 'comfortable open accommodation for drinking', in view of liquor being 'a necessity in the community'.⁵⁶ Piggott rejected the SQC's position as 'sectional' and defended his own views as mainstream.⁵⁷

There is no record of opposition to Piggott representing the interests of the Protestant Churches at the Royal Commission in any of the Churches' newspapers or minutes of annual Church assemblies. This silence however, represents an attempt at unity in the face of the liquor trade rather than widespread agreement with Piggott's position. Following the failure of the 1954 six o'clock campaign, Piggott was promptly sacked from his position as president of the Temperance Alliance and no voices were raised in protest.

The Churches' main concern with the Liquor Commission was that it had neglected to address 'Term 9' and had instead investigated the question of hotel hours, an issue which was not in the Commission's original terms of reference.⁵⁸ With regard to term nine, Maxwell contended that the question of 'the public

⁵⁴Piggott to Dovey, *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 1980.

⁵⁵*ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 1523-1530, 1531-1546, 1546-1551, 1552-1555, 1555-1556, 1995-1998.

⁵⁶*ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 1977.

⁵⁷*ibid.*

⁵⁸*The Methodist*, 13th November 1954, pp. 1, 5; *Grit*, June-July 1954, p. 2; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1954, p. 160; *SMH*, 12th March 1954, p. 3; *The Catholic Weekly*, 4th March 1954, p. 4.

interest' was involved in addressing most of the other terms of reference, and therefore, did not warrant a separate investigation.⁵⁹ It was quite clear however, that what Maxwell regarded as the public interest (such as access to uncrowded drinking facilities and longer hotel hours), and what the Churches regarded as the public interest (six o'clock closing, local option and road safety), were diametrically opposed. This was borne out by the Maxwell Report's recommendation for an extension of liquor facilities and proposal that a second referendum should be held to determine hotel closing hours because there were 'evils associated with 6 o'clock closing which ought not to be tolerated in a civilised community'.⁶⁰ Alan Walker claimed that the Report was 'largely favourable to the brewers from beginning to end'.⁶¹ The SEQC voiced their displeasure with the Report in no uncertain terms:

The increasing power of liquor interests to influence parliamentary action, press and radio publicity and social standards, constitutes a menace to democratic institutions, to human welfare and to freedom of speech. The evidence of this power of liquor interests can also be seen in the rapidly rising per capita consumption of liquor and its disastrous consequences.⁶²

The SEQC claimed that the liquor trade's power was compromising the viability of the State, rendering it unable to act in interests of the voters. In contrast, the Churches contended that their concerns for drink-driving and the plight of hotel workers under longer trading hours, as well as the issues of advertising, democracy, and political power, were in the interests of the community.

A further issue in the Churches' concerns about the partiality of the State was their own status. Through the alleged failure of the State to protect what the Churches regarded as the interests of the community, not only did the liquor trade

⁵⁹*Report of the Royal Commission*, vol. 1, p. 37.

⁶⁰*ibid.*, p. 87.

⁶¹The Liquor Commission Report, *SMH*, 23rd February 1954, special supplement, p. 16.

⁶²SEQC, *Minutes of the 17th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1954, p. 140; See also *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 26th February 1947, p. 5 and 17th December 1954, p. 4; *The Methodist*, 6th March 1954, p. 7.

stand to make a great deal of money at the expense of the rest of the community, but the Church stood to lose political power and social influence. Through extensive advertising, the consumer society values of leisure, individuality and fun were effectively promoted. Higher wages, more leisure and more consumer durables made these post-war consumer society values attainable. Regardless of hotel hours, these factors contributed to the steady rise in beer consumption between 1945 and 1955, leaving the Churches at a considerable disadvantage to promote their ideals to the community.⁶³

Accounting for the difference between the 1947 and 1954 results also indicates the shifting position of the Churches' influence in the community in the face of effective advertising. The 1954 vote was the culmination of a fairly rapid change in public opinion over that year. According to the Australian Gallup Polls conducted in 1954, preference for ten o'clock closing climbed from 36% in July to 50% in the November referendum.⁶⁴ By April 1955, 58% of NSW voters supported ten o'clock closing.⁶⁵

The Churches' response to losing the 1954 referendum was to accuse the liquor trade of foul play and their lay members of apathy.⁶⁶ This reveals that within the Churches there was a growing identification of the community as 'secular', where Christian values of democracy and moral virtue were seen to be declining in the face of rising living standards. The NSW Temperance Alliance's statement *No Compromise, No Quarter*, released in January 1955, argued this relationship between the new post-war affluence and moral degeneration:

⁶³*New South Wales Statistical Register*, 1951-1952, p. 522 and 1954-1955, p. 786; See also *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1947, p. 68; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1954-1955, p. 9; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1952, p. 152.

⁶⁴*Australian Gallup Polls*, September-October 1954.

⁶⁵*ibid.*, April-May 1955.

⁶⁶*The Methodist*, 20th November 1954, p. 3; *The Australian Baptist*, 17th November 1954, pp. 1, 10; *Annual Report of the 73rd Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of New South Wales*, 1956, p. 5; *Grit*, (emergency issue) December 1954, p. 2.

In Australia, the doubling of our alcohol consumption since the beginning of the war, and especially with increased salaries and reduced hours of work since the end of the war, shows clearly whither our splendid young nation is tending.⁶⁷

Unable to overcome the demise of austerity through increased living standards, the Churches maintained that Christian ideals had been overtaken by materialism and hedonism.

The Churches also blamed the migrant vote for the loss of six o'clock closing.⁶⁸ Milton Lewis has stated that the post-war migrants did influence the growing consumption of wine in Australia and that they may also have been contributors to the shift of the Referendum vote towards ten o'clock.⁶⁹ For the Protestant Churches especially, migrants were part of the process which was threatening their moral and political influence, thwarting their attempts to retain 'Protestant values' in Australian legislation.

Further blame for the loss of the six o'clock campaign was laid on the Catholic Church leadership. An article in *The Australian Baptist* claimed that the six o'clock campaign had failed because Catholics were not serious enough in their efforts to guard home life:

Last week saw...the Advent Pastoral Letter of Cardinal Gilroy read to all Roman congregations. In it, strangely, the Cardinal made an appeal for the protection of home life...But did you hear or read any appeal from the Cardinal for six o'clock[?]....Such an influence on the Roman Catholic vote would have been decisive in the Referendum. But it was not given.⁷⁰

There is a sense in the article that the Catholic community were potential allies for the Protestants in their fight against the secular society. With the continual demise

⁶⁷The New South Wales Temperance Alliance, *No Compromise, No Quarter: Manifesto*, New South Wales Temperance Alliance, Sydney, 1955, n.p.

⁶⁸*The Australian Baptist*, 17th November 1954, p. 1; *The Methodist* 20th November 1954, p. 3.

⁶⁹M. Lewis, op.cit., p. 78.

⁷⁰*The Australian Baptist*, 1st December 1954, p. 2.

of 'Protestant' institutions and values however, and an influx of Catholic migrants, there was also an increasing tendency among Protestants to view Catholics as opponents to their institutions and culture.

The irony of the Protestant Churches' attempts to maintain 'Protestant values' was that theologically speaking, imposing moral restraint through restrictive legislation was not especially 'Protestant'. Indeed, the Catholic approach to the liquor trade, encouraging individuals to adopt temperance rather than seek to restrict the trade, was closer to the 'Protestant' ideal. Protestantism had proclaimed the ability of the individual to receive the grace of God through his or her own faith and repentance. The extension of liquor trading hours in 1954 was not so much an affront to the Australian Protestant religious identity as a threat to the influence and power of Protestant leaders in the community. Power, attained both by the numerical strength of Australian Protestantism and the favour of the colonial regimes had diverted their original doctrine of faith and given them the ability to enshrine their values in law, removing the element of moral choice from the individual.

The influence of advertising, consumerism and popular leisure however, as confronted by the Churches in their opposition to post-war economic change and in the liquor referendums, was highly pervasive. It effectively negated the post-war reformist hopes to curb monopoly and to redefine leisure. It further neutralised the traditional values of conservative Christians concerning work, thrift and morality, and thwarted their efforts to maintain a position of moral authority in the community, leading them to believe that post-war Australia faced a moral crisis. The impact of post-war economic change on the Churches was a 'double dissolution' for both the social reformist and the conservative positions.

CHAPTER 7: PROTESTANT INSTITUTIONAL DECLINE

Throughout the 1940s and early 1950s, the Catholic and Protestant Churches had engaged in a number of joint enterprises, such as post-war reconstruction planning and *The Call*. As in the past however, renewed expressions of Protestant-Catholic cooperation in Australia did not mean the end of sectarianism. During the early 1950s, there were a number of scathing outbursts of anti-Catholic hostility and suspicion from conservative Protestants.

Much of the Protestant animosity was directed towards the increasing number of Catholics in Australia. The proportion of Catholics in Australia grew to 20.9% in 1947 and 22.9% in 1954, while the total proportion of Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists declined from 61.8% to 59.9% between 1947 and 1954.¹ The increase in Catholic representation was due in part to post-war immigration. For Protestants, the influx of Catholic migrants had an added sting: the majority of these migrants originated from 'Continental' Europe, with no affiliations with or loyalties to Britain and Protestant traditions. Australian Protestants associated 'Continental' Catholicism with a liberal Sunday and with liberal attitudes to alcohol consumption. They feared that European Catholic migrants would encourage a greater liberalisation of Protestant institutions. The perceived threat to Protestant institutions, the declining proportion of Australians professing adherence to the Protestant faith and the steady increase in the percentage of Catholics in the community through immigration from Europe meant that anti-Catholic sentiment was particularly rife among Protestant leaders, who stood to lose most in an era of declining adherence to Protestant values.²

To ascertain the extent to which Catholic numerical growth threatened the continuation of Protestant influence and power, it is worth examining three debates which arose in the 1950s. The three debates revolved around: the removal

¹*Census of the Commonwealth of Australia*, 1947, 1954.

²M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, pp. 229-243; E. Campion, *Rockchoppers*, pp. 77-103.

of the designation 'Defender of the Faith' from Australian coinage; whether Archbishop Mowll or Cardinal Gilroy should have supremacy in the Commonwealth Table of Precedence; and the holding of a Protestant religious service for the Queen's Colours Ceremony in the armed forces. These debates closely involved Catholic interests, but unlike the questions over liquor consumption and Sunday Observance, were devoid of commercial interests. Significantly, all three debates bore some relation to the Coronation and Royal Tour of the Queen. They reflect changing perceptions of the British Throne in the Australian community, with direct consequences for the Australian Protestant Church.

The first example concerned the release of the new florin (two shilling) coin in 1953 where the initials 'F.D.' (*fidei defensor*, ie. defender of the faith) had been omitted from the Queen's title. A protest by the United Protestant Association, one month after the coin's release, went largely unheeded.³ The protest of Archbishop Mowll on his return to Australia from the Queen's Coronation in London was more effective, reflecting his position as leader of the largest Christian denomination. Mowll told the 1953 Sydney Diocesan Synod that he was shocked that 'F.D.' had been abandoned. He argued that it was vitally important that the title be restored, for it reminded Australians that the 'British way of life is fundamentally based on the Christian faith'.⁴

Protestants interpreted the omission of 'F.D.' as a sign of growing Catholic influence in the community. *The New South Wales Presbyterian* suggested that the title, which had been the 'designation of British sovereigns for over 400 years' had been dropped because Catholics disliked it.⁵ *The Anglican* went further in its estimation of the situation:

³*SMH*, 28th June 1953, p. 1 and 27th May 1953, p. 4.

⁴*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1954, p. 43; *SMH*, 13th October 1953, p. 5 and 28th June 1953, p. 1.

⁵*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 26th February 1954, p. 4; *The Anglican*, 23rd October 1953, p. 1 and 6th November 1953, p. 5.

The Federal Government is known to be somewhat uneasy about the consequences that may yet flow from the decision to omit from the coinage any reference to the Queen's title 'Defender of the Faith'. It has now been learned from several unimpeachable sources that the Prime Minister himself made the decision to omit the traditional lettering...[Federal ministers] are reluctant to discuss the matter, because it comes on top of a series of actions presumably designed to win Roman Catholic support.⁶

The Anglican and *The New South Wales Presbyterian* seemed to imply that there was some sort of sinister Catholic and government plot against the Protestant Churches. Their allegations however, were unfounded. Government representatives from the Mint claimed that the title had been dropped from Australian coins due to considerations of space.⁷ Menzies upheld the Mint's explanation, adding that the decision to remove the F.D. designation on the Australian coins had been adopted as a result of the Commonwealth Conference on Commonwealth titles in May 1953, where the Australian, Canadian, British, New Zealand and South African governments decided, with the Queen's approval, to limit the Queen's title on their coinage for reasons of simplicity and considerations of space.⁸ *The Sydney Morning Herald* had reported earlier that as a result of the same Commonwealth conference, the British were to drop the abbreviation 'Britt. Omn' from their new coins and only retain 'F.D.' on some of their coins.⁹

These explanations did not console *The Anglican*, which published photographs of the old 'King George VI' florin and the new 'Elizabeth II' florin, arguing that 'considerations of space' was not a valid reason to omit 'F.D.' from the new florin, especially as the old florin had been inscribed 'GEORGIVS VI

⁶*The Anglican*, 23rd October 1953, p. 1.

⁷*SMH*, 28th June 1953, p. 1.

⁸*ibid.*, 26th November 1953, p. 3; *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, vol. H of R.2, 1953, p. 469; Memorandum to the Secretary of the Treasurer from W. C. Thomas, AA/A571/136, item 48/1058; *The Anglican*, 9th October 1953, p. 1.

⁹*SMH*, 13th October 1953, p. 5.

D:G:BR:OMN:REX FIDEI DEF', while the shorter designation on the new florin, 'ELIZABETH.II.DEI.GRATIA.REGINA' was in much larger lettering.¹⁰ Significantly, the inclusion of 'Dei gratia Regina' (Queen by the Grace of God) on the new Elizabethan florin indicated that the idea of the Queen as a Christian representative was important for Commonwealth leaders, but the Queen as the champion of an exclusively Protestant Christianity was not. *The Anglican* continued its tirade against Menzies and Catholics, bluntly refusing to accept Menzies' explanations. The behaviour of the editors of *The Anglican* eventually reached a point where it became so ridiculous and embarrassing that the Sydney Synod felt compelled to pass a resolution that a letter be written to Menzies dissociating the Synod from the extremist position of *The Anglican*.¹¹ This signified that while there were certainly suspicions in Protestant circles that Menzies was deliberately bowing to imagined Catholic demands, it was important to maintain an air of polite respectability. Virulent sectarianism was no longer seemly in post-war Australia.

The irony of the situation was that the 'F.D.' title had originally been awarded to Henry VIII by Pope Leo X for writing a tract against Martin Luther in 1521. Pope Paul III had retracted the title when he excommunicated Henry in 1538. Henry later reconferred the title on himself by a special Act of Parliament.¹² Leslie Rumble duly pointed out this historical background to the title in a letter to *The Sydney Morning Herald*, but this was ignored by Protestants, who continued to focus on the removal of the lettering as a personal affront.¹³

Much was made by the Protestant Churches and *The Sydney Morning Herald* of Federal Opposition leader Dr. H. V. Evatt's question to the Federal Treasurer over the omission of 'F.D.'. Evatt reiterated the Protestant Churches' concern that

¹⁰*The Anglican*, 30th October 1953, p. 1.

¹¹*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1955, p. 93.

¹²J. Romer, *Testament: The Bible and History*, Michael O'Mara Books, London, 1988, p. 313.

¹³Rev. Dr. Leslie Rumble in *SMH*, 21st May 1953, p. 2

'F.D.' had been purposely omitted from the coins.¹⁴ This however, was the extent of Evatt's support for the Protestant Churches campaign. He never raised the issue beyond 'Question Time' and there was no other mention of the issue by him or any other member of the Labor Party. Ironically, while Protestants alleged that Menzies had purposely removed 'F.D.' from the coinage to buy Catholic votes, they did not interpret Evatt's involvement as an attempt to court Protestants.

Protestants were greatly relieved when the Mint proclaimed that the 'F.D.' designation was to be included on the 1954 Royal Tour commemorative florin and returned to all other Australian coins, where it remained until decimal currency was introduced in 1966.¹⁵ The return of the 'F.D.' lettering had meant a great deal of organisation for the government. The obverse side of the commemorative coin for the Royal Tour had to be redesigned, the Queen had to approve the new design and a new die had to be prepared.¹⁶ W. C. Thomas, First Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Department, considered that the changes would mean that the commemorative florin would not be in circulation in all parts of Australia before the Queen arrived as had been originally planned.¹⁷

The memorandums between the Treasury, the Prime Minister's Department and the Mint reveal much of the attitude of government employees to the role of the Protestant Churches in the 'F.D.' affair. As Thomas wrote in a memorandum to the Secretary of the Treasury:

Some ten days ago the Prime Minister's Department rang me to say that the Prime Minister wished to know what would be involved in altering the obverse inscription to include the letters 'F.D.'...I was told the Prime

¹⁴*Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, vol. H of R.2, 1953, p. 469.

¹⁵*SMH*, 26th November 1953, p. 3 and 24th December 1953, p. 4.

¹⁶Minute Paper to A. Fadden from W. C. Thomas, 16th October 1953, AA/A571/136, item 48/1058.

¹⁷*ibid*; *SMH*, 17th November 1953, p. 9 and 24th December 1953, p. 4.

Minister was considering this alteration because of representations made to him by a section of the community...¹⁸

Thomas did not even identify the 'section of the community' responsible for Menzies' decision to alter the coinage. Later in the memorandum, Thomas opined:

It seems to me that the alteration of the inscription for the Royal Visit florin will help to keep alive the agitation (which I class sectarian) for changing the inscription on all coins. Further, it might be awkward to explain the change publicly without provoking comment from other sections of the community.¹⁹

Thomas' dismissal of the controversy as 'sectarian' and his unspecific reference to the 'other sections of the community' revealed that within the government, the concerns of Protestant Church leaders were considered irritating and expensive, causing unwarranted disruption to governmental processes and friction in the Australian community.

The second cause of Protestant distress concerned the Commonwealth Table of Precedence for the Australian ceremony for the Queen's Coronation in June 1953 and the Royal Tour in 1954. The State government of NSW ranked Archbishop Mowll ahead of Cardinal Gilroy for formal state functions, based on the length of tenure of office in the See of Sydney, where Mowll had become Anglican Archbishop in 1933 and Gilroy had become Catholic Archbishop in 1940. Using the same criteria, but basing it on the tenure of Australian office, the Federal government ranked Cardinal Gilroy ahead of Archbishop Mowll. Gilroy had become Cardinal in 1946, while Mowll had become Primate of the Anglican Church of Australia in 1947. To add insult to injury, the Queen had officially approved the Federal government's Table of Precedence. Protestant Church

¹⁸Memorandum to the Secretary of the Treasurer from W. C. Thomas, n.d., AA/A571/136, item 48/1058.

¹⁹ibid.

leaders, especially Anglicans, were incensed. Archdeacon Thomas Hammond wrote to Menzies and Evatt complaining that the publication of the Table of Precedence had occasioned 'widespread comment and a considerable amount of irritation' in the Protestant community.²⁰ The vehement objections of Protestant Church leaders prompted the following statement in *The Sydney Morning Herald's* editorial:

But if the Anglican Church has a slight grievance in this matter no responsible churchman would wish to dispute it now less than a month before the Coronation and when the Queen has already approved the Table of Precedence. Anglicans may reasonably ask the Federal Cabinet to think the matter over again when next it revises the Commonwealth Table; but for the moment they will surely prefer, both as sincere Christians and as loyal subjects of the Queen, to bury their differences.²¹

The editorial was not only denominationally impartial, but seemingly oblivious to the Protestant claims of ascendancy. Edmund Campion has noted that sectarian attitudes had begun to disappear from *The Sydney Morning Herald* by the late 1920s and early 1930s.²² This editorial comment represented but a further shift in opinion for the traditionally anti-Catholic newspaper. Most symbolic was the editorial's vision of Queen Elizabeth not as the head of the Church of England, nor as a 'defender of the (Protestant) faith', nor as an upholder of British tradition, but as a source of unity for all Australians, where the Anglican Church represented but one body in the wider Australian community.

The concept of unity, expressed as 'egalitarianism' and 'equality' under the monarch has been noted by Jane Connors in her study of the 1954 Royal Tour.²³

²⁰*SMH*, 16th May 1953, p. 13.

²¹*ibid.*, p. 2; See also *SMH*, 12th February 1954, p. 2.

²²E. Campion, *Rockchoppers*, pp. 77-78; M. Hogan, *op.cit.*, p. 109.

²³J. Connors, 'The 1954 Royal Tour of Australia', *Australian Historical Studies*, 25, 100, April 1993, pp. 379-380; For further discussion of the Queen and post-war Australia see P. Spearritt, 'Royal Progress: The Queen and Her Australian Subjects', *Australian Cultural History*, 5, 1986, pp. 75-94; J. Connors, *op.cit.*, pp. 371-382.

The 'equality' motif was taken up by *The Catholic Weekly* during the Royal Tour, portraying the Queen as unifying the nation:

In this welcome, happily, there will be no sign of division—political, racial or religious. Labor and Liberal, Old Australian and New Australian, Catholic and Protestant will be indistinguishable by the warmth of the greeting they offer to the gracious lady who is equally Queen to the humblest and poorest as she is to the proudest and wealthiest.²⁴

In comparison, conservative Protestant leaders depicted the Queen as the upholder of Christian faith (Protestant) and British democracy. Their comments on the Queen's Coronation and Royal Tour emphasised the religious and cultural aspects of the two events, rather than the idea of the Queen as an inspiration for equality and national unity. *The New South Wales Presbyterian* announced that the Queen's Coronation had been a sign that the Westminster parliamentary system of Britain and Australia 'is deeply rooted in religion'.²⁵ *The Methodist* noted that the Queen's visit had shown the loyalty of Australians to the British Empire, which would 'always remain' while Australia was 'predominantly British'.²⁶ This stood in contrast to the Protestant stance over *The Call*, which promoted national unity, and as a gesture of such cooperation, was endorsed by Catholic and Protestant leaders together. It highlighted that the Protestant ideal of unity meant community respect for Protestant values and institutions. This suggested that for Protestant leaders, the Protestant Church was an authoritative institution in society, along with God, State and family. Adherence to Protestant values was a means of effecting social cohesion.

²⁴*The Catholic Weekly*, 29th January 1954, p. 4, 4th February 1954, p. 1 and 11th February 1954, pp. 1-4.

²⁵*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 29th January 1954, p. 4.

²⁶*The Methodist*, 6th February 1954, p. 3 and 13th June 1953, p. 3; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1954, pp. 42-43; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1953-1954, p. 55.

As with the controversy over the lettering on Australian coinage, the Protestant Churches again proved victorious in this situation. The Federal government back pedalled, declaring that they did not deem Cardinal Gilroy to be the head of the Australian Catholic Church. Rather, they considered the Apostolic Delegate to be the head of the Australian Catholic Church, a position which was vacant in 1953.²⁷ Hence, Mowll was the senior Christian Church leader.

The third issue centred on the Queen's Colours Ceremony at Duntroon in 1954, where the Queen was to present new Colours to the corps of staff cadets. The Colours Ceremony was both civic and religious in nature. Despite there being no established religion in Australia, the Anglican Church had always assumed responsibility for religious ceremonies in the armed forces. Catholic service personnel were forbidden to attend Protestant services by their Church and long established Australian military practice allowed Catholic personnel to 'fall out' prior to such services.²⁸

In September 1952, Archbishop Mannix, Chaplain-General of the armed forces, had written to Menzies in relation to a similar Colours Ceremony at Laverton, urging him to consider the separation of religious and civic ceremonies for the armed forces, so that Catholics might not be offended.²⁹ Menzies delayed such a decision until February 1954. He agreed however, that an exclusively Protestant religious service was unconstitutional in Australia where there was no established Church. In the future, Menzies hoped that religious services could be distinct from civic functions, but added that it was too late to amend proceedings for the Duntroon ceremony.³⁰

Despite the Protestant respite gained by Menzies' 'delay', *The New South Wales Presbyterian* interpreted his acquiescence as the ultimate betrayal:

²⁷*SMH*, 21st May 1953, p. 2.

²⁸*The Catholic Weekly*, 18th February 1954, p. 1.

²⁹*ibid.*

³⁰Letter from Menzies to Mannix, 11th February 1954, AA/M2576/1, item 112; *SMH*, 10th February 1954, p. 7.

Mr. Menzies is our 'white-haired boy'. We are proud of him...because his aims and ideals are Christian ones...Nevertheless, we feel it is necessary to say that there is a very strong Protestant public opinion in Australia that is being aroused to action and will resist vigorously the tendency the Prime Minister and his government have shown in recent months to give in to Roman Catholic pressure groups...³¹

Despite the Protestant sense of betrayal, ironically, it was Mannix who had to give in. Menzies had written to Mannix asking him to consent to 'the attendance of Catholics at the approaching function at Duntroon'.³² Mannix was deeply upset, sending Menzies an urgent telegram:

...I cannot accept your proposal. The obvious logical course is[,] even at this late stage[,] to abandon at Duntroon a service which you admit was indefensible at Laverton.³³

On Menzies' further entreaty however, Mannix granted Catholic cadets a dispensation to attend, but not participate, in the Protestant 'consecration of the Colours' religious service at Duntroon.³⁴ Mannix's action may be seen as an attempt to display the Catholic Church's willing cooperation and sense of national unity before the Queen. Significantly, a dispensation was not granted for Catholic service personnel at the Flinders Naval Base, where 'only' the Duke of Edinburgh presented the Colours.³⁵

The Protestant 'victory' in all three controversies was an indication that Catholic numerical strength was not as significant as Protestants had feared. In the end, Menzies probably saw more political value in returning these superficial reinforcements of Australian Protestantism rather than bluntly offending the

³¹*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 26th February 1954, p. 4; See also *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1955, p. 50.

³²Letter from Menzies to Mannix, 11th February 1954, AA/M2576/1, item 112.

³³Telegram from Mannix to Menzies, 12th February 1954, AA/M2576/1, item 112.

³⁴*SMH*, 13th February 1954, p. 3.

³⁵*ibid.*, 19th February 1954, p. 8.

Liberal Party's main support base.³⁶ Menzies' efforts to mediate between Protestant and Catholic leaders in these three issues also reflected his political designs for social cohesion and national unity. Notwithstanding Menzies' ability to shrewdly campaign on values which both Catholics and Protestants could uphold, he claimed that he was 'consistently devoted' to 'the cause of religious tolerance'.³⁷ For Menzies and his government, the efforts of Protestant Church leaders to preserve symbols of Protestant superiority was a source of disunity and friction in the community. Despite Menzies' association with the Presbyterian Church, he was not supportive of Protestant leaders' efforts to preserve their cultural dominance, and was greatly dismayed that his cause for social unity and tolerance had occasioned 'no support from some very vocal people'.³⁸

The question remains as to why the three controversies arose in the first place. The relative insignificance of Catholic numerical pressure indicates that the controversies were signs of increased Protestant apprehension in the new post-war society. Furthermore, the close involvement of Menzies in the three controversies, with his objective of social unity, suggests a second explanation for their emergence: the changing status of Catholics in the Australian community.

In a society where the older Protestant values were being overtaken by greater community acceptance of Sunday leisure, drinking and freer attitudes to personal morality, Protestant Church leaders were fighting a losing battle to change the direction of these wider issues and instead became obsessed with lesser symbols of their status and influence. The relatively rapid advance of the post-war consumer/leisure society on their values of thrift, austerity, morality and religiosity left Protestant leaders feeling embattled against the 'secular' society. With the inability and unwillingness of Protestant leaders to confront capitalism and thwart the effectiveness of advertising and consumerism, the Catholic community became a convenient scapegoat for their woes.

³⁶J. Brett, *op.cit.*, pp. 31-51.

³⁷Letter from Menzies to Mannix, 11th February 1954, AA/M2576/1, item 112.

³⁸*ibid.*

The blatantly anti-Catholic radio program 'The Case For Protestantism' first appeared on 2CH in 1953. It was compered by the Rev. Bernard Judd and Archdeacon Thomas C. Hammond, both of whom were closely involved with the UCPA. The UCPA ran a number of anti-Catholic campaigns in the 1940s and 1950s to denounce the claims of Catholicism and to protest against the demise of Protestant values and influence. One involved the distribution of a pamphlet which promised 'a £10,000 reward to any Roman Catholic' who could prove that the Bible contained texts which stated that 'priests ought not to marry', 'the Virgin Mary can save us' and 'St. Peter was the Bishop of Rome'.³⁹ In 1953, in conjunction with the NSW Council of Churches, the UCPA organised an 'Evangelical Campaign of Witness' to protest against the Catholic National Eucharistic Congress.

The National Eucharistic Congress was a Catholic celebration to commemorate the 150th Anniversary of the proclamation of Governor King granting permission to a Catholic priest to celebrate Mass in Sydney.⁴⁰ A pastoral letter to the Protestant community signed by the leaders of all of the Protestant Churches and a declaration of the 'Evangelical Campaign of Witness' stated the staunch opposition of Protestant leaders to the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Eucharistic procession.⁴¹ Protestants neglected to comment on the ceremony which would close the Eucharistic Congress: a tribute to the dead of the two World Wars and the singing of 'God Save the Queen'.⁴²

Although this represents a considerable amount of Protestant animosity, such issues were mainly the concern of conservative Church leaders and clergy. Strong supporters and propounders of the anti-Catholic line of the NSW Council of Churches and the UCPA included Archbishop Mowll, Archdeacon Thomas Hammond, Bishop William Hilliard, the Rev. Robert Lew, the Rev. Dr. Frank

³⁹*The Catholic Weekly*, 12th February 1953, p. 12.

⁴⁰National Eucharistic Congress, *Congress Handbook*, Sydney, 1953, p. 1.

⁴¹*SMH*, 5th April 1953, p. 2, 11th April 1953, p. 4 and 13th April 1953, p. 2.

⁴²National Eucharistic Congress, op.cit., p. 53.

H. Rayward, the Rev. Bernard Judd and the Rev. William Cumming Thom. There was only minimal interest among Protestant lay people in anti-Catholic tirades. Some were considerably embarrassed at the belligerent attitude of Protestant Church leaders towards the Catholic community. As one Beverly Hills resident wrote in a letter to *The Sydney Morning Herald*:

The United Council of Protestant Action have distributed pamphlets to all householders dealing with the Eucharistic Congress. As a Protestant I must protest against this action. I feel it is a blatant piece of bad taste, peppered with bigotry.⁴³

All but one of the other letters from lay people to the editor of *The Sydney Morning Herald* commenting on the UCPA's opposition to National Eucharistic Congress contained similar sentiments, while letters from Protestant clergy generally defended the actions of their leaders. Essentially, the fate of these minor Protestant institutions had no real effect on the majority of the laity and invited little interest.

The debates over the coinage, the Table of Precedence and the Colours ceremony can also be explained in terms of the Australian Catholic identity, which was undergoing a remarkable change during the post-war years. The elevation of Archbishop Gilroy to the position of Cardinal in 1946 provided a focus for Catholic patriotism. For the first time, an Australian could elect the Pope (or perhaps become Pope). Gilroy himself was even a 'real Australian' in the Protestant understanding of such, having served with the Naval Wireless Transport Service during the First World War and witnessed the Gallipoli landing. Old Irish ties and sentimentalities were gradually declining in favour of an Anglo-Australian identity, as the warm Catholic reception of the 1954 Royal Tour attested.⁴⁴ Australian Catholics were losing their sense of 'Irishness', and were

⁴³*SMH*, 16th April 1953, p. 2, which see generally.

⁴⁴P. O'Farrell, op.cit., p. 404; *The Catholic Weekly*, 11th February 1954, pp. 1ff.

much less committed to Irish issues than they had been in the early twentieth century. Catholic upward mobility, at least for Australian-born Catholics, discouraged the class and cultural aspects of sectarianism.⁴⁵ Furthermore, a rapidly modernising and 'secularising' society had forged a growing bond between conservative Catholic and Protestant Christians, as seen by *The Call*.

The Catholic emphasis on integration and social cohesion also explains the reluctance of the bishops to implement ethnic parishes, and their insistence that migrants accept the Irish-Australian Catholic tradition. Toleration of the native Catholic traditions of migrants' would create greater cultural gulfs, not only among Catholics, but between Catholics and non-Catholics, consequently jeopardising the integration of Australian Catholics into the mainstream.

Catholics themselves were at pains to point out their integration into all levels of Australian society. *The Catholic Weekly* proudly displayed photographs of Catholic politicians, members of women's auxiliaries, nuns, school children, and a Catholic state premier, attorney-general and police commissioner greeting the Queen.⁴⁶ The pictures attest to the loyalty of all Catholics to Australia and the Commonwealth, rather than to Ireland or Rome. This was greatly acceptable in a society where the concept of 'the Australian way of life' rather than 'British tradition' and 'loyalty to Empire' was gaining currency.⁴⁷ For Catholics, this partly represented a fulfilment of their Catholic nationalist tradition of claiming to defend Australian interests over British.

In contrast, conservative Protestant leaders were left hoping that churches were continuing to observe 'Empire Day'.⁴⁸ Protestants were distinctly hampered

⁴⁵H. Mol, *The Faith of Australians*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1985, pp. 166, 168; P. O'Farrell, op.cit., pp. 399-400.

⁴⁶*The Catholic Weekly*, 11th February 1954, pp. 2-3; See also National Eucharistic Congress, 'The Catholic Story', Catholic Press Newspaper, Sydney, 1953.

⁴⁷R. White, 'The Australian Way of Life', *Historical Studies*, 18, 73, 1979, pp. 528-529; G. Caiger (ed.), *The Australian Way of Life*, William Heinemann, London, 1953.

⁴⁸*The Methodist*, 25th May 1946, p. 3; For the significance of Empire Day to the Protestant Churches in the inter-war years, see F. B. Boyce, *Empire Day*, 'Christian World' Printing Office, Sydney, 1921.

in their maintenance of the concept of 'British tradition' and 'loyalty to Empire', not only because of changing attitudes to 'being Australian', but also because of increasingly liberal moral values in Britain. Australian Protestants were greatly upset by the revelation that a British Royal Commission into Betting had approved of further gambling legalisations. Worse still, a Church of England commission into gambling had authorised card playing and raffles to raise church funds and approved of state lotteries as long as the prizes were 'not excessive'.⁴⁹ *The Australian Baptist's* comment on this situation was typical of the conservative Australian Protestant position: 'we refuse to believe that England should fall so low'.⁵⁰ Further Australian Protestant dismay was expressed at behaviour of the then future Queen. In a *Sydney Morning Herald* report titled 'Shock Felt in Australia', it was revealed that Protestants were appalled that Princess Elizabeth had been at a nightclub, a theatre and the races on a Sunday in Paris (a 'Continental' city).⁵¹ Australian Protestants, in their determination to restore 'the past', ignored social and moral change in Western society, and clung to their inter-war loyalties to Britain and to their fervent belief in the resilience of the British Protestant tradition.

The omission of 'F.D.' on Australian coinage, the government's initial decision to give precedence to Gilroy over Mowll, and Menzies' agreement to separate the religious and civic ceremonies of the armed forces in the future, showed firstly, that in the wider community there was growing tolerance of and respect for Catholics, and secondly, that concerns for the old Protestant institutions were growing increasingly irrelevant. Protestant supremacy was mainly an issue for Protestant leaders who retained their antipathy towards Catholics, and who felt their status threatened by Catholic immigration and the demise of Protestant institutions.

⁴⁹*SMH*, 29th October 1950, p. 4.

⁵⁰*The Australian Baptist*, 14th March 1950, p. 2; See also *SMH*, 29th October 1950, p. 4.

⁵¹*SMH*, 21st May 1948, p. 3.

These relatively mild sectarian scuffles also had wider ramifications for Protestant Church leaders. The linchpin in all three controversies was the Queen. The Queen was upheld as a symbol of national unity by conservative politicians. During the 1954 Tour, she was not publicly proclaimed as the head of the Anglican Church, leaving the Anglicans as just another sub-culture of Australians before the monarch. The attitudes expressed in *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Catholic Weekly*, and Menzies' promise of future changes to the Colours ceremony, were part of a wider conservative agenda to foster harmony and homogeneity in the community. The insistence on unity by conservative politicians mitigated against the wide scale continuation of Protestant-Catholic rivalry. Although Protestant Church leaders had ratified *The Call's* attempts to instil a sense of nationalism and unity in the Australian people, they were not able to accommodate such thinking when it conflicted with or was perceived to threaten their ascendancy.

The challenging of major Protestant institutions such as Sunday Observance, as well as minor Protestant concerns such as the Protestant 'right' to conduct religious services for the armed forces, were expressions of social change which mitigated against the conservative Protestant post-war agenda. The main failure of the Protestant Churches in these situations was their unwillingness to 'modernise' their traditional response to external threats to Protestant institutions. The conventional resort to blaming 'greedy commercial groups' and Catholics was unabated by economic change, the new leisure culture and the general rise of Catholics' socio-economic status.

Furthermore, there was no recognition of the distinctiveness of lay and clergy priorities. The six o'clock liquor referendum campaigns had been centred on contemporary issues such as drink-driving which appealed to the wider community. In contrast, the battles for the retention of 'F.D.', for the precedence of Mowll over Gilroy and for the continuation of a Protestant religious service in the Colours Ceremony were fought by Protestant Church leaders on a

'Protestantism versus Catholicism' basis, and were only relevant for Protestant Church leaders and ministers.

There were signs among some Protestant leaders however, that the fight for the Protestant ascendancy was beginning to be subordinated to concerns for the future of Christianity. After the Queen's visit, the issue of the religious service at the Colours ceremony received new life when Mannix declared that Menzies had promised to eliminate the religious service from the ceremony for the future. While the response of the Protestant organisations was predictable, the tone of Mowll's protest letter to Menzies was markedly different.⁵² Mowll suggested 'finding a form of Consecration upon which general agreement could be reached'. He concluded his letter:

I am wondering...whether we may be assured...that the Government policy will not be a surrender to the arrogant attitude of a minority section of the Community, the practical effect of which would be to paganise an important national function of a professedly Christian country.⁵³

While Mowll was still anxious to contain the interests of the Catholic minority against Protestant influence in the community, his main concern was the prospect of 'paganising' a 'Christian' country. Here, Mowll had recognised the futility of the fight for institutional Protestantism and returned to the idea of greater Christian cooperation in campaigning for the preservation of Christianity against the onslaught of the 'secular' society.

⁵²Letter from the Protestant Council of N.S.W. to Menzies, 30th November 1954, AA/M2576/1, item 112.

⁵³Letter from Mowll to Menzies, 17th June 1954, AA/M2576/1, item 112.

CHAPTER 8: YOUTH

The post-war period was to be the Churches' greatest investment in youth ever. Church leaders contended that the encouragement of youth into the Church would ensure the survival of Christian values and institutions into the uncertain future. Social reformist Christians saw youth as a means of building an active support base for their ideals and ensuring the continuation of 'Christian democracy'. For conservative Church leaders, who perceived that their status and values were under threat, youth became an important defence against declining numbers, communist ideology and moral change. Through post-war reconstruction, Christians had hoped to offer a solution to what they perceived to be the problems of youth, and at the same time, use youth to bolster and create their vision for post-war society.

The Christian strategy of attempting to address their problems through youth was not particularly unusual in Australian society. In the past, Australian youth had been identified by intellectuals as the source of a number of social problems, and then used as an agency through which to solve these problems and restore middle-class confidence in the viability of Australian society. In the early twentieth century, fears of 'racial degeneration' had seen the introduction of the Compulsory Service Act (1909), whereby adolescent boys were forced to undertake military training. This period also saw the rise of youth organisations which emphasised physical fitness, marching and outdoor activity, such as the Scouting and Boys' Brigade movements. In the 1910s and early 1920s, further fears of racial degeneration had seen an emphasis on removing children from slum and inner-city environments, and supervising their play and development in kindergartens. Concerns to develop a strong, healthy race were also extended to infant welfare. Dr. Truby King's advocacy of regular feeding, stringent hygiene

standards in the home and carefully managed infant development set the agenda for modern baby care.¹

By the 1940s however, the solution to the 'youth problem' had taken a turn away from eugenics and racial considerations. Although population levels were a vital concern in light of the Japanese advance in the Pacific during the war and growing Asian nationalism, there were no new designs to improve racial fitness along the lines of military training, kindergartens or infant welfare clinics. The main thrust of the youth issue however, was now directed back towards adolescents and aimed at turning them into democratic and responsible citizens.

The trend towards the concern for adolescent youth was helped by two wartime developments. During the war, there had been widespread community concern about juvenile delinquency.² The number of adolescents before the Sydney Metropolitan Children's Court had increased dramatically, reaching a peak in the years 1943-1944.³ The second wartime issue concerned the participation of German and Italian youth in the Nazi and Fascist regimes.⁴ The

¹G. Davison, 'The City-Bred Child and Urban Reform in Melbourne 1900-1940', in P. Williams (ed.), *Social Process and the City*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1983, pp. 153-164; K. Reiger, 'Women's Labour Redefined: Child-Bearing and Rearing Advice in Australia, 1880-1930s', in M. Bevege, M. James and C. Shute (eds.), *Worth Her Salt: Women At Work in Australia*, Sydney, 1982, pp. 78-81; K. Reiger, *The Disenchantment of the Home: Modernizing the Australian Family 1880-1940*, OUP, Melbourne 1985, pp. 128-130.

²D. E. Rose, *A Study of Juvenile Delinquency in New South Wales*, Ministry for Labour and Industry and Social Services of the State of New South Wales, Sydney, 1942; F. O. Barnett, *The Making of a Criminal*, Melbourne, 1940; E. M. Corkery, *Statistical Survey of 1000 Children Committed to Institutions in New South Wales*, Child Welfare Department of New South Wales, Sydney, 1952.

³Parliament of New South Wales, *Annual Report of the Child Welfare Department*, June 1944, p. 9; Parliament of New South Wales, *Child Welfare Department Report*, June 1947, p. 11; *SMH*, 19th December 1947, p. 4.

⁴K. S. Cunningham (ed.), *The Adjustment of Youth: A Study of A Social Problem in the British, American and Australian Communities*, MUP, Carlton, 1951, pp. 2, 14; D. Maunders, *Keeping Them Off the Streets: A History of Voluntary Youth Organisations in Australia 1850-1980*, Phillip Institute of Technology, Coburg, 1984, p. 80; For further information on the Hitler Youth see H. Koch, *The Hitler Youth*, MacDonald and Janes, London, 1975, pp. 231-234, 246-247; D. Lang, *A Backward Look*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1979; M. MacKinnon, *The Naked Years*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1987; C. Wolf, *A Model Childhood*, Virago Press, London, 1983.

conclusion drawn out of these two wartime experiences by child welfare departments, educationists, psychologists, Church leaders and social workers was that adolescence was a difficult period of life. It was a time when the wrong life choices could be made, choices which might lead to a life of crime. Adolescence was also a period of extreme vulnerability, when youth could be easily deceived into accepting totalitarian ideals. In order to proceed to 'full adulthood', adolescents needed to be guided and directed.⁵

The Protestant and Catholic Churches shared the concerns of other community leaders over juvenile delinquency and totalitarian youth organisations.⁶ Their solutions to these post-war youth issues were similar to those suggested by other community leaders, with the proviso that only the development of a specifically 'Christian citizenship' would solve youth delinquency and the problems arising from competing ideologies. For all Church leaders, 'Christian citizenship' meant the inculcation of youth with Christian ethics.⁷ Furthermore, Christian citizenship programs aimed to address a number of their own broader post-war reconstruction concerns. The post-war period saw the development of three youth focussed campaigns to promote Christian

⁵R. J. Heffron, *Tomorrow is Theirs: The Present and Future of Education in New South Wales*, Department of Education and Child Welfare, Sydney, 1946, p. 9; A. Barcan, 'The Transition in Australian Education 1939-1967' in J. Cleverley and J. Lawry (eds.), *Australian Education in the Twentieth Century: Studies in the Development of State Education*, Longman, Camberwell, 1972, pp. 177-178; K. S. Cunningham (ed.), op.cit., pp. 8, 148; R. Hauser, *Youth Survey Report*, Department of Education and National Fitness Council of New South Wales, Sydney, 1954, p. 45; See also D. Maunders, op.cit., pp. 70-91; L. Johnson, *The Modern Girl: Girlhood and Growing Up*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1993, pp. 39-40.

⁶*The Methodist*, 6th June 1944, p. 4 and 1st June 1946, p. 5; ECCA, 'The Family' (1944), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 59; Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Christian Education in a Democratic Community' (1949), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 117; *The New Day*, March 1947, p. 1; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1942-1943, p. 14; W. Guilford, *Winning the Children to Christ: An Introduction to Child Evangelism*, Christian Press, Sydney, 1949, p. 2.

⁷W. Coughlan, *Training for Christian Citizenship*, n.p.; 'Legion for Christian Reconstruction' in *The Methodist*, 10th July 1943, p. 2; Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Christian Education in a Democratic Community' (1949), in M. Hogan (ed.) *Justice Now!*, p. 116; *The Catholic Weekly*, 24th January 1946, p. 24; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1942-1943, pp. 14-16; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1945, pp. 41-43.

citizenship by the Churches: religious education; youth leadership training; and the development of new youth organisations for adolescents.

In the past, the question of religious education in schools had revolved around clergy access to public schools and state aid for denominational schools.⁸ While state aid continued to be a thorny issue throughout the 1950s, the post-war period saw a new understanding of the importance of religious education. Christians of all persuasions contended that a secure foundation in Christian education for youth was the way to build a better society. For Catholics, Christianising youth through a Christian school system was part of their wider vision of a new post-war society.⁹ For conservative Protestants, religious education formed an important part of their post-war schemes of propagation and the inculcation of Christian faith and values.¹⁰ Social reformist Protestant groups such as the CSOM wanted to include an emphasis on religious instruction as part of a widespread reform of the entire education system.¹¹ After a wartime 'slump' in religious education in state schools due to many clergy leaving their parishes and associated state schools to fulfil military duties, Church leaders made efforts to revitalise religious education as part of their campaign to advance Christian citizenship for Australian youth.

Catholic schools (as well as private schools run by the Protestant Churches) already catered for religious education in their curriculums. Catholics argued that an adequate religious education could never be provided by the state school system and attempted to persuade governments to encourage and financially

⁸On Catholics and religious education see P. O'Farrell, *op.cit.*, pp. 132-193; On Protestants and religious education see W. Phillips, *Defending 'A Christian Country'*, p. 207ff.

⁹ECCA, 'Pattern for Peace' (1943), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 47; ECCA, 'The Family' (1944), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 59.

¹⁰*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1945, p. 43; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1942-1943, p. 16; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1946, p. 189; *The Methodist*, 2nd January 1943, p. 2.

¹¹W. Coughlan, *Christian Action Today*, pp. 6-7; W. Coughlan, *Principles of Christian Social Order*, p. 8.

support independent school systems, such as their own. In their 1949 statement, *Christian Education in a Democratic Community*, the Catholic bishops argued that the state school system, with its emphasis on ideological neutrality, had failed to endow students with Christian values. They further contended that a state-controlled education system was open to exploitation by a totalitarian government and was geared to the minority who would attend university, rather than the majority who would leave school to do technical and labouring jobs.¹² Although the 1949 statement unashamedly championed the Catholic school system, its underlying concern was that a religious education was a vital component for building a Christian society. Catholic calls for state aid for denominational schools went unheeded however, hampering the efficacy of many Catholic schools.¹³

Protestants did not condemn the state school system, but hoped that community interest in the post-war youth question would see efforts by education authorities to promote religious education in schools.¹⁴ The provision of religious education to public school students was largely left up to the Churches. School authorities essentially tolerated religious instruction, giving little formal assistance.

In 1948, the Religious Instruction in Public Schools Committee of the NSW Presbyterian Assembly reported that there were widespread problems with religious education. Overworked ministers, a lack of basic guidelines for teachers and few persons with adequate teaching experience willing to teach religion were just some of the difficulties.¹⁵ Furthermore, classes were typically overcrowded

¹²Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in Australia, 'Christian Education in a Democratic Community' (1949), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 113-125; *The Church Standard*, 9th September 1949, p. 3; H. Praetz, pp. 15-16, 19, 45-47.

¹³M. Hogan, *The Sectarian Strand*, pp. 251-255.

¹⁴*The New Day*, January-February 1947, p. 13; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1945, p. 51; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1946, p. 189; *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, pp. 55-56, 247-248.

¹⁵*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1948, pp. 169-170; See also *The Methodist Church of*

and poorly managed, discouraging students to take religion lessons seriously.¹⁶ As the Rev. Bill Gumbley, Anglican minister of Hunters Hill, tried to explain to his congregation in 1954:

English, maths, physics, all the subjects that make for material success are more or less adequately provided for in schools; only in religious instruction is instruction thought to be sufficient if given to unmanageable classes four or five times the size of a normal class, for half an hour a week! What can a class of over a hundred in an overcrowded classroom learn from one man, however good he may be? Only how to 'muck up' and relax from ordinary school discipline.¹⁷

Protestant Church leaders contended that these difficulties could be overcome in Australia if religious instruction provisions similar to those of the 1944 British Education Act were adopted. The concerns of British Church leaders, notably William Temple, for Christian citizenship had prompted the religious education provision in the 1944 Act. The Act stated that unless parents objected, every child was to begin their school day with an act of worship and receive instruction in the Christian religion.¹⁸ Australian Protestant leaders hoped that Australian education authorities would follow the British example. They duly submitted statements and sent representations to the NSW Department of Education.¹⁹

Their recommendations were not adopted however, and no post-war provisions for religious instructions in state schools were made beyond the NSW

Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1947, p. 124 and 1950, p. 87 and 1951, p. 88; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, p. 64.

¹⁶A. W. Black, 'Religious Studies in Australian Public Schools: An Overview and Analysis', *Australian Education Review*, 7, 3, 1974, pp. 1, 3.

¹⁷*All Saints' Messenger, Hunters Hill*, April 1954, p. 4.

¹⁸D. L. Edwards, *Leaders of the Church of England 1828-1978*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1978, pp. 342-343.

¹⁹*New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 178, November 1945, pp. 1080-1081.

Public Instruction Act of 1880.²⁰ There was considerable support for religious education among North Shore Liberal M.P.s. For the McKell Labor government however, religious education was not an important facet of their post-war education policy. Instead, they focussed their attention on child health and welfare, increased the school leaving age from fourteen to fifteen, and established 'opportunity' schools both for children with learning disabilities and for academically talented children.²¹ The issue of extending religious education in state schools eventually faded into obscurity among Church leaders. By 1955, Anglican leaders were encouraging their ministers to make good use of the 1880 Act, rather than campaigning for a revision of the Act.²²

With the continuation of the existing religious education policy, Protestant leaders made their own efforts to reform religious education in state schools. In 1948, representatives of the Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Churches of Christ, Salvation Army and Congregational Churches met to form a Provisional Council for Christian Education in Schools.²³ By 1952 the Council had published and sold 50,000 exercise books for use in school religion lessons and was distributing a newsletter to religious instruction teachers.²⁴ One of the most fruitful outcomes of the Council was its development of a joint syllabus for religious instruction. Yet the problems of overcrowding and teacher education remained. Through inadequate funding, overworked ministers and poorly trained staff provided by the Churches, and a state education policy which tolerated rather than actively promoted religion in schools, the cause of Christian citizenship was not

²⁰R. J. Heffron, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

²¹W. J. McKell, *Five Critical Years: The Story of the McKell Labour Government in New South Wales*, Australian Labour Party, Sydney, 1946, pp. 65-71; *New South Wales Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 182, December 1946, pp. 812-813, 821, 825 and vol. 186, December 1947 pp. 1703-1704.

²²*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1956, pp. 74-75.

²³*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1948, p. 170.

²⁴*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 11th December 1952, p. 13.

substantially advanced through religious education classes in public schools. The Wyndham Report (1957) made recommendations that religion should be a core subject (non-compulsory) in secondary schools. There was no change however, to the older methods of teaching religion.²⁵

Although religious education in schools attracted broad Christian support, for the most part, Church leaders were not in agreement over how best to promote other aspects of Christian citizenship. Conservatives envisaged a revival of church membership and church attendance through youth, while social reformists hoped to recruit youth in the fight for a Christian social order.

Coughlan had desired that Anglican youth organisations would become more oriented to a social justice outlook, which the CSOM could capitalise on in the future. His hopes however, were to no avail:

I was disappointed to find that the new handbook of the C.E.B.S. [Church of England Boys' Society] devoted pages to the treatment of snake-bite and other matters (important no doubt but not really of great moment), yet in dealing with the responsibilities of Christian service for seniors, the C.E.B.S. gave not a hint of the existence (not to say the impelling urgency) of social breakdown and the need of Christian action in relation to it.²⁶

Coughlan's outburst was indicative of his frustration at the Anglican Church's continued insensitivity to the CSOM's agenda, and at the chronic lack of funds which prevented the CSOM from hiring its own youth worker or setting up CSOM youth organisations on the lines of the YCW of Catholic Action and the Eureka Youth League.²⁷ With the continued dominance of conservatives and the

²⁵A. W. Black. op.cit., pp. 19-21.

²⁶W. Coughlan, *The Layman and the Social Order*, n.p.; CEBS, *The Church of England Boys' Society: Members' Handbook*, 2nd ed., CEBS Diocese of Sydney, Sydney, 1947, pp. 52, 57-58.

²⁷W. Coughlan, *The Layman and the Social Order*, n.p.; W. Coughlan, *Training for Christian Citizenship*, n.p.

CSOM's declining financial position, the plans of the CSOM for youth made little impression.

The Catholic bishops' fortunes in Sydney were similar. The opposition of the Sydney bishops to Mannix's interpretation of Catholic Action left the YCW, NCGM and YCS groups largely confined to Melbourne. This meant that it was the conservative plans for youth which were largely implemented by the Churches in Sydney.

Conservatives argued that apart from religious education in schools, the ideals of Christian citizenship were best imparted to youth through new and reinvigorated Church based youth organisations. There were already a number of youth organisations operating in the Churches in Australia. Most of these had been established in Australia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as the Children of Mary (1870s), the Boys' Brigade (1886), Christian Endeavour (CE) (1904), the Scout and Guide Movements (1910), the Methodist Order of Knights (OK) (1916) and Methodist Girls' Comradeship (MGC) (1918).²⁸

These organisations continued to attract pre-adolescent children in the post-war period. Despite some decline, junior sections of groups such as CE were able to continue well into the 1950s. Between 1926 and 1956 the overall junior membership of CE in the NSW Methodist Church had only declined from 3,834 to 2,468.²⁹ The continued patronage of younger children was probably due to

²⁸M. E. Hoare, *Boys, Urchins, Men: A History of the Boys' Brigade in Australia and Papua-New Guinea 1882-1976*, Reed, Terrey Hills, 1980, pp. 24-25; F. E. Clark, *Christian Endeavour in All Lands*, United Society of Christian Education, Boston, 1906, esp. pp. 37-49, 81ff; E. E. Reynolds, *Scouting for Catholics and Others*, Burns Oates, London, 1948; *The Catholic Weekly*, 21st March 1946, p. 2.

²⁹*Minutes of the... General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1926, p. 41 and 1957, p. 8 (statistics).

coercion by parents who considered the Church to be especially 'good for children'.³⁰

For adolescent youths however, the Churches found that they could no longer rely on these older organisations. Senior divisions of established youth organisations were seriously declining. In the NSW Methodist Church for example, the number of young people in senior CE divisions had steadily dropped from 2,979 in 1926 to 593 in 1956.³¹ Even for more 'modern' youth groups such the OK and the MGC, fortunes were similar.³²

Conservative Christians had become particularly alarmed that the early twentieth century had seen a gradual decline in the number of adolescents involved in Christian youth organisations.³³ In order to reverse this trend, Church leaders began to focus their attentions on the 'new' needs of post-war adolescent youth. They attempted to approach the youth question in two ways: by extending their facilities for youth; and by developing a number of new Church youth organisations.

The Sydney Anglican Diocese appointed its first Chaplain of Youth, the Rev. Graham Delbridge, in 1942. After the war, they began redirecting monies raised by the Sydney Diocesan Churchwomen's Association for the Church of England National Emergency Fund (CENEF) towards youth projects. As Archbishop Mowll proudly announced to the 1947 Synod:

³⁰*Report on the Decline in Church-going*, Diocese of Newcastle, 1951, cited in H. Mol, op.cit., pp. 58-59.

³¹*Minutes of the...General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1926, p. 41 and 1957, p. 8.

³²*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1945-1956 (statistics); See also *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1942, p. 102.

³³Statistics (Sunday school scholars, Christian Endeavour members), *Minutes of the...General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1932-1945; Statistics, (Sunday school scholars), *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1930-1942. See also *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1947-1948, p. 13; *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, September 1950, p. 123.

The Church, I rejoice to know, is becoming more and more aware of the importance of work amongst our young people particularly in the present state of world affairs. Here in Sydney we have taken decisive steps forward in the appointment of a Chaplain for Youth and the centralisation of our Youth work in the new C.E.N.E.F. centre.³⁴

The CENEFF Memorial Centre was formally opened by the appropriately young Princess Elizabeth in 1947 as a training centre for Youth leaders and also as a clubhouse for ex-servicemen who had used CENEFF hostels and huts during the war years. This course of action was followed in other Churches. The Baptists appointed a youth director in 1946, while the Methodists decided to build a Youth Leadership Training Centre in 1945.³⁵

The Churches also tried to extend their programs for youth through the creation of new Christian youth groups. In January 1945 the Catholic Church introduced the Catholic Youth Organisation (CYO). The CYO encouraged cultural, recreational, dramatic, musical and sporting activities among members. Its three aims were stated as being:

To ensure the formation and development of young men and women's spiritual, social, cultural and recreational life at home, work and leisure; To awaken in the men and women an awareness of their environmental influences and the Catholic principles that should guide their lives; To provide a service for every need of youth.³⁶

In other words, the CYO hoped to offer adolescent youth religious and recreational guidance in a Christian environment.³⁷ In 1947 the Presbyterian Church rewrote the constitution of the Presbyterian Fellowship of

³⁴*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1948, p. 41.

³⁵*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1946-1947, p. 116; K. Manley, op.cit., p. 58; D. Wright and E. Clancy, op.cit., p. 167.

³⁶*The Catholic Weekly*, 4th January 1945, p. 1.

³⁷*The Catholic Weekly*, 4th July 1946, p. 3; CYO, *Catholic Youth Organisation*, Sydney, 1965, pp. 57-79.

Australia (PFA), an organisation established in 1874, after concerns that it had become ineffective in attracting modern youth.³⁸ In 1948, the Young People's Department of the NSW Methodist Conference tabled the constitution it had drawn up for a Methodist Youth Club (MYC) (renamed the Methodist Youth Fellowship (MYF) in 1957). The Young People's Department aimed to incorporate the many locally based church fellowships which had been formed. These groups had no formal structure or uniforms and were for both sexes.³⁹ Like the CYO, the meetings of the PFA and MYC/MYF groups were to be based on physical, mental, spiritual and social activities.⁴⁰

These new Christian youth groups met with some success among adolescents compared to their predecessors. By 1960, the senior ranks of the MYF had 4,679 members, absorbing many of the previously non-aligned local church youth groups, and clearly outstripping the senior divisions of the CE, OK and MGC groups, which had 752, 1,367 and 1,853 senior members respectively.⁴¹ Although the PFA did not experience any major increases, it managed to hold its own, growing from 5,160 members in 1945 to 5,250 in 1957.⁴² Reports in *The Catholic Weekly* of CYO activities also indicated a thriving, vigorous youth organisation.

³⁸M. Prentis, *Fellowship: A History of the Presbyterian Fellowship in New South Wales 1874-1977*, Presbyterian Fellowship of Australia in New South Wales, Sydney, 1977, p. 17; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1947, pp. 186-189; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1948, pp. 126-129.

³⁹*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1957, p. 197.

⁴⁰*ibid.*, 1948, p. 123; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1948, p. 126; G. S. Udy, *Methodist Youth Fellowship Handbook*, Sydney, 1961, p. 19.

⁴¹*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1960, p. 104.

⁴²*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1954, p. 159 and 1957, p. 158 (New South Wales figures).

The new post-war Christian youth groups had an emphasis on informality, leisure and recreation. In contrast, the older Christian youth groups had placed more importance on youth religiosity and quasi-regimentation. Although organisations such as CE had always included social activities in its program, it had placed greater emphasis on bible study and professing personal Christian belief.⁴³ The shift away from a religious emphasis can be seen when contrasting the 1933 and 1947 editions of the leaders' handbook for the Church of England Boys' Society (CEBS). In 1933, the handbook was most adamant in its stipulation that CEBS members must attend church:

Attendance at church is obligatory...If boys will not 'toe the line' or pay the price of church membership, then they cannot join the CEBS.⁴⁴

This statement conveys the idea that for CEBS boys, church attendance was a 'price to be paid' rather than an act of faith. By 1947 however, the question of forcing boys to attend church was at issue, and the tone of the handbook had softened considerably:

In dealing with the Spiritual side of a boy's character, a leader should be careful not to regard boys as complete little Christians having a full knowledge of their beliefs and duties as members of the Church. So often we expect attendance at Church and Sunday School to become automatic, upon having rules stated to them or after having made certain promises.⁴⁵

This recognition of the limitations of youth religiosity, and the idea that youth needed the opportunity to accept Christianity for themselves, was evident in Methodist circles too. In the 1933 Constitution for the MGC, girls were expected to attend church or Sunday School for at least three months before they were

⁴³F. E. Clark, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

⁴⁴CEBS, *C.E.B.S. Handbook for Leaders*, CEBS, Melbourne, 1933, p. 12.

⁴⁵CEBS, *C.E.B.S. Handbook for Leaders*, rev. ed., CEBS, Melbourne, 1947, p. 30.

admitted to the MGC.⁴⁶ By the late 1950s, religious requirements were becoming less stringent. The Rev. Gloster Udy's *Methodist Youth Fellowship Handbook* (1961) made several references to the need for youth leaders to understand the perspective of teenagers on the Church and on church attendance. In the MYF's stated goals, there was no mention of forcing young people to attend church. Rather, the organisation aimed 'to aid youth in the expression of their faith, devotional habits and acts of service' through youth-oriented Christian worship services, with the long term objective of bringing youth into the membership of the Church.⁴⁷

Changing attitudes to youth religiosity were not the only factor in the demise of older groups such as CE. There was also an emphasis on informality and leisure. The senior divisions of youth groups which had been popular in the inter-war period such as the OK, the MGC and the Boys' Brigade, most of which had also included social activities in their programs, were in decline by the 1950s. The uniforms, regalia, formal meeting rituals and merit badges which had attracted youth away from CE in the 1920s and 1930s no longer inspired modern youth.⁴⁸

The desire for leisure among post-war youth was encouraged by the emerging economic boom of the post-war period. The combination of a high demand for unskilled juvenile labour and near full employment meant that youth wages rose from 51% of the adult wage in 1940 to 58% in 1955.⁴⁹ This resulted

⁴⁶Methodist Church of Australasia, *The Methodist Girls' Comradeship Constitution*, Methodist Book Depot, Sydney, 1933, p. 4.

⁴⁷G. S. Udy, op.cit., pp. 1-11.

⁴⁸Methodist Church of Australasia, *Methodist Order of Knights: Commanders' Handbook*, Methodist Department of Christian Education, 1957; Methodist Church of Australasia, *Methodist Girls' Comradeship Handbook - 1951*, General Grand Council of the Methodist Girls' Comradeship, Perth, 1951; M. E. Hoare, op.cit., pp. 37, 79; See also J. Rickard, 'For God's Sake Keep Us Entertained!' in B. Gammage and P. Spearritt (eds.), *Australians: A Historical Library*, vol 4, Fairfax, Syme and Weldon, Broadway, 1987, pp. 348, 352; J. Rickard, *Australia: A Cultural History*, pp. 152, 191.

⁴⁹C. Short, *The Relationship Between Youth and Adult Award Wages from 1930 to 1985*, Western Australian Labour Market Research Centre, Murdoch, 1985, p. 7; *SMH*, 12th February 1954, p. 2.

in a growing number of young people with considerable financial resources. Furthermore, with the rise of general community prosperity, youth were less likely to have to commit their income to sustain their family, as in pre-war days.⁵⁰ This situation was met by market forces which promoted a wide range of commodities aimed specifically at youth, inventing the 'teenager' as the new economic category of youth. Fashions, magazines, comics, music, movies, and foodstuffs were marketed for teenagers, promising them popularity, sexual desirability and fun.⁵¹

The new economic and leisure freedoms enjoyed by post-war youth raised much concern among the older generations in the Australian community. A *Sydney Morning Herald* report claimed that high youth wages resulted in millions of pounds being wasted on frivolous expenditure, and encouraged 'milk bar' avenues of production.⁵² The formation of the Bodgie and Widgie Association of Australia in 1951 raised further alarm among staff members of the NSW Education Department and the police, resulting in stories of wild sex orgies, strange cult rituals, American music, and outlandish flamboyant clothing circulating in the press.⁵³ As in the 1920s, the new sense of independence and identity among youth provoked a generation gap. This was also evident in the response of older Christians to the new leisure-based Church youth groups.

At the 1951 Conference of the CYO, youth leaders had to defend their organisation against the criticism that the CYO was not inculcating the values of Christian citizenship in Catholic youth:

⁵⁰J. McCalman, *Struggletown: Portrait of an Australian Working-Class Community*, rev. ed., Penguin, Ringwood, 1988, pp. 120, 122.

⁵¹P. Cochrane, 'At War At Home: Australian Attitudes During the Vietnam Years', in G. Pemberton (ed.), *Vietnam Remembered*, Weldon Publishing, Sydney, 1990, p. 167; L. Johnson, 'The Teenage Girl: The Social Definition of Growing Up For Young Australian Women, 1950 to 1965', *History of Education Review*, 18, 1, 1989, p. 9.

⁵²*SMH*, 12th February 1954, p. 2; M. Finnane, op.cit., pp. 234, 237.

⁵³*SMH*, 22nd February 1951, p. 2 and 7th December 1951, p. 2; J. Stratton, 'Bodgies and Widgies—Youth Culture in the 1950s', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 15, 1984, pp. 13-20.

Consensus of opinion was definite that no matter what could truthfully be said about C.Y.O. members and their lack of piety, rowdiness and avoidance of responsibility, in all cases C.Y.O. members were far better than non-members in the parish.⁵⁴

Statements such as the above were not particular to the post-war period. With the growing popularity of the OK and the MGC in the inter-war period, and the decline of CE, older Methodists of the period had voiced their concerns that the new organisations lacked 'spiritual depth'.⁵⁵ In other words, generation-based conflict between older Christians who wanted to maintain traditional moral and religious standards and younger Christians who were more concerned to hold modern youth in the Church was not new. It represented an ever-present struggle in the Church between traditionalism and modernity. In the post-war period, the Protestant Churches fought an important generation-based battle over the issue of dancing on church property.

The question of dancing did not pose any problems for the Catholic Church. The CYO regularly held dances for its members throughout the 1940s and 1950s.⁵⁶ For older and socially conservative Protestant leaders, dancing had traditionally been viewed as an activity which induced lust and immorality in the young, and was therefore considered an inappropriate activity for Christian youth.⁵⁷ The Baptist Church had always staunchly opposed dancing in all forms and its restrictions on dancing continued unabated and unchallenged in the post-

⁵⁴*The Catholic Weekly*, 31st January 1951, p. 5.

⁵⁵D. Wright and E. Clancy, op.cit., p. 161.

⁵⁶See for example *Church Notices: Drummoyn Catholic Church*, 17th December 1950; *Church Notices: St. Kieran's Manly Vale*, 26th April 1953; *St. Brigid's Chronicle: Marrickville*, July 1952, p. 2; C. Kyne, 'The Sixties Saved Me' in K. Nelson and D. Nelson (eds.), *Sweet Mothers, Sweet Maids: Journeys from Catholic Childhoods*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1986, p. 150.

⁵⁷See for example *The Methodist*, 28th September 1946, p. 10 and 27th March 1954, p. 9; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1945, p. 122; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1950, p. 67.

war period.⁵⁸ While dancing was not officially prohibited to members of the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, dancing on Church property and holding dances to raise church funds was forbidden. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, the question of dancing on church property was being vigorously challenged by youth, parents, youth leaders and sympathetic clergy in the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches.

The agitation of younger Protestants for dancing on church property revolved around two concerns. First, the popularity of dancing among youth had received a new boost from the presence of American servicemen during the war, who had introduced a number of new dances to Australian youth, such as the 'jive' and the 'jitterbug'.⁵⁹ Post-war Christian youth wanted to hold dances as part of their youth group activities.⁶⁰ Secondly, parents, youth leaders and some clergy argued that youth dancing should be supervised by the Church, and that to continue to deny dancing on church property was seriously neglecting youth needs, which in the end would only serve to damage the Church.⁶¹

By 1954, the arguments of younger Protestants had officially won through in the Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian Churches. This represented the increasing influence of younger clergymen. It also reflected the influence of clergymen who as young ministers, had been campaigning for a change in Church dancing laws in the 1920s.⁶² On the other hand, the new laws concerning dancing revealed a distinct reluctance to offend older clergy and Church members. When

⁵⁸K. Manley, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

⁵⁹J. McCalman, *op.cit.*, pp. 146-147; J. Stratton, *op.cit.*, pp. 17-19; J. Stratton, *The Young Ones: Working-Class Culture and the Category of Youth*, Black Swan Press, Perth, 1992, pp. 2, 5, 91-92; J. Rickard, *Australia: A Cultural History*, p. 185.

⁶⁰See for example *The Church Standard*, 2nd December 1949, p. 5; *The Methodist*, 28th September 1946, p. 10.

⁶¹*SMH*, 11th October 1954, p. 2; *The Methodist*, 12th June 1954, p. 3; *The Church Standard*, 2nd December 1949, pp. 10, 11.

⁶²*Minutes of the 8th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1926, p. 130; *The Methodist*, 23rd January 1943, p. 12; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 26th February 1954, p. 2.

the General Conference of the Methodist Church voted to lift the ban on holding dancing functions on church property, they included a provision that dancing could only be held in a local church hall if the local Leader's Meeting approved.⁶³ In other words, while church dances were not opposed, the onus was on the leaders of individual churches to allow dancing on church property. This was also the approach taken earlier by the Presbyterian and Anglican Churches.⁶⁴

The importance of courting the older or conservative members was that they often held the balance of power in local churches, as was evidenced by the result of appeals by youth groups to local church authorities for permission to hold church dances. One Anglican parent wrote to *The Sydney Morning Herald*, complaining of the local church situation:

Why is ballroom dancing discouraged or forbidden by some Church of England authorities in the Sydney Diocese? Church-going parents in [the] Sydney diocese are at a loss to understand why the Church prevents their children from having dancing under the guidance of the Church, when there is nothing in the Church of England ordinance forbidding such social activity...⁶⁵

Apart from simply opposing church dances, older and conservative local church officials were also able to place a variety of restrictions on church dances. Plans to hold a dance cabaret in the Sunday School hall by youth of the Turramurra Methodist Church met with the ire of their church leaders, especially as the youth organising the dance had already sent out invitations and hired a dance band

⁶³*Minutes of the 17th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1954, p. 133; *The Methodist*, 12th June 1954, p. 1.

⁶⁴*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 26th February 1954, p. 2; See also *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1948, p. 119; Rev. Dr. D. B. Knox in *SMH*, 18th October 1954, p. 2.

⁶⁵*SMH*, 11th October 1954, p. 2; See also *SMH*, 16th October 1954, p. 2 and 18th October 1954, p. 2 and 19th October 1954, p. 2.

before permission was obtained. The Turramurra Leaders' Meeting agreed to the dance being held under the following conditions:

1. Lights out at midnight and cleaning up concluded at the same time.
2. A member of the Leaders Meeting...and the minister give permission for use of the Hall to bona-fide people.
3. Young people requested to refrain from use of the word 'cabaret' as it may be associated in the minds of some undesirable elements [sic].
4. Hired dance band must not be allowed on premises.
5. Young people acquainted of findings of meeting in case of proposed function, be requested to conform thereto and in all cases notify invitees.⁶⁶

The failure of the youth to request permission to hold the dance in the Sunday School hall was indicative of their indifference or incomprehension of how important the issue of dancing on church property was to older Methodists. Certainly, some of the Turramurra Church leaders' objections over the dance were related to youth neglecting to comply with the laws concerning dancing on church property. While the Leaders' Meeting did not oppose the dance being held, they retained power over the issue through their restrictions over which people could be invited to the dance, the use of a dance band and the use of the word 'cabaret'. Circumstances such as these were to be expected, as an article in *The Methodist* explained:

We do trust that young people—and older people too—will be patient with those elders who do not like the change in policy. There are very sound arguments for their attitude. But there are also parents, active in the church, who are glad at the thought that their young people can find enjoyment on church premises if that is their desire.⁶⁷

⁶⁶*Minutes of Leaders Meeting, Turramurra Methodist Church, 29th June 1955.*

⁶⁷*The Methodist, 12th June 1954, p. 3.*

The existence of generation-based conflict points to a wider problem for the Churches. As the older Protestants argued, although the Churches could potentially attract youth through holding various leisure, dancing and sporting activities, it was at the cost of the wider conservative agenda to instil Christian values and morals in youth and to encourage their participation in the Church. As William F. Connell noted in his 1959 study, *Growing Up in an Australian City*, young people tended to stop attending church once they reached their late teens:

Church-going is more popular among girls than among boys; but the trend in attendance is the same for both. The time spent in church steadily declines as the adolescents grow older, falling off most sharply for boys between 15 and 16, and for girls between 15 and 17 years.⁶⁸

Connell's survey showed that while the Churches had managed to hold youth within their youth groups, keeping them away from 'adverse' influences, this had not led young people to join the Church or take up church-going. Furthermore, in terms of the number of hours spent per week, church activities were only the seventh most popular form of leisure among Sydney youth, behind various sports and cinema-going.⁶⁹

In their efforts to attract youth into Christian youth organisations, the Church enjoyed moderate success. In the long term however, they were unable to encourage the majority of youth group members to join the Church or to take on their political causes. The Churches considered youth to be their largest group of potential adherents. The failure to inspire youth to join the Church and support its programs meant that the Churches spent an enormous amount of time, money and energy with little return.

⁶⁸W. F. Connell, et. al., *Growing Up in An Australian City: A Study of Adolescent Youth in Sydney*, Australian Council for Educational Research, Melbourne, 1959, p. 127.

⁶⁹*ibid.*, p. 129; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1947-1948, p. 13.

Religious education in state schools did not prove to be the vehicle of 'Christian citizenship' either. This was due to the post-war interest in developing other aspects of school education, a low level of government and community enthusiasm for religious education and the Protestant Churches' inability to solve the problems themselves. The Catholic system remained hamstrung by the continued lack of state aid, a problem which was exacerbated with the arrival of post-war migrants. The failure to implement a viable scheme of religious education directly hampered Christian post-war reconstruction plans, as it represented the most effective way that their message of 'Christian citizenship' could be disseminated among youth.

The Church's involvement with youth was largely reflective of attitudes to youth in Australian society. Church leaders' attempts to come to terms with modern youth through new youth groups and youth centres was part of an intense interest in the youth question and an ongoing redefinition of youth and adolescence. The conflict this generated not only highlighted the different theological and political definitions of 'Christian citizenship', but also accentuated the existing 'generation gap' among churchmen and the laity.

CHAPTER 9: THE FAMILY

Christian leaders contended that the social and economic upheavals of the depression and the war had led to the disintegration of the family. There was an overwhelming desire in Christian circles to see a return to their ideal of the 'traditional' family, with women as mothers and home makers and men as sole breadwinners. The Christian social reformers wanted to reinstate men as breadwinners, encourage women to leave the paid work force and to persuade couples to have a large family. Conservative Christian leaders, in their desire for social cohesion, also wanted a return to 'traditional' family sex-roles and for individuals to maintain their loyalty to 'Christian' ideals of family life.

The post-war period presented pervasive incentives for this ideal of family life. Full male employment encouraged men to feel that they could raise a family in economic security. The federal government, in their concern to revive the birth rate and to entice women back to the maternal sphere, increased child endowment and maternity allowances and stopped subsidising the kindergartens which had provided child care services for mothers involved in war work.¹ The conservative press, which had previously supported women's war work, also actively encouraged women to marry and bear children after the war, with images of brides and mothers taking the place of women working in factories and on farms.² For some women, the experience of war work had been unpleasant. Indeed, at least 14% of the women called up for war work had tried to avoid industrial

¹P. Spearritt, 'The Kindergarten Movement: Tradition and Change' in D. E. Edgar (ed.), *Social Change in Australia: Readings in Sociology*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1974, pp. 593- 595; B. Cass, 'Population Policies and Family Policies: State Construction of Domestic Life' in C. V. Baldock and B. Cass (eds.), *Women, Social Welfare and the State in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1988, pp. 171-179; L. Beaton, 'The Importance of Women's Paid Labour: Women at Work in World War II' in M. Bevege, M. James and C. Shute (eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 97.

²A. Wright, 'The Australian Women's Weekly: Depression and War Years, Romance and Reality' *Refractory Girl*, 3, Winter 1973, pp. 12-13.

conscription.³ Following years of economic and emotional deprivation, men and women sought the 'normality' of marriage and family life.

The late 1940s saw the beginning of a marriage boom and a baby boom.⁴ The proportion of women aged thirty-four to thirty-nine who had ever been married climbed from 87% (1947) to 91% (1954), after declining from 88% (1891) to 81% (1921).⁵ The Australian birth rate, which had dropped from 43 per 1000 in 1860 to 16 per 1000 in 1935, began to rise in the 1940s, peaking in 1947 at 24 per 1000, and averaging between 22 and 23 per 1000 for the 1950s.⁶ There was also a small decline in the number of women engaged in the paid work force. The proportion of female wage and salary earners as a total of all wage and salary earners in NSW fell from its high of 32.8% in 1943 to 27.3% in 1947.⁷

The marriage boom, the baby boom and the slight decline in the proportion of women in the paid work force might suggest that the hopes of Christian reformists and conservatives alike were being realised. These were not however, signs that people were embracing the Church's ideal of family life. The post-war period saw a dramatic rise in divorce and changing attitudes among women to marriage, motherhood and participation in the paid work force. Furthermore, the post-war economic boom did not necessarily mean that all families were in a financial position to have only one breadwinner.

³L. Beaton, op.cit., p. 94.

⁴P. F. McDonald, *Marriage in Australia: Age at First Marriage and Proportions Marrying 1860-1971*, ANUP, Canberra, 1974, pp. 167, 169; B. Cass, 'Family' in A. F. Davies, S. Encel and M. J. Berry (eds.), *Australian Society: A Sociological Introduction*, 3rd ed., Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1977, p. 147; K. Darian-Smith, *On the Home Front: Melbourne in Wartime 1939-1945*, Oxford, Melbourne, 1990, p. 121; P. Adam-Smith, *Australian Women at War*, Thomas Nelson, Melbourne, 1984, pp. 370-371; W. D. Borrie, 'Australian Family Structure: Demographic Observations' in A. P. Elkin (ed.), *Marriage and the Family*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1957, pp. 1-9.

⁵W. D. Borrie, op.cit., p. 10; P. Grimshaw, 'The Australian Family: An Historical Interpretation', in A. Burns, G. Bottomley and P. Jools (eds.), *The Family in the Modern World: Australian Perspectives*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1983, p. 40.

⁶*Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, 1944, 1950, 1960.

⁷ibid.; J. J. Matthews, *Good and Mad Women: The Historical Construction of Femininity in Twentieth Century Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney 1984, p. 54.

Marriage and family life had undergone a steady transformation by the post-war period. On average, couples were entering marriage at younger ages than ever before. Between 1891 and 1921, the average age at first marriage for men remained fairly consistent at twenty-seven. For women however, this period saw a slight increase in the age at first marriage from twenty-three to twenty-five.⁸ By 1950 this had dropped to twenty-two for women and twenty-five for men, and continued to decline throughout the decade.⁹ Although the birth rate had increased, couples were having fewer children. In 1890, over 60% of families had six or more children. By 1921, this had declined to an average of four children per family, and by 1947-1954, the average number of children per family was between two and three.¹⁰ These changes were not sudden therefore, but were part of a gradual redefinition of marriage and family life which had been occurring most markedly since the 1920s.

The main reasons given by historians, demographers and contemporary government bodies for the decline in the ages at first marriage have been post-war prosperity and the social disruption of the war.¹¹ The wider availability of contraception, the continued practice of abortion, women's fears of another depression and the desire to be able to afford to provide children with good educational opportunities have been given as the rationale for the smaller number of children per family.¹² A further explanation for changes in the nature of

⁸P. McDonald, op.cit., pp. 109, 140.

⁹ibid., p. 166, 169; B. Cass, op.cit., p. 147; G. A. Carmichael, *With This Ring: First Marriage Patterns, Trends and Prospects in Australia*, Department of Demography, Australian National University and Australian Institute of Family Studies, Canberra, 1988, pp. 26-27.

¹⁰P. Grimshaw, op.cit., p. 41.

¹¹K. Darian-Smith, op.cit., p. 121; P. F. McDonald, op.cit., pp. 165-169; G. A. Carmichael, op.cit., p. 27; J. Costello, *Love, Sex and War: Changing Values 1939-1945*, Collins, London, 1985, p. 267.

¹²NHMRC, *Interim Report of the National Health and Medical Research Council on the Decline in the Birth-Rate*, Sydney, 1944, pp. 9-10, 72; B. Cass, 'Population Policies and Family Policies', pp. 168-179; J. Allen, 'Octavius Beale Reconsidered: Infanticide, Baby-Farming and Abortion in New South Wales, 1880-1939' in Sydney Labour History Group (ed.), *What Rough Beast? The State and Social Order in Australian History*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1982, pp. 109-129; S. Siedlecky and D. Wyndham (eds.), *Populate and Perish: Australian Women's Fight for Birth Control*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1990, pp. 35-39, 75; V. H. Wallace, *Women*

marriage and family life is offered by Marilyn Lake, Kerreen Reiger and others. Lake and Reiger argue that in the nineteenth century, femininity had been defined in terms of moral virtue and motherhood; throughout the inter-war period however, femininity was being redefined in terms of women's sexual attractiveness to men.¹³

This meant that women were beginning to actively pursue their own sexual pleasure. As Rosemary Campbell and Libby Connors et. al. have shown, the American presence during the war challenged the attitudes of Australian women and men towards masculinity, femininity and sexual expression.¹⁴ In conjunction with the appearance of the 'new woman' in the 1920s and 1930s, the American presence during the war served to accelerate the reorientation of Australian femininity already taking place.¹⁵ In turn, marriage was no longer seen as a prelude to child bearing, but as the key to sexual freedom for young women. Women's happiness depended on 'catching a man' and staying married to him. Once married, women could maintain their sexual attractiveness to their husbands by limiting the number of children they bore and by making efforts to prolong their 'youthfulness'.

This attitude to marriage and family life was steadily gaining currency in the 1940s. In 1946, a medical practitioner and leading Melbourne eugenicist, Dr.

and Children First: An Outline of a Population Policy for Australia, OUP, Melbourne, 1946, pp. 47-63.

¹³M. Lake, 'Female Desires: The Meaning of World War Two', *Australian Historical Studies*, 24, 95, 1990, pp. 267-283; K. Reiger, *The Disenchantment of the Home*, pp. 206-208; R. Campbell, *Heroes and Lovers: A Question of National Identity*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1989, pp. 23-30; J. McCalman, *Struggletown*, p. 214; P. S. Fass, 'Sexual Mores in the World of Youth' in her *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s*, OUP, New York, 1977, pp. 260-290; J. Braithwaite and M. Barker, 'Bodgies and Widgies: Folk Devils of the Fifties' in P. R. Wilson and J. Braithwaite (eds.), *Two Faces of Deviance: Crimes of the Powerless and the Powerful*, UQP, St. Lucia, 1978, p. 34.

¹⁴R. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 5, 6, 67-68; L. Connors, L. Finch, K. Saunders and H. Taylor, *Australia's Frontline: Remembering the 1939-1945 War*, UQP, St. Lucia, 1992, pp. 140, 147-154; J. Penglase and D. Horner, *When the War Came to Australia: Memories of the Second World War*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1992, pp. 106-122.

¹⁵R. Campbell, op.cit., pp. 23-30.

Victor Wallace, published the findings of a study he had conducted among those of his patients who had asked his advice on birth control. The study aimed to discover the patients' main reasons for wanting to use birth control. Several respondents to Dr. Wallace's investigation mentioned their concerns that pregnancy was 'unattractive' and that a large number of children interfered with married sex life. As one woman patient of Wallace's wrote:

I think continual child bearing ruins one's sex life, and that is a very important aspect of marriage.¹⁶

The National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC's) report on the decline in the birth rate in 1944 discovered similar attitudes among married couples. One correspondent to the NHMRC's call for women's personal reasons for limiting the number of children they bore explained that her husband's wish for her to be 'a mother and a sweetheart' precluded the possibility of a large family.¹⁷ Another woman complained that during pregnancy and immediately after the baby's arrival, she had ceased to be a 'companion' to her husband. Furthermore, she opined, pregnancy itself was ugly and uncomfortable.¹⁸

Through the redefinition of femininity in the first half of the twentieth century, women were becoming increasingly aware of their sexuality and desirous of men's approval of their appearance. For conservative Church leaders, this conflicted with their view that women were the moral guardians of society, rather than the seekers of sexual pleasure.

Conservative Christians were not the only ones in the Australian community who contended that ideally, women were not sexually assertive. During the 1940s, a venereal disease scare led many community leaders and politicians to attempt to restrict women's pursuit of sexual pleasure and even to blame women for the

¹⁶V. H. Wallace, *op.cit.*, pp. 49, 51, 52, 59, 62.

¹⁷NHMRC, *op.cit.*, p. 72.

¹⁸*ibid.*, p. 81.

spread of venereal disease among Allied servicemen. Michael Sturma, Kay Saunders and Helen Taylor have noted that community concerns about sexually assertive women during the war years greatly contributed to the 'moral panic' which ensued. Attempts were made to introduce night-time curfews, compulsory blood tests and restrictions on the consumption of alcohol for women, but not for men.¹⁹ Yet while Sturma and others have compiled plenty of evidence that governments and a number of community groups blamed women for the spread of venereal disease, they provide little material to suggest that the Churches were pursuing this policy too.

Michael Sturma gives only one reference to a Church leader specifically blaming women for the spread of venereal disease.²⁰ The most frequently cited Churchman in other historical studies of the wartime venereal disease scare is Archbishop Duhig of Brisbane.²¹ Indeed, most of the Allied servicemen were posted in Brisbane during the war (around one million), most studies of the issue centre on Brisbane and Queensland, and one would expect that Brisbane clergymen would be outspoken over the issue of women's sexual activity. In his Lenten Pastoral Letter for 1943, Duhig condemned the unseemly behaviour of young girls:

...for several months now, many girls associating with Allied soldiers have shown a spirit of greed and selfishness...these girls encourage them

¹⁹M. Sturma, 'Public Health and Sexual Morality: Venereal Disease in WWII Australia', *Signs*, 13, 4, Summer 1988, p. 726, 733-736; K. Saunders and H. Taylor, 'To Combat the Plague: The Construction of Moral Alarm and State Intervention in Queensland during World War II', *Hecate*, 14, 1, 1988, pp. 5-30; K. Saunders and H. Taylor, 'The Impact of Total War upon Policing: The Queensland Experience' in M. Finnane (ed.), *Policing in Australia: Historical Perspectives*, NSWUP, Kensington, 1987, p. 157; K. Darian-Smith, op.cit., p. 179; J. H. Moore, *Over-Sexed, Over-Paid and Over Here: Americans in Australia 1941-1945*, UQP, St. Lucia, 1981, pp. 207, 224-227; E. D. Potts and A. Potts, *Yanks Down Under 1941-1945*, OUP, Melbourne, 1985, pp. 148-149.

²⁰M. Sturma, op.cit., p. 730.

²¹K. Saunders and H. Taylor, 'To Combat the Plague', p. 20; M. Lake, 'Female Desires', n. 69.

to spend lavishly on dances, suppers, shows and outings and even take from them costly presents.²²

Here however, Duhig is not blaming women for venereal disease or for declining moral standards. Instead, he is denouncing women's behaviour as selfish and greedy. Duhig was certainly aware of sexual activity taking place between women and Allied servicemen, 'even in church yards', but again, he did not specifically blame women for this. He did roundly condemn 'those who place in the path of our sailors and soldiers temptations of drink or immorality', but did not clarify whether he was referring to women, or to black marketeers, liquor trade employees and pimps.²³ Another statement of Duhig's contained the concern that young girls were 'ill-prepared' for the 'web of temptations' awaiting them in the adult world. Here, Duhig was implying that the girls involved in sexual activity with soldiers were somehow not responsible for their own actions.²⁴

While most of the controversy was centred in Brisbane, there was one isolated spate of conservative Church leaders blaming women for 'moral breakdown' and for the spread of venereal disease in the early 1940s in Sydney. In November 1943, the editors of *The Methodist* argued that women were actively causing a collapse in sexual morality in the community. This contention however, was uncommon among conservative Church leaders, and in this case was in response to a rather sensationalist *Sydney Morning Herald* article which blamed women for the rise in sexual promiscuity and the spread of venereal disease in Sydney.²⁵ Indeed, *The Methodist* article had merely quoted the *Sydney Morning Herald* verbatim, offering no opinion of their own on the sexual behaviour of young women.

²²*SMH*, 8th March 1943, p. 7, referred to in M. Lake, 'Female Desires', n. 69.

²³*ibid.*

²⁴*Courier Mail*, 7th April 1943, cited in K. Saunders and H. Taylor, 'To Combat the Plague', p. 20.

²⁵*The Methodist*, 13th November 1943, p. 3; *SMH*, 2nd November 1943, p. 7 and 6th November 1943, pp. 8, 10.

In response to the same article however, the Rev. Dr. Victor C. Bell of Strathfield Presbyterian Church made no mention of women's sexual promiscuity. Instead, he claimed that the main problem in Sydney was excessive alcohol consumption.²⁶ Archbishop Mowll's response to the sensationalist *Sydney Morning Herald* article was to commend the work of the Anglican Girls' Friendly Society in providing a club room for girls to meet friends rather than wander the streets at night, a 'protective' measure which had been employed by groups such as the Church of England Mothers' Union and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union since the 1890s and 1900s.²⁷ Conservative Church leaders did not interpret war-time promiscuity as being partly due to women's wartime sexual assertiveness. They maintained older nineteenth century arguments that women were the passive victims of men's immorality, or else they contended that declining sexual morality 'in the community' (rather than 'of women') was the result of a general moral degeneration.²⁸ In July 1943 Col. Frank Bell of the Salvation Army gave a paper titled *Australia's Reaction to the V.D. Challenge* at a meeting of the NSW Council of Churches. He contended that the spread of venereal disease was due to the prevalence of 'immoral' books, pictures, films and stage plays, and the issuing of contraceptive devices to military personnel. He was horrified to note that in some films, 'the woman is represented as a most amorous aggressor'.²⁹

This is not to claim a contemporary feminist perspective for conservative Church leaders. For Bell and other Christian conservatives, it was a complete anomaly to regard women as capable of being sexually assertive. Despite the

²⁶*SMH*, 15th November 1943, p. 4.

²⁷*Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, 1st December 1943, p. 3; K. Reiger, *The Disenchantment of the Home*, p. 181.

²⁸*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1944-1945, p. 11; *The Catholic Weekly*, 16th August 1945, p. 4; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1943, p. 69 and 1944, p. 60; *The Methodist*, 4th September 1943, p. 3; *SMH*, 5th March 1943, p. 9 and 22nd July 1943, p. 6; *Annual Report of the...Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of New South Wales*, 1944, p. 11 and 1947, pp. 34-35.

²⁹F. Bell, *Australia's Reaction to the V.D. Challenge*, Evangelical Publishing Agency, Burwood, 1943, n.p.

wartime venereal disease scares and the attitude of the press towards women, conservative Christians generally retained their view that women were society's moral guardians. As *The Catholic Weekly* noted in 1946:

Never before have so many dangers threatened the family...Bad films, plays, books and papers, the general attitude towards birth prevention, divorce and promiscuity deal it a shocking blow in the field of morals...Our Catholic women must inform themselves of these threats to their status and their welfare.³⁰

For conservatives, women were not regarded as aggressive participants in promiscuity, but as sexually innocent and vulnerable to men's sexual advances. If anything, women were the preventers of promiscuity, rather than willing partakers.

In contrast, CSOM leaders recognised that women were actively pursuing their own sexual pleasure. They maintained however, that women were participants with men in society's moral decline, rather than the sole cause of moral decline:

In the past, men were expected to give way to temptation, but not the women. Nowadays there are good-time girls on many street corners just waiting to be picked up.³¹

The CSOM's recognition of women's sexual assertiveness was due to their acceptance that women had achieved a new status equal to that of men in society. In 1941, Moyes had noted that women had achieved a new status, but added that they should not seek to copy men's behaviour (especially with regard to sexual matters), but should instead find a more 'appropriate' application of this new

³⁰*The Catholic Weekly*, 10th January 1946, p. 4; See also *The Catholic Weekly*, 4th October 1945, p. 1; *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, September 1946, p. 6; E. J. Doody, *Christian Marriage and the Family*, ACTS, Melbourne, 1955, p. 26.

³¹J. S. Moyes cited in *SMH*, 13th March 1945, p. 3; *The New Day*, December 1944-January 1945, p. 4; J. S. Moyes, *Australia: The Church and the Future*, pp. 15, 30.

comradeship with men.³² Coughlan's article 'Calling All Women' also argued that women's new status should not result in their neglect of their duty to society:

Women have arrived at a new station in society and stand before countless doors of new opportunity, freedom and self-expression in almost every calling and profession. This new status brings with it not only wonderful opportunities but serious dangers—dangers to society itself and to women themselves. Among the possible dangerous results we must reckon the disintegration of family life, the avoidance of motherhood or even of marriage, the loosening of standards in sex morality, the worship of 'freedom', enjoyment, and independence to the neglect of duty, self restraint and service.³³

Coughlan's assertion that women were capable of meeting any 'calling and profession' was tempered by his concern at the consequences of women redefining their moral role in society. He feared that women's new found freedoms would encourage them to loosen all 'self-restraint'. Furthermore, he argued that if women disregarded their obligations to the wider community, family breakdown, declining moral standards and a hedonistic society would result.

Like their conservative colleagues, the CSOM contended that women should not be sexual. They were prepared however, to recognise that women had arrived at a new status of equality in society. They interpreted women's sexual assertiveness as an attempt by women to affirm their new equality with men.

This attitude was similar to that of contemporary feminists. The common ground between the CSOM and feminists was probably due to their shared interest in post-war reconstruction, social justice and family related issues. The CSOM sent delegates to the 1943 Women's Conference, while leading feminist Jessie Street was a member of the Anglican SQC. Feminists roundly condemned women's sexual behaviour because, they argued, it was making women vulnerable to men's sexual advances. In order to get a fair deal in the paid work force,

³²ibid., pp. 15, 30.

³³W. Coughlan, 'Calling All Women!', in *The New Day*, January-February 1949, p. 1; See also W. Coughlan, 'Marriage Breakdown', in A. P. Elkin, (ed.) *Marriage and the Family*, p. 126.

feminists contended that women should maintain the moral high ground and gain men's respect, rather than lower themselves to the moral level of men.³⁴ Feminists were vehemently opposed to placing the blame for venereal disease on women, maintaining that both men and women should take responsibility for their actions.³⁵

The reconstruction of femininity was challenging the notion of women as the moral guardians of society. For conservative Church leaders this change to women's self understanding was essentially ignored. For CSOM leaders however, women had achieved a new social standing in Australian society. The sexualisation of femininity and marriage prompted a rethink of CSOM attitudes to women and the family. The conservative and reformist Christians' comprehension of the role of women in society were important to their distinctive understandings of marriage and divorce.

During the war, the divorce rate began to climb, finally reaching a peak in 1947. Desertion and adultery were given as the two main reasons for marriage breakdown. Charges of adultery reached a peak in 1947 and declined thereafter.³⁶ A further nuance of 1940s divorce was that between 1942 and 1947, for the first time, the majority of persons suing for divorce were men rather than women. The most common citation for divorce by men during this period was adultery, evidence of women's wartime sexual activity.³⁷

Conservative Church leaders were horrified at the divorce situation, blaming individual moral weakness and unchristian attitudes towards marriage as the root

³⁴M. Lake, 'Jessie Street and Feminist Chauvinism' in H. Radi (ed.), *Jessie Street: Documents and Essays*, Women's Redress Press, Sydney, 1990, p. 21; See also Australian Women's Conference, *Australian Women's Charter 1943*, Sydney, 1943.

³⁵M. Lake, 'Jessie Street', p. 22; Australian Women's Conference, op.cit.; See also *Annual Report of the...Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of New South Wales*, 1944, p. 11 and 1947, pp. 34-35.

³⁶*Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*.

³⁷R. Campbell, op.cit., p. 79; C. E. Martin, 'Divorce and the Family', paper read at the Summer School of The Australian Institute of Political Science, Canberra, 1951, p. 5.

cause of family breakdown.³⁸ The Catholic bishops also argued that marriage breakdown was the result of moral frailty, both of individuals and of the community at large.³⁹ Conservative churchmen and the Catholic bishops both contended that women, as society's moral guardians, should do their utmost to oppose divorce. Catholic apologist Dr. Leslie Rumble argued that an unhappy marriage was the fault of the woman. For him, women had no right to seek happiness for themselves in marriage; their job was to make their husband happy.⁴⁰ In a similar vein, the Catholic bishop of Armidale, the Rev. E. J. Doody, maintained that in a Christian marriage, women must cooperate with their husbands, 'prepare good meals on time' and 'appear attractive for their husbands'.⁴¹

The CSOM was utterly opposed to these attitudes to divorce. In his pamphlet *Has the Church an Answer to the Problem of Divorce?* (1947), Coughlan argued that such attitudes were unrealistic and inhumane, especially where women were expected to remain in marriages where they endured sexual violence rather than seek divorce.

But only too often it would seem that churchmen and official spokesmen are not so much troubled by the tragedy in which men, women and children are involved, as they are by the threat to their own institutions' regulations and prestige...We clergymen know instances of terrible sexual cruelty, increased by the brutalities of war, which women have to endure within marriage. We know that far too often a marriage still legally intact and therefore approved by the legalist churchmen is a living hell, in which a legalised prostitution or rape is a recurring torment.⁴²

³⁸*The Catholic Weekly*, 16th August 1945, p. 4; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, pp. 39-40; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1952, p. 67; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1947-1948, p. 7; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1948, p. 118; *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, September 1946, p. 6; *The Church Standard*, 11th August 1950, p. 1.

³⁹ECCA, 'The Family' (1944), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, pp. 55-56.

⁴⁰*The Catholic Weekly*, 26th February 1953, p. 16.

⁴¹E. J. Doody, op.cit., p. 26.

⁴²W. Coughlan, *Has the Church an Answer to the Problem of Divorce?*, CSOM, Sydney, 1947, n.p.; J. S. Moyes, *Australia: The Church and the Future*, p. 43.

Coughlan was arguing for women's rights to sexual happiness and freedom from a husband's inconsiderate sexual demands.

The CSOM deliberately developed a community-based application of practical marriage guidance. They began conducting marriage preparation courses and 'parentcraft' evenings in 1946.⁴³ These courses led to the foundation of the Marriage and Family Counselling Association (Sydney) in April 1948, which was later renamed the Marriage Guidance Council of New South Wales (MGC) to reflect the Council's proposed extension into other areas of the state with the reception of state government funding.⁴⁴ The MGC employed Coughlan as chairman (until 1952) and executive officer thereafter, as well as a number of doctors, solicitors, psychologists and social workers.⁴⁵ Lectures on sex education, marriage and parenthood were given, as well as guidance and counselling for couples.⁴⁶

The CSOM's approach to marriage guidance was reflective of the rise of social engineering in the inter-war years. Middle-class 'experts' in the social sciences and medicine were developing 'scientific' answers to social problems such as the declining birth rate, insanity, the incorrect use of leisure-time and marriage breakdown, to be applied within the private sphere of marriage and family life.⁴⁷ The experts argued that their scientific approach could solve or 'correct' social problems.

⁴³*The New Day*, March 1949, p. 10.

⁴⁴MGC, *Annual Report*, 1951-1952, p. 3; Renamed 'Relationships Australia' in 1994.

⁴⁵MGC, *Annual Report*, 1951-1952, p. 5.

⁴⁶*ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

⁴⁷M. Lewis, 'Mothers, Milk and Infant Welfare' in J. Roe (ed.), *Twentieth Century Sydney: Studies in Urban and Social History*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1980, pp. 193-207; G. Davison, *op.cit.*, pp. 153-164; S. Garton, *Medicine and Madness: A Social History of Insanity in New South Wales 1880-1940*, NSWUP, Kensington, 1988, pp. 76-85; J. J. Matthews, *op.cit.*, pp. 74-79; K. Reiger, 'The Coming of the Counsellors: The Development of Marriage Guidance in Australia', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 23, 3, November 1987, pp. 375-377; F. Dransfield, 'The Development of Marriage Guidance: A History of Counselling in New South Wales 1948-1970', BA (Hons) thesis, Department of History, University of Sydney, 1993, pp. 15, 22-25.

Coughlan, Davidson and Moyes had all been members of the Racial Hygiene Association of NSW (RHA) during the 1930s.⁴⁸ In the late 1920s, the RHA had focussed on eugenics. By the 1930s, the RHA was also emphasising the need for sex education, contraception and the prevention of venereal disease. The RHA opened a birth control clinic in 1933 and established an eugenically oriented marriage guidance centre in 1936.⁴⁹ The RHA's background in eugenics heightened its belief in the importance of marriage for the wider society. Efforts were spent ensuring that prospective couples were 'healthy' and would have a 'productive' marriage.⁵⁰

In its early days, the MGC reflected some of the RHA's concerns for eugenics and the birth rate, emphasising marriage as a prelude to parenthood, and the duty to reproduce 'fit' children. This early relationship between eugenics and marriage was also evident in Britain. The MGC was associated with the British National Marriage Guidance Centre and adopted their set of principles. One of the principles stated that parenthood had a racial end, and that 'everything possible should...be done to promote fertile unions'.⁵¹ Another principle condemned the 'selfish and irresponsible' use of contraception.⁵² The principles also squarely placed marriage guidance within twentieth century social engineering. It was considered 'a public duty' to prevent divorce, and a matter of importance to safeguard the rising generation from 'wrong attitudes and false judgements'. Upholding marriage and the family unit itself was deemed 'of vital importance to the future welfare of the nation'.⁵³ Apart from these principles, the stated code of the National Marriage Guidance Centre/MGC upheld the Christian ideal of marriage and sex.

⁴⁸The RHA was renamed the Family Planning Association in 1961.

⁴⁹RHA, *General Secretary's Report*, 1935, p. 8; RHA, *Annual Report*, 1938-1939, n.p.; RHA, *Annual Report*, 1939-1940, p. 7; S. Siedlecky and D. Wyndham (eds.), op.cit., pp. 112, 161.

⁵⁰K. Reiger, *The Disenchantment of the Home*, p. 200.

⁵¹MGC, *Annual Report*, 1951-1952, p. 9.

⁵²ibid.

⁵³ibid.

By the early 1950s however, marriage guidance was moving away from eugenics considerations. In 1952, the MGC's *Annual Report* contained the National Marriage Guidance Council's new set of principles. The new principles made no mention of racial needs. While children were still seen as a 'natural' fulfilment of marriage, the new principles stated that contraception was a contributor 'to the health and happiness of the whole family'. There was more emphasis on sex education, and greater efforts to educate married couples about family life and unmarried couples about courtship, marriage and parenthood.⁵⁴ The provision of marriage guidance continued to be seen as an important social responsibility, necessary to maintain the stability and progress of society.⁵⁵

The CSOM's approach to marriage guidance had reflected their acknowledgment of women's post-war status. For Coughlan, divorce was far preferable to women suffering in marriage. The MGC was increasingly redefining its understanding of marriage as personal fulfilment, rather than a means by which to serve racial or religious ends. The past involvement of CSOM members with the RHA was indicative of their belief in social engineering and the expertise of medical and science professionals to address social problems. Confronted with rising divorce in the late 1940s, the MGC became a further realisation of the inter-war development of social engineering.

The response of conservative Church leaders to marriage breakdown was to claim that the divorce rate was evidence of further moral collapse in society. In portraying divorce as a moral problem, rather than a psychological or social problem, conservative Christians and the Catholic bishops recommended the inculcation of Christian values and ideals to prevent marriage breakdown.⁵⁶ This

⁵⁴MGC, *Annual Report*, 1952, p. 13.

⁵⁵A. P. Elkin, 'The Family—A Challenge' in his *Marriage and the Family*, pp. 208-211; W. Coughlan, 'Marriage Breakdown' in A. P. Elkin (ed.), *Marriage and the Family*, p. 119.

⁵⁶*Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, June 1948, p. 113; *Minutes of the 16th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1951, pp. 242, 250; *The Catholic Weekly*, 24th June 1948, p. 4, and 16th September 1948, p. 4; ECCA, 'The Family' (1944), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 56.

meant that for conservative Church leaders, marriage guidance was best imparted by the clergy, rather than by scientific and medical 'experts'. The Anglican and Presbyterian Churches established their own marriage guidance centres in 1948, staffed by clergy, while the Catholic Family Bureau began to include marriage guidance within its family counselling casework.⁵⁷ As Mowll expounded in an article explaining the role of the clergy in pre-marriage guidance:

The opportunity of contact with young couples coming to arrange their marriages has been found a great one...This is the opportunity, not to help them with the physical side of marriage, not to advise them on birth control, not to assist them with psychological advice about marriage and home building, but to seek to evangelise them...⁵⁸

Here, Mowll is staunchly opposed to the approach taken by the CSOM's MGC. Mowll's comment asserts his belief in marriage as a Christian institution. As such, the Church had an exclusive role in marriage guidance. It was not to be the realm of lay 'experts' with their 'psychological advice' and help for the 'physical side of marriage'. Mowll contended that a marriage could only survive if both partners adhered to the Christian religion.

Harold L. Harris, historian, economist and president of the MGC from late 1952, was naturally critical of this approach to marriage guidance, arguing that marriage breakdown was not under the moral regime of the Church:

The Churches as a whole will not readily admit that the ethical and religious aspects of marital relationships can be left to laymen. On the other hand, many people will not have recourse to the clergy. They will not agree that the issues are 'moral' or 'religious' or that the clergy are qualified to deal with the psychological problems involved.⁵⁹

⁵⁷*Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, June 1948, p. 113; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1949, p. 162; C. E. Martin, op.cit., p. 14.

⁵⁸*Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, December 1946, p. 5.

⁵⁹H. L. Harris, 'Marriage Guidance—With Special Reference to New South Wales', *Australian Quarterly*, 28, 4, December 1956, p. 53.

Harris' comment is significant in its revelation of the increasing marginalisation of mainstream Christian thought, even in areas such as marriage and the family where the Church had traditionally had a prominent role. Indeed, the Presbyterian Marriage Guidance Council decided to merge with the CSOM's Sydney Marriage Guidance Council in 1952 because only a small number of couples had ever applied for assistance.⁶⁰ Harris' comment also reflected the growing and unrealistic demands being placed on 'unqualified' local clergy by Church hierarchies in the post-war period. As the Church became more and more peripheral, Church leaders sought ways of arresting the drift from societal influence. In this case, local clergy were called on to promote the conservative Christian answer to divorce in the face of the growing authority of the 'experts' in the field of marriage and family guidance.

Church leaders' attitudes to women not only influenced their understanding of marriage and divorce, but also affected their attitudes to women's participation in the paid work force after the war. Certainly, the majority of women were not in the paid work force, and were not interested in pursuing the issues of equal pay and an end to sex discrimination. Such concerns were limited to feminists such as Jessie Street, whose campaign for women's rights centred on women's economic independence.⁶¹ In any case, government housing schemes saw more and more houses built in the outer suburbs away from places of paid work, isolating women in their homes away from the male sphere of breadwinning.⁶²

Nevertheless, the post-war period saw the emergence of changing patterns of women's participation in the paid work force. Between 1947 and 1957, an average of 27% of NSW women were engaged in the paid work force. This was slightly

⁶⁰*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1952*, p. 162.

⁶¹Australian Women's Conference, *op.cit.*

⁶²C. Allport, *op.cit.*, pp. 129, 138; C. Allport, 'Women and Suburban Housing: Post-War Planning in Sydney, 1943-1961' in J. B. McLoughlin and M. Huxley (eds.), *Urban Planning in Australia: Critical Readings*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne 1986, p. 236.

above the pre-war level of 24.1% (1939) and showed no signs of declining.⁶³ Furthermore, there was a growing proportion of married women in the paid work force, rising from 19.7% of all women workers in 1947 to 30.8% in 1954.⁶⁴ The participation of married women in the paid work force was directly confronting the plans of Christian leaders to maintain the role of the husband and father as the sole breadwinner.

There were two reasons for married women's participation in the paid work force: financial need and personal desire. For most migrant women (the majority of whom were married), participation in the paid work force was more an economic necessity than a choice.⁶⁵ For some women however, the economic and personal freedom experienced during their war-time work encouraged them to continue in the paid work force. In addition, mothers, with fewer years spent caring for a smaller number of children and relative freedom from continual pregnancy, were increasingly returning to paid employment.⁶⁶

Although conservative Christian leaders were aware of married women's involvement in the paid work force, they seemed much less concerned about women working away from the home in the late 1940s and 1950s than they had been during the war. When the issue did surface, it was generally a subsidiary to other post-war agendas. One article in *The Methodist* claimed that the role of women was a central difference between communism and Christianity:

⁶³Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia.

⁶⁴J. J. Matthews, op.cit., p. 54; P. Spearritt, 'The Kindergarten Movement', p. 595; S. Eccles, 'Women in the Australian Labour Force', in D. H. Broom (ed.), *Unfinished Business: Social Justice for Women in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1984, p. 81.

⁶⁵M. de Lepervanche, 'Working for the Man: Migrant Women and Multiculturalism' in K. Saunders and R. Evans (eds.), *Gender Relations in Australia: Domination and Negotiation*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Sydney, 1992, pp. 83-87; J. Martin, 'Non-English Speaking Women: Production and Social Reproduction' in G. Bottomley and M. de Lepervanche, *Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1984, p. 112; M. Power, 'Cast-Off Jobs: Women, Migrants and Blacks may Apply', *Refractory Girl*, June 1976, pp. 28-29.

⁶⁶P. Adam-Smith, *Australian Women at War*, Thomas Nelson, Melbourne, 1984, p. 369; M. Tipping, 'Jessie Clarke: Founder of Nappie Wash', in M. Lake and F. Kelly (eds.), *Double Time: Women in Victoria—150 Years*, Penguin, Melbourne, 1985, p. 410.

An official Soviet radio broadcast last week said: "...Religion has put women in a subservient position in the family and society. By viewing her as an inferior creature, unable to act independently, religion offends and humiliates women...". Christian women, performing invaluable work in Church and home life, will surely be interested to know that their Christian faith has 'humiliated' them and made them subservient and inferior.⁶⁷

In a similar vein, Fr. Eugene Boylan stated that 'with women, even married women, competing with men in jobs and professions that were essentially practical, there was none left to develop the cultural life of the country'.⁶⁸ As an issue unto itself however, conservative attitudes to the question of married women's participation in the paid work force was considerably muted after the war.

The Catholic bishops were similarly silent from the late 1940s period on the question of married women's participation in the paid work force. In the early 1940s, they had designed their social justice measures to ensure that husbands and fathers were paid a decent family wage, so that there would be no need for wives and mothers to work outside the home.⁶⁹ Their Social Justice Statement *The Australian Standard of Living* (1954), detailed the failure of governments to implement their suggestion of a family wage, however there was no inference that this had led to married women working outside the home. Indeed, there was no acknowledgment that there were any married women in the paid work force. The statement mentioned single men, single women and married men as workers, and assumed that all wives were able (and willing) to depend on their husband's income to support the family.⁷⁰

⁶⁷*The Methodist*, 13th November 1954, p. 3.

⁶⁸*The Catholic Weekly*, 11th March 1954, p. 21.

⁶⁹ECCA, 'The Family' (1944), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 53.

⁷⁰Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church of Australia, 'The Australian Standard of Living' (1954), in M. Hogan (ed.), *Justice Now!*, p. 164.

The lack of comment on women's participation in the paid work force by conservative Christian leaders and the Catholic bishops suggests that the question of married women working outside the home was not thought to be a major issue of concern. Although the conservatives and the bishops were certainly aware of women's involvement in paid work, they interpreted its occurrence as part of the post-war 'secularisation' of the community, along with juvenile delinquency and communism. They did not consider whether it was an indication of a changing understanding of femininity and family life in the community.

CSOM leaders however, with their access to married women's attitudes to work through the MGC, had substantially changed their own attitudes to women's participation in the paid work force. The CSOM had previously seen married women working in the paid work force as an issue of social justice, arguing that women should not have to work, and that working fathers should be paid better wages. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, CSOM leaders were beginning to change their position, transforming the issue of women's employment outside the home into a question of a married couples' relationship and men's responsibility in marriage. In his chapter on marriage breakdown for A. P. Elkin's book, *Marriage and the Family in Australia* (1957), William Coughlan contended that 'working wives' were an excuse for, rather than a cause of, marriage and family breakdown:

The wife's gainful employment is often put forward as a major cause of disharmony...Wives assert they need the occupation to make up for the boredom and neglect caused by their husbands' behaviour, and that they need the money as a protection against their husband's unreliability as a provider. Many husbands call their 'working' wives escapists [and] money-grubbers, lacking in sense of duty to husband, home and children.⁷¹

⁷¹W. Coughlan, 'Marriage Breakdown' in A. P. Elkin (ed.), *Marriage and the Family*, pp. 119-120.

In Coughlan's assessment of the causes of marriage breakdown, his sympathies were with the wives:

...it is undeniable that the advance of women towards equal status in principle and fact has been a major causative factor in the spread of marriage breakdown. The wife of today is not nearly so willing as her mother to tolerate any behaviour of her husband which seriously offends her. She has no patience with the double moral standard; she will not endure physical or mental cruelty, or financial deprivation, or indeed any of the indignities that may be part and parcel of a discordant marriage.⁷²

Coughlan did not entertain the idea that women might want to work outside the home. He did argue however, that married women had to work to make up for the inadequacies of their husbands. For Coughlan, many husbands had failed to adjust to women's new status. It was the husbands' continued sexual promiscuity, tyrannical behaviour or wastage of earnings on alcohol or gambling which was to blame for marriage breakdown. This went beyond the CSOM's earlier arguments concerning economic justice for families, ensuring employment and fair wages for the husband so that the wife did not have to work. In light of rising living standards and women's new social status, Coughlan contended that husbands needed to adjust to their wives' relevant needs and concerns.⁷³

The MGC remained as the CSOM's most lasting achievement. Where the CSOM's plans for economic reform had been severely buffeted by anti-communism and the survival of capitalism through the post-war economic boom, its work in the field of marriage guidance remained beyond the lifespan of the CSOM itself. Although marriage and family patterns of the post-war period had negated CSOM plans for large families and the retention of sex-roles, the CSOM was able to refocus their goals. Through contact with people coming to the MGC

⁷²ibid., p. 139; See also E. H. Burgmann, op.cit., pp. 14-15, 22-23.

⁷³W. Coughlan, 'Marriage Breakdown' in A. P. Elkin (ed.), *Marriage and the Family*, pp. 140-142.

for advice, and the involvement of health professionals in the MGC, the CSOM transformed their understanding of marriage and family life.

A further reason for the CSOM's success with marriage guidance, was that the MGC was organised on a community, rather than Church basis. As such, the MGC was not reliant on Church funding, leaving Coughlan free to pursue his own political/theological agenda. This removed the need to create a ground swell of support for the MGC among the churches. Instead, marriage guidance found ready endorsement in the community of health professionals.

The continued operation of the MGC also represented the success of the new class of 'experts' and professional social workers in the twentieth century, which Coughlan had invited to work with the Council. The involvement of CSOM leaders with the social engineering movement, which had itself emerged as a significant and influential force in inter-war Australian society, adds a further dimension to the nature of their interest in post-war reconstruction. Just as the middle-class experts strove to 'manage' family and cultural life in order to guide the broader direction of society, the CSOM aimed to redesign the social, economic and political aspects of society.⁷⁴

In contrast, the concerns of conservative Christian leaders in the preservation of the marriage institution were becoming increasingly peripheral. This was due to their ideas and attitudes not only being confronted by the values of the consumer and leisure society, but also by the rise of the social engineering 'experts'. The new 'scientific' approach to human relationships overruled the spiritual and religious concerns of conservative Church leaders.

There was also a sense that the majority of Christian leaders were 'out of touch' with the values of the community. This was evident in the diminished concern of conservatives and the Catholic bishops for women's participation in the work force. It was also apparent in their seeming ignorance of women's growing sexual assertiveness, particularly during the war. For conservative leaders

⁷⁴K. Reiger, *The Disenchantment of the Home*, p. 211.

especially, the insistence on a return to moral and social precepts which had little bearing on the reality of post-war marriage, family life and women's status distinctly hampered their goals of reviving the Church's prominence in society for the post-war period.

The social, political and economic upheavals of the late 1940s and 1950s created a vastly different environment to the one in which the Christian plans for post-war reconstruction had originally been forged. For the most part, the Church was unable to reconcile many of their plans with the emerging post-war society. In some cases however, the Church was able to adjust to the new situation and even fashion a new role for itself in the Australian community. This situation was reflective of the close inter-relationship between the Church and its society in four ways.

First, the dominance of particular political issues in the Churches had mirrored those of the broader Australian political situation, exemplified by the rising anti-communist sentiment of conservative politicians and conservative Christians and their portrayal of the political and Christian Left's desires for economic reform as 'communist'. The political fortunes of the left and right within the Church were also reflected in the Australian political scene, with Menzies' rise to power in 1949. The anti-communist Christian agenda, with the conservative Christian missionary expansion in Asia and the Pacific and the Catholic bishops' concern that Australia should take responsibility for Asian poverty, was reflected in the broader political scene through the Colombo Plan and the post-war immigration policy.

The Church had approved of immigration as a defensive measure against Asian communism. The nature of post-war immigration however, adversely affected the Churches' plans for denominational expansion. Protestant plans were particularly disadvantaged with the increased immigration from Catholic European countries. Conservative Protestants interpreted Catholic immigration as a threat to

British Protestant culture, turning on the Australian Catholic Church with animosity in an effort to protect their cultural dominance. Protestant agitation for cultural dominance was becoming inappropriate in the 1950s however, against the wider conservative political agenda for social cohesion and homogeneity. The Australian Catholic hierarchy was much more accommodating of the idea of social cohesion and integration, to the extent that they were prepared to disregard Rome's directives and insist on religious assimilation for Catholic migrants.

Thirdly, both the moral precepts of socially conservative Christians and the political platform of reformist Christians were adversely affected by the development of a consumer-based economy and the rise in living standards in the post-war period. Full employment, high wages, credit facilities and greater opportunities for leisure rendered conservative moral concepts such as thrift, austerity and moral restraint increasingly irrelevant. It also meant that the Christian reformist plans for the redistribution of wealth and power in order to avoid another depression were less pertinent. The rising living standards in turn had encouraged more community demand for leisure and mass entertainment, leaving the reformists without opportunity to encourage their new definition of work and leisure and thwarting the plans of socially conservative Christians for moral reform.

Finally, the Churches were confronted with the contemporary social movements which revolved around the issues of youth and marriage guidance. The Churches were an integral part of the post-war interest in the adolescent youth. They established new Christian youth groups and youth centres which attempted to provide 'guidance' for youth, as well as cater to their desire for leisure and informality. The involvement of the Churches in marriage guidance, especially the CSOM, was also reflective of contemporary thinking on the importance of a stable family life for society.

The Church was easily able to accommodate contemporary ideology regarding youth, marriage guidance and Asian communism. Many of its other

concerns however, stood outside mainstream Australian opinion. The Church was unwilling to compromise its ideals and sought to encourage the rest of Australian society to embrace their agenda. For the Protestant Churches especially, evangelism became the most important way to affirm and reassert their hopes for a Christian social order.

PART THREE: POST-WAR EVANGELISM

CHAPTER 10: CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIANS AND EVANGELISM

For conservative Protestants, evangelism was the greatest hope for the post-war period. Every major Protestant Church conducted wide scale and long term evangelistic campaigns. The Baptist Church launched the 'Christian Commonwealth Crusade' (1948-1950), the Presbyterian Church conducted the 'New Life Movement' (1950-1953), the Methodist Church began the 'Commonwealth Crusade for Christ' (1948-1952) which culminated in the 'Mission to the Nation' (1953-1957), and the Sydney Anglicans, besides running a number of diocesan missions, launched the Sydney Anglican Youth Mission (1951). While Catholics were less outspoken in their desire for evangelism, they also held local missions and encouraged piety among members through 'crusades', such as the 'Family Rosary Crusade' (1953) and devotion to Our Lady of Fatima.

Post-war evangelism was not just an Australian phenomenon. Enthusiasm for evangelism and Christian revival was in evidence across the Western Protestant world. As one article in *The Methodist* noted:

The man who has a real knowledge of modern Church History...is able to see quite plainly that Evangelism now has a place in the thought of the Church which it has not had since the close of the last century. Changed world conditions are strongly influencing the Church in its aims...¹

On the world front, the widespread desire for evangelism had been part of the inspiration behind the ecumenical movement, culminating in the formation of the World Council of Churches.² Perhaps the most important development in evangelism however, was the rise of the American Evangelicals, of whom Billy Graham was the most successful. Throughout the 1940s, Graham had worked

¹*The Methodist*, 4th May 1946, p. 3; 'Evangelism Has New Vigour', *SMH*, 9th October 1950, p. 2.

²E. Duff, op.cit., pp. 19-20.

with the fundamentalist organisation Youth for Christ, and had allegedly obtained thousands of conversions.³

Australian conservative Christian leaders regarded the American Churches as being particularly successful in reviving church-going.⁴ They hoped that their own efforts at evangelism would provoke similar results. Indeed, the Presbyterians' New Life Movement and the Methodists' Crusade for Christ were directly based on their American equivalents.⁵ Baptists drew heavily on American evangelists for their Christian Commonwealth Crusade, while the Anglicans began making efforts to engage Billy Graham for an Australian crusade in 1954.⁶ Even the Catholics looked to America. Australian Catholics were most enthusiastic about the arrival of the American priest Patrick Peyton in Australia to conduct his Family Rosary Crusade. The Australian Catholic organisers of Patrick Peyton's Crusade proudly announced that the Macquarie Radio Network would present fifteen half-hour programs 'prepared in Hollywood' to ready Australia for the Rosary Crusade.⁷

At the same time in Britain, the Church of England was investigating the state of British Christianity. In 1943, Archbishop William Temple appointed a Commission on Evangelism. The Commission produced the report *Towards the Conversion of England* in 1945, shortly after Temple's death in 1944. The report

³G. M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids: Michigan, 1991, pp. 69-73; W. G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977*, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1978, pp. 183-190; M. Frady, *Billy Graham: A Parable of American Righteousness*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1979, p. 160.

⁴*The Australian Baptist*, 27th June 1950, p. 5; *The Methodist*, 16th January 1954, pp. 2, 9; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1953, p. 68; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 25th March 1949, p. 5; See also *SMH*, 12th January 1952, p. 9 and 26th August 1952, p. 3 and 23rd November 1953, p. 4.

⁵J. W. Burton, *The Crusade for Christ: Four Studies for use in Youth Movements*, Youth Publications Department, Methodist Church of Australasia, Enfield, c.1949, p. 17; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 25th March 1949, p. 5.

⁶*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1948-1949, p. 114; S. B. Babbage and I. Siggins, *Light Beneath the Cross: The Story of Billy Graham's Crusade in Australia*, The World's Work, Melbourne, 1960, pp. 1-14; S. Judd and K. Cable, op.cit., pp. 258-259.

⁷*The Catholic Weekly*, 1st October 1953, p. 1.

stated that there had been a 'wholesale drift of people from religion', evidenced by a decline in church-going and a collapse of Christian moral standards.⁸ The report argued that before the Church could hope to make an effective witness to society, it first had to strengthen its own 'spiritual' reserves by building up its membership through evangelism.⁹ This report and its Australasian edition *Towards the Conversion of Australia and New Zealand* was widely read in the Australian Protestant Churches.¹⁰ The 'Australasian edition' was not at all different from its British derivative, and still contained statistics pertinent to British churches. The British statistics showed that only between 10% and 15% of Britons went to church regularly. In Australia however, the 1947 Gallup poll suggested that 35% of Australians attended church regularly.¹¹

Overseas developments in evangelism gave Australian Protestants much encouragement. Nevertheless, there were also three motivations for conservative Protestant evangelism campaigns within the Australian context: first, to denounce the social justice agenda of the Christian social reformists; secondly, to achieve the conservative social and moral agenda; and thirdly, to defend the conservative Protestant institutions against changing cultural values.

With moral reform and religious revival high on the conservative Protestant agenda, *Towards the Conversion of England* gave their plans substantial encouragement. Conservative Protestants used the British report to confirm the relevance of their solution of evangelism for the post-war period and to down play social justice concerns. They would have been especially heartened by the report's correlation of the decline in religiosity with the rise of the 'social gospel', which

⁸Report of the Commission on Evangelism appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, *Towards the Conversion of Australia and New Zealand*, (Australasian edition of *Towards the Conversion of England*), Melbourne, c.1948, p. 1.

⁹*ibid.*, p. vii.

¹⁰CSOC, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1950, p. 131; *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, January-February 1946, pp. 2-3; *The Church Standard*, 21st September 1945, p. 4 and 30th November 1945, p. 4; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 25th March 1949, p. 5.

¹¹*Australian Gallup Poll*, October 1947.

had portrayed God as a God of love but not of wrath, and Jesus as a Social Reformer but not as the Crucified Saviour.¹² Buoyed by the British report, encouraged by the evangelistic successes in America, and by the late 1940s, in sympathy with the political shift to the right in Australia, conservative Christians in NSW were in an advantageous position to assert the claims of evangelism over social reform for post-war reconstruction.

For the majority of Australian Protestants, the conservative and social reformist positions on evangelism remained polarised, despite the fact that influential British Church leaders were suggesting the combination of social justice and evangelism by the Church to address post-war issues. The writings of George MacLeod and William Temple advocated that Christians should see evangelism as an integral part of Christianising the social order and of addressing the economic and social problems of the day.¹³ Within the Anglican Church in Sydney however, years of often bitter conflict over issues such as the Memorialists' controversy had strengthened political and theological barriers between conservative and non-conservative Christians, such that a collusion of ideas and actions on post-war reform was almost unthinkable.¹⁴

The CSOM was doggedly determined not to concede their position on the Church's role in post-war reconstruction, and vehemently challenged the conservative Evangelical Anglican solution to Australia's socio-economic and moral problems. As Coughlan maintained in 1944,

There is nothing in Christian teaching or in history to justify such an expectation of universal Christian conversion, faith and conduct.¹⁵

¹²Report of the Commission on Evangelism appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

¹³G. McLeod, *op.cit.*, pp. 17-8; W. Temple, *op.cit.*, pp. 105, 115.

¹⁴S. Judd and K. Cable, *op.cit.*, pp. 283-240.

¹⁵W. Coughlan, 'What Would a Christian New Order Be Like?', *The New Day*, February 1944, p. 8.

For the CSOM, no individual could be expected to act as a Christian in a society which was socially, politically and economically unchristian.¹⁶ Although the works of Temple were important to the CSOM, they chose to emphasise only the social aspects of Temple's post-war program rather than incorporate evangelism into their social justice concerns. The CSOM's exclusive focus on social justice drew sharp censure from Evangelical Anglicans. In response to such criticism, one CSOM member related:

I think it is correct to say that the CSOM came into being largely in consequence of a feeling amongst many that the Church was not presenting the Gospel comprehensively but was concentrating unduly on individual salvation.¹⁷

Against the turning political tide and the dominance of the Evangelicals within the Sydney diocese, Coughlan and Davidson's determination to set up the CSOM as an alternative to the conservative agenda meant that their social justice plans had become completely incompatible with those of the mainstream Anglican Church by the end of the 1940s. This led to division within the CSOM itself, with prominent leaders such as Bishop Ernest Burgmann beginning to question the relevance of Coughlan's social agenda and arguing for the Church to advance through the strengthening of parish life.¹⁸

The Presbyterian CSOC took a more accommodating approach to the question of evangelism. Following the proposal for a three year campaign of evangelism and spiritual renewal by the Church Life and Work Committee at the 1949 NSW Presbyterian Assembly, the CSOC's 1950 report concentrated almost solely on evangelism.¹⁹ In 1951, the CSOC's report stated 'the CSO Committee

¹⁶ibid.; E. J. Davidson, *SMH*, 15th December 1951, p.9; J. Mansfield, 'Social Attitudes in the Church of England', p. 71.

¹⁷*The New Day*, December 1946, p. 2 and April 1947, p. 3.

¹⁸J. Mansfield, 'Social Attitudes in the Church of England', pp. 250, 275-277; J. Mansfield, 'The Christian Social Order Movement', p. 120.

¹⁹The Church Life and Work Committee's proposal for a three year campaign of evangelism evolved into the 'New Life Movement'; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the*

has not endeavoured to offer judgements on separate social or political or economic issues which have arisen during the year'. Instead, the Committee had prepared papers on the problems of conducting evangelism in an industrial society, the factors hindering the Church in tackling social and ethical problems, and the responsibility of humanity to the environment.²⁰

The CSOC's retreat from socio-economic criticism and their shift to investigating evangelistic issues was not simply a belated attempt to do justice to the writings of George MacLeod. As it appeared during the convenorship of the Rev. Professor John McIntyre (1949-1951) it may well have been a product of his leadership. Rev. M. D. MacLeod assumed the convenorship after McIntyre from 1952-3, during which time the CSOC returned to pursuing social questions rather than evangelism, although these social questions were certainly less provocative than earlier ones, dealing with issues such as the White Australia Policy and old age pensions rather than aspects of the socio-economic order.²¹ In the broader context though, the ideological change was indicative of the CSOC's endeavour to survive in a denomination mobilising for wide scale personal evangelism. A general lack of interest among Presbyterians in the CSOC's agenda and the desire to conduct an evangelism campaign which concentrated on church membership rather than on social issues led the Assembly to ignore the CSOC's offer of help.²²

The Methodist PQC/SEQC was more accommodating of evangelism, but distanced itself from the conservative style campaigns. From 1945, evangelism

Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1949, pp. 117-124; CSOC, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1950, pp. 131-135.

²⁰*Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1951, p. 113.

²¹S. E. Emilsen, op.cit., pp. 274-5, 285.

²²*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 23rd May 1945, p. 4; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1949, p. 117.

was an integral part of their plans for post-war reconstruction. They determined that evangelism should be woven into the fabric of Church life, rather than remain 'a distinct and separate activity'.²³ The close interest of Methodist social reformers in evangelism meant that they were to play a prominent role in the evangelistic campaigns of the Methodist Church, especially in the Mission to the Nation.

The theological and political infighting in the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches amounted to an attempt by conservative factions to assert evangelism as the Churches' main priority for post-war reconstruction. The shifting political climate aided the conservatives' fight against the Christian reformers, and gave them further justification for implementing their plans of revival and moral reform for the post-war period. Evangelism became the main vehicle through which the conservative Christian aims for post-war Australia of moral reform, religious revival and resistance to communism were implemented.

The desire to effect political and moral reform through evangelism was maintained by *The Australian Baptist* on the launch of the Baptist Christian Commonwealth Crusade:

Church historians in future years may record that this act was the most momentous, timely, and far-reaching decision ever made by the Baptists of the Commonwealth, and marked the beginning of a movement inspired and controlled by the Holy Spirit, which compelled thousands to crown Christ as the Lord of all life, and thus made a great contribution to creating a Christian public opinion with a view to securing a Christian social order.²⁴

The above excerpt emphasised the conservative Christian view that evangelism was the only way to achieve a 'Christian social order'. Baptist leaders claimed

²³*Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, p. 92.

²⁴*The Australian Baptist*, 2nd March 1948, p. 4; See also *The Methodist*, 2nd May 1953, p. 4; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Conference Minutes*, 1949, pp. 89-91; J. Jamieson, *Revive Us Again: Studies on Our Great Modern Need*, Presbyterian Board of Religious Education, Melbourne, 1952.

that the Christian Commonwealth Crusade was an attempt to evangelise 'thousands' and to preserve Australian society against immorality and communism, arguing that 'the great safeguard against Communism, as far as the Christian Church is concerned, is to cultivate in her members the translucent value of Jesus Christ and Eternal Things.'²⁵ Similarly, the Catholic Family Rosary Crusade had a dual purpose. Not only did it serve to encourage Catholics in their faith and prayer life, the Rosary Crusade also aimed to foster Catholic opposition to communism and to promote Catholic family values.²⁶ Juvenile delinquency and youth religious indifference were also fought with evangelism. Throughout the post-war period, the Churches ran a number of evangelistic campaigns aimed specifically at youth, and held functions for youth within the context of broader campaigns such as the Crusade for Christ and the Christian Commonwealth Crusade.²⁷ For the conservative Church leaders organising these campaigns, 'a Christian social order' was one expunged of undesirable moral and political influences, and could only be accomplished by a resolute acceptance of the Christian faith by all Australians.

As the 1940s and 1950s progressed, conservatives became more and more convinced that their promotion of evangelism was justified. With the onset of the Cold War and the advent of the atomic bomb, their post-war confidence was replaced by a sense of crisis.²⁸ For Evangelical Protestants, the perception of a growing Asian military threat and changing moral values had cosmic and

²⁵*The Australian Baptist*, 16th March 1948 p. 3 and 9th March 1948, p. 4; K. Manley, op.cit., p. 41; See also J. W. Burton, op.cit., pp. 1-6.

²⁶Family Rosary Supplement in *The Catholic Weekly*, 8th October 1953, p. 1 and 22nd October 1953, p. 1; Cardinal N. T. Gilroy, *Rosary Crusade Pastoral, October 1953*, St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, 28th September 1953; *The Catholic Weekly*, 19th November 1953, p. 7; K. Massam, op.cit., pp. 424-428.

²⁷*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1949-1950, p. 101; *The Catholic Weekly*, 7th February 1946, p. 20; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1951, p. 54; *All Saints' Messenger, Hunters Hill*, February 1949, p. 3; J. W. Burton, op.cit.; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1948-1949, p. 63 and 1949-1950, p. 101; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 31st March 1950, p. 15; See also W. A. Guildford, op.cit.

²⁸J. Brett, op.cit., pp. 85-6, 118-120; S. Alomes, M. Dober and D. Hellier, op.cit., in A. Curthoys and J. Merritt (eds.), op.cit., pp. 8-9.

'eschatological' significance. Speaking to the 1953 Sydney Synod, Archbishop Mowll drew parallels between post-war society and the 'Last Day':

But we live at the beginning of an age which may well be the 'last days' of our civilisation. Atomic weapons are increasing rapidly. The advance of scientific research and the absence of moral restraint has created an alarming situation...It may be that He Who died for us will be coming back to us soon.²⁹

Methodists also spoke of 'fears of a third world war', 'communism' and 'industrial unrest' as signs that the Church must evangelise, while Baptists contended that the modern Church stood at the crossroads between the death or revival of Christianity.³⁰ The sense of uncertainty and doom was thinly veiled in the words of the convenor of the New Life Movement, the Rev. A. Trafford Walker:

It is not survival but revival of which we think.³¹

For Evangelical Protestants, eschatological fears had formed the justification for evangelism since the end of the eighteenth century, where events such as the French Revolution, the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the 'troubles' in Ireland and the First World War were considered to be portents of the end of the world.³² Evangelical Protestants believed that the end of the world would also be marked by the return of Christ, who would banish the 'unsaved' to 'hell'. The Church, therefore, had a moral duty to evangelise the 'unsaved' before the End.

²⁹*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1954, pp. 38-9.

³⁰*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1949, pp. 89-91; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1948-1949, p. 16; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 15th January 1954, p. 13.

³¹*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 14th April 1950, p. 4.

³²W. Lawton, *The Better Time to Be*, pp. 8-9, 30-32, 34; W. Lawton, 'The Winter of Our Days', pp. 18-26; A. J. Weigert, 'Christian Eschatological Identities in the Nuclear Context', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 27, 2, 1988, pp. 177-187.

In this context the concept of the 'evangelistic crusade' takes on considerable meaning. The majority of post-war evangelistic campaigns were called 'crusades'. In Christian history, the term 'crusade' has been associated with the medieval Crusades against Islam and with 'holy wars' in general.³³ Karen Armstrong has argued that crusading was the Western Church's classic response to social trauma and the feeling that its identity was somehow being threatened by modernity.³⁴

This idea of the Christian Churches at war with contemporary social and political forces was evident in the Church's evangelistic response to post-war Australia. At Sydney University the 'Christian Commandos' of the Evangelical Union prepared a 'Mission to the University' (June 1951), led by the Rev. Howard Guinness.³⁵ Methodist children were called to 'join the army' of Jesus Christ to wage a war against sin.³⁶ The Churches' predisposition towards marching through the city also contained military overtones. Thousands of Christians dressed in white, with children in the uniforms of their church organisations and clergy in clerical garb marching through the centre of Sydney were familiar scenes in the post-war period. Methodist youth were specifically told to pack a white shirt or frock for a march through Sydney as part of the Mission to the Nation's 'National Christian Youth Convention'.³⁷ For the Catholic Church's National Eucharistic Congress (1953), Catholics were organised by 'rank', with school children, flag bearers, representatives of Catholic migrant groups and church sodalities heading the procession, followed by religious orders, clergy, Cardinals, Archbishops, bishops and finally,

³³K. Armstrong, *Holy War*, Macmillan, London, 1988, pp. 45, 47; C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1977, pp. 11-12.

³⁴K. Armstrong, op.cit., p. 31; W. G. McLoughlin, op.cit., pp. 1, 183-5.

³⁵S. Judd and K. Cable, op.cit., p. 257; *SMH*, 21st June 1951, p. 2.

³⁶J. A. Sorrell and G. A. Wheen, *The Cross and the Call*, 5th ed., New South Wales Methodist Young People's Department for the General Conference Youth Commission of the Methodist Church of Australia, Sydney, 1954, pp. 34-40; Note the militaristic title of the book; See also *The Catholic Weekly*, 21st April 1954, p. 12.

³⁷Methodist Church of Australasia, *National Christian Youth Convention: Handbook and Study Material*, Sydney, 1955, p. 11.

'distinguished Catholic citizens'.³⁸ Marches to celebrate St. Patrick's Day, to protest against the opening of Sydney's Royal Easter Show on Good Friday and to open Church rallies and crusades were all part of the Churches' celebratory or condemnatory response to its society, a public way of asserting the strength and position of the Church in the Australian community as a force for 'good' going 'forward into battle' against political subversion and social change.³⁹

An interesting comparison can be made between post-war Church marching and the marching German peasants, soldiers and Hitler Youth celebrated in Leni Reifenstahl's film *The Triumph of the Will* (1935). In the film, the marchers exemplified a community of strength, power, victory and discipline. There was order rather than chaos, and uniformity of thought and purpose.⁴⁰ In common with the Australian Christian marching, the German marching was testimony to the general popularity of marching and uniformity in inter-war period among modern European societies.⁴¹ It also illustrated the politically conservative ideal of social cohesion. Just as the German marchers in the film confronted German and overseas viewers with the might of Nazi Germany, Australian Christian marching aimed to confront non-Christian onlookers with the strength and relevance of the Church. In contrast, Italian Catholic feast day parades presented a vision of community celebration, piety, and worship of their local saint, devoid of military symbolism.

The fight against liberal moral values, declining religiosity and communism, which had formed the basis of conservative Protestant post-war plans for Australian society, was intensified by the growing sense of uncertainty among Protestant Church leaders. The quasi-military mobilisation of Church forces through marching and crusading amounted to a 'holy war' against these social changes.

³⁸National Eucharistic Congress, *Congress Handbook*, pp. 57-59.

³⁹D. Hilliard, 'God in the Suburbs', p. 416; K. Massam, op.cit., p. 426.

⁴⁰D. S. Hull, *Film in the Third Reich: A Study of the German Cinema 1933-1945*, University of California, Berkeley, 1969, pp. 52, 75.

⁴¹J. Rickard, op.cit., pp. 152, 191.

A further unwelcome sign of crisis for Protestant Church leaders was the extent of post-war Catholic immigration and the new vitality and confidence of the Australian Catholic community itself. In a period when conservative Protestants feared that the loss of the liquor referendum, the decline of Sunday Observance and the disappearance of 'F.D.' on Australian coinage meant that they were losing their traditional political influence and community status, evangelism presented an opportunity to campaign for an extension of Protestant power and representation.

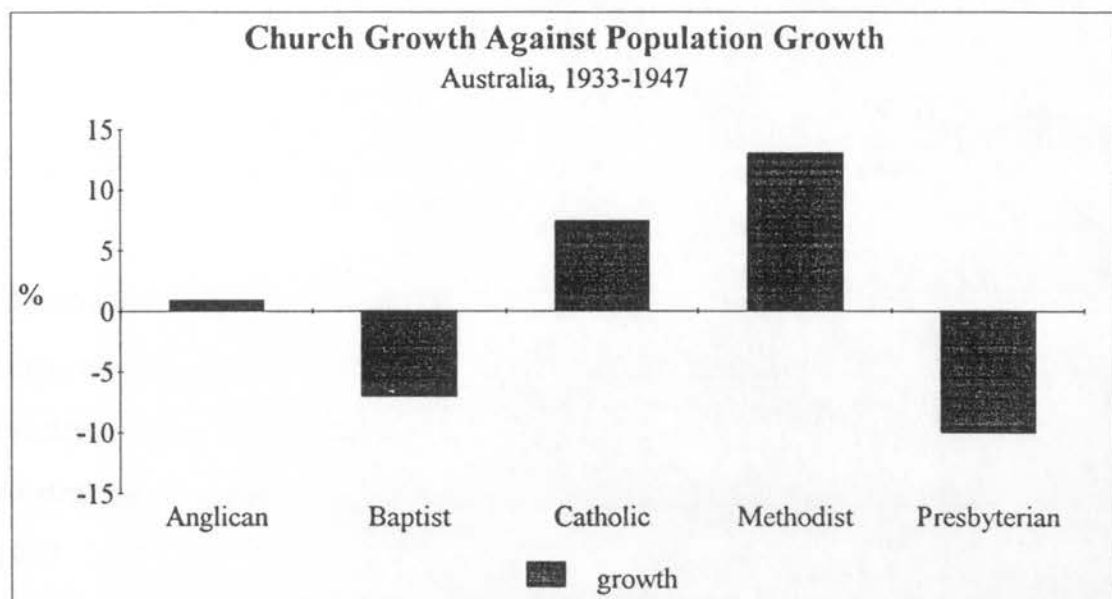
The 1947 census results for Christian nomination became available to the Churches in May 1948. They showed that in Australia, Christian nomination was 39.0% Anglican, 20.9% Catholic, 1.5% Baptist, 11.5% Methodist and 9.8% Presbyterian. Although the Presbyterian Church had only managed a 4.2% increase throughout Australia and a 1.8% increase in NSW since the 1933 census, the 1947 census indicated that there had been a considerable amount of growth within the other four Churches. The number of people claiming Methodist adherence had increased by 27.4%, Anglican by 15.3% and Baptist by 7.2%.⁴² Most disturbing for the Protestant community however, was the revelation that Catholic nomination had risen by 21.8%.

The Sydney Morning Herald headed their report on the 1947 religious census figures, 'Census Shows Strength of the Churches'. Church leaders however, were less sanguine.⁴³ When measured against the Australian population growth of 14.3%, only the Methodist and Catholic Churches had made significant gains.⁴⁴

⁴²*Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1933, 1947*; Corresponding New South Wales figures: Anglican: 13.2%, Baptist: 16.5%, Catholic: 21.7%, Methodist: 21.6%, Presbyterian: 1.8%.

⁴³*SMH*, 23rd January 1949, p. 14.

⁴⁴*Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1933, 1947*; Corresponding New South Wales figures: New South Wales population growth: 14.8%, Anglican: -1.6%, Baptist: 1.7%, Catholic: 6.9%, Methodist: 6.8%, Presbyterian: -13%.



Source: *Commonwealth Census 1933, 1947*.

Furthermore, an individual's nomination of a particular Church in the census did not reflect the number of church-goers in the community. Australian Gallup Polls revealed that 50% of Baptists, 30% of Methodists, 25% of Presbyterians and only 17% of Anglicans claimed they attended church on a weekly or 'regular' basis between 1947 and 1960.⁴⁵ Over 60% of Catholics, however, claimed to regularly attended church.

The decline of Protestant Church nomination in the community and the low level of Protestant church attendance was of significant concern to Protestant leaders. Indeed, one of the main inspirations for the Presbyterian New Life Movement came from the 1947 Commonwealth Census. Launching the New Life Movement in May 1950, the Rev. Julian Blanchard (then Moderator-General of the Presbyterian Church in Australia) noted the importance of the census in influencing the Presbyterian Church's decision to undertake evangelism:

⁴⁵*Australian Gallup Polls*, October 1947, June 1950, March 1954, February 1955, June 1956, June 1958, February 1960; See also *Crusade for Christ, Crusade for Christ Manual: For Ministers and Local Church Leaders*, Methodist Church of Australasia, Enfield, 1949, p. 6; 'Churchgoing in Australia', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, 22, 4, June 1958, pp. 51-53.

For some time there has been growing concern amongst us for the condition of the Church to which we belong...With the publication of the census figures it became manifest that the health of the Church was even more undermined than we knew...We had fallen from second to third in the community.⁴⁶

Blanchard's reference to the Presbyterian Church's fall from 'second to third' betrayed the central Presbyterian concern. The Catholic Church, rather than the Presbyterian Church, was actually the second largest denomination in the Australian community. Until the late 1940s the Presbyterians were third and by 1947, had fallen to fourth. The census' revelation of Catholic Church growth, along with Catholic post-war vitality as evidenced by the Rosary Crusade and the National Catholic Eucharistic Congress, caused much concern in Protestant circles:

The Roman Catholic Church has proclaimed 1950 a 'Holy Year'. Australian members of that Church are being mobilised, trained, and directed to accomplish the purpose of the hierarchy which, as always, seeks the total submission of every life and every government to its domination...Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in Australia are determined to make 1950 a record year in evangelism and in achieving worthy goals in their service for Christ.⁴⁷

This article, which appeared in *The Australian Baptist* in 1950 was illustrative of post-war Protestant apprehension. Conservative Protestants contended that Catholicism was one of the many hierarchical monolithic powers attempting to pervert their agenda, like communism, the liquor trade and the State. It underlined the conservative Protestant emphasis on the individual. Menzies used similar rhetoric in his efforts to appeal to the individual, rather than to the anonymous

⁴⁶*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 25th May 1950, p. 6; See also *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1949, pp. 115-124.

⁴⁷*The Australian Baptist*, 3rd January 1950, p. 1.

'workers' or the 'masses' led by the faceless men of the labour movement and the Communist Party.⁴⁸

For conservative Protestant leaders, Catholic vitality and immigration represented challenges to British Protestant culture. Evangelism was a means of confronting Catholic activity with Protestant evangelistic fervour, and potentially, increasing Protestant representation in the community. Similarly, evangelism was an important vehicle for promoting the conservative program of anti-communism and moral reform for the post-war period, especially in view of the social and political trends emerging in the late 1940s and 1950s. Finally, evangelism was the conservative alternative to the political and economic revolution being espoused by Christian social reformists.

So there were distinctively Australian reasons for conservative Protestants to conduct evangelism. The American and British interest in evangelism served to encourage these Australian efforts. The further importance of American and British influences for post-war Australian evangelism, beyond their function as sources of inspiration and encouragement, was their utilisation of evangelistic techniques which were relatively new for the post-war period. There were two important overseas evangelistic innovations: advertising and lay evangelism.

Although Australian Protestant leaders were keen to achieve the same results through evangelism as those claimed by the Americans, they were uneasy about copying all of the new American evangelistic techniques. In particular, Australian Protestants were most reticent about spending money on the advertising and promotion of their crusades.

Evangelism was vigorously promoted by conservative Protestants in Australia as an integral part of the Churches' post-war activities. In 1946 the Rev. Richard Piper recalled John Wesley's famous injunction, telling the NSW Methodist Conference that they 'had nothing to do but save souls'.⁴⁹ The

⁴⁸J. Brett, *op.cit.*, pp. 31-51.

⁴⁹*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1946*, p. 88.

statements of other Church leaders contained similar sentiments, with Presbyterian leaders contending that if the Church did not extend now it would perish, while Anglicans were told that they could 'never be content' until the non-church going population (estimated at 70%) had been 'reached by the Gospel of Christ'.⁵⁰ Heads of the Protestant Churches lauded and supported the evangelistic campaigns of their own Church and those of the other Protestant Churches in their annual addresses to Church assemblies, synods and conferences to a far greater extent than they commended Church missionary ventures or youth work. Overseas evangelists were hired in the normal Australian evangelistic tradition, and thousands of booklets, pamphlets and posters for local churches were printed.⁵¹ Yet despite all their rhetoric and enthusiasm, the Protestant Churches did not commit large sums of money to evangelism.

Compared with home mission work, overseas missions and youth work, evangelism was not a particularly expensive item on Church budgets. In 1952, the Methodist Church spent over £28,000 on home and overseas missions, almost £6,000 on youth but only £2,800 on the Crusade for Christ.⁵² In 1949, the Baptists spent £7,000 on home mission, £10,500 on overseas missions, £1,100 on youth and only £224 on the Christian Commonwealth Crusade.⁵³ In 1950, the Presbyterians spent £235 on immigration, £504 on Church Life and Work and only £159 on the New Life Movement.⁵⁴ Most of the money spent on evangelism was to hire speakers and overseas evangelists, or to pay for the travelling expenses of the crusade organisers. Compared to the Billy Graham Crusade in

⁵⁰*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 15th January 1954, p. 13; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1951, p. 54.

⁵¹*The Australian Baptist*, 2nd March 1948, p.4; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book 1947-1948*, p. 58; Crusade for Christ, op.cit.; *Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1949, pp. 119-124; See also A. D. Hunt, 'Methodism and the Quest for Revival', *Colloquium*, 18, 2, 1986, p. 21; W. Lawton, 'The Winter of Our Days', p. 3.

⁵²Statement of Accounts, *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1953, pp. 189, 195, 215, 231.

⁵³*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1949-1950, pp. 58, 78, 103, 147.

⁵⁴*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1951, pp. 228, 233, 248.

Australia in 1959 and the Methodists' Mission to the Nation these evangelistic campaigns were relatively moderate and low-key.⁵⁵ The smaller budgets of evangelism departments compared to youth and home mission departments was evidence that Churches could have spent more money on evangelism campaigns. Their decision not to, despite their widespread enthusiasm for revival, reflects two issues. The first issue was that in reality, evangelism was not really a major area of the Protestant Churches' work, but a brief response to modernity.

The second issue concerns traditional British Protestant austerity and conservative Christian attitudes to modernity. Although the British report *Towards the Conversion of England* had made recommendations that the Churches should adopt modern advertising methods to promote Christianity beyond the realms of the local church, *The Church Standard* was horrified at the very idea:

Advertising?—the suggestion may produce a shudder and there is little doubt that cheap local advertising and stunts bring religion into contempt.⁵⁶

Advertising and other 'stunts' were perceived as 'American'. The rise of the American Evangelicals had been achieved with much audacity and fanfare, mostly through the efforts of non-mainstream American Christians, such as Billy Graham, who were part of the fundamentalist movement.⁵⁷ Advertising and the use of modern technology was also associated with 'modernity' and American mass entertainment. Despite their admiration for American religiosity, their

⁵⁵On the Billy Graham Crusade see J. Pollock, *Billy Graham: The Authorised Biography*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1966, p. 246; S. B. Babbage and I. Siggins, op.cit., p. 14; 'Cadillac of Evangelists' in *Nation*, 14, March 1959, p. 16; On the Mission to the Nation see Planning Conference, *Mission to the Nation: Summary of Expenditure on Advertising*, April-September, 1953; 'Statement of Accounts' *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1954, p. 239.

⁵⁶*The Church Standard*, 30th November 1945, p. 4.

⁵⁷S. M. Hoover, *Mass Media Religion: The Social Sources of the Electronic Church*, SAGE Publications, California, 1988, pp. 50-53.

'British' austerity and their aversion to modernism prevented them from engaging in advertising schemes for the widespread promotion of their own crusades.

Protestant leaders were more enthusiastic about the new lay evangelism technique being utilised in British and American evangelism campaigns. Not only was it inexpensive and independent of modern technology, but it met their concerns to make evangelism more effective without 'cheapening' Australian religion.

The encouragement of lay people to promote evangelism was gaining currency in the post-war period through the advocacy of English and American Church leaders. The authors of *Towards the Conversion of England*, George McLeod, and leaders of the American Methodist and Presbyterian Churches were enthusiastic advocates of the lay evangelism technique. A number of post-war evangelistic crusades by the established Churches in America and England involved lay evangelism, either as a 'prelude' to an evangelist centred rally, or as a means of conducting an entire evangelism campaign.⁵⁸ In addition to these influences from the Churches overseas, there was also an interest in the idea of responsible citizenship in Australia, as the authors and supporters of *The Call* attested. Australian Protestants readily incorporated lay evangelism into their own evangelism campaigns.

The lay evangelism technique had two significant features: it placed importance on the evangelism of the individual as well as the evangelism of the community; and it aimed to bring forth the 'hidden' evangelistic talents of the laity, emphasising the role of the individual in the Church, rather than relying totally on an 'evangelist', who was usually a member of the Australian clergy (for small parish-based rallies) or a well-known evangelist from overseas (for the larger, mass crusades). The precise nature of lay evangelism differed from Church to Church, both in its relative importance to their crusade and in the

⁵⁸G. MacLeod, *op.cit.*, pp. 107-8; Report of the Commission on Evangelism appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, *op.cit.*, pp. 37-48; J. W. Burton, *op.cit.*, pp. 17-19.

method of lay evangelism undertaken. For Anglicans, Methodists and Baptists, lay evangelism was incorporated into their preparations for an evangelist centred rally.⁵⁹ The Presbyterian New Life Movement however, used lay evangelism as a means of conducting their entire revival campaign.⁶⁰ In terms of lay evangelism method, the Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian campaigns encouraged church members to conduct a house-to-house canvass of their local area both to find out which persons nominally belonged to their Church but were not members, and to ascertain the whereabouts of lapsed church members.⁶¹ Similarly, the organisers of the Catholic Church's Family Rosary Crusade aimed to raise 'an army of 20,000 laymen' to conduct a door-to-door canvass to encourage Catholic families to pledge themselves to pray the rosary every night.⁶² The Baptists' Crusade however, did not include this activity in its preliminary stage, probably because only 1.5% of the Australian population were Baptist (making a house-to-house canvass largely futile) and the majority of Baptists attended church anyway.⁶³ Instead, the organisers of the Christian Commonwealth Crusade attempted to motivate Baptists to conduct a more unstructured lay evangelism with the slogan 'Every Baptist a Crusader for Christ'.

The relative importance of the house-to-house canvass in building up the crusade was noted by *The New South Wales Presbyterian*:

Obviously, one of the most essential undertakings now is a thorough visitation or canvassing of towns and districts so that we shall at least know where the missing legions are.⁶⁴

⁵⁹*The Australian Baptist*, 2nd March 1948, p. 4; J. W. Burton, op.cit., p. 20; Report of the Commission on Evangelism appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, op.cit., pp. 37-46.

⁶⁰*Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1949, p. 124.

⁶¹*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 31st March 1950, p.15; J. W. Burton, op.cit., p. 20; *Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, September 1950, p.123.

⁶²'Family Rosary Supplement' in *The Catholic Weekly*, 1st October 1953, p. 1.

⁶³*Australian Gallup Polls*, October 1947 (54% of Baptists attended church last week/last fortnight), June 1950 (53% of Baptists attended church weekly/fortnightly) and June 1956 (41% of Baptists attended church last week).

⁶⁴*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 31st March 1950, p. 15.

The military reference to 'missing legions' underlined the Church's understanding of the threat to its status and position in post-war society. Methodists were instructed to get the names and addresses of people attending Christmas and Easter services and even to obtain access to school and hospital records in order to find 'lapsed' Methodists.⁶⁵ The Sydney Anglicans' Youth Mission of 1951 aimed to reach the 'un-churched' members of the community through canvassing young people who had been confirmed in the Anglican Church in the last ten years but had not become regular church-goers.⁶⁶

After locating nominal and lapsed members through their canvass, the local church was then to invite them to participate in church services and organisations.⁶⁷ In this way, Methodists hoped to increase the number of Sunday School scholars by 20,000, increase participation in local church groups by 15% and increase church attendance by 50%.⁶⁸ Such an increase in community religiosity was designed to both improve the quality of life in Australia and give the Church greater credence.⁶⁹ As the leaders of the New Life Movement explained 'the world would not listen to a Church whose house had not been set in order'.⁷⁰

Despite the enthusiasm of Church leaders, the post-war evangelism campaigns did not achieve a revival of religion or a reform of moral standards. Evangelism had never been a particularly successful enterprise in Australia and the crusades of the 1950s were no exception.⁷¹ For conservative Church leaders, there was one specific reason for the unsuccessful outcome of post-war

⁶⁵Crusade for Christ, *How Many Methodists Are Here? How to Make a Community Survey*, Crusade for Christ, Adelaide, 1949, p. 6.

⁶⁶*Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, September 1950, p.123; see also *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1951-2, p. 7.

⁶⁷*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 31st March 1950, p. 15; J. W. Burton, op.cit., pp. 20-1.

⁶⁸J. W. Burton, op.cit., pp. 20-21.

⁶⁹ibid., p. 23.

⁷⁰*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 26th May 1950, p. 6.

⁷¹R. Broome, op.cit., pp. 63-64; W. Phillips, *Defending A Christian Country*, pp. 59, 62, 65-71. W. J. Lawton, *The Better Time to Be*, pp. 8-9, 30-32.

evangelism. They determined that the most significant area of failure in the post-war campaigns was that few of the local churches had conducted lay evangelism or had become involved in their Church's crusade.

Members of the Presbyterian New Life Movement Committee in NSW reported to their Assembly in 1951 that 'while there has been considerable activity in some quarters, there is still a great deal of apathy and a total lack of interest in far too many quarters'.⁷² The Committee members further charged the ministers of the 'apathetic' congregations with showing poor leadership qualities.⁷³ In 1953, the Rev. Keith Burton announced to the NSW Assembly that the Presbyterian New Life Movement would have to close:

It is extremely difficult to assess the results of the [New Life] Movement over the past three years. Some would perhaps question whether there has been any movement at all.⁷⁴

Following the Crusade for Christ, the organisers had initially reported an increase of 12.14% in Sunday School enrolments and an increase of 3,000 church members for NSW alone.⁷⁵ It was later reported to the NSW Conference that overall the Crusade for Christ was disappointing, with too few conversions obtained and a financial deficit.⁷⁶ Furthermore, Crusade organisers had experienced considerable difficulties in convincing local churches to participate in lay evangelism and area canvassing.⁷⁷ While the Rev. Wilfred Jarvis and the other organisers of the Baptist Commonwealth Crusade claimed to have made some success in encouraging enthusiasm for revival in local churches, they were

⁷²*Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1951, p. 159.

⁷³*ibid*; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1954, p. 143.

⁷⁴*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1953, p. 163.

⁷⁵*Crusade for Christ News Sheet*, 1, 4, September 1951, p. 1.

⁷⁶*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1952, p. 171.

⁷⁷*ibid.*, 1951, p. 148.

unable to inspire church members to embrace a long term evangelism campaign. The 1949 Commonwealth Crusade for Christ report indicated that local church members had expressed a desire for a short series of locally based 'weekend' crusades, rather than a long campaign. Nevertheless, when a conference for ministers on the prospect of weekend crusades was held, only twenty-one out of the 115 Baptist church ministers in NSW attended.⁷⁸ The Commonwealth Crusade for Christ was closed down shortly afterwards.

A further sign of failure was the attempt to launch more 'revivals' in the second half of the 1950s. The NSW Baptists held a 'Spiritual Victory Crusade' in 1954, while in 1956 the Presbyterian Church appointed a Director of Public Affairs and Evangelism in order to prepare the Church for a revival.⁷⁹ The Anglican Church resolved to launch a five-year campaign in 1956 and a Church Attendance Movement in 1957.⁸⁰ The Methodists followed up the Crusade for Christ with the 'Mission to the Nation', determining that their crusade had to continue despite the indifference of the local churches.⁸¹

The motives for conservative Protestant post-war evangelism then, fall into two categories. First, post-war evangelism was a means for conservative Church leaders to implement their post-war plans for social, moral and cultural reform. Evangelists not only encouraged Christian conversion, but also condemned communism and immorality. Immigration trends encouraged them to use evangelism to thwart the increase of Catholics and maintain Protestant dominance in Australian society and culture. Certainly, evangelism was part of a general trend in Western Churches in the post-war period. In Australia however, a disproportionate number of Catholic immigrants and the end of Protestant control

⁷⁸*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1948-1949, p. 113 and 1949-1950, pp. 145-146.

⁷⁹*Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1956, p.137.

⁸⁰*Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1957, p. 46 and 1958, p. 234.

⁸¹R. Mathias, *Mission to the Nation: The Story of Alan Walker's Evangelistic Crusade*, Joint Board of Christian Education, Melbourne, 1986, p. 18.

over issues such as Sunday Observance and hotel hours meant that evangelism had a distinctive political and social purpose.

A second motive for post-war evangelism was its place in the conservative agenda within the Protestant Churches. For the Protestant social reformists, the exclusive promotion of evangelism was both a political tool wielded against them by conservative leaders and a sign of their own growing irrelevance. The CSOM continued to oppose the evangelistic solution, although attempts to unite social justice concerns with evangelism did not console mainstream Church leaders either, as evidenced by the fate of the CSOC.

The reasons for the failure of post-war evangelism to encourage an increase in church attendance in the Australian community also lie in two areas. First, was the apparent indifference of the laity to lay evangelism schemes. This issue raises the whole question of what is understood by 'the Church' as a body of Church leaders, local clergy and laity. While Church leaders passed off the reluctance of lay people to become involved in Church evangelism programs as apathy, there were other explanations for the failure of lay evangelism.

The very nature of lay evangelism meant that it recoiled against the Churches, who at the same time were also stressing the primacy of the minister, the need for a cohesive theological stance and the idea of solidarity against communism and immorality. The esteem held by church members for their clergy and the exclusive role of ministers in Sunday church services meant that many church-goers had trouble coming to grips with the idea of lay evangelism. Judging from the amount of money allocated to evangelism in Church budgets, it was quite possible that lay evangelism programs themselves were inadequate, although this is difficult to ascertain due to a lack of further evidential material. The continued insistence on the superiority of the minister meant that even if individual church-goers had wanted to conduct evangelism, they could not do so without the support and cooperation of their minister. Furthermore, once out in the field, the local

church had no way of ensuring that a lay member would convey the desirable doctrinal stance.

Most significantly, the lack of lay involvement in evangelism was a stark indication of unforeseen problems in the local church, which despite the considerable failure of lay evangelism, remained unacknowledged and unaddressed by Church leaders. The neglect of Church leaders to address these issues left a widening gap between the local church and themselves at a time when Church leaders were hoping to involve the laity in their designs.

The second reason for the failure of post-war evangelism was the resort to traditional methods of evangelism which appealed to church-goers (already familiar with the process), but not to the general public. With the conservative Protestant refusal to use radio advertising in an attempt to broaden the appeal of evangelism campaigns and with very few churches conducting lay evangelism, non-church-goers could not be informed of the crusades anyway. In addition, a loosening of Protestant moral standards and a relatively low level of community concern for communism, (as evidenced by the success of the 'no' vote in the 1951 referendum to ban the CPA) meant that the Churches' main moral and political agenda, as promoted on the crusade platforms, did not substantially reflect community feeling.

It was this concern to be relevant to the non-church-going community which was central to the ideology of the Methodists' Mission to the Nation campaign. The Mission to the Nation represented a new kind of evangelism for Australia. In its efforts to appeal to those Australians who were not connected with the Church, the Mission attempted to combine a concern for social justice with effective Christian evangelism.

CHAPTER 11: THE MISSION TO THE NATION

The Mission to the Nation was launched in April 1953 by the Methodist Church as the third and final phase of their Crusade for Christ. The Mission was conceived as a six month 'Crusade to the Australian nation', involving mass crusades, personal evangelism, open-air meetings and meetings in factories, cinemas and luncheon clubs.¹ In 1952, the General Conference of the Methodist Church chose the Rev. Alan Walker, minister of the Waverley Methodist Mission, to lead the nationwide campaign.

Alan Walker (b. 1911) spent his early years in working-class Newtown, an inner-city slum area where the Depression served to exacerbate the already deplorable economic conditions.² He had grown up listening to his minister-father deliver evangelistic sermons at open air meetings in Newtown, and decided to enter the ministry himself after hearing the American evangelist Gypsy Smith in 1926.³ As a young minister, with the financial support of a wealthy church member, Walker had travelled to England in the 1930s to gain experience in the English Methodist mission centres. It was here that he met William Sangster, an influential English evangelist.⁴

At the same time, there were two other important influences in the early part of Walker's life in the Church. One was Professor Samuel Angus, who taught New Testament at the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches' United Theological Faculty where Walker completed part of his ministerial studies. While Walker did not wholly embrace Angus' theology, he was greatly

¹J. W. Burton, op.cit., p. 21; Department of Home Missions, *Ninetieth Annual Demonstration*, Epworth Press, Sydney, 1949, n.p.

²H. R. Henderson, *Reach for the World: The Alan Walker Story*, Discipleship Resources, Nashville: Tennessee, 1981, p. 6.

³For Gypsy Smith's 1926 campaign, see W. Phillips, 'Gypsy Smith in Australia in 1926: The Commonwealth Evangelistic Campaign', in M. Hutchinson and S. Piggin (eds.), *Reviving Australia: Essays on the History and Experience of Revival and Revivalism in Australian Christianity*, vol. 3, CSAC, Sydney, 1994, pp. 185-201.

⁴H. R. Henderson, op.cit., pp. 18-21.

impressed by Angus as a teacher and encouraged by Angus to pursue further academic studies. The second important influence was the English Methodist apologist and evangelist Donald Soper. Soper was a Christian socialist and a pacifist, whose ideas made a profound impression upon Walker.⁵

With this background, Walker held that evangelism and social justice were equally important goals for the Churches to pursue. He injected his personal convictions into the Mission to the Nation, effectively continuing the Christian social reformist agenda through post-war evangelism.

From the outset, the Mission to the Nation was distinct from other evangelism campaigns, Methodist or otherwise, conducted in the post-war period. Not only did it attempt to emphasise a relationship between social justice and evangelism, but the way the campaign itself was developed and managed was unconventional. Its unorthodoxy lay in that the Mission's organisers had deliberately tried to create an evangelistic campaign which would appeal to the 'average' Australian, rather than simply reproduce American forms of evangelism. Furthermore, Alan Walker was Australian, rather than British or American, and was given a considerable degree of authority over the Mission's agenda. These differences were important factors in the Mission's success, and also, in its downfall.

The initial six month campaign was considered by the Federal Executive of the Mission to the Nation to be widely successful. In a summary report by the Federal Executive it was related that hundreds of people had registered their commitment to follow the Christian way of life, an estimated 330,000 people had attended the evangelistic rallies held across Australia, the Mission's radio program 'Drama With a Challenge' had attracted around 1,000,000 listeners per week (according to a McNair/Anderson Survey), 1,300 letters of support had been received and a surplus of £248 (February 1954) remained in the Mission's

⁵ibid., pp. 12-14, 17-25.

account.⁶ Menzies, Evatt and various Church leaders had lent their sincere support.⁷ Leslie Rumble expressed his delight that the Mission to the Nation coincided with the Catholic National Eucharistic Congress, stating that, 'it is good to know...that in the very year the Catholic Church has chosen for a special effort to promote the welfare of her members, other Churches will be doing the same thing for their own adherents'.⁸ In light of this favourable reception to the six months campaign, the Federal Executive of the Mission to the Nation decided to continue the campaign until February 1956, after which the situation would be reviewed.

Between 1954 and 1956 the Mission visited towns and cities throughout Australia, the radio series 'Drama With a Challenge' continued, supplemented by other small radio plays and serials, a film 'This Australia of Ours' was made, Youth and Adult Christian conventions were held, local churches were encouraged to set up their own lay evangelism programs, and thousands of books and pamphlets were produced and sold (with Mission to the Nation books *Heritage Without End* (1953) selling 35,854 copies and *Australia Finding God* (1953) selling 21,116 copies).⁹ The American Methodists were so impressed with the success of the Mission to the Nation in Australia that they asked Walker to lead a similar campaign in the United States. Despite these accomplishments, in July 1956, the Federal Executive made a decision to close the Mission.

In a report to the 1957 General Conference of the Methodist Church, there were no specific reasons given for closing the Mission. There were however,

⁶Federal Executive of the Mission to the Nation, *The Mission to the Nation: Looking Back on the 1953 Campaign*, Epworth Press, Sydney, February 1954.

⁷*SMH*, 18th September 1953, p. 2; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1954, p. 41; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 26th July 1952, p. 4; *The Methodist*, 25th April 1953, p. 1.

⁸*The Mirror*, 24th November 1952, p. 18.

⁹Brisbane General Conference, *How to Form a 'Mission to the Nation' Group*, Sydney, 1955; *The Methodist*, 10th April 1954, p. 4; *Minutes of the 17th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1954, Appendix X, pp. 271-273; *Minutes of the 18th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1957, Appendix Z(c), pp. 276-277; R. Mathias, op.cit., p. 85. Rex Mathias was the National Mission Secretary of the Mission to the Nation from 1952 to 1957 and Acting Leader of the Mission to the Nation in 1956.

three issues mentioned in the report which suggested that there was declining enthusiasm for the Mission. First, few churches had undertaken the lay evangelism program encouraged by the Mission (only around 5% participated).¹⁰ Secondly, public enthusiasm for the Mission was waning during 1956, probably due to Walker's having taken leave to conduct 'Mission to America' in the United States. In Walker's absence the Mission had been carried on at a much reduced scale, with plans for a series of small missions led by a panel of interstate speakers. Only partial use was made of this panel, due to some of the speakers being unable to meet their commitment to the missions.¹¹ Thirdly, the Mission had incurred a debt of £1647/18/9 by March 1957, due to a miscalculation in the amount of money needed to meet travelling expenses for 1955 and the costs of producing the film 'This Australia of Ours' and a radio play 'Man With a Mission'.¹²

From Walker's perspective however, it was not the circumstances mentioned in the report that had forced the Mission's closure. He argues that more sinister and ignoble motives lay behind the decision to end the Mission:

There had always been some critics of the Mission to the Nation in the Methodist Church—prominent ministers. I led the Mission to the Nation in '53, '54, '55 and I was asked to go to America, to lead the 'Mission to America' for 1956...[As] soon as I got out of the country the opponents to the Mission to the Nation began to organise and I was horrified that by the July, after I left in the January, the National Committee of the Mission to the Nation decided to close it at the end of that year. Now, it was really, I regret to say...an act that I think was unworthy of the Church. It was motivated, in two or three of the men who led the campaign, I think by jealousy of me and limited vision for the Church. I was appalled at the decision and think it was utterly wrong.¹³

¹⁰*Minutes of the 18th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia, 1957, Appendix Z(c), p. 276; R. Mathias, op.cit., p. 96; A. Walker, The Whole Gospel for the Whole World, Marshall, Morgan and Scott, London, 1958, pp. 127-128.*

¹¹*Minutes of the 18th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia, 1957, Appendix Z(c), p. 277; R. Mathias, op.cit., p. 88.*

¹²*Minutes of the 18th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia, 1957, Appendix Z(c), p. 278.*

¹³Interview with the Rev. Dr. Alan Walker, 21st October 1992.

Given the dying enthusiasm and the financial situation of the Mission, Walker's analysis of the Mission's closure might seem overly suspicious and conspiratorial. There were however, several clergymen involved in the administration of the Mission with possible motives for opposing Walker in his role as Missioner.

None of the available sources actually named who these 'opponents to the Mission' were. Members of the General Conference's Mission to the Nation Council included the Revs. Norman Pardey, Bertram Wyllie, C. Irving Benson, Arthur E. Vogt, G. Calvert Barber and Robert Lew. These churchmen represented the foremost of Methodist leadership. Norman Pardey (1898-1984) was converted to Christianity at the Chapman-Alexander mission in 1906. He was federal director of the Crusade for Christ. Pardey was supportive of the lay evangelism technique, which he promoted with great vigour at his own charge at Manly.¹⁴ Bertram Wyllie (1894-1986) was the Master of Wesley College, University of Sydney and became President of the NSW Methodist Conference in 1957. He was a progressive theologian and intolerant of conservative fundamentalist theology.¹⁵ C. Irving Benson (1897-1987), a supporter of the Moral Rearmament Movement, was a firm believer in personal evangelism. He had been the President of the Victorian and Tasmanian Conference of the Methodist Church in 1943.¹⁶ Arthur E. Vogt (1907-1987), another director of the Crusade for Christ, maintained an emphasis on social issues and evangelism. He became director of the Adelaide Central Methodist Mission in 1952.¹⁷ George Calvert Barber (1893-1967) was the professor of theology at Victoria's Wesley College, chairman of the Australian Students' Christian Movement (1939-1949) and president of the ACWCC (1953-1954). He was President-General of the

¹⁴B. Dickey (ed.), op.cit., p. 294.

¹⁵A. H. Wood, *Not Lost But Gone Before: Memories of 100 Christian Men and Women*, Meerut Publications, Mitchum, 1987, p. 191.

¹⁶B. Dickey (ed.), op.cit., p. 39; A. H. Wood, op.cit., pp. 16-18.

¹⁷B. Dickey, (ed.), op.cit., p. 392.

Methodist Church during 1951-1954.¹⁸ Robert Lew (1891-1970), a conservative churchman, had held various positions within Methodist Church government since 1946. Lew was the President-General of the Methodist Church between 1954 and 1957.¹⁹

Among these men, there were those theologically sympathetic to Walker's agenda, such as Wyllie, Calvert-Barber and Vogt, and those who were keen to embrace 'new' forms of personal evangelism, such as Pardey. There were also those who were supportive of an older style of personal evangelism, such as Benson, who may have opposed Walker on theological grounds. All of these men were also relatively ambitious, achieving positions of considerable power and influence within the Methodist Church. Along with several other less prominent churchmen on the Council who were contemporaries of Walker, some may have resented his rise to prominence through the Mission.

When considering the three issues mentioned in the report, there was certainly evidence of a general reluctance within the Methodist Church to continue the Mission. First, there was no investigation as to why so many local churches were not participating in the Mission's program of lay evangelism. The lack of local church interest was put down to the difficulty of the work involved or apathy and conservatism.²⁰ Secondly, although the Mission had certainly lulled in Walker's absence, there was a distinct unwillingness to carry the Mission on when he returned, despite the confidence shown in him by the American Methodists' invitation in 1956 and a proposal by the American Methodist Board of Evangelism that he conduct a three year campaign in America.²¹ When the Mission to the Nation Federal Executive suggested that the Mission should be continued through the Federal Board of Evangelism, this was 'met with a good deal of opposition'

¹⁸A. H. Wood, *op.cit.*, pp. 11-13.

¹⁹J. A. Alexander (ed.), 'Lew, Rev. Robert Bathurst' in *Who's Who in Australia 1959*, Colorgravure Publications, Canberra, 1959, p. 476.

²⁰*Minutes of the 18th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia, 1957*, Appendix Z(c), p. 276; See also A. Walker, *The Whole Gospel for the Whole World*, p. 128.

²¹H. R. Henderson, *op.cit.*, pp. 126-127.

from several state conferences and all states except NSW opposed the motion.²² Thirdly, the Mission's debt of £1647/18/9 did not appear to be terribly serious, for in 1959 it was reported to the NSW Conference that all remaining monies of the Mission to the Nation were to be held for the General Conference Standing Committee on Evangelism.²³ Indeed, the Mission itself was opened despite the fact that the Crusade for Christ had incurred a debt of £277/17/6 (December 1951) and, like the other Protestant Churches' crusades, had been unable to obtain the 'large numbers of conversions' originally hoped for.²⁴ The confidence that the prevailing fortunes would be reversed once local churches became more involved in the Church's evangelism program had driven the Methodist Church onward in 1952.²⁵ By 1956, they were not so inspired to continue their evangelism program, despite there being no decline in the desire for revival among Methodists. After the Mission's closure, the Methodist Church reconstituted Evangelism Committees at state levels. They also made plans to cooperate with the other Protestant Churches in supporting the 1957 Australian Crusade of American evangelist J. Edwin Orr, promoting the 'Church Attendance Movement' in 1958 and supporting the Billy Graham Crusade in 1959.²⁶

The immediate reasons given for the Mission's closure then, were not substantial. This gives Walker's explanation of hostility towards the Mission and himself more significance. Certainly, as early as 1953, when the plans to continue the Mission beyond its originally designated six months were proposed, there was

²²*Minutes of the 18th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia, 1957, Appendix Z(c), pp. 277-278; D. Wright and E. G. Clancy, op.cit., p. 214.*

²³*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1959, p. 194; See also Minutes of the 19th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia, 1960, p. 122; According to Alan Walker, £30,000 remained after the Mission closed, mostly from the sale of a house owned by the Mission (letter to the author from Alan Walker, dated 21st April 1994).*

²⁴*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1952, p. 171.*

²⁵*ibid.; Minutes of the 16th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia, 1951, pp. 268-269.*

²⁶*Minutes of the Evangelism Committee, 1957-1960; The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1958, p. 202.*

evidence of opposition and criticism. At the 1954 NSW Methodist Conference, the Rev. Albert G. Manefield's presidential address made particular reference to the disquiet and ill-feeling toward the Mission and its leader:

Unfortunately, the big vision of fellowship is often marred by the littleness of us all. We seem unwilling to pay the price of living with our fellows in creative and profound relationships. As we listened to the plans for the continuation of the Mission to the Nation, our attention was drawn to what was called 'the mean streak in Methodism'...Jealousy, a grudging delight in the success of others, half-hearted praise, luke-warm affection, careless and even slightly vindictive gossip are devastating.²⁷

Later, in 1955, begrudging attitudes among Methodist leaders towards Walker were still evident. In an article in *The Methodist* titled 'The Mission to the Nation and Critics', the Rev. Arthur Oliver asked 'Must we turn on leaders with green-eyed jealousy as some so-called sportsmen turned against Bradman?'.²⁸ The jealousy stemmed from the fact that one Methodist Church leader had been given so much freedom and authority to pursue the task of evangelising Australia on behalf of the Methodists. According to Rex Mathias, National Mission Secretary for the Mission to the Nation from 1952 to 1957, when the General Conference asked the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches to join the Methodists in the Mission to the Nation in 1952, they declined on the grounds that they were unprepared to give one member of their respective clergies the authority that Walker had been given.²⁹ The fact that an Australian had been chosen at all was unusual, given that Australian Churches had long relied on British, Irish and American evangelists and clergy to lead campaigns and revivals. In addition, the Mission to the Nation was conducted all over Australia, not just in the capital cities. In the first six months alone, the campaign visited towns and country

²⁷*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1954*, p. 71. See also *The Methodist*, 12th February 1955, p. 4.

²⁸*The Methodist*, 12th February 1955, p. 4.

²⁹R. Mathias, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

centres such as Kalgoorlie, Launceston, Bendigo and Wollongong, in all, fifty-two centres of population.³⁰ By 1955 the Mission had also visited Maitland, Lismore, Parramatta, Revesby, Meckering, Toowoomba, Fremantle, Albury-Wodonga, Ipswich, Wagga Wagga and many other towns and cities.³¹ This gave Alan Walker a considerably high profile for an Australian minister, significantly boosting his ministerial career.

Professional jealousy and infighting within the Methodist Church however, do not necessarily account for the wider political and social context of the Mission to the Nation. When considering the Mission's unorthodox approach to evangelism and the conservative political and theological climate of the time, the political and theological opposition of conservative ministers and lay people, rather than the jealousy of individual ministers, becomes more crucial to the Mission's closure. There were three aspects of the Mission which particularly disturbed its opponents: its evangelistic strategy; its use of the media; and its political stance in a climate of anti-communism.

The evangelistic strategy of the Mission to the Nation followed both conventional and unconventional approaches. On the one hand, mass meetings and 'processions of witness' were important features. American evangelists had employed the mass meeting technique in Australia since the nineteenth century. Christian marching through the main streets of capital cities and towns was also traditional, being a useful way of advertising crusades and evangelistic meetings. On the other hand, the Mission differed from mainstream evangelism on two main counts. First, it represented a move away from the traditional 'crusade structure' in an attempt to appeal to non-church-going Australians; and secondly, it made effective and thorough use of a social critique.

The two most important elements of the traditional crusade structure were the use of 'gospel hymns' and the appeal for conversions. Gospel hymns were

³⁰Federal Executive of the Mission to the Nation, op.cit.

³¹See 'The Mission to the Nation 1952-1955', newspaper clippings compiled by Winifred and Alan Walker.

developed in the nineteenth century as a way of creating the feeling amongst those attending the revival meeting that they were an elect community of the 'saved' and on their way to heaven.³² Combining gospel songs with revivalist preaching had proved very successful in the United States, and formed the basic 'crusade structure' used by Billy Graham in the 1950s and 1960s. The gospel songs, such as those written by Ira D. Sankey, emphasised the hope of salvation, where human beings were victims of circumstance waiting for God's deliverance.³³

The Mission to the Nation consciously avoided this particular strategy, singing well-known church hymns from the *Methodist Church Hymnbook* during the meetings.³⁴ Sometimes, no hymns were sung at all, and a piano recital or a dramatic play opened the proceedings.³⁵ The Mission's rationale for this was explained in Walker's book *The Whole Gospel for the Whole World* (1958):

It's time evangelistic meetings were true to their name and were designed as an act of witness for the few who may have come from beyond the regular life of the Church rather than being a pleasant get-together for Christians.³⁶

While the use of gospel singing to complement the revivalist message may have produced favourable results in America, it had, at best, acted as 'a pleasant get-together for Christians' in Australia.³⁷ Walker hoped that the use of well-known Christian hymns and piano recitals would encourage non-church-goers to attend the Mission's evangelistic meetings.

The style and frequency of 'appeals' for conversion was also atypical. Traditionally, appeals were made at the end of every evangelistic meeting. When

³²S. Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1978, p. 138.

³³*ibid.*, pp. 24-33.

³⁴R. Mathias, *op.cit.*, p.58.

³⁵*ibid.*

³⁶A. Walker, *The Whole Gospel for the Whole World*, p. 54.

³⁷H. R. Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930*, Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1987, pp. 58, 60.

William 'California' Taylor visited the Australian colonies in 1863, he preached vigorously and emotionally for conversions. At the end of his appeal, those who wished to be reconciled with God were instructed to come forward to the 'anxious seat', where they could be separately counselled by Taylor himself, while the rest of the congregation prayed for their conversion.³⁸ Dwight L. Moody revivals followed a similar pattern, with rousing gospel songs sung by a massed choir, an impressive array of clergymen seated on the front platform and a preorganised parade of 'converts' to encourage conversion among those attending the meeting.³⁹ Similarly, after gospel songs and a sermon exhorting listeners to contrast the perfection of Jesus' life with their own sinful ways, converts at the Chapman-Alexander revivals held in Sydney in 1909 were asked to come forward to the main platform, where they would shake Wilbur Chapman's hand (!) and retire to an adjoining room for prayer and counselling.⁴⁰ The Billy Graham Crusade of 1959 also placed great emphasis on listeners registering a 'decision for Christ', filling out 'decision cards' and coming forward at rallies to meet Billy Graham and receive counselling from an appointed counsellor.⁴¹ For the Mission to the Nation however, appeals were certainly made, but only at the evening rallies. During the final hymn, those who wished to register a commitment to Christianity were invited to come forward and fill out a 'commitment card', giving details of their name and address so that a local minister of their denominational choice could get in contact with them.

The rejection of what was largely the American style of evangelism and the lack of emphasis on 'revivalism', was the result of a conscious decision to develop an 'Australian' approach to evangelism.⁴² Walker and the other directors of the

³⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 50-52; See also E. G. Clancy, 'William 'California' Taylor: First Overseas Evangelist to Australia', *Church Heritage*, 6, 3, 1990, pp. 41-62.

³⁹ W. Phillips, *Defending A Christian Country*, pp. 61-62; H. R. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

⁴⁰ R. Broome, *op.cit.*, pp. 66-67.

⁴¹ S. B. Babbage and I. Siggins, *op.cit.*, pp. 14-15; M. Frady, *op.cit.*, p. 220; J. Pollock, *op.cit.*, pp. 271-272.

⁴² Hansen-Rubensohn Company, *Crusade to the Nation: Special Programme for the period April 1953 to September 1953*, July, 1952; R. Mathias, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-24.

Mission had deliberately set out to appeal to the 'average' non-church-going Australian, rather than conform to the expectations of conservative Christians who were already closely connected with the Church.

The Mission will make a new approach. We shall try to present the Christian faith as relevant to the issues that are really worrying people today...We do not want people to continue to feel that religion is unrelated to life and its problems.⁴³

The intent to attract average Australians was clear in one of the pamphlets advertising the Mission, which made an unabashed appeal to young Australian men:

If you think religion is for WEAKLINGS come and hear Alan Walker (leader of Mission to the Nation) answer your questions.⁴⁴

Walker's concern to develop an 'Australian' evangelism which would appeal to Australians who were not church-goers was relevant. Australians did not always welcome American evangelists and their form of revivalism, as demonstrated in Melbourne in 1956 at the Oral Roberts crusade, where crowds pelted him with 'stink-bombs', yelled 'fake' and 'charlatan' at him during his healing services and set fire to one of his semi-trailers.⁴⁵ For most Australians, religion was a private affair, not a spectacle put on by 'flashy' Americans for money. Walker's style of evangelism rejected the American evangelistic meeting in its attempt to appeal to those Australians who were not connected with the Church.

The second area where the Mission differed from traditional evangelism was due to the understanding Walker had of evangelism as both personal and social:

⁴³Alan Walker, quoted in *The Sun* (Sydney), 16th July 1952, p. 4.

⁴⁴Pamphlet advertising a meeting at the Sydney Town Hall, c.1953, UCA, M1,2/CC,MN/1949-1954.

⁴⁵*SMH*, 8th February 1956, p. 6, 10th February 1956, p. 6 and 11th February 1956, p. 14; See also S. Babbage and I. Siggins, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

The Mission to the Nation had a double purpose. It was to try and bring men and women, one by one, to follow Jesus and to accept through repentance and faith the Christian way of life. But it had a second purpose, which was as the name indicated, a Mission to the *Nation*, not just a mission to individuals. And therefore, it consistently raised the issues that confronted Australia...such as the treatment of the aged poor, the treatment of Aborigines, the issue of peace and war...Now that made it distinctive, because the other crusades of the Baptist Church and so on were personally based: they were only concerned about individuals. They raised very little of the social concerns that I think are part of the Gospel...But the Mission to the Nation both brought people to Christ...[and] really challenged the nation on many social and international issues.⁴⁶

It was not entirely true that the other Churches' crusades and missions were only concerned with personal evangelism. As has been established in the previous chapter, each of them had a 'double purpose' of their own, a secondary motive, or set of motives, for conducting their crusades. The Presbyterians not only aimed to revitalise Presbyterian church life through their New Life Movement, but also hoped to regain their position as the third largest denomination.⁴⁷ The Baptist Christian Commonwealth Crusade was a platform to fight the growth of the Catholic Church and condemn communism and immorality, as well as evangelise Australians.⁴⁸ The Catholic Rosary Crusade led by Patrick Peyton not only aimed to revitalise Catholic family values, but also to encourage Catholic opposition to communism.⁴⁹ Unlike the Mission to the Nation, these crusades confirmed rather than challenged the prevailing status quo, calling for the preservation of capitalism, a return to orthodox Christian moral and family values, and in the case

⁴⁶Interview with the Rev. Dr. Alan Walker, 21st October 1992.

⁴⁷*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1949, pp. 115-116; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 25th May 1950, p. 6.

⁴⁸*The Australian Baptist*, 9th March 1948, p.4 and 16th March 1948, p. 3 and 3rd January 1950, p. 1.

⁴⁹'Family Rosary Supplement' in *The Catholic Weekly*, 8th October 1953, p. 1 and 15th October 1953, p. 1; K. Massam, op.cit., pp. 424-426; E. Campion, *Australian Catholics*, p. 194.

of the Protestants, the maintenance of the traditional Protestant ascendancy. In contrast, the Mission to the Nation's secondary purpose was to confront the Australian way of life with what Walker and the other directors of the campaign saw as its shortcomings:

The first item in the programme of the Church, in regular witness and special effort, must be the winning of men and women, one by one, to Christ...But the conditions of social and national life can encourage or inhibit man's discovery of God. Hence all that is wrong in Australian life must be challenged. Every phase of our national life must be brought constantly under the judgement of the living Church.⁵⁰

In this Walker was applying the tradition of the Protestant social reformists of the 1940s to evangelism. Throughout the Mission's duration, Walker highlighted such issues as the inequalities of the capitalist system, the irrationalism of post-war anti-communist fervour, the problem of the arms race, the racism inherent in the White Australia policy and the poor treatment of Aboriginal people by Europeans.⁵¹ Although the Mission also issued a call for the return to orthodox Christian moral values, Walker emphasised the need for the reform of the economic system which mitigated against Christian marriage and family life. He urged the need for more housing and supported the work of marriage guidance counselling.⁵²

In other words, while Christian conversion was an important aim of the Mission, it was not its whole purpose. Walker was also trying to get a political and social message across to his listeners, encouraging them to apply Christian standards to every aspect of Australian society. Often Walker made appeals for

⁵⁰*The Methodist*, 13th September 1952, p. 2.

⁵¹See for example *SMH*, 9th April 1953, p. 2 and 20th May 1953, p. 2 and 21st September 1953, p. 4; 'The Mission to the Nation 1952-1955', newspaper clippings compiled by Winifred and Alan Walker; *Minutes of the 17th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1954, Appendix X, p. 272.

⁵²A. Walker, *Plan for a Christian Australia*, General Conference Literature and Publications Committee of the Methodist Church of Australasia, Melbourne, 1955, pp. 5-8; *SMH*, 9th April 1953, p. 2.

conversion in conjunction with a call for commitment to peace-making or sexual morality as a response to the political or social issue being discussed at the meeting. In this way, the personal and social aspects of the Mission's evangelism were linked.⁵³

While the Mission was able to draw crowds to its rallies and incite media attention for its social justice statements, the success of the new initiatives and the emphasis on social justice was measured by conservative Church leaders and lay people in terms of the number of new members to the Methodist Church. Don Wright and Eric Clancy estimate that between 1953 and 1957 the number of members and adherents of the Methodist Church in NSW increased by 8044 people.⁵⁴ This figure however, is based on the increase of adult, junior and child memberships, and is no indication of whether or not these new members (or in the case of the children, their parents) were inspired by the Mission to join the Methodist Church.⁵⁵ The Commonwealth Census figures from 1954 to 1961 showed an increase of 6.94% in the proportion of Methodists in NSW. When set against immigration and natural population increases however (12.54%), the proportion of Methodists actually registered a decline of 5.6% in NSW.⁵⁶ A resolution in the report of the Mission's closure at the 1957 NSW Conference makes the disappointment of conservative Methodists clear:

That when the Mission to the Nation officially terminates, we embark upon a well-organised Crusade to recover the absentee members of the Church in this State.⁵⁷

⁵³R. Mathias, op.cit., p. 56.

⁵⁴D. Wright and E. G. Clancy, op.cit., p. 214.

⁵⁵*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1954, p. 91 and 1958, p. 100.

⁵⁶Commonwealth Census, 1954, 1961.

⁵⁷*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1957, p. 213.

This statement asserts that for conservative Methodists, the Mission to the Nation had not achieved what they saw as its objective: the revival of the Methodist Church in Australia, determined by a dramatic increase in membership, finances and ministerial candidates. Indeed, articles and addresses by conservative Methodists in the 1953-1956 period referring to the Mission had frequently highlighted the hope that the Mission would bring such a revival.⁵⁸ In light of reports of growing church attendance in the United States,⁵⁹ and the failure of the Mission to bring about similar results, the 'Australian' innovations of the Mission and its commitment to the 'double purpose' strategy of Christianising Australian institutions as well as individuals were not met with favourably by conservative Methodist Church leaders. Although the Mission received a great deal of media coverage, much of this surrounded Walker's political rather than 'religious' statements.⁶⁰ Discomfort with the theological implications of Walker's style of evangelism led to conservative opposition to the proposals for continuing the Mission because of its evangelistic method.

The Mission also drew conservative fire over its use of radio, both for the amount of money being spent on getting the serial 'Drama With a Challenge' on air and for the content of many of the actual programs. In 1952 when plans for the original phase of the Mission were being drawn up, the help of a volunteer advertising agent, Sim Rubensohn, was enlisted. Rubensohn was the director of the Hansen-Rubensohn advertising agency and an occasional church-goer at the Waverley Methodist Mission, where Alan Walker was minister.⁶¹ Rubensohn put

⁵⁸See for example *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1955, p. 67; *The Methodist*, 13th February 1954, p. 7 and 4th December 1954, p. 7.

⁵⁹See for example *SMH*, 12th January 1952, p. 9 and 26th August 1952, p. 3 and 23rd November 1953, p. 4.

⁶⁰*SMH*, 'Positive Aims for Australia Urged', 22nd September 1953, p. 2 and 'Role for Church in Politics', 3rd March 1954, p. 6 and 'Australia's Playboy Mentality', 3rd May 1954, p. 2 and 'Rev. A. Walker Attacks White Australia', 10th July 1954, p. 3 and 'Problem of War', 9th August 1954, p. 5 and 'Excesses of Young People', 30th August 1954, p. 5; See also 'The Mission to the Nation 1952-1955', newspaper clippings compiled by Winifred and Alan Walker.

⁶¹Rubensohn's other claim to fame was the slogan 'It's Time!' for the 1972 Federal Labor election campaign.

forward a £35,000 media plan for the Mission to the Nation, involving newspaper advertising, posters and the production of a serialised radio program, 'Drama With A Challenge'. Walker recalls,

We had a programme called 'Drama With A Challenge'...We gave the theme and then [the script writers] worked out a story and I came in at the end 'with a challenge', a three minute challenge at the end. Now we put that programme on sixty-four stations, and it completely covered Australia... nobody had ever done that before—either spent the money on top actors and actresses or bought time from 8:30 to 9, which we did on a Tuesday night—peak listening period...⁶²

The cost and scale of producing 'Drama With A Challenge', as well as the nature of the programs, was unprecedented for a Church in Australia, and was met with some trepidation by conservative Methodist leaders, who were uneasy with the idea of public advertising.⁶³ In 1953, £14,482 was spent on buying peak period radio time on the Macquarie Radio Network and £4,160 was spent on production.⁶⁴ Notwithstanding the question of advertising, the use of the Macquarie Radio Network broke Church conventions in three ways. First, the Churches had usually made use of the provisions under the Broadcasting Act whereby all radio stations had to provide free air time to the Churches. Secondly, the Protestant Churches had their own commercial radio station, 2CH, for which they all contributed a modest amount. Thirdly, professional, rather than amateur or volunteer script writers and radio actors were hired. In order to reach a wider, non-church-going audience, rather than appeal to those who were already connected to the Church, it was felt necessary to buy time on a non-Church commercial station and to produce as 'professional' a program as possible.⁶⁵ The

⁶²Interview with Rev. Dr. Alan Walker, 21st October 1992.

⁶³H. R. Henderson, op.cit., p. 100; R. Mathias, op.cit., pp. 27-28; Interview with Rev. Dr. Alan Walker, 21st October 1992.

⁶⁴Planning Conference, *Mission to the Nation: Summary of Expenditure on Advertising*, April-September, 1953.

⁶⁵R. Mathias, op.cit., pp. 28-31.

use of a non-Church commercial station rather than 2CH and of 'secular' actors and script writers also gave Walker and the directors of the Mission the freedom to present the programs in a way which suited their own theological purpose.

The nature of the programs also caused consternation, as the Mission continued its 'double purpose' style of evangelism on radio. In 1954, the programs for 'Drama With a Challenge' addressed issues such as politics and elections, faith and belief, the economic structure, housing and 'New Australians', conversion and the liquor trade.⁶⁶ The availability of free time meant that in contrast, ordinary Church programs were much less cosmopolitan, following a non-dramatic, informative or 'community service' format, not having to attract a large audience to stay on the air. On the ABC for example, church services, community hymn singing, bible readings, reports of upcoming church activities and Christian apologetics formed the main types of programs.⁶⁷ 'Church stations' such as 2CH and 2SM broadcast a larger amount of religious programs, with 'Sunday School of the Air', 'Family Session of Sacred Music', 'The Burning Bush' and the Waverley Christian Community Centre's 'Church Forum of the Air' on 2CH, and 'Sacred Heart Programme' and the long running 'Question Time' hosted by Dr. Leslie Rumble on 2SM.⁶⁸

With some exceptions, such as 'Question Time', most Church radio programs were considered uninteresting and dull by the general public, especially the broadcasting of church services. In 1947 the Broadcasting Committee of the NSW Presbyterian Assembly reported on the problem of boring religious programs on radio:

⁶⁶Planning Conference, *Mission to the Nation: Plans for 1954*, January, 1954.

⁶⁷K. Inglis, *This is the A.B.C.: The Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1932-1983*, MUP, Carlton, 1983, pp. 29, 175-176.

⁶⁸'Council of Churches Broadcasting Committee Annual Report' *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1946-7, p. 136; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1953, p. 102; R. Saunders, 'The Word on the Wireless', in D. Hynd, D. Millikan and D. Harris, *The State of Belief*, Lancer, Homebush, 1982, p. 184; J. McLaren, 'Radio and Religion', *Media Information Australia*, 41, 1986, p. 41.

It was felt that our Church is not yet taking full advantage of the opportunities afforded to broadcast religion to the thousands of listeners within our reach. It is hoped that in the future something may be done by way of dramatisation and so presenting [sic] the Church's message in a form that would attract many listeners who otherwise might not be interested in religion.⁶⁹

Various attempts were made by Church leaders to amend this situation. In early 1950 Church groups met with the ABC to devise ways of making religious programs more viable.⁷⁰ In 1951 the Rev. Vernon Turner established the Christian Broadcasting Association, producing Christian programs free to the Churches, such as the Paul White 'Jungle Doctor' series.⁷¹ For the Mission to the Nation however, the dramatic format of 'Drama With a Challenge', so sought after by the Presbyterians in 1947, met with the ire of *The Methodist's* editors:

[After] listening, not to three, but to several broadcasts, we have come to the conclusion that less 'entertainment' and more New Testament teaching would achieve a great deal more for the Kingdom of God. It might not command an audience of 1,000,000, but it would give Christ His proper place and those whom it touched it would touch in the right way.⁷²

This excerpt underlined the reasons for conservative opposition to the Mission. While jealousy of Walker was an important factor, opposition to the Mission's unorthodox approach to evangelism was more crucial to its closure. The excerpt suggests that if the Mission had conducted a more traditional style of Christian radio program, the attitude of conservative Methodists may have been more favourable.

⁶⁹*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1947*, pp. 97-98; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1948*, p. 102; See also *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 24th May 1944, p. 7.

⁷⁰*SMH*, 21st January 1950, p. 4 and 12th January 1952, p. 4; K. Inglis, op.cit., p. 175; See also R. Trumble, *Kenneth Thorne Henderson: Broadcaster of the Word*, Spectrum Publications, Richmond, 1988, pp. 39-44.

⁷¹R. Saunders, op.cit., p. 185.

⁷²*The Methodist*, 2nd January 1954, p. 3; See also Interview with the Rev. Dr. Alan Walker, 21st October 1992; *The A.B.C. Weekly*, 15, 43, 24th October 1953, p. 14.

Walker however, was not trying to appeal to Christians, but to those outside the Church. In 1954, the Federal Executive of the Mission to the Nation prepared a report on the 1953 campaign. They noted that of the 1,300 letters received by the Mission in its first year, only fourteen were critical of the Mission. All of these however, referred specifically to 'Drama With A Challenge' and thirteen of the fourteen letters were written by church-goers.⁷³ This was a firm confirmation of Walker's efforts to appeal to non-church-goers, rather than seek to meet the desires of people who were already committed church members.

The relative importance of maintaining an audience in religious radio was shown by the rise of the fundamentalist movement in the United States. The success of American religious programs such as Charles Fuller's 'Old Fashioned Revival Hour' and Billy Graham's 'Hour of Decision' was due to the fact that they were not sponsored by the mainstream American Church, and therefore were not entitled to free air time.⁷⁴ This meant that they had to attract an audience, and were forced to develop more interesting programs. From this basis, the American fundamentalists were able to build a substantial following, with which they went on to dominate religious programming on television.

In Australia, the debate over what sort of radio program a Church should produce, regardless of how many listeners it drew, was in evidence across the Churches. Within the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, and within bodies such as the NSW Council of Churches, there was a struggle between younger Christians who wanted to broaden the appeal of the Christian message, and older Christians, who certainly wanted to broaden the appeal of the Christian message, but not at the expense of 'the right way' and Church tradition. This situation was in many ways similar to controversy over dancing, with younger Church leaders

⁷³Federal Executive of the Mission to the Nation, *The Mission to the Nation: Looking Back on the 1953 Campaign*, Epworth Press, Sydney, February 1954; *The Methodist*, 1st May 1954, p. 9.

⁷⁴S. M. Hoover, op.cit., pp. 40, 50, 51-53; J. Pollock, op.cit., pp. 52, 117-120.

trying to adapt to new social trends and older Church leaders resisting social changes in favour of maintaining a traditionally strict moral and religious code.

The issue of what was beyond the 'Church's sphere' in terms of religious radio programming was in evidence among the critics of 'Drama With A Challenge' when a program titled 'The Devil's Advocate' was aired in early 1954, the year of the second liquor referendum. Like the six o'clock campaign itself, 'The Devil's Advocate' was fiercely critical of the advertising of liquor in Australia, alleging that the liquor trade was endeavouring 'to get the beer habit instilled into thousands, almost millions, of young men who do not at present know the taste of beer'.⁷⁵ The program also reported that between October and December of 1953, Australians had spent £50,600,000 on alcohol, an increase of over four million pounds on the same period in 1952, adding that 'Some of it went into the coffers of Sir Arthur Fadden' and 'Most of it went into the oversize bank accounts of the breweries.'⁷⁶ The Macquarie Radio Network decided to censor 'The Devil's Advocate', after opposition by representatives of the liquor trade. The Methodist Church protested, and the program was eventually aired when they agreed to grant a 'right of reply' to the liquor trade.⁷⁷ For the Protestant Churches, the controversy 'The Devil's Advocate' stirred was encouraging, especially with the recent release of the Maxwell Report which, much to the dismay of the Churches, had favoured the extension of hotel hours. *The New South Wales Presbyterian* printed the entire script of 'The Devil's Advocate', while *The Methodist* gave a favourable write-up of the affair:

Methodism forgot itself so far as to tell liquor traffic Moguls right where 'they got off' in the radio script on 'The Devil's Advocate'. The script didn't throw punches—it threw rocks—or in the vernacular 'it threw the

⁷⁵Excerpt from the script of 'The Devil's Advocate', cited in *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 16th July 1954, p. 9.

⁷⁶*ibid.*, p. 8.

⁷⁷R. Mathias, *op.cit.*, pp. 66, 68.

kitchen sink'. Phones of protest ran hot for the length of the script and for long after—one valiant soul was heard to express approval.⁷⁸

This report in *The Methodist*, which neither condemns nor supports the dramatic style of 'The Devil's Advocate', highlights the dilemma which confronted the Churches over their use of radio. On the one hand, to be truly effective against their opponents (in this case the liquor trade), the Church needed to compromise its traditional sensibilities and 'forget itself'. On the other hand there was a sense in the words 'Methodism forgot itself' that the Methodist Church should not really cross the unwritten boundaries of Christian propriety. Even in their support for the boldness of 'The Devil's Advocate', there was uneasiness about the broader implications of such a program.

The third area of conservative disquiet concerned Alan Walker's statements during the Mission about communism. There was a vast gulf in the Methodist Church over the issue of communism. On the one hand, the SEQC, of which Walker was a member, issued the following statement on communism at the 1951 General Conference:

We reject as an over simplification any view of the existing world situation which presents it exclusively in terms of a conflict between Communism and Christianity. While repudiating Communism in its basic philosophy and in its political expression, we believe that in its social programme it seeks certain goals which are and must ever be the concern of an awakened Christian conscience.⁷⁹

This statement, along with others concerning atomic warfare, economic reform, housing, education, capitalism, the White Australia Policy and Sunday Observance, was endorsed by the Conference. On the other hand, conservative Church leaders, as well as the majority of Methodists in the Australian

⁷⁸*The Methodist*, 5th June 1954, p. 3; See also *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 16th July 1954, pp. 8-9, 15 and 30th July 1954, p. 12.

⁷⁹*Minutes of the 16th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1951, p. 114.

community, were opposed to communism. In a survey conducted by the Australia Gallup Polls in September-October 1951, it was found that 56% of Methodists were in favour of banning the Communist Party in Australia, 38% were opposed and 6% were undecided.⁸⁰ This compared with 57% of Anglicans, 58% of Presbyterians, 67% of Baptists and 46% of Catholics in favour of the ban.⁸¹ *The Methodist* and the NSW Conference Minutes also contained many anti-communist articles and references to the urgent problem of communism for the Church.⁸² In 1954, Rev. Norman G. Pardey, Federal Director of the Crusade for Christ, reported to the General Conference on the 1951 visit of Dr. Donald Soper, who was invited to lead an Evangelistic Mission for the Crusade for Christ. Soper was an English Christian apologist and evangelist, well-known in Methodist and liberal Christian circles for his pacifism and Christian socialist sympathies. Soper's comments opposing the Menzies government's call to ban the Communist Party in Australia caused much consternation among Methodist leaders:

It should be mentioned that Dr. Soper's expressed views on a very vital and controversial issue that formed the subject of a Commonwealth Referendum campaign...led to much criticism on the part of Ministers and laymen, and greatly embarrassed the work of the [Evangelistic] Mission.⁸³

As a member of the SEQC, Walker took the liberal viewpoint towards the communist issue. In an address given at Waverley in 1949, he outlined the 'Protestant' attitude to communism as being that communism was an ideology which was idealistic, non-racist and constructive, and at the same time a potential

⁸⁰Australian Gallup Polls, September-October 1951; See also J. Warhurst, 'Catholics, Communism and the Australian Party System: A Study of the Menzies Years', *Politics*, 14, 2, November 1979, p. 230.

⁸¹*ibid.*

⁸²See for example *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1949, p. 89 and 1954, p. 159; *The Methodist*, 30th April 1949, p. 3 and 18th June 1949 p. 3 and 21st January 1950, p. 4 and 27th February 1954, p.2 and 13th November 1954, p. 3; See also D. Wright and E. G. Clancy, *op.cit.*, pp. 187-188.

⁸³*Minutes of the 17th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1954, p. 271.

source of oppression and injustice because it rejected God and believed in revolution by force. A reactionary attitude to communism which painted it as a threat to religious integrity and freedom was identified by Walker as 'Catholic', which in light of the 1951 Gallup Poll results mentioned above reflected more of the Catholic hierarchy and Movement rhetoric than the attitudes of most lay Catholics.⁸⁴ Walker encouraged Protestants to 'identify with the dispossessed and the poor and go out to build the Kingdom of God' rather than merely condemn communism.⁸⁵

While Walker defended his views as the policy of the Methodist Church, rumours and innuendo abounded in politically conservative circles. In a letter to the editor of *The Canberra Times*, a reader complained that a 'Mr. McGillick' of an organisation known as 'The People's Union' had stated over radio station 2CA that if the Mission to the Nation was any indication, the Methodist Church was well on the way to becoming a communist agency.⁸⁶ In September 1953, *News-Weekly* (the paper of Santamaria's Movement) published an article titled 'What is Alan Walker's Real Mission?', claiming that one cabinet minister (unidentified) had taken up with Menzies 'the question of attempting to curb the Rev. Alan Walker's activities, or at least of answering him'.⁸⁷ This was not simply a case of fringe right-wing reaction in the community: by 1959 Walker had accumulated an ASIO file of over 180 pages in length, due in part to statements on communism and capitalism he made during the Mission to the Nation and to his participation in the post-war peace movement.⁸⁸

⁸⁴*The Methodist*, 29th October 1949, p. 1.

⁸⁵*ibid.*

⁸⁶*The Canberra Times*, 9th October 1953.

⁸⁷*News-Weekly* (Melbourne), 9th September 1953, p. 3.

⁸⁸ASIO, Rev. Alan Walker, CRS A6119, items 382 and 696; D. McKnight, *Australia's Spies and Their Secrets*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1994, pp. 114-115; D. McKnight and G. Pemberton, 'Seeing Reds: How ASIO Spied on '50s Australia', *Good Weekend (SMH)*, 21st July 1990, p. 40; For more information on the involvement of clergy in the post-war peace movement see B. Carter, 'The Peace Movement in the 1950s' in A. Curthoys and J. Merritt (eds.), *Better Dead than Red: Australia's First Cold War 1945-1953*, vol 2, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1986, pp. 59-66; R. Summy and M. Saunders, 'Disarmament and the Australian Peace Movement: A Brief History', *World Review*, 26, 4, December 1987, pp. 15-52; R. Summy and

The bulk of the file is not particularly damning, comprising mostly of newspaper articles of Alan Walker's activities with the Mission to the Nation and times and dates of his departures from Australia.⁸⁹ Walker's involvement in the post-war peace movement however, was cause for concern. For the political right, to oppose war and the development of atomic weapons was to sympathise with communism. One part of Walker's file, dated 13th August 1954, detailed the observations of an ASIO officer surveying Walker at the launch of the Mission to the Nation in Adelaide:

The Rev. Alan WALKER is being spoken of very highly at present amongst prominent members of the C. P. of A. [CPA] in this State, and it is obvious that he is held in high esteem by Party Executives. It is understood that when the Rev. WALKER was in Adelaide last year, the State Secretary of the C. P. of A., or some other member of the State Executive, approached the Rev. WALKER and had a discussion on the Peace question with him.⁹⁰

The vagueness of the ASIO officer's report, with phrases such as 'it is obvious', 'it is understood', and 'some other member', was more indicative of ASIO's anti-communist paranoia than of Walker's alleged activities.

Still further opposition came from William McMahon, then Minister for Social Services, who opposed Walker's 'Parliament of Youth', a feature of the National Christian Youth Convention of the Mission to the Nation, held in January 1955.⁹¹ The Parliament of Youth had issued a statement on a wide range

M. Saunders, 'The 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress: Culmination of Anti-Communism in Australia in the 1950s' in A. Curthoys and J. Merritt (eds.), *Better Dead than Red*, pp. 75-81.

⁸⁹ASIO, Rev. Alan Walker, CRS A6119, item 382; See also D. McKnight, *Australia's Spies*, pp. 49-50, 144.

⁹⁰ASIO, Rev. Alan Walker, CRS A6119, item 382/88.

⁹¹The Methodist Church of Australasia, *Festival of Christian Youth: Mission to the Nation Official Programme*, Sydney, 1955; The Methodist Church of Australasia, *National Christian Youth Convention: Handbook and Study Material*, Sydney, 1955; See also ASIO, Rev. Alan Walker, CRS A6119, 382/-.

of issues affecting post-war Australia, including the question of peace and atomic warfare:

Our nation in search for security emphasises the amassing of armed strength, the achievement of military alliances and the might of the Hydrogen Bomb rather than international understanding and friendship. We must share our resources with others and [pray] that through the reconciling power of God, peace and justice can be found...Defence expenditure must be out and aid to South East Asia increased.⁹²

McMahon was incensed with the statement's implications. According to Walker, he stated:

We are a Christian land opposing barbarians...I question the propriety of young people discussing international affairs and issuing statements on them.⁹³

The fact that politicians were so disturbed by an open discussion of contemporary politics by young people in a 'Christian/democratic' country was testimony both to the fear of youth vulnerability to 'adverse' political ideas and to the anti-communism of the day.

For the Mission, the opposition which led to its termination reflected not only post-war anti-communism, but a Church dominated by political and theological conservatism. Conservative Methodists disapproved of Walker's style of evangelism for its departure from the American-inspired evangelistic campaigns of the early twentieth century. They did not interpret the Mission's innovations as an attempt to make Christianity relevant to modern Australia, but as an undermining of Christian evangelistic tradition.

⁹²Press release of 'The Parliament of Youth' to the *Daily Telegraph*.

⁹³R. Mathias, *op.cit.*, p. 73; H. R. Henderson, *op.cit.*, p. 122.

Conservative Methodists were also unable to accommodate Walker's political statements on contemporary economic and social issues. Walker's derision of capitalism and support for the social justice intents of communism confronted their own uncompromising anti-communist stance. It further encouraged public controversy over the political purpose of the Mission.

The concern and trepidation at the Mission's unconventional use of drama in radio programs was a source of unrest between the generations. The unwillingness of older conservatives to make religious radio more 'competitive' with contemporary secular programs reveals both an aversion to modern entertainment and an unrealistic expectation that the non-church going public would somehow ignore the inadequacies of traditional religious radio programming and 'tune in'. The automatic guarantee of air time on commercial stations only served to enforce the maintenance of the conventional format. Older conservatives condemned the Mission's revolutionary Christian radio programming for its departure from traditional formats, despite the fact that it was this very departure which was behind its success. Furthermore, while Church leaders had been content to complain that the amount of money spent by the liquor trade on their campaigns to extend hotel hours gave them an unfair advantage over the Churches, they balked at suggestions that they should spend such large amounts themselves.

Finally, conservatives were weary from the unfulfilled long expectation of revival. Despite the Mission's obvious success in other areas, it had not been able to bring about a revival of Australian Methodism. Commitment to revival, and particularly to the older forms of revival, combined with short-term problems and petty jealousies to end an attempt at 'a new approach' to Christian post-war reconstruction which had united the two hopes of evangelism and social justice.

Post-war evangelism highlighted three areas of conflict within the Churches. First, it revealed a further aspect of the dispute over modernism. Conservatives preferred a 'low-budget' evangelism, shying away from modern technology. They

also elected to rely on the older 'American' models of the evangelistic crusade. Social reformist Christians, such as Walker and the designers of the Mission, were enthusiastic about the promise of modern technology and the development of 'religious drama' for evangelism purposes. Secondly, post-war evangelism reflected the contemporary political scene. The conservative campaigns and the Mission used evangelism to promote their political ideals as 'Christian'. This meant that in the late 1940s, the predominance of anti-communist sentiment rendered Walker's evangelism 'suspect'. A further revelation of post-war evangelism was the struggle within the Churches over the definition of 'Australian'. Conservative Christians tried to maintain the older inter-war understanding of Australia as loyal to Britain, and dependent on overseas ideas such as American evangelism. The Mission to the Nation team however, was trying to identify 'Australian' as singularly unique, moving away from the American approach to evangelism and attempting to develop a new style of evangelism which would appeal particularly to 'average' Australians.

A common area of 'failure' for both 'conservative' and 'progressive' forms of evangelism was lay evangelism. In their inability to inspire the laity to promote evangelistic campaigns, the evangelism campaigns especially were effectively impeded. The laity also provided a convenient scapegoat for Church leaders when evangelism campaigns did not produce the desired results. In some respects, the resort to blaming the laity for the failure of post-war evangelism revealed a stark ignorance on the part of Church leaders of the local church situation.

PART FOUR: THE LOCAL CHURCH

CHAPTER 12: THE LOCAL CHURCH IN POST-WAR SUBURBIA

The 1940s and 1950s saw Church leaders increasingly focus their attentions on the potential of the laity. Post-war interest in the laity was representative of a world-wide movement within the Christian Church, as seen by the development of Catholic Action in the 1920s and 1930s and by the interest in lay evangelism in Britain and America.¹ In Australia, the laity and their local church became the testing ground for the directives of Catholic and Protestant Church leaders. It was here that the Churches' programs for social and economic reconstruction, immigration, evangelism, morality and resistance to communism were made or broken, adhered to or ignored.

Church leaders strongly encouraged lay people to involve themselves in the work of the Church. In 1951, an article in *The Catholic Weekly* implored lay people to assist their priests with the assimilation of newly arrived migrants:

It will not be argued, we believe, that the Australian Catholic is inclined to leave the interests of the Church entirely in the care of the clergy...In these days, this is simply not enough...Where are the lay assistants—literally thousands are needed—to do the many tasks for which a layman is often best fitted?²

Other Church leaders argued along similar lines. Baptist leaders told their membership that 'the evangelisation of the world' would only be accomplished by 'the combined efforts of the ministry and laity'.³ Methodist minister Ralph Sutton

¹K. B. Osborne, *Ministry: Lay Ministry in the Roman Catholic Church*, Paulist Press, New Jersey, 1993, pp. 511-512; Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris*; R. Niebhur, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1936, ch. 3; D. Bonhoeffer, *Life Together*, Harper, San Francisco, 1954, pp. 108-9, 128-130; E. Brunner, *The Divine-Human Encounter*, SCM Press, London, 1944, pp. 132-136; E. Brunner, *The Misunderstanding of the Church*, Lutterworth Press, London, 1952, chs. 5-7; J. R. Mott, *Liberating the Lay Forces of Christianity*, SCM Press, London, 1932; R. C. Mortimer, *The Duties of a Churchman*, Dacre Press, Westminster, 1951; M. de la Bedoyere, *The Layman in the Church*, Herder and Herder, New York, 1962.

²*The Catholic Weekly*, 19th July 1951, p. 4; See also Gilroy, Cardinal N. T., 'The Role of the Lay Apostolate in the Modern World' (1957), *Catholic Documentation*, September 1957, p. 48.

³*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1948-1949, pp. 18-19.

urged lay people to consider what he termed 'applied membership', which meant that the laity should involve itself both in the leadership of their local church and in the aims of the wider Church.⁴ Yet while the Protestant and Catholic Church leaders were offering lay people opportunities to develop a practical side to their faith, and even limited power within the Church, the majority of lay people were not responding with much enthusiasm.

From the perspective of most conservative Church leaders, minimal local church participation in Church programs was a sign of lay apathy and encroaching 'secularism'. Baptist leaders contended that it was the 'neglect and indifference...of the laity' which was causing the decline of the Church.⁵ Presbyterians also maintained that the efficacy of the Church was being undermined by local churches giving priority to their own 'local considerations' over 'the wider work of the Church'.⁶ Certainly, the failure of many local churches to complete statistical returns and surveys was evidence of local church 'parochialism' and indifference towards the wider Church.⁷ Lay acquiescence of leisure and consumerism provided conservative Church leaders with a further explanation for the reluctance of the laity to involve themselves in the problems of their Church.

Christian social reformist leaders did not view low levels of lay commitment with any sympathy either. They had planned to use the laity to implement social reforms at a local level. They had also wanted the laity to create a 'grassroots' movement towards a theology of social justice within their churches. Leaders such as Alan Walker and William Coughlan attributed lay apathy towards their

⁴R. Sutton, *Faith at Work: Studies on the Place and Work of the Laity in the Christian Church*, Methodist Church of Australasia, Melbourne, 1955, pp. 12-13; See also *The New Day*, January-February 1947, p. 3;

⁵*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1948-1949, p. 19.

⁶*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1949, p. 121; See also *Annual Report of the...Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of New South Wales*, 1944, p. 7 and 1956, p. 5; R. Mathias, op.cit., p. 96.

⁷*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, statistical returns.

programs to the political, theological and institutional conservatism of ministers and lay leaders in the churches.⁸

Theological and political 'conservatism' however, does not account for why local churches were not only declining invitations to become involved in the social reformist CSOM campaigns, but were also unwilling to support the traditional Sunday Observance cause. Furthermore, apathy, 'secularism' and institutional conservatism explanations do not adequately explain why some local churches actually were involved in wider Church programs, such as raising funds for overseas missions.

The experience of the local church is an important factor in the overall situation faced by the Churches in post-war Australia. Examining the local church experience on a comparative church-to-church basis elucidates why some churches were both able and willing to support Church initiatives, but many others were not.

In the post-war period there were two central issues confronting the local church. First, rapid urban expansion, urban development and war-time building restrictions that lasted until the end of the 1940s were causing considerable problems in the establishment and maintenance of traditional parish structures. Secondly, local churches were hampered by the high inflation of the early 1950s and the considerable financial difficulties which arose from rising living standards and expanding Church programs. Such problems were encountered both by new churches being built on Sydney's urban fringe and by older established local churches.

The end of the war had seen an enormous expansion of suburban Sydney. Immigration, the rising marriage rate and the baby boom had produced an excessive demand for housing, adding to the already existing demands resulting

⁸*The New Day*, September 1944, p. 8; *Minutes of the 18th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1957, Appendix Z(c), p. 276; See also A. Walker, *The Whole Gospel for the Whole World*, p. 128; Interview with the Rev. Dr. Alan Walker, 21st October 1992; J. Mansfield, 'Social Attitudes in the Church of England', pp. 319-320.

from the housing-slump of the Depression and war years.⁹ Walter Bunning, a leading architect and town planner, estimated that almost 70,000 homes were needed in Sydney alone, while the NSW premier William McKell, judged that up to 90,000 Sydney homes were needed.¹⁰ Owner-built houses and housing estates began to appear in the new suburbs of Sydney's south-west, outer-west and northern beaches regions. Often, poor planning and inadequate financing led to a large number of housing estates without any community facilities, while some even lacked such basic amenities as drains, water, sewerage and electricity.¹¹

Post-war suburban expansion prompted the construction of new local churches in the outer suburbs. By the mid 1950s the number of churches in Sydney had grown considerably. From 1945 to 1960, the number of Catholic churches and parishes in the Archdiocese of Sydney grew by sixty-five, while the number of Anglican churches in the Diocese of Sydney grew by seventy-one.¹² In the same period there was a net increase of forty-two Baptist churches, thirty-one Presbyterian churches and forty-six Methodist churches in the Sydney region.¹³

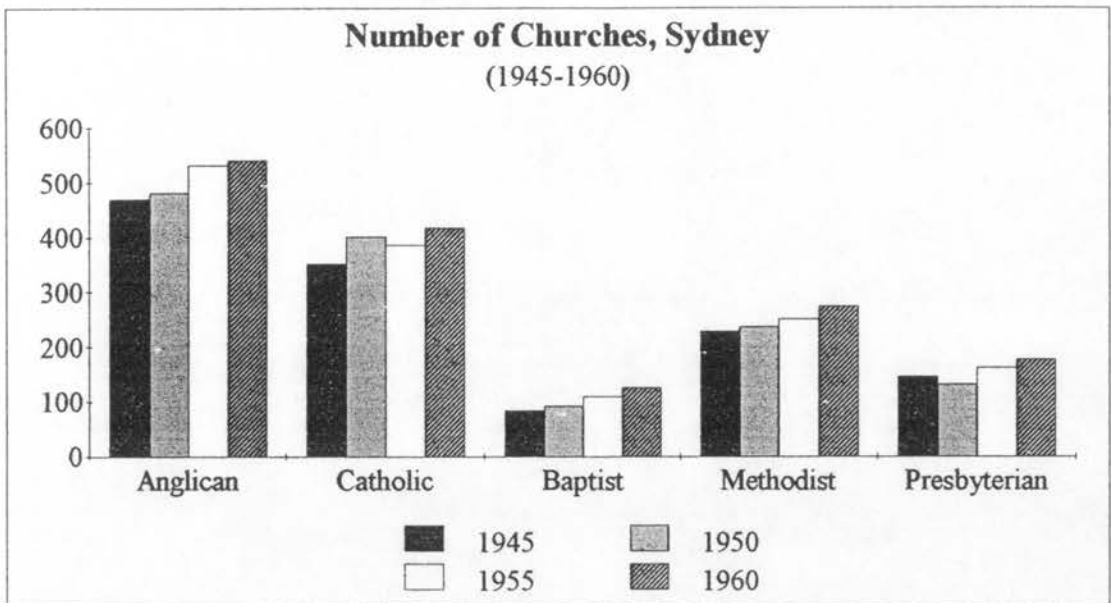
⁹G. Bolton, *op.cit.*, pp. 31-32, 63-64.

¹⁰W. Bunning, et. al, *The Housing Problem in Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1947, p. 6; W. J. McKell, *op.cit.*, p. 100; C. Allport, 'The Unrealised Promise: Plans for Sydney Housing in the Forties', in J. Roe (ed.), *Twentieth Century Sydney*, p. 48; P. Spearritt, *Sydney Since the Twenties*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1978, pp. 86, 96.

¹¹W. Gardiner, 'How the West was Lost: Urban Development in the Western Sydney Region', *AQ: Australian Quarterly*, 59, 2, 1987, p. 235; D. Powell, *Out West: Perceptions of Sydney's Western Suburbs*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1993, pp. 76-80; C. Allport, 'Women and Suburban Housing', *op.cit.*, pp. 237-242.

¹²*The Australasian Catholic Directory: Official Yearbook of the Catholic Church in Australia, New Zealand and the Adjacent Islands*, 1945, 1950, 1955, 1960; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, pp. 149-160, 1950, pp. 157-178, 1956, pp. 151-173, 1961, pp. 148-170. The figures for the Sydney Anglican Diocese given above exclude Lord Howe Island and Norfolk Island; See also S. Judd and K. Cable, *op.cit.*, p. 260.

¹³*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1946, p. 244, 1951, p. 258, 1956, p. 273; *Yearbook of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1960-1961, pp. 9, 13, 15-17; Changes to Presbytery borders during the 1945-1956 period slightly affected the calculation of the number of Presbyterian churches in a given period. Six churches at Blackheath-Mt. Victoria, Katoomba and Leura-Wentworth Falls, previously counted in the Hawkesbury Presbytery, were moved into the Bathurst Presbytery in 1958, hence these six have been removed from the earlier figures for greater accuracy; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1947, p. 109, 1951, p. 75, 1956, p. 91 and 1961, p. 96; Methodist figures for 1945



Yet at the same time as dozens of new churches were appearing in the outer suburbs of Sydney, a number of older established churches in Sydney and rural NSW were suffering declining membership and finances. The post-war population movement to Sydney's outer suburbs and rising socio-economic mobility meant that these decreases and problems were mostly affecting three types of church communities: churches in rural areas; churches in Sydney suburbs undergoing an 'identity' transformation; and Protestant churches in inner-city areas.

As more people moved to metropolitan Sydney, country parishes experienced a steady decline in population. Between 1933 and 1954 in NSW, the metropolitan population increased by 34% from 1,235,402 to 1,862,400 while the rural population fell by 26% from 795,859 to 588,847.¹⁴ The Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, both with a relatively large proportion of rural dwellers,

are based on 1946 figures, as no figures for 1945 exist. Changes to circuit borders during the 1945-1956 period did not affect the calculation of Sydney churches; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1946; *Handbook of the New South Wales Baptist Union*, 1956, 1966; The New South Wales Baptist Union had no diocesan borders, hence 'Sydney' Baptist churches were determined on the basis of whether they fell within the Sydney Anglican diocesan borders.

¹⁴*Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, 'Urban and Rural Population', 1947, 1948, 1956.

were particularly affected by population migration from rural to urban areas.¹⁵ By 1955, the Presbyterian Presbyteries of Dubbo and Young had lost a total of forty churches since the end of the war, while the Methodist Circuits of Armidale, Riverina and Cootamundra lost a total of eight churches during this period.¹⁶

Population movement led to the commercial development of some suburbs, often profoundly disturbing the community-centred church parish. Older beach-side suburbs, such as Manly and Bondi, were becoming 'tourist centres' in the post-war period. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church at Manly found that parishioners began living in the new suburbs around Manly, rather than within walking distance of the church.¹⁷ The rising incidence of car ownership in Australia made such a situation possible, allowing for more physical distance between the members of the church community and their church building. Bondi Methodist Church experienced a steady decline in church membership, as Methodists left the district for the outer suburbs, leaving the Bondi church in serious financial trouble by 1960.¹⁸ St. Anne's Catholic Church at Bondi Beach however, fared better, maintaining membership and building a monastery and a new girls' school.¹⁹

While the Anglican parish of Hunters Hill did not become a tourist centre in the post-war period, it faced the more difficult problem of having the parish split in two by the construction of the North-Western Expressway and Overpass. Of particular concern to the Hunters Hill parishioners was that the road was to pass straight through the site of the Old Chapel at Figtree. The Rev. Bill Gumbley, minister of All Saints, spoke out vehemently at the 1959 Anglican Synod:

¹⁵*Census of the Commonwealth of Australia*, vol. 1, 1947, p. 877; K. Dempsey, op.cit., p. 92.

¹⁶*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1946, p. 244 and 1956, p. 273; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1947, p. 109 (1946 figures given, 1945 figures unavailable) and 1957, p. 96.

¹⁷J. Reid, op.cit., p. 48.

¹⁸M. Green, *Reaching Out: A History of Methodism of the Bondi (Wellington St.) Circuit*, Bondi Methodist Circuit, Bondi, 1989, p.18.

¹⁹M. Smith (ed.), *St. Anne's Bondi Beach, 1925-1985*, St. Anne's Parish, Bondi, 1985, p. 11.

Apparently the only compensation we will get is the value of the site and that wouldn't be sufficient to enable us to buy a new site if we could get one, and transport the Old Chapel and re-erect it...If a Government department can deprive the Church and the community of a building in this way in Hunters Hill, it can do it anywhere. All Christian Churches must unite in New South Wales before they face the same possibility.²⁰

In the end, the Department of Main Roads agreed to pay for the chapel's removal to a new site donated by two parishioners. Inherent in Gumbley's outburst is a sense of encroaching 'secularism', where 'secular' forces (rather than changing population and demographic patterns) were powerful enough to destroy parish cohesion and demolish a church building.

The third group of churches facing decline as a result of suburban expansion were the inner-city Protestant churches as the rising socio-economic status of working-class Protestants allowed them to move out of inner Sydney for the new outer suburbs. The Protestant exodus from the inner-city had been in evidence since the 1920s and 1930s, but was accelerated in the 1950s with the improvement of Australian living standards.²¹ Stanmore Methodist's congregation fell from around one hundred in 1945 to sixty-three by 1949, dwindling further to fifty-seven by 1950.²² After the church became a chapel for Newington College in 1953, its membership climbed to one hundred and eight.²³ The closure of the nearby Presbyterian Church in 1953 was a further temporary boost to Stanmore Methodist's membership, but by 1957, membership had fallen again to sixty-three.²⁴ In 1947, Homebush Presbyterian Church's membership was becoming so

²⁰N. Hubbard, *The Sure Foundation: An Introduction to the History of All Saints' Anglican Parish Hunters Hill in the Diocese of Sydney*, Parish Council, Anglican Parish of Hunters Hill, Hunters Hill, 1988, p. 43; See also, *Votes and Proceedings of the Synod of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1959.

²¹F. B. Boyce, *Fourscore Years and Seven: The Memoirs of Archdeacon Boyce, For Over Sixty Years a Clergyman of the Church of England in New South Wales*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1934, pp. 87-90.

²²*Stanmore Church Quarterly Meeting Minute Book*, 14th October 1948 and 13th April 1950.

²³*ibid.*, 30th January 1953.

²⁴*ibid.*, 16th April 1953, 17th October 1957.

small that the church Session considered cancelling the morning service.²⁵ St. John's Anglican Church at Darlinghurst also found its congregation rapidly declining after the war, opting to put an advertisement in the local paper in an endeavour to 'get parishioners back to St. John's'.²⁶

There are two important conclusions which can be drawn from the local church experience of post-war suburban development. First, in some suburbs, tourism and urban development were breaking down the old idea of the 'parish church', the sense of community among parishioners, and the physical centrality of the local church which went with it. In inner-city areas, the movement of Protestant residents to the outer suburbs threatened the very viability of several inner-city church parishes.

Secondly, the local church experience of suburban development in the 1940s and 1950s highlights the extent of the problems being faced by individual local church communities. These problems affected the ability of some Sydney churches to extend the expression of their members' faith beyond the confines of the parish. According to All Saints' historian Nigel Hubbard, much of the Hunters Hill parishioners' time was diverted from other issues to save the Figtree chapel from demolition.²⁷ For inner-city churches, seriously declining memberships left local church leaders preoccupied with increasing the size of the congregation, rather than concerning themselves with their Church's post-war programs.²⁸

While population shifts and urban change were disturbing the parish cohesion of older churches in Sydney, new local churches on the suburban frontier were having problems establishing their parishes. War-time and post-war building restrictions on churches left intending congregations facing a difficult and sometimes disruptive period of finding or constructing a suitable building in which

²⁵*Homebush Presbyterian Church: Session Minutes*, 9th February 1947.

²⁶*Minutes: St. John's Darlinghurst*, 11th July 1951.

²⁷N. Hubbard, *op.cit.*, p. 42.

²⁸*Stanmore Church Quarterly Meeting Minute Book*, 16th April 1953 and 17th October 1957; *Minutes: St. John's Darlinghurst*, 11th July 1951.

to hold religious services. These problems also meant that new church congregations were often unable to involve themselves in their Church leaders' visions for the post-war period.

The immediate problem faced by new Christian congregations in the outer suburbs was that homes and other community facilities were given precedence over church buildings for building materials. With few buildings available to hire in the new suburbs, these restrictions meant that new church communities faced considerable difficulty in obtaining a suitable premises in which to hold services. Local historian Terry Oades records that the Methodists at Padstow in south-western Sydney faced a series of hurdles trying to organise a place of worship until their church could be built. Initially, services were held at the local Progress Hall, but this was soon deemed unsuitable. Eventually, a site for the church was acquired, where a large marquee was hired and erected, but a freak storm destroyed the marquee. Finally the Padstow Methodists constructed a temporary fibro church building in 1951.²⁹

Concerns at the problems faced by congregations in the new suburbs prompted an official investigation by Methodist authorities. In 1948 the NSW Methodist Church Development Committee reported the results of their inquiry to the Conference:

Several facts emerge from the experiences of the past year...In most of the new areas there is no suitable building in which the work of the Church can be carried on, and whilst the demands for the housing accommodation are so urgent it seems unlikely that there will be any relaxation of the regulations at present being enforced by the authorities.³⁰

²⁹T. Oades, *The First Forty Years: The Story of the Uniting Church Parish of Revesby 1947-1987*, Uniting Church, Revesby, 1987, p. 7.

³⁰*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1948, p. 145; See also *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1950, p. 164; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1951, p. 45.

Perhaps more startling for Methodist Church leaders was the Church Development Committee's additional finding that few people in the new suburbs were interested in building a local church anyway.

...it is very evident that in the new areas there is a tragic indifference to the work of the Church.³¹

The indifference both of the local councils and the residents of the new suburbs towards the aims of Church leaders was a blunt and shocking signal of the diminishing position of the Churches in urban Australia.

The disconcerting problems caused by building restrictions, rapid, largely unplanned urban growth and the demand for housing and amenities in the new suburbs made it difficult for new parishioners and local clergy to get their church established. This hindered their ability to concern themselves with lay evangelism, migrant receptions or raising money for overseas missions.

In addition to the difficulties posed by post-war urban expansion and building restrictions, many local churches were facing heavy financial burdens. Several older churches were in debt or needing to raise money to renovate or extend church buildings, while the newer churches faced establishment costs. Financial worries also affected the ability of local church members to concern themselves with issues which went beyond the boundaries of their parish, as they invested much time and energy to raise money.

When building restrictions were finally lifted for churches in 1950, congregations were faced with daunting inflation and the rising costs of building materials and labour. The new churches in the outer areas of Sydney were highly vulnerable to these rising expenses, where members were often tightly pressed for money, trying to pay off mortgages and hire purchase loans on their new homes and furnishings. New Catholic congregations were under particular pressure,

³¹*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1948, p. 145.*

having to find funds not only to build a presbytery and a church, but also a school and a convent.³² Work was started on Maria Regina Catholic Church in the new post-war suburb of Avalon on Sydney's northern beaches in 1950. Local historian Kay Kinane records that when the first parish priest arrived in 1956 the church primary school was still unfinished, and the small presbytery building was furnished with only a bed, a kitchen table, a few chairs and a stove.³³ With the increasing influx of residents, new Catholic church facilities in the outer suburbs were stretched to the limit. After only six years of operation, the new St. Kieran's Catholic primary school at Manly Vale was grossly overcrowded (in common with many state schools during the period). Fr. James O'Byrne wrote to Cardinal Gilroy requesting permission for the church to borrow £25,000 from a local bank to extend the school:

For quite some time it has become evident that extra school accommodation in Manly Vale is essential. At the moment we have some 300 children in the Church-School, who are accommodated in four classrooms and this year spilled over into a timber annexe, which was built—and is only suitable for—a storeroom.³⁴

For older churches, wartime building restrictions and their financial commitments to the war effort meant that by the late 1940s a backlog of repairs and maintenance existed, along with urgent needs for extensions and new buildings.³⁵ Following the declaration of peace, congregations began to assess the

³²'Manly Vale: New Parish of St. Kieran's', p. 1; J. G. Stephenson, D. Farrell, C. Jackson and Fr. Tangey, *Silver Jubilee Year: A Short History of the Parish of Manly Vale 1952-1977*, Augustinian Historical Commission, Manly Vale, 1977, pp. 2-5; K. Kinane and M. Vaile, *The People of Avalon: Twenty-Five Years a Parish*, The Catholic Archdiocese of Sydney, 1984, p. 24; G. Prendergast, Fr. P. Crowley, G. Langtry and L. Langtry, *Parish of the Holy Spirit, North Ryde, 1956-1981*, Parish of the Holy Spirit, North Ryde, 1981, pp. 3-5.

³³K. Kinane and M. Vaile, op.cit., p. 24.

³⁴Letter to Cardinal Gilroy from Fr. James O'Byrne OSA, dated 28th October 1959, held at St. Kieran's Catholic Church, Manly Vale.

³⁵See for example *Minutes of Quarterly Meetings: Eastwood Methodist Church*, 8th October 1951, UCA, M2/3/B28 Box 1; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1946, pp. 105, 185-6; *Stanmore Church Quarterly Meeting Minute Book*, 6th January 1947, UCA, M2/3/S4 Box 1;

repairs needed to their church buildings and minister's residences.³⁶ The church wardens of St. John's Anglican Church, Darlinghurst, estimated that the overdue repairs and maintenance to their hundred year old sandstone church would run into thousands of pounds.

A perusal of the various items of expenditure and a comparison with last year will show that the church faces the same problems of increasing costs which are being experienced by industry and individuals.³⁷

On top of their own church expenses, which included a ministers' stipend, electricity, postage, church furnishings and other administration costs, local churches were also required to contribute to the maintenance of their Church organisation. In the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, the main financial contribution for local churches was the annual diocesan assessment. Assessments were based on a percentage of an Anglican church's projected yearly income. As such, the annual calculation of a church's yearly income was sometimes a matter of contention between local church wardens and the Diocesan assessors.³⁸ Furthermore, the assessments tended to discriminate against poorer churches. A percentage of income (5½% in 1951, rising to 6¾% in 1954) was much easier for a church averaging £1000 p.a. to spare than a church averaging between £300 to £400 p.a., barely able to pay the minister's stipend. Failure to maintain

M. Smith (ed.), op.cit., p. 11; J. Reid, V. Webb and J. Hudson (eds.), *The First Hundred Years 1884-1984: St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church Manly*, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Manly, 1984, p. 40; J. Conway, *St. Mark's Parish Centenary, Drummoyne 1887-1987*, Drummoyne, 1987, p. 107; J. Cosgrove and J. Finnane (eds.), *Rose Bay Parish: The Story of Seventy-Five Years (1914-1989)*, St. Mary Magdalene's Parish, Rose Bay, 1989, p. 35.

³⁶The minister's residence was known as either: the rectory (Anglican), the presbytery (Catholic), the manse (Baptist and Presbyterian) or the parsonage (Methodist).

³⁷*Minutes: St. John's Anglican Church, Darlinghurst*, 31st March 1951; See also *All Saints' Messenger: Hunters Hill*, July 1952, p. 2; *Burwood Circuit, Third Sydney District Minute Book, Quarterly Meetings*, 13th April 1953, UCA, M2/3/B28 Box 1; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1951, p.139; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1947, p. 110.

³⁸*Minutes of All Saints Church of England, Hunters Hill*, 19th June 1958.

assessment payments and keep the church building free of debt meant an Anglican congregation lost Synod representation and the right to choose their own minister.³⁹ These annual costs for local churches increased during the post-war period as Church departments sought further financial support to expand church building projects in Australia, extend missionary programs overseas and build extensions to theological colleges.⁴⁰

While employment stability and the rise of the basic wage might suggest that the churches would have been able to weather these costs through increased Sunday offertories, church records show that offertories and donations to Church departments did not always rise as much as had been expected, probably due in part to parishioners continuing to give the same amount to their church each week out of habit.⁴¹ Where increases did occur, these were offset by the high inflation of the early 1950s and the ever expanding responsibilities of Church Home Mission Departments.⁴²

Maintaining administration costs and a minister's stipend while financing repairs, building extensions or repaying bank and Church loans was a demanding activity, especially for laywomen, clergy wives and the clergy. In the early post-war period, church fundraising followed traditional patterns. Catholic churches were particularly adept at fundraising, regularly holding housie nights, raffles, picture nights, balls, house parties, and conducting pledging systems and door-to-

³⁹J. Francis, *A Brief History of St. Alban's Anglican Church, Five Dock, 1859-1984*, Sydney, 1984, p. 39.

⁴⁰See for example *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1945, p. 134, 1952, p. 151 and 1953, p. 137; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1952, p. 171; M. L. Loane, *A Centenary History of Moore Theological College*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1955, p. 150.

⁴¹*New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1948-1949, p. 63; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1952, p. 186; *Burwood Circuit, Third Sydney District Minute Book, Quarterly Meetings*, 15th July 1957, UCA, M2/3/B28 Box 1; *Stanmore Church Quarterly Meeting Minute Book*, 14th October 1948, UCA, M2/3/S4 Box 1.

⁴²*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1952, p. 151.

door collections.⁴³ The Augustinian priests of the new St. Kieran's Catholic Church at Manly Vale found that housie was essential to maintaining church finances. Local church historians recalled that Fr. Fitzsimmons had jokingly suggested to his Augustinian brothers that 'the organisation and running of Housie be made part of the curriculum in the education of students for the [Augustinian] order'.⁴⁴ Disapproval of gambling and dancing ruled out many of these options for Protestant churches.⁴⁵ Instead, some Protestant churches made use of the 'duplex envelope system', or pledging system, a method which had been around since the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁶

As Beverley Kingston and Fiona Clarke have recognised, it was usually the women of the church who provided most of the schemes for raising money for building, repairs, stipends and church furnishings.⁴⁷ Church bazaars, street stalls, flower shows and fetes were staffed and organised by women through their ladies guild organisations and fellowships.⁴⁸ Women also made the cakes, patisseries, condiments, knitwear, toys, clothing and crafts sold at the fetes and bazaars.⁴⁹ Local church historian Joan Francis records that in 1942, the new minister at

⁴³*Church Notices: Drummoyne Catholic Church (1950-1953)*, passim; *Church Notices: St. Kieran's Manly Vale (1953-1957)*, passim; *St. Brigid's Chronicle: Marrickville*, December 1953, p. 1; J. T. Conway (ed.), op.cit., p. 107; Parish of Our Lady of the Rosary, *Every Catholic Canvass*, Waitara, December 1959, p. 6; G. Prendergast et. al., op.cit., p. 5; J. G. Stephenson et. al., op.cit., pp. 2, 6; K. Kinane and M. Vaile, op.cit., p. 24.

⁴⁴J. G. Stephenson, et. al., op.cit., p. 7.

⁴⁵See for example *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1945, pp. 191-192.

⁴⁶D. Wright and E. G. Clancy, op.cit., p. 229; See also *Minutes of Leaders Meeting, Turramurra Methodist Church*, 30th November 1948.

⁴⁷B. Kingston, 'Faith and Fetes: Women and the History of the Churches in Australia', in S. Willis (ed.), *Women, Faith and Fetes: Essays in the History of Women and the Church in Australia*, Dove Communications, Melbourne, 1977; F. Clarke, 'She Hath Done What She Could: Women's Voluntary Groups in the Methodist Church in South Australia 1945-1977' in M. Hutchinson and E. Campion (eds.), *The Long Patient Struggle: Studies in the Role of Women in Australian Christianity*, vol. 2, CSAC, Sydney, 1994, pp. 129-138.

⁴⁸B. Kingston, op. cit., p. 26; E. Fisher, *The Golden Jubilee of St. Mark's Church of England Northbridge*, St. Mark's Church of England, Northbridge, 1969, n.p.; R. M. Grant and J. Dixon, *The History of the Presbyterian Church Pittwater Parish 1956-1989*, Committee of Management, Newport, 1990, p. 14.

⁴⁹B. Kingston, op.cit., p. 20; F. Clarke, op.cit., pp. 132-133; *Neutral Bay Presbyterian Monthly*, April 1949, n.p.

St. Alban's Anglican Church, Five Dock specifically inaugurated a Women's Guild to raise money to repay the parish debt of £11,000. The debt was finally cleared in 1959 thanks to the work of the St. Alban's Women's Guild and the sale of a property at Homebush (valued at around £1000) which had been left to the parish by a church member.⁵⁰ Although women played such a primary role in the maintenance of the churches, their role as the major financial backbone was scarcely recognised by the male parishioners who, as ministers, priests, deacons, church wardens, trustees and stewards, decided how the money raised was to be spent.⁵¹

While fundraising took up a considerable amount of time and energy, it was usually never enough to meet the needs of a parish church. Most churches were rarely free from financial worries, especially those with a relatively small membership, or those in suburbs where money had to be exacted from people with lower incomes. Post-war inflation, church building and the effects of suburban expansion added to local church financial worries. In addition, some of the traditional ways of fundraising were proving less useful. The often fluctuating financial situation of individual parishioners and dying enthusiasm meant that the effectiveness of the 'envelope system' was waning in some churches by the mid-1950s.⁵² In the new suburbs especially, problems existed in terms of competition for donations and funds from other newly established local organisations. St. Kieran's Catholic Church at Manly Vale found themselves unable to raise sufficient funds through weekly housie when another group (unidentified) began conducting housie at the Manly Memorial Hall:

We were forced by competition from the Memorial Hall in Manly to discontinue Housie some four months ago—a loss of £30 per week in

⁵⁰J. Francis, *op.cit.*, pp. 39, 41.

⁵¹F. Clarke, *op.cit.*, p. 134-136; *SMH*, 1st December 1950, p. 3.

⁵²*Burwood Methodist Circuit, Quarterly Meetings*, 13th October 1952; J. Mansfield, *A Church on the Highway*, Pymble Uniting Church, Gordon, 1985, p. 46.

parochial revenue. The present revenue is not quite sufficient to fulfil our obligations re. interest and redemption to the Church Trust.⁵³

St. Kieran's priest Fr. James O'Byrne wrote to Cardinal Gilroy seeking his permission for the church to conduct the Wells Organisation's fundraising scheme. 'Wells Way' or the 'Every Member Canvass' as the scheme came to be known, was a local church fundraising plan developed in the United States. The idea was to promote the value of the local church in its community and encourage those residents who nominally belonged to the church but were not regular church-goers to financially support their local church's endeavours. From 1954, the Wells Organisation promised to relieve Australian churches of their financial burdens as well as provide enough money to bolster their contributions to Church departments.

'Wells Way' had apparently worked quite successfully in Canada and the United States, raising thousands of dollars for North American churches. On hearing of this success, Australian Church leaders travelled to the United States to view the Wells Way program in operation.⁵⁴ They returned to Australia highly recommending the scheme. The Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches soon established their own fundraising organisations based on the Wells program.⁵⁵ Many of the Protestant churches made use of their parent Church's fundraising scheme, while others employed Wells or another fundraising organisation. Although Wells Way certainly had the support of the Catholic hierarchy, they did not set up their own fundraising organisation. It is impossible

⁵³Letter to Cardinal Gilroy from Fr. James O'Byrne OSA, dated 26th March 1959, held at St. Kieran's Catholic Church, Manly Vale.

⁵⁴D. McDiarmid, *The Gospel of Good Giving: Stewardship in Australian Churches*, Joint Board of Christian Education, Melbourne, 1990, pp. 35-42, 48-49; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 19th November 1954, p. 4.

⁵⁵Stewardship and Promotion Committee, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1957, pp. 178-179; *Minutes of the 18th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1957, p. 144; D. Wright and E. Clancy, op.cit., p. 230; D. McDiarmid, op.cit., pp. 35, 42, 48-9; See also *Nation*, March 25, 1961 pp. 7-9 and April 4, 1964, p. 7.

to discover why this was so, as Catholic archives hold virtually nothing on the Wells Way scheme. Catholic churches participating in the scheme either made use of one of the fundraising organisations administered by the Protestant Churches, or engaged the Wells Organisation or one of a number of secular fundraising organisations.⁵⁶

The central ideology behind Wells Way was that the laity needed to contribute more of their time, money and talent to the work of their local church, in order to counteract membership decline, failing church budgets and under funded Church departments.⁵⁷ In a letter to the nominal Methodist community of Enfield, Enfield Methodist Church explained the nature of their canvass 'An Every Methodist Challenge':

To share in extending the value and service of the Church in the Community is both a privilege and a responsibility, and so the purpose of the 'Challenge' was to place before our people what the Church offers, what it needs, and our own responsibilities towards it in terms of time, talent and treasure. It was NOT A FUNDRAISING CAMPAIGN—our aim was to BRING MORE PEOPLE into the life and work of the Church.⁵⁸

The letter reflected the twofold nature of campaign: first, raising money and second, presenting a profile of the local church as a valuable community asset to attract new parishioners. In its latter objective, the Every Member Canvasses were similar to the surveys completed by lay evangelists prior to the post-war evangelism campaigns, such as the Methodist Crusade for Christ and the Sydney Anglican Youth Mission. That the desirability of the Church needed to be stated and presented to the community was perhaps indicative of the Church's declining profile. This was further reflected in the letter's indignant denial that the 'Every Methodist Challenge' was a fundraising campaign, signifying the Enfield church

⁵⁶D. McDiarmid, op.cit., p. 42; *The Methodist*, 14th July 1956, p. 2.

⁵⁷K. Dempsey, op.cit., p. 160.

⁵⁸Enfield Methodist Church, letter to nominal Methodist community of Enfield dated May 1959.

leader's perception that there was a sense of antagonism and incredulity within the community towards their asking for money.

While the Every Member Canvasses were directed by one of the fundraising organisations, they were effectively run by the local churches themselves. Each church participating in the scheme organised a group of laymen to manage the canvassing and surveying of their suburb, thus pushing women out of their fundraising role.⁵⁹ The canvass booklet produced by Our Lady of the Rosary Catholic Church at Waitara told women that their role in the canvass was to 'influence the extent of family giving' and plan for the 'Loyalty Dinner', which was to be held at the end of the canvassing period.⁶⁰ Wells Way ignored the fact that women had long been contributing their 'time, talent and treasure' to maintain church budgets. Instead, it was designed to give more men an active role in their church, especially as men's church attendance was significantly lower than women's.⁶¹

The canvassers made extensive community surveys of their local area, consulting every person who was nominally an adherent of their Church, regardless of whether they were church-goers or not, noting past church involvement and the number and ages of children per household. The surveys were augmented by questionnaires, which asked such personal details as hobbies, sports and talents for future church reference in establishing sporting clubs and other church work.⁶² The canvass organisers then invited households to church services and functions and asked them to consider pledging a weekly amount to the church over three years. Glossy booklets, explaining the local church's needs

⁵⁹J. Stephenson, et. al., op.cit. p. 9; R. Stacey, *From Bakehouse to Bethlehem: 1932-1982 Golden Jubilee*, Parramatta and Hills Publishing Co., Baulkham Hills, 1983, p.11; K. Kinane and M. Vaile, op.cit., p. 24; Parish of Our Lady of the Rosary, *Every Catholic Canvass*, c.1959, p. 12.

⁶⁰Parish of Our Lady of the Rosary, op.cit., p. 13; Methodist Home Mission Department, *Stewardship Promotion: Hostess Instructions*, Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Conference, c. 1956, UCA, M2/1/12, Box 3.

⁶¹H. Mol, op.cit., p. 68; A. O'Brien, op.cit., p. 440.

⁶²Enfield Methodist Church, *Families Contacted in Connection with 'An Every Methodist Challenge'*, UCA, M2/3/B28 Box 6.

were given to householders. In 'Thank God Through Your Church', All Saints' Anglican Church at Hunters Hill claimed that at least £15,100 was needed for missionary support, church organ restoration, Sunday School equipment and building repairs to the church and the rectory.⁶³ Our Lady of the Rosary Catholic Church at Waitara told prospective contributors in their booklet 'Every Catholic Canvass' that £35,000 was needed over three years for a new hall, to repay their overdraft, refurnish the church and contribute to Catholic orphanages, the sick priests' and African slaves' funds and the Church's immigration fund.⁶⁴ Nominal Catholics at Waitara were encouraged to think of their afterlife when considering the amount of their contribution:

Only God and you know the details of your case. BUT—don't let the 'Divine Auditor' query your entry or find a blank space against your name! Pledge your fair share. Remember—'Dividends' are unlimited and are paid now and for all eternity.⁶⁵

In their booklet 'The Anglican Church Welcomes You', produced for Hunters Hill's second canvass in 1959 through which they hoped to raise £25,830 over three years, local Anglicans were similarly encouraged to give. While the booklet refrained from stipulating an amount, explaining that the reader's contribution to the Kingdom of God was a matter between themselves and God, biblical references pertaining to tithing (1 Cor. 16:2 and Lev. 27:32) were cited. Those who decided to contribute to their nominal church were then invited to a Loyalty Dinner, the climax of the canvass.

Although the Wells scheme produced a solution to financial worries for some churches, particularly those in upper and middle-class suburbs, it served to provoke the financial situation of other churches. The cost of running an Every

⁶³Anglican Department of Promotion, *Thank God Through Your Church: Every Member Canvass (Hunters Hill)*, c.1956.

⁶⁴Parish of Our Lady of the Rosary, op.cit., p. 7.

⁶⁵ibid., p. 14.

Member Canvass was considerable, and would have been prohibitive for many churches.⁶⁶ Turramurra Methodist Church paid £805 as part of its share for running the campaign in the Gordon Methodist Circuit, which included an initial fee of £100 to hire the Wells Organisation.⁶⁷ There were certainly some successes for churches prepared to outlay this initial amount. Pymble Presbyterian Church had received pledges of £25,000 by 1957, far exceeding their normal church income of between £2,000-£2,500 per annum.⁶⁸ Some local churches combined their canvass appeal with the tax concessions available for building a 'war memorial'. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church at Manly raised £26,000, more than enough to build a Peace Memorial extension to their church.⁶⁹ By 1957, the Australian edition of *Wells Way: International News-Magazine of Church Fundraising* claimed that 735 churches in Australia had achieved pledges of £11,736,260.⁷⁰

Not all campaigns, however, were as spectacular as others. St. Mark's Anglican Church at Northbridge had hoped to build a rectory and a War Memorial hall, but only raised enough to start building the rectory, having to borrow £31,000 to build the hall.⁷¹ St. Michael's Catholic Church at Hurstville hoped to build a new girls' school, a new church, a convent and a presbytery. Only the school eventuated.⁷² A number of churches ended up running multiple canvasses to clear debts, some of which had been incurred during earlier canvasses through pledges not being maintained and overspending.⁷³

⁶⁶D. McDiarmid, op.cit., p. 27.

⁶⁷*Minutes of Leader's Meeting, Turramurra Methodist Church*, 3rd July 1958; *Burwood Methodist Circuit Minute Book, Quarterly Meetings*, 20th November 1956.

⁶⁸J. Mansfield, *A Church on the Highway*, p. 47.

⁶⁹J. Reid et. al (eds.), op.cit., pp. 45-47.

⁷⁰*Wells Way: International News-Magazine of Church Fundraising* (Australian edition), Spring 1957, p. 2.

⁷¹E. Fisher, op.cit., n.p.; N. Hubbard, op.cit., p. 40.

⁷²E. Lea-Scarlett, *The Faith of the Forest: A History of Catholic Hurstville*, St. Michael's Parish, Hurstville, 1985, p. 141; R. Stacey, op.cit., p. 11.

⁷³G. Prendergast, et. al., op.cit., p. 5; J. Stephenson, et. al., op.cit., p. 9; R. E. Wade, *The Methodists of Wagga Wagga and District*, Wagga Wagga Parish Council, Uniting Church in Australia, Wagga Wagga, 1980, p. 135.

Another area where the Every Member Canvasses were thought to be beneficial was in increasing church attendance. While appealing to nominal adherents for money, the laymen directing the canvass also invited them to come to church. One Methodist claimed that in this way, the Wells Way Scheme would bring revival: 'What we failed to do in the Mission to the Nation is now being done through this canvas [sic].'⁷⁴ William Lawton maintains that while the Every Member Canvasses did help to increase church giving and church attendance initially, after a few years, funds and attendances fell drastically, leaving several churches with new, under-utilised facilities and no way of paying for them.⁷⁵ A report into the Wells Way scheme conducted by the Methodist Church in the late 1960s rejected this sort of criticism, contending that those churches left in debt after conducting an Every Member Canvass had not spent the money they had raised 'wisely'.⁷⁶ A further negative outcome of the canvasses was the decline in the number of church functions. With fundraising absorbed by stewardship campaigns, traditional church fundraisers such as fetes, concerts, flower shows and bazaars were increasingly unnecessary, potentially resulting in a loss of profile for a church in its local community.⁷⁷

The 1940s and early 1950s had been a period of increased financial pressures for churches, with high inflation, urgent building needs and expanded Church demands fuelling financial difficulties. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, fundraising campaigns such as the Wells Way program had certainly helped some churches, but not all. The importance of financial liquidity was that a local church's financial position directly affected its ability to contribute to or participate in the wider aims of its Church.

⁷⁴*The Methodist*, 14th July 1956, p. 2.

⁷⁵W. Lawton, 'The Winter of Our Days', p. 17; K. Dempsey, op.cit., pp. 159-160; D. Wright and E. G. Clancy, op.cit., pp. 230-1.

⁷⁶Commission on Stewardship, *Report to Conference*, 1968, UCA, M2/1/12, Box 3, p. 2.

⁷⁷J. Reid et. al., (eds.), op.cit., p. 47.

For older churches in debt or with heavy building expenses, church members' time was frequently taken up with fundraising. Contributing time or money to Church programs was difficult. In comparison, those established churches in a financially secure position were able to spare a great deal more time and money for their Church. It was only after St. Alban's Anglican church at Five Dock, (which had lost Synod representation and the right to elect a minister in 1942) had paid off the debt on its church building, that it found itself able to support CMS missionaries in Borneo.⁷⁸ Other financially sound Anglican churches such as Holy Trinity at Concord West, St. Clement's at Mosman and St. Paul's at Chatswood were able to give over £800 each to the CMS in 1953.⁷⁹ Similarly, Gordon and Turramurra Methodist churches, both in sound financial positions throughout the period, were able to get involved with the Crusade for Christ and the Mission to the Nation, conducting Crusade for Christ canvasses and forming Mission to the Nation groups.⁸⁰ In 1951, the leaders of the Presbyterian Church's New Life Movement noted that they had addressed church gatherings at North Sydney, Sydney city, Hurstville, Mosman, Haberfield, Hornsby, Turramurra, Manly and Rose Bay, as well as several country centres. Significantly, the majority of these Sydney Presbyterian churches addressed were located in upper and middle-class areas.⁸¹

In contrast, inner-city and western Sydney Anglican churches at Smithfield, Stanmore, Riverstone and Paddington were hardly able to contain their increasing assessment debts to the Sydney diocese of up to £324 by 1953, let alone raise

⁷⁸J. Francis, op.cit., p. 42.

⁷⁹The Church Missionary Society of Australia and Tasmania, New South Wales Branch, *Annual Report*, 1953.

⁸⁰*Minute Book: Gordon Circuit*, 17th January 1949 and 10th October 1949, UCA, M2/3/G8, Box 2; *Minutes of Leaders Meeting: Turramurra Methodist Church*, 22nd June 1949, 22nd April 1953, 7th July 1954, 18th August 1954 and 5th October 1955, UCA, M2/3/G8 Box 4; *Church Notes of the Methodist Churches at Gordon, Turramurra, Pymble, St. Ives, Killara, Wahroonga and Terrey Hills*, August-October 1953, p. 5 and November-January 1955, p. 1.

⁸¹*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1951, p. 159.

money for the CMS.⁸² Dire financial straits meant that some churches were forced to decide which Church initiatives they would support. Stretched finances forced the Burwood Methodist church to discontinue its support of the Methodist Overseas Mission Department in the later 1950s and only support the Methodist Social Services Department.⁸³ Stanmore Methodist Church faced a series of financial shortfalls in the early post-war period and was unable to involve itself in the Crusade for Christ.⁸⁴ By 1953 however, Stanmore Methodist had recovered financially, and with a larger membership base, was able to donate almost £18 to the Mission to the Nation and conduct lay evangelism in their local area.⁸⁵

For newer churches in the outer suburbs, rising building costs and unplanned population growth left them with little money to contribute to their Church's post-war programs. The relationship between the tight financial situation of new outer suburban local churches and their ability to participate in and contribute to Church programs was illustrated by the response of the members of the Revesby Methodist Circuit to the Mission to the Nation holding a Sunday night meeting in their local area:

It had previously been arranged that the Mission to the Nation be notified [of] our average collections for Sunday night services...with a view to reimbursement owing to one Sunday night service being cancelled owing to [the] Mission...The meeting decided to make such reimbursement a donation by default.⁸⁶

For these Methodists, the collections from the three churches of the Circuit, Revesby, Panania and Padstow, were vital to maintaining their budget. Contributions to Church programs such as the Mission to the Nation were almost

⁸²Church Missionary Society of Australia and Tasmania, New South Wales Branch, op.cit., 1953; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1944-1955.

⁸³*Burwood Methodist Circuit Minute Book, Quarterly Meetings*, 15th July 1957, UCA, M2/3/B28, Box 1.

⁸⁴*Stanmore Church Quarterly Meeting Minute Book*, 7th July 1949, UCA, M2/3/S4 Box 1.

⁸⁵ibid., 22nd July 1953.

⁸⁶*Revesby Methodist Circuit Quarterly Meeting*, 8th July 1955, UCA, M2/3/R4 Box 1.

out of the question. As it was, the loss of Sunday night offertories was considered to be so financially harmful that the three churches simply could not afford to make a further donation.

Examining the urban and financial problems affecting churches in the post-war period shows a clear link between the two. Churches in low income areas, new churches in the outer suburbs and those facing an immediate financial burden after the war found it difficult to divert their attentions from the pressing financial needs of their parish and could not always spare money or time to support denominational projects. The fortunes of this group of churches were often exacerbated by small or declining memberships, or the destruction of the traditional parish. In contrast, established churches in upper and middle-class areas which were not affected by urban development, and churches with a large membership base, were more likely to be financially sound and have a committed membership with a strong sense of parish loyalty. These churches were then well disposed to help their Church fulfil its aims.

These conclusions raise an interesting question concerning the attitude of Church leaders to the relationship between a local church's socio-economic position and its involvement in lay-oriented Church schemes. The minutes of Church Assemblies, Conferences and Synods, and the statements of Church leaders, reveal that Church leaders were certainly aware that many of the local churches were facing financial problems and having difficulty adjusting to the post-war urban environment. Official sympathy and help however, was only extended to three types of churches: those in the new suburbs; those undertaking major building projects; and those in the inner-city.

In the new suburbs, financial constraints meant that many Christians met in local community buildings or in each others' homes and garages every Sunday for several years, successfully holding services, Sunday Schools and confessions.⁸⁷ In

⁸⁷*Avalon Baptist Church Minute Book*; G. Prendergast et. al., op.cit., pp. 3-5; R. M. Grant and J. Dixon, op.cit., p. 4; See also D. Cook, 'Straying from the Straight and Narrow' in K. Nelson

order to assist these new congregations with building their churches, Church leaders developed three main initiatives: they administered financial assistance schemes; provided temporary church accommodation; and encouraged denominational cooperation.

Church hierarchies set up special funds for the new congregations, or else accommodated them within existing loans schemes.⁸⁸ In 1940, Archbishop Mowll had established the Anglican Building Crusade to help finance the building of new churches.⁸⁹ The financial demands of new congregations were overwhelming, even before the relaxation of restrictions on church building. By 1946, the Anglican Building Crusade found itself hopelessly overburdened, and the older established Anglican churches were called on to contribute to the Building fund through a special 2½% assessment.⁹⁰

Along with the Anglicans, the other Churches found it increasingly difficult to meet demands amidst the growing population, an ever expanding city and the rising costs of labour and materials.⁹¹ In 1951, the Presbyterians had set up an Extension Fund Appeal, aiming to buy fifty blocks of land, twenty halls and six manses for new church congregations.⁹² The original appeal was set at £75,000,

and D. Nelson, *Sweet Mothers, Sweet Maids: Journeys from Catholic Childhoods*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1986, p. 16; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1952, p. 47.

⁸⁸See for example *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1949, pp. 145-146; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1950, pp. 135-136 and 1951, p. 139.

⁸⁹*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1941, p. 57.

⁹⁰*ibid.*, 1951, p. 45.

⁹¹*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1949, p. 145 and 1952, p. 100; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1951, pp. 139-140 and 1952, pp. 148-9; *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1946-7, p. 41 and 1948-9, pp. 22-23, 27, 66; *Year Book of the Baptist Union of New South Wales*, 1954-1955, pp. 58-59.

⁹²*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1951, p. 139; See also *Year Book of the Baptist Union of New South Wales*, 1954-1955, p. 49.

but a lack of donations and inflation restricted the Presbyterian Church's original plans.⁹³ The Extension Fund Appeal was duly increased to £100,000 in 1954.⁹⁴

The growing inadequacy of Church extension funds had direct consequences in terms of the status of the Church in the new suburban communities. Traditionally, church buildings were an important feature of a suburb, located close to the commercial centre. In the early post-war period, when Church Home Mission departments had the financial means, efforts were made to acquire centrally located building sites, with the result that many of the new churches, such as those at Manly Vale, Padstow and Eastwood, were built in a central position in their suburb. By the early 1950s, funding was an acute problem. Churches and congregations were unable to acquire the desirable central sites. In Avalon, only the Methodist Church was built near the commercial centre of the suburb, while the Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian and Baptist churches were all built further out. Similarly, in Chester Hill, while the Anglican church was centrally located, the Presbyterian, Salvation Army, Lutheran and Baptist churches were not. The relatively insignificant physical position of local churches in many of the new suburban communities exemplified the fading political power of the Churches in Australian society.

Secondly, in an attempt to overcome building and financial restrictions in the new suburbs, Baptist, Anglican and Methodist Home Mission Departments provided 'mobile churches' to fledgling congregations. From 1946 the Baptists began sending 'Gospel Wagons' to remote country areas and new suburbs. The wagons each contained a tent and other equipment which could be assembled for gospel services and Sunday schools.⁹⁵ The Methodists had a similar operation, known as Mobile Units, where a truck containing a tent, portable organ, a table,

⁹³*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1951, p. 139 and 1953, p. 143.

⁹⁴*ibid.*, 1954, p. 124.

⁹⁵*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1946-1947, p. 43, 1947-1948, p. 64 and 1948-1949, pp. 67-8.

seats, Sunday school materials and Christian literature for sale was driven to new suburban congregations each Sunday.⁹⁶ The Anglican Building Crusade began using 'mobile churches' in 1946. Mindful of the stigma of possibly being associated with the Baptists' gospel wagons, Mowll was careful to establish to his diocese the integrity of the Anglican mobile churches:

The [mobile] church is not a Gospel Wagon. Services will be conducted according to the rites of the Church of England, by a Chaplain, who will be an ordained man...⁹⁷

The Baptists, although Protestant, were potentially a form of competition to the growth of the Anglican faith in the new suburbs. Although denominational rivalry was often quite strong, there was evidence that the Churches were trying to work together on the suburban frontier.

As a third way of assisting local churches, Church leaders encouraged denominational cooperation. A 'United Church' building was established near Warragamba for families working on the new dam. Staffed by an Anglican minister, any other denomination wanting to conduct services was invited to join the roster.⁹⁸ In 1948 the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregationalist Churches had entered into a formal agreement to share facilities and to avoid 'overlapping' in the new suburbs and country areas in preparation for the future unification of their denominations.⁹⁹ This sometimes led to tensions among loyal church members,¹⁰⁰ but in other cases, such as at West Pymble, Presbyterians and

⁹⁶*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1949*, p. 145; D. Wright and E. G. Clancy, op.cit., p. 205.

⁹⁷*Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, December 1953-January 1954, p. 152.

⁹⁸*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1950*, p. 168 and 1951, p. 150.

⁹⁹ibid., 1948, p. 122; *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1949*, p. 147.

¹⁰⁰*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1952*, p. 149.

Congregationalists were able to happily sustain two congregations in one building.¹⁰¹

Church leaders worked hard to raise money, provide temporary facilities and bolster inter-denominational cooperation to ease financial problems for new congregations. This concern to help new local churches, rather than churches in low income suburbs or those in serious financial difficulty, was closely linked with conservative Christian post-war plans.

In 1951, Archbishop Mowll informed the Sydney Synod of the situation faced by a new congregation in Sydney's south-west:

At Chester Hill, service is held every Sunday evening in a hall above the grocer's shop...The steps leading up to this hall are dangerous, the windows are broken and the hall is condemned by the local council, but there is no alternative at present.¹⁰²

Mowll reported that in the Chester Hill-Sefton-Birrong area, there was only one church. There was also 'a very large number of people...still living in garages'. Mowll's main concern however, was not that families were living in substandard accommodation, but that there was an insufficient number of church buildings in the area:

[I]n our suburbs, houses are being built more rapidly than many of us realise. Many thousands of houses have been erected by the Housing Commission, as well as through Building Societies and private enterprise. Large areas of land, north, south and west of Sydney, have been taken over by the Commission for the purpose of erecting tens of thousands of dwellings...The growth is phenomenal, and calls for vastly increased pastoral oversight, the erection of churches, rectories and [Sunday] school halls.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹*Minute Book: Gordon Circuit*, 13th April 1953, UCA, M2/3/G8, Box 2.

¹⁰²*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1952, p. 46.

¹⁰³*ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

A church building was considered by conservative Church leaders to be an important step towards furthering two of their post-war aims: to preserve Christian moral values and maintain social stability; and to foster opportunities for evangelism.

First, conservatives hoped that the building of churches would arrest social and moral decline. For conservatives, a suburban church was essential to prevent juvenile delinquency, immorality and family instability in the local community. In 1946 the Methodist Church's Home Mission's Department launched its annual campaign for funds with the slogan 'Christianity or Chaos', contending that unless more local churches were established, returned soldiers would be unable to settle into civilian life, and juvenile crime, divorce and liquor trade profits would all increase.¹⁰⁴

The second importance of a church building in the outer suburbs was evangelism. Regardless of whether local residents were holding church services, without a church building the influence of the Church was barely visible within the local community. For Church leaders, this lack of visibility was an obstacle to effective Church evangelism in the new suburbs. The Methodist Church Development Department specifically noted that church building in the new suburbs was a chance to bring 'unattached Methodists back to Church'.¹⁰⁵ In a society where Church leaders contended that the Church's influence was threatened by alien ideologies and the post-war leisure culture, providing a church presence was a means of maintaining Christianity in the cultural vacuum of the new outer areas of Sydney.

The physical presence of the new local church in the urban frontiers of Sydney provided a focus for evangelism and status for the Church. For similar

¹⁰⁴*The Methodist*, 7th September 1946, p. 1; See also *The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1949-1950, p. 56; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1942, pp. 62-63; D. Hilliard, 'Popular Religion in Australia in the 1950s', p. 220.

¹⁰⁵*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1949, pp. 145-146.

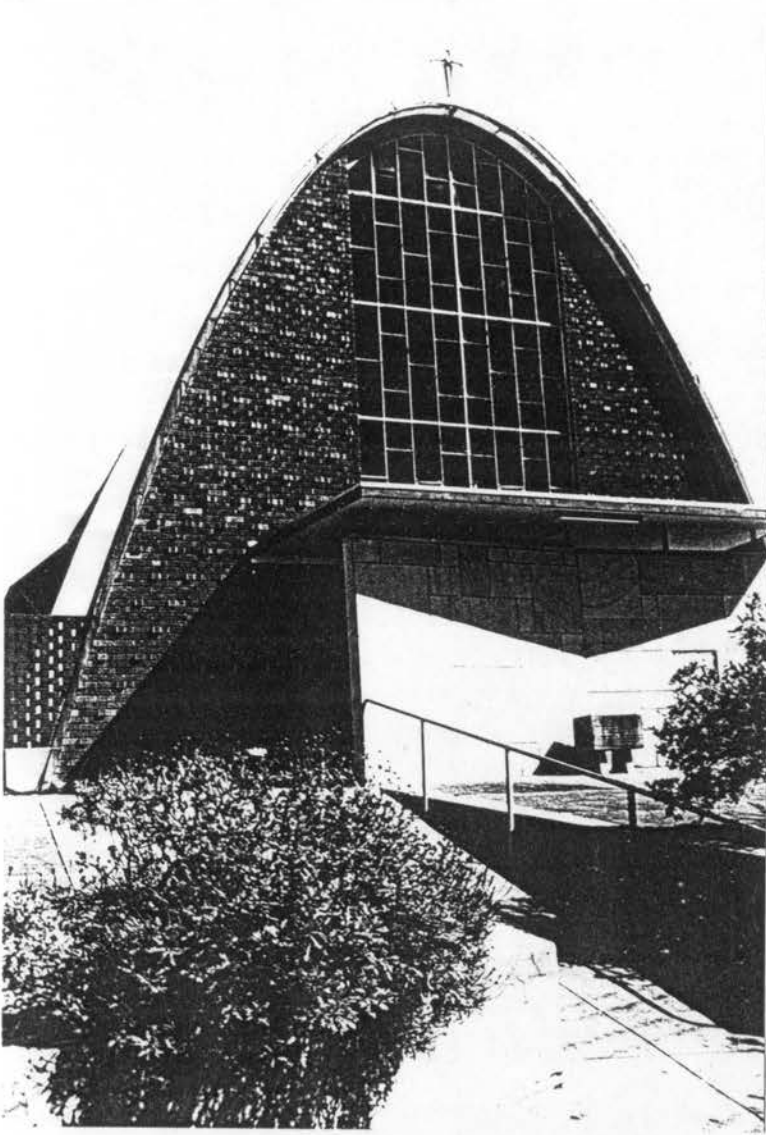
reasons, Church leaders' concerns were extended to those Christian communities building new churches.

A local church building was a reflection of its Church, and potentially, a vehicle for the restoration of the status of the Church in the community. Efforts were extended to financially assist congregations undertaking church building projects. In 1955 the Anglican Synod of Sydney passed a motion requesting the Standing Committee to amend the New Housing Areas Church Building Ordinance (1947) to provide for a reduction in the annual diocesan assessment for new parishes building churches and for parishes carrying out extensive repairs to church buildings.¹⁰⁶ Church leaders were concerned therefore, when the architectural style of the new church buildings did not reflect their understanding of the type of church building needed to revive the Church's status in the community.

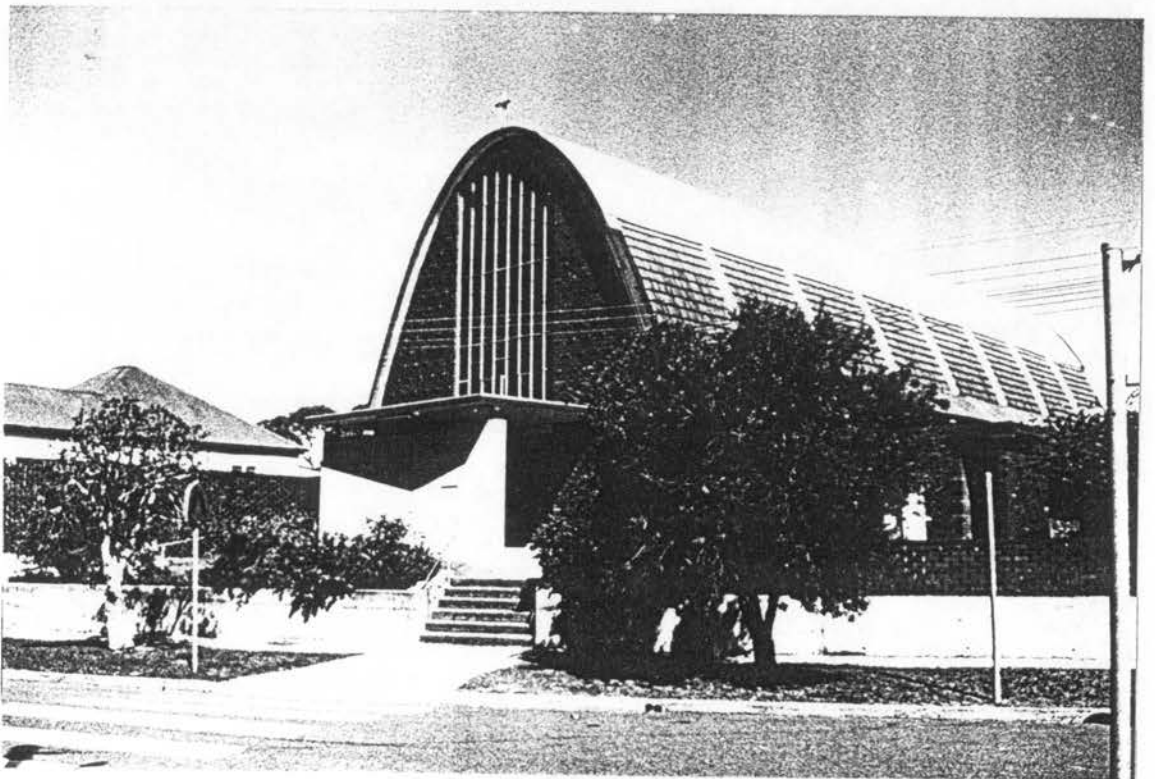
A combination of cost constraints and modern architecture had produced a plethora of unusual and unconventional church buildings. In 1954, *The Catholic Weekly* reported on the new St. Bernard's Catholic church at Botany [insets 1 and 2], which was built in a unique parabolic 'shell' shape. The cost of construction had been thousands of pounds cheaper than the cost of building a conventional style church.¹⁰⁷ Other modern innovations included large sheets of blue or gold coloured glass for window panes rather than small stained glass windows, as with Punchbowl Baptist Church [inset 3], Glenbrook Presbyterian Church and St. Bernard's Catholic Church at Botany. This reflected the new emphasis on 'light' and 'space' in post-war architecture. There was also an emphasis on a more 'square' or angular facade for some new churches, such as the Methodist churches at Gordon and Penshurst [insets 4 and 5]. New materials replaced sandstone and red brick. In 1955, St. John's Anglican church at Willoughby [inset 6] began constructing a rather stark concrete block extension onto the rear of their ornate

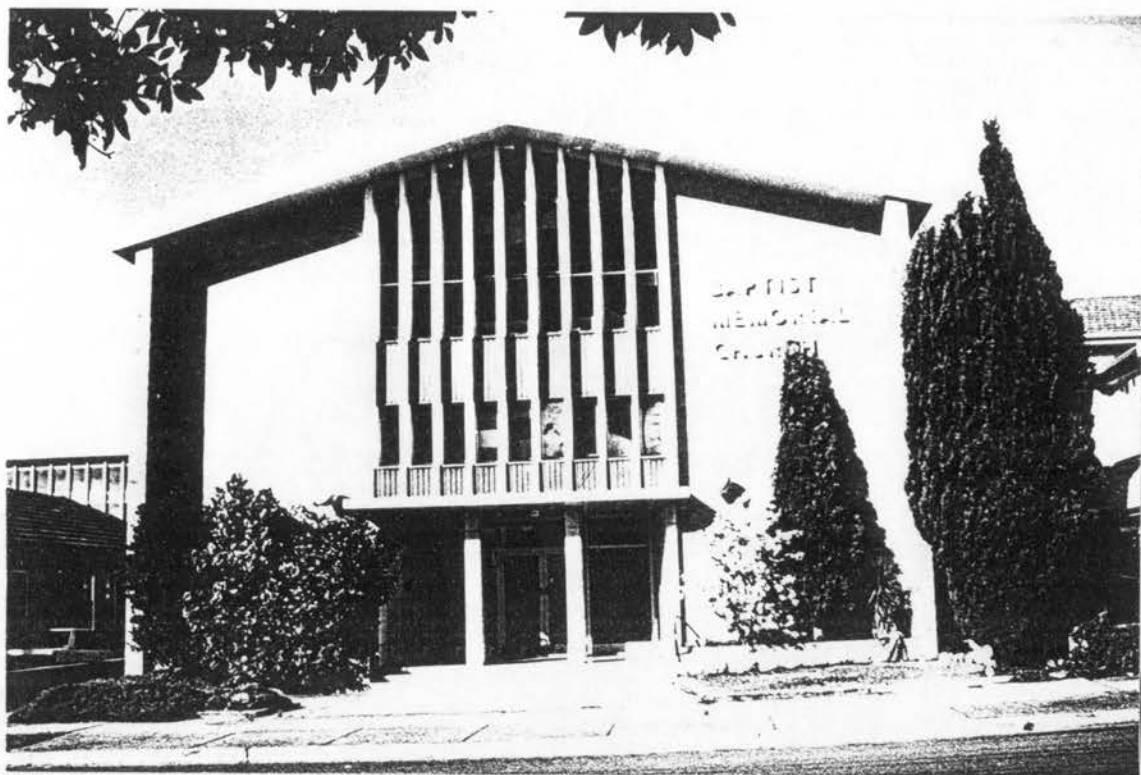
¹⁰⁶*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1956, p. 75.

¹⁰⁷*ibid.*, 28th October 1954, p. 17.



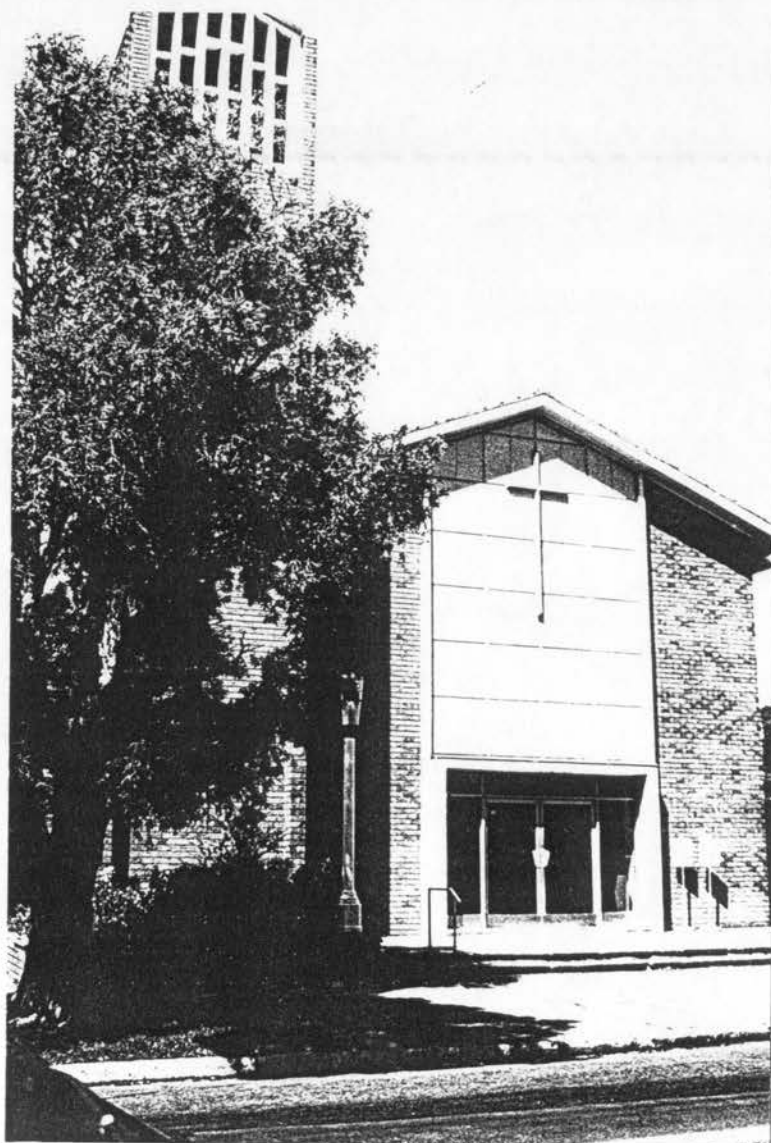
1. & 2.: St. Bernard's Catholic Church, Botany (front and side view)

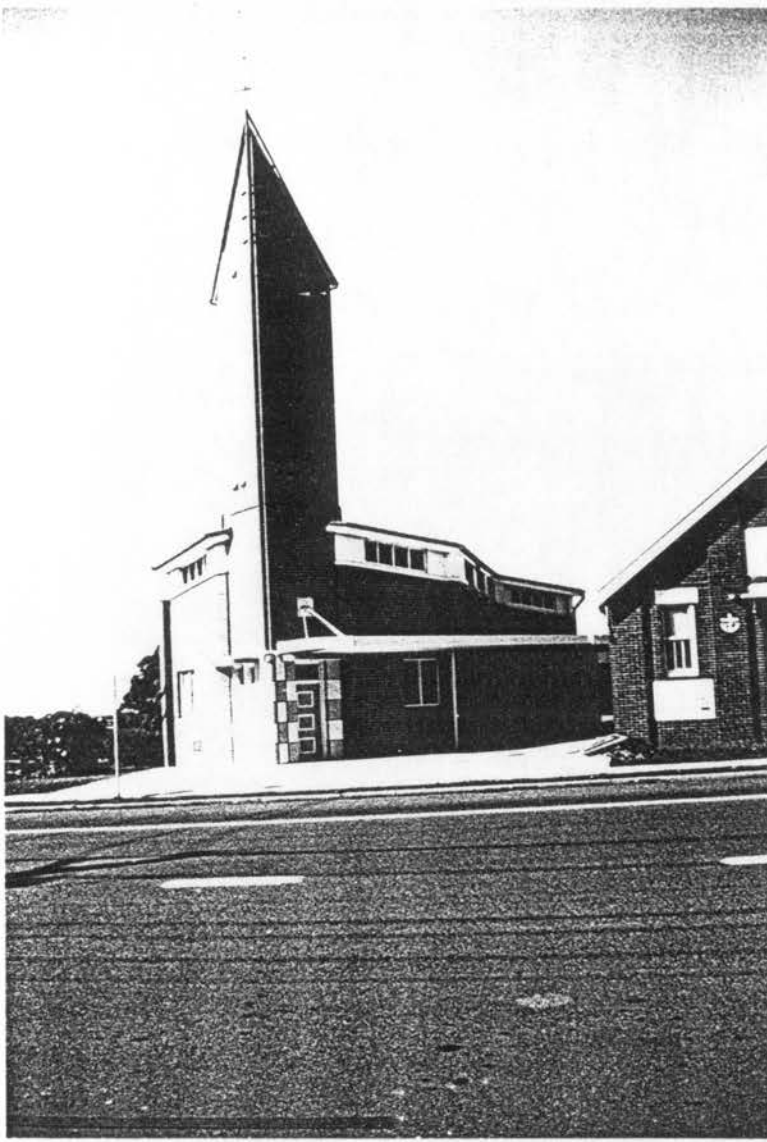




3. (ABOVE): *Punchbowl Baptist Church, Punchbowl*

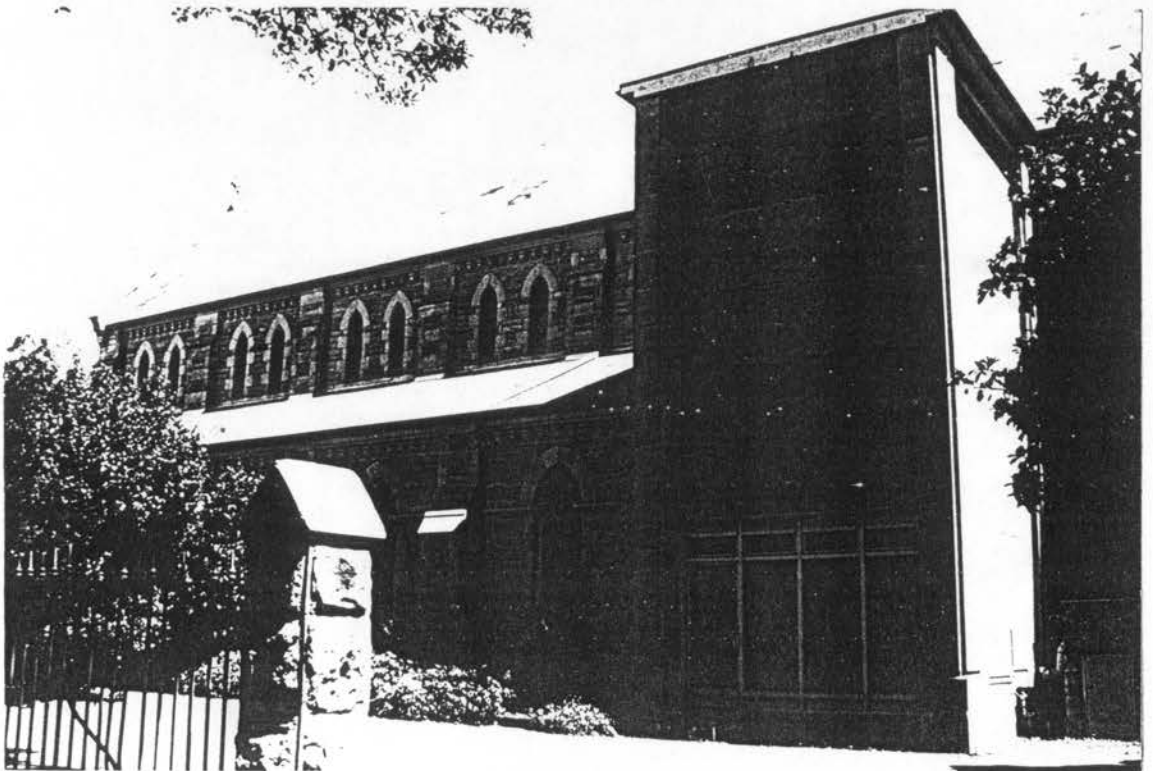
4. (RIGHT): *Gordon Methodist Church, Gordon*

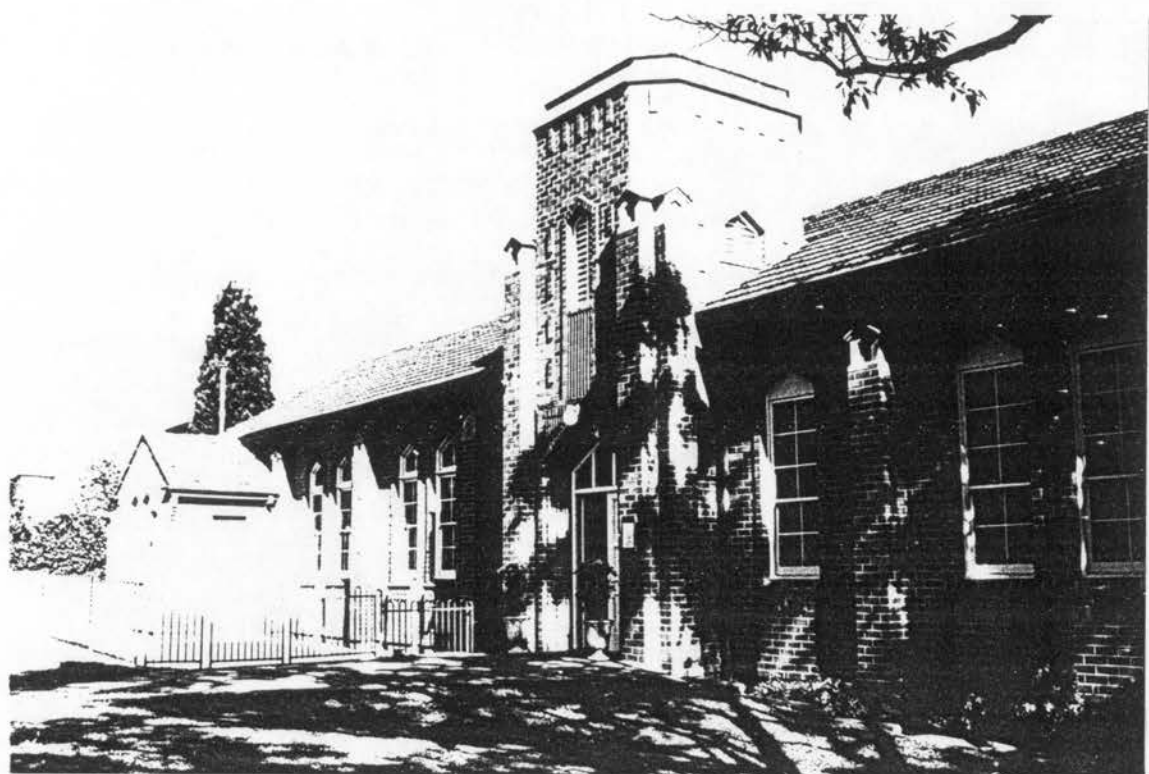




5. (LEFT): *Penshurst Methodist Church, Penshurst*

6. (BELOW): *New extension, St. John's Anglican Church, Willoughby*





7. St. Martin's Anglican Church, Blakehurst



8. Lane Cove Presbyterian Church (Farren St.), Lane Cove

nineteenth century sandstone church. The entrance to St. Bernard's Catholic Church at Bondi and the facade of Punchbowl Baptist made use of decorative silica brick work. Steel, aluminium, asbestos cement and precast concrete were other new materials used in post-war church building.¹⁰⁸ In 1953, *The Catholic Weekly* proudly ran an advertisement for the engineering construction firm Overseas Corporation Australia which had constructed 'The First Aluminium Church in the World' at South Camberwell, Victoria.¹⁰⁹

Not all new church buildings were of the 'modern' ilk. St. Martin's Anglican Church at Blakehurst (started 1952) [inset 7] and Lane Cove Presbyterian Church (1954) [inset 8] echoed more traditional styles of church building, with small windows and more conventional architecture. Yet despite these attempts to return to traditional styles of church building, both exhibit aspects of the architectural style Robin Boyd described as 'post-war austerity'. These aspects include the hipped roof and the absence of eaves.¹¹⁰

Local church aesthetics and architectural design in the new post-war suburbs became a major issue for the Church hierarchies, as both new churches established their buildings and as some of the older churches began replacing and extending their buildings. Official Church criticism often arose over the aesthetics of the architectural style of the new churches. In 1953 the NSW Methodist Conference made plans to publish a booklet containing diagrams to help church trustees in their selection of a 'suitable' type of church building.¹¹¹ To no avail. At the 1959 NSW Conference it was proposed that 'Conference express its concern at the extreme trend of some modern designs for churches'.¹¹² Similarly, the NSW Presbyterian Home Mission Department had drawn up plans for three

¹⁰⁸M. Dunphy, 'Aspects of Church Design', *Architecture in Australia*, 47, 2, April-June 1958, p. 49.

¹⁰⁹*Catholic Weekly*, 15th January 1953, p. 8.

¹¹⁰R. Boyd, *Australia's Home*, 4th ed., MUP, Carlton, 1987, pp. 82-86.

¹¹¹*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1953, p. 131.

¹¹²*ibid.*, 1959, p. 155.

types of buildings 'best suited for Church purposes' in 1952.¹¹³ The continued erection of unorthodox church buildings by local Presbyterian church communities led to the founding of the NSW Presbyterian Church Art and Architecture Committee in 1957, to assist local churches with

...questions of basic good design and taste in ecclesiastical art and architecture; information on the procedure a congregation should adopt step by step in proceeding to build a new church, manse or hall; the creation of interest in high standards of craftsmanship in church furnishings, equipment and adornment...¹¹⁴

Even the Baptists, whose traditional understanding of a church building as a simple, unadorned structure, (where a crucifix on a steeple was considered 'decoration'), were desirous that 'more suitable church buildings...[which] express our Baptist witness' be constructed in light of modern church building.¹¹⁵

Baptist leaders were also concerned about the aesthetic value of the site of a new church. The Baptists at Avalon had hoped to purchase the Avalon Progress Hall site for their church, but were prevented from doing so after a NSW Baptist Union representative inspected the site. The site was found to be unsuitable for the following reasons:

1. Block was only 30 ft. wide and too narrow for a church building.
2. Offices on front of block at present valued at £1000 were useless for our purposes.
3. Being in an industrial area there were likely to be noxious neighbours objectionable as regards noise and odours.
4. Surroundings at present were bad in the form of an unsightly brick structure next door, and the likelihood [sic] of something similar being built on the vacant block on the other side.¹¹⁶

¹¹³*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1952, p. 149.

¹¹⁴*ibid.*, 1958, p. 147.

¹¹⁵*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1952-1953, p.48; See also E. Campion, *Australian Catholics*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1988, p. 198.

¹¹⁶*Avalon Baptist Church Minute Book*, 16th April 1958.

While the Avalon Baptists had desired the centrality and low cost of the Progress Hall site, the Baptist Home Missions Department's concern for aesthetics meant that the church site eventually acquired was away from the centre of Avalon in a nearby suburban street, among houses rather than among community facilities. Baptist Union officials were prepared to trade off a central position for the chance to build the church away from 'unsightly brick structures' and 'noxious neighbours'.

Criticism of modern architecture and concern for aesthetics was not confined to Church leaders. Warringah Shire Council was dismayed at the square-shaped residences designed by architect Harry Seidler, claiming they looked 'more like a gun emplacement on North Head than a house'.¹¹⁷ This was part of a general conservatism towards art and architecture in the wider post-war Australian community.¹¹⁸ For Church leaders however, dissatisfaction with modern church design was not only indicative of their conservative understanding of what constituted a church building, but also, of their antipathy towards 'modernity'. For older Church leaders especially, contemporary church buildings were an unwelcome symbol of encroaching modernism, comparable with moral trends and post-war consumerism, which they contended was thwarting the traditional status of the Church.

Milo Dunphy, a Christian architect, was exasperated by the refusal of Church leaders' to make use of modern architectural innovations. In an article for the April-June edition of *Architecture in Australia*, Dunphy wrote:

...the church has to accept that it is a competitor for the attention of the man in the street with the hotel, the club and the cinema...the church has

¹¹⁷cited in C. Allport, 'The Unrealised Promise', p. 51.

¹¹⁸S. Alomes, M. Dober and D. Hellier, op.cit., in A. Curthoys and J. Merritt (eds.), *Australia's First Cold War*, pp. 16-17; J. Rickard, op.cit., pp. 251-252; B. Smith, *The Critic as Advocate: Selected Essays 1941-1988*, OUP, Melbourne, 1989, pp. 110, 112; B. Smith, *Australian Painting 1788-1990*, 3rd ed., OUP, Melbourne, 1991, p. 291.

so far effectively concealed her light under an oppressive architectural bushel. Meanwhile her competitors, capitalising on the appeal and efficiency of good modern architecture, go from success to success.¹¹⁹

Other contributors to the April-June edition of *Architecture in Australia* included Alan Walker and the Rev. Alan Dougan, a member of the Blake Prize Committee's Religious Art Judging Panel. Like Dunphy, Walker and Dougan were concerned that if the Church refused to adopt modern architectural standards it would fail to appeal to non-church goers.¹²⁰ While conservatives and non-conservatives were essentially united in their concern that church architecture should contribute to evangelism, they were opposed in their artistic approach, with the conservatives hoping to recreate the religiosity of the past, and the non-conservatives attempting to present the Church as modern and relevant.

The fact that local churches were ignoring Church Architecture Committees and continuing to build churches of 'extreme' design highlights the nature of the relationship between the local church and its hierarchy. New church buildings were designed for their local church community, not to reflect the desires of Church leaders for an imagined past via nineteenth century sandstone structures. A further consequence of individual church designs was the weakening of physical and architectural links with the wider Church.

By helping new congregations to establish church buildings and by taking a keen interest in the architectural designs for new church buildings, conservative Church leaders were fulfilling their post-war aims of evangelism, expansion and the restoration of the Church's status through traditional architecture. The possibility of realising conservative post-war aims was also evident in the willingness of Protestant Church leaders to support their struggling inner-city churches.

¹¹⁹M. Dunphy, op.cit., pp. 57-58.

¹²⁰A. Walker, 'Church Architecture in Australia', *Architecture in Australia*, 47, 2, April-June 1958, pp. 63, 72; A. Dougan, 'The Artist and Architect in the Service of the Contemporary Protestant Church', *Architecture in Australia*, 47, 2, April-June 1958, p. 64.

In 1947 the Presbyterian Church launched an Assembly Commission on St. Enoch's Presbyterian Church, Newtown, in an effort to reverse the decline of the church and to experiment with a new model of the parish church:

So seriously did the Commission view the downtown parish problem, that it felt compelled to depart from the usual one-minister, two services a Sunday approach, and to formulate the following scheme for Newtown...The present Newtown property should be completely reconditioned in an attractive fashion, to offer a seven-day-a-week Community Centre to the people of the district—with a daily Creche, a boys' and girls' club, a canteen, but above all a daily act of worship, to weld the other activities into an integrated whole...The Parish includes at least 50,000 people: and even if the Roman Church can claim up to 20,000 (which is a very liberal estimate) there is still ample scope for work by the Protestant denominations.¹²¹

From the situation in Newtown identified by the Presbyterian Assembly Commission there emerges two central reasons as to why Protestant Church leaders were experimenting with new church programs in the inner-city.

First was the Protestant exodus from the inner-city. Rising affluence of the Australian-born population (Catholic and Protestant), resulted in their movement out of the inner-city and into the new outer suburbs. In their wake, Catholic and Orthodox migrants took up residence in the inner-city. This meant that there was a dwindling number of Protestants but a significant proportion of Catholic and Orthodox Christians in inner Sydney. In 1954, 40% of Sydney's Catholics lived in the inner-city and inner-west.¹²² Orthodox Greek migrants were also prominent in inner-city Sydney suburbs, especially Redfern, southern Leichhardt and northern Marrickville.¹²³ Protestant Church leaders were relatively unconcerned with the

¹²¹*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1948, p. 94.

¹²²R. Spann, 'The Catholic Vote in Australia' in H. Mayer (ed.), *Catholics and the Free Society: An Australian Symposium*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1961, pp. 127-128; D. Hilliard, 'God in the Suburbs', p. 406.

¹²³I. H. Burnley, 'Greek Settlement in Sydney 1947-1971', *Australian Geographer*, 13, March 1976, pp. 203, 205; I. H. Burnley, 'Internal Migration and Metropolitan Growth in Australia',

influx of Orthodox Christians however. Their fears that Catholics were undermining their status and power, combined with the continued prevalence of Catholics in the inner-city, compelled Protestant leaders to 'defend' their inner-city parishes against Catholic dominance.

Secondly was the fear of 'secularism' through the growth of the suburban 'community centre', a concern held by Protestant and Catholic leaders.¹²⁴ Community centres were conceived as part of the federal Labor government's post-war reconstruction plans. They were designed by government bodies and endorsed by the National Fitness Council as a community-based organisation to promote common purpose, cooperation, tolerance, education, health and leisure-time recreation.¹²⁵ Despite the numerous social, sporting and educational activities run by many local churches, the advent of the suburban community centre was an indication that government authorities did not regard the local church as an institution for providing leisure and education for suburban residents.

While Protestant and Catholic Christians were largely sympathetic to the aims of the community centres, they were anxious that community centre activities could rival those of the local churches, and that some community centres had been built in areas where there were no established churches.¹²⁶ The Churches made valiant attempts to remodel inner-city churches into the community centre ideal. One noteworthy example was the Glebe Methodist Mission set up by the Rev. Ralph Sutton. The Glebe Mission church was open every day from 9am until 10pm with a dinner break between 5pm and 7pm. Clubs

in his (ed.), *Urbanization in Australia: The Post-War Experience*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1974, pp. 107, 109.

¹²⁴*Catholic Weekly*, 25th July 1946, pp. 3, 4.

¹²⁵K. M. Gordon, *op.cit.*, p. 4; Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction, 'Community Activities Bulletin', series 1, no. 10, Sydney, 1945; National Fitness Council of New South Wales, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-4.

¹²⁶*Catholic Weekly*, 25th July 1946, pp. 3, 4; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, pp. 38-9, 69, 114-5; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1948, p. 94.

for adolescent boys and younger children were established, proving to be highly successful. A weekly radio program 'The Good Samaritan Session' and a local paper *The Builders* were just some of the enterprises run by Sutton, his wife and three lay preachers.¹²⁷ Other Methodist churches, such as Leichhardt, Annandale, Waverley and the Central Methodist Mission also adopted the inner-city 'community church' approach.¹²⁸

While the 'community church' ideal was supported by conservative Church leaders as a way of rescuing inner-city parishes from Catholic influence and withstanding the emergence of the 'secular' community centre, many of the community churches were actually run by social reformist Christians, such as Sutton and Walker (Waverley). The Rev. Professor John McIntyre of the CSOC had led the Assembly Commission into St. Enoch's, Newtown.¹²⁹ Similarly, when the CSOM was threatened with closure, Coughlan had proposed to Mowll that the work of the CSOM could continue in an inner-city 'community church' setting.¹³⁰ The close involvement of social reformist Christians in the community church movement reflected their concern to encourage the Christian reformist ideals of leisure and creativity.

Assisting new local churches and inner-city causes furthered a number of important Church aims. In contrast, Church leaders were less concerned with other struggling churches, overlooking the vast socio-economic discrepancies which existed between Sydney churches. The Baptist Faith and Life Commission explained tithing discrepancies between suburban churches as evidence of the apathy and irresponsibility of some church members:

¹²⁷*Minutes of the Quarterly Meetings of the Glebe Methodist Mission*, 8th March 1948; D. Wright and E. G. Clancy, op.cit., p. 201.

¹²⁸D. Wright and E. G. Clancy, op.cit., p. 201; See also Waverley Christian Community Centre, *Community Challenge: The Story of the Waverley Christian Community Centre*, Sydney, 1945, n.p.; *The Methodist*, 1st June 1946, p. 1.

¹²⁹*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1950, p. 192.

¹³⁰*The New Day*, December 1950, p. 7.

The standard of giving by the members of the churches varies greatly between the churches, and the general standard shows a very poor appreciation of responsibility on the part of the great majority of church members.¹³¹

The Faith and Life Commission did not consider the importance of an individual church's financial situation, the relative size of its membership or the socio-economic status of its members in determining church finances.

When it came to providing assistance, there was little concern for churches which were not contributing to post-war aims of expansion and growth. The Anglican Church's New Housing Areas Church Building Ordinance gave sustenance only to those churches who were furthering the conservative post-war aims of expansion and evangelism, and did not help poorer parishes in debt which could not necessarily afford to embark on an extensive building or repair program.

Church leaders' dismissal of inequality at the local church level was closely related to the conservative view of the individual, where individual (or local church) initiative and hard work were valued. Conservative politicians argued that if society (the Church) gave 'handouts' to struggling members, this would discourage self-motivation, and ultimately, society (the Church) would stagnate.¹³² Church leaders' continued failure to acknowledge the socio-economic discrepancies which existed between the churches had direct repercussions for the clergy.

Church leaders considered church expansion as a positive sign of the Churches' vigour and relevance. The experience of the new suburban local churches, however, suggests otherwise, with considerable difficulties experienced by local church communities in obtaining building sites. The advent of the

¹³¹*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 'Faith and Life Commission Report', 1952-3, p. 43.

¹³²J. Brett, *op.cit.*, pp. 63-66; P. Loveday, *op.cit.*, pp. 244-245.

community centre indicated the declining importance of the Church and its role in an urban setting. In an attempt to maintain their status, Church leaders valiantly strove to establish church building programs and lend their support to new congregations. At the same time however, the population movement to the new outer suburbs had a marked effect on some of the older churches, which were faced with dwindling congregations or a breakdown of the traditional parish.

The failure of Church leaders to recognise that the urban situation and financial plight of some of the local churches was responsible for minimal lay involvement in Church programs was symptomatic of their denial that inequality existed in the wider Church. Those churches who, for whatever reason, could not participate in Church schemes were deemed apathetic or improvident by their Church leaders. From the lay perspective, broad evangelism campaigns, appeals to help migrants, or campaigns to rescue Sunday did not directly benefit the circumstances of their church and were therefore not a priority for churches which were in dire financial straits or facing a severe disruption of their parish structure. The hierarchies' fight to maintain the status and power of their Churches, in a society where the views and priorities of Church leaders were rapidly becoming irrelevant, was therefore often a secondary concern for these lay people.

The inability of Church hierarchies to view the reasons for lay indifference to the wider aims of the Church from a local church level was symptomatic of their overall attitude to the local church. Local churches which could contribute to their plans for evangelism and expansion (and in the case of the inner-city Protestants, ward off Catholic influences) were supported financially. While these churches may also have been unable to contribute much to lay evangelism or immigration programs, they were, albeit unwittingly, an important part of conservative Christian plans for the post-war period.

CHAPTER 13: THE CLERGY

In the Baptist and Catholic Churches, the number of men offering for the ministry and the priesthood reached new heights during the 1950s. The number of Catholic diocesan priests in the Archdiocese of Sydney continually increased from 268 in 1945 to 330 by 1956.¹ Similarly, the number of NSW Baptist ministers grew steadily, from ninety-seven in 1945 to 143 by 1956.² For the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches however, the late 1940s and 1950s saw a general decline in the number of men offering for the ministry. These shortages were exacerbated by the high demand for clergy created by post-war suburban expansion. The early post-war period saw the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches faced with the problem of a grossly inadequate number of ministers.

The Anglican Church's Moore Theological College recorded eighty-one new students in 1948, but by 1955 the number of new students had fallen to fifty-seven.³ Between 1945 and 1955 the number of diocesan clergy only increased by twenty-three, from 249 to 272.⁴ At the Sydney Anglican Synod of 1954, Mowll implored Anglicans to consider this situation, especially with regard to the number of new churches in Sydney's outer suburbs without a minister:

The only ultimate solution is for a very great increase in the number of candidates for the ministry and the number of clergy actively working in the Diocese...Since 1948 there has been a slight decrease in the number of

¹*The Australasian Catholic Directory: Official Yearbook of the Catholic Church in Australia, New Zealand and the Adjacent Islands*, 1945, 1956.

²*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1945-1946, p. 16; *Year Book of the Baptist Union of New South Wales*, 1956-1957, p. 18; The Baptist figures given do not distinguish diocesan clergy from missionaries or other types of clergy.

³M. Loane, *A Centenary History of Moore Theological College*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1955, pp. 149-150.

⁴*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1946, pp. 65-114, 1956, pp. 75-122 and 1957, pp. 75-121. In February 1956, the number of clergy had returned to 249.

theological students in training each year. I make an earnest appeal to all clergy and laymen in the diocese to take this matter seriously.⁵

NSW Presbyterians faced a similar situation, with many new churches being without ministers or sharing a minister with one or more other church communities. In 1949 they arranged a special day of appeal for ministerial candidates to encourage young men to consider studying for the ministry.⁶ To no avail. In 1945 there were 169 ministers working in NSW Presbyterian parishes and only eight more by 1956.⁷

In the Methodist Church, the number of ministers did not increase enough to meet demand either. Numbers remained fairly static throughout the post-war period, averaging 220 between 1945 and 1956.⁸ The Methodist Church hierarchy regarded this situation seriously, especially as more than half of NSW Methodist churches did not have their own ordained minister:⁹

Unless there is a big accession to the ranks of the ministry within the next few years, Methodism, in common with some other Churches, will face something in the nature of a crisis.¹⁰

As early as 1951 the Methodist Conference had urged ministers to 'do everything possible to discover prospective candidates' for theological college.¹¹ Later suggestions to meet the shortage included recruiting British Methodists to migrate

⁵ibid., 1955, p. 41.

⁶*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 21st October 1949, p. 4; See also *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1949, pp. 117-118.

⁷*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1945, p. 182 and 1957, p. 193.

⁸*Minutes of the...General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, p. 15, 1948, p. 7, 1951, p. 7, 1954, p. 7, 1957, p. 7.

⁹ibid.

¹⁰*The Methodist*, 13th February 1954, p. 7; See also *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1955, p. 67.

¹¹*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1951, p. 120 and 1954, p. 72.

and train for the Australian ministry, and organising a panel of ministers to visit boys' OK meetings to 'present the claims of the ministry on a personal level'.¹²

One solution which presented itself to the Protestant Churches was the recruiting of women to the ministry. The post-war period saw the renewed efforts of Christian women to gain representation within local church and hierarchical Church power structures, especially in the Protestant Churches. As Hilary Carey has pointed out, women derived some political power from women's organisations within their local churches.¹³ Women were also engaged by the Churches as missionaries and nurses, forming the majority of workers in foreign mission fields.¹⁴ There is evidence however, to show that Protestant women were actively campaigning for further recognition and power within the Church during the 1940s and 1950s.

It is impossible to determine whether Catholic women desired leadership roles in their Church. Within the Catholic hierarchy there was little mention of the question of women in the Catholic ministry. Not only was there a plentiful supply of male Catholic priests, but Catholic leaders determined that women who so desired could fully serve the Church through the religious life. In Protestant circles, an under-supply of ministers and Christian social reformist links with feminists encouraged some discussion of the subject.

Protestant women were actively campaigning for access to the traditionally male areas of control in the Church, such as the local church diaconate or eldership and most importantly, the ministry. Various attempts to gain access to

¹²ibid., 1956, p. 146 and 1957, p. 152.

¹³H. Carey, 'The Women, the War and the Cardinal: Gilroy and Catholic Women's Organisations 1939-1950', *Women-Church: An Australian Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 1, August 1987, pp. 29-30; K. Dempsey, op.cit., pp. 154-155; H. Carey, *Truly Feminine, Truly Catholic: A History of the Catholic Women's League in the Archdiocese of Sydney 1913-1987*, NSWUP, Kensington, 1987, pp. 61, 64, 73-84, 106.

¹⁴*The Australian Baptist*, 30th May 1950, p. 7 and 13th June 1950, p. 7; Report of the Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions, *Yearbook of the Presbyterian Church of Australia, 1940-1956*; C. Bishop, 'Not Feminist Enough. Women Missionaries: Forgotten in Australian History', *Melbourne Historical Journal*, 21, 1991, pp. 7-22.

leadership roles in the Church had been made earlier by women in the 1920s.¹⁵ The emerging status of women in the post-war period gave them the confidence to try again, with some success. In 1953, NSW Baptist women were nominated for Baptist Union Committees for the first time. In the same year at a local church level, women were elected to the Committee of Management of the St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church at Manly.¹⁶ One of the CSOM leaders, Norma Coughlan (wife of William Coughlan), argued that the post-war period offered an opportunity for women to enter the priesthood:

Male priests have done and are doing splendid work, but it stands to reason a man cannot possess every virtue; there are many sides to personality, some of which only the delicate touch of a woman can ever heal. Men and women priests should be able to work together in wonderful harmony.¹⁷

Her desire to encourage women in the Church was in recognition of their wish to serve the Church in a greater capacity, utilising their qualities of 'sweetness, purity, refinement, gentleness, patience, gaiety, ingenuity, resourcefulness [and] intuition' as their contribution to peace in the post-war world.¹⁸ Still more crucial, women's agitation for a more equal share of power within the Churches was being recognised and supported by men, such as the Rev. Albert Manefield, who was General-Superintendent of the Methodist Home Mission Department for much of the post-war period:

There must be a larger recognition of the place which womanhood holds in the Church. Gone is the day when Methodist women are content with the sphere of service offered by the Ladies Church Aid, Sunday School and Methodist Girls' Comradeship...How long is it going to be before the

¹⁵See for example *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1926, pp. 149-150; M. Porter, op.cit., pp. 25-28.

¹⁶*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1954-1955, p. 71; J. Reid (ed.) op.cit., p. 43.

¹⁷N. Coughlan, *The New Day*, May 1944, p. 12.

¹⁸ibid.

Church in this land rids itself of this prejudice against using trained women in both pulpit and other activities of the Church?¹⁹

Manefield's concern to extend women's roles in the Church can be interpreted as a means of meeting a need of the Methodist Church, rather than a concern for women's rights. From his position in the Home Mission Department, Manefield was acutely aware of the Methodist Church's desperate need for clergy.²⁰ Cynicism aside, the significance of Manefield's suggestion was that in spite of his position within the Methodist Church, and the Methodist Church's dire need, it was not acted upon.

The offer of Presbyterian women to fill the ministerial ranks of the Church was not acknowledged either. In 1944 the NSW Presbyterian Women's Federation approached their state Assembly with a resolution calling for the admission of women to the eldership, so that they might participate in local church sessions, presbytery meetings and Assemblies.²¹ The NSW Assembly essentially ignored the motion. Undaunted, Presbyterian women tried again. At the instigation of a number of Presbyterian women wishing to be elected to the eldership within their local church, and of one woman in Victoria who had applied for entrance to a Presbyterian theological college, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Australia began to consider recognising the eligibility of women for the eldership and for the ministry.²² The General Assembly asked the state Assemblies to consider both questions. Despite the willingness of women to serve

¹⁹*The Methodist*, 27th June 1953, p. 2; See also *The New Day*, May 1944, p. 12; *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 25th February 1949, p. 5 and 29th February 1954, p. 2; *The Methodist*, 22nd May 1954, p. 8; *The Church Standard*, 19th August 1949, p. 3; *SMH*, 8th March 1947, p. 9.

²⁰See for example *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1945, p. 15 and 1957, p. 7.

²¹*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 11th October 1944, p. 2; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1944, p. 39.

²²*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1947, pp. 191-3.

as church elders and the obvious need for more ministers, both motions were defeated in NSW. Only the Victorian Assembly voted in favour of both motions.²³ *The Anglican* summed up the attitude of many conservative Christians to the prospect of women entering the priesthood:

It is unseemly that women should forget their function as women and seek to act as men...Women are excluded from the priesthood not because they are inferior but because they have a different role to fulfil.²⁴

One concession to women's ordination was the establishment of a deaconess order in the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. The Anglican Church had 'set apart' deaconesses since 1886, but the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches were only just beginning to discuss the issue in the 1930s and 1940s.²⁵ Following a long investigation of 'the role of women in the Church', the General Conference of the Methodist Church found that there was nothing in Methodist Church Law prohibiting women's ordination. The Conference determined however, that 'women could not be made subject to the itinerancy'. Furthermore, even if a special non-itinerant ministry was established for women, the Conference contended it 'could not guarantee' the continuation of such a ministry into the future.²⁶ The Conference decided that in light of this situation, they should establish a deaconess order.²⁷ A series of similar debates over ordination and the role of women in the Church preceded the decision of the Presbyterian General Assembly to establish a deaconess order in 1954.²⁸

²³*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1951, pp. 218-219.

²⁴*The Anglican*, 25th December 1953, p. 5.

²⁵Judd and K. Cable, op.cit., pp. 153-155.

²⁶*Minutes of the...General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1935, p. 256 and 1938, p. 177.

²⁷ibid., 1938, p. 177 and 1941, p. 162.

²⁸*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1948, p. 209 and 1954, p. 161.

Deaconesses were required to complete a course in theological and practical training before they could be employed as official Church workers. Deaconess work permitted women, with considerable restriction, to perform minor ministerial tasks under the supervision of local church ministers or Church department heads. On her engagement to be married, a deaconess was expected to leave the order.²⁹

In the Methodist Church, deaconesses were also given access to local church politics. The Church decreed that a deaconess was entitled to membership of the Leaders' Meeting of her church. Despite the limited ecclesiastical power afforded to deaconesses, there was resistance to deaconess representation in the local church hierarchy. In 1948, the NSW Methodist Conference resolved:

That this Conference requests the General Conference to define the relationship of deaconesses to the Synod and the Conference. We suggest that they be given the status of ex-officio lay representatives, provided that this shall not affect the number of lay representatives to which the circuit to which they are attached is entitled to have.³⁰

While clergy and laymen approved the recognition of women as workers in the Church, they were uneasy with the idea of affording power to deaconesses, especially if it meant any diminution of their own. The NSW Conference's suggestion of conferring 'ex-officio lay' status on deaconesses was a way of ensuring that deaconesses had no superiority over laymen. There was no

²⁹Regulations for the Work of Deaconesses and other Lay Women in the Ministrations of the Church', *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1942, pp. 169-170; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1954, p. 54; *Minutes of the 14th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1945, pp. 104-105; M. Porter, *Women in the Church: The Great Ordination Debate in Australia*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1989, p. 28.

³⁰*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1948, p. 223.

recognition that a deaconess' training, qualifications and exclusive involvement with Church work might have afforded her status over laymen.

The establishment of deaconess orders represented the recognition of the Church that women could and did feel themselves 'called' by God. Nevertheless, the Churches did not extend this to women's ordination. Conservative Christians did not envisage the elevation of women to roles of ecclesiastical power because it conflicted with their understanding of the separate roles of men and women in society. Despite the desperate predicament of the Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, none of them was prepared to consider offering the ministry to women.

With the difficulty of attracting men to the ministry of the Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, the question remains as to why Baptist and Catholic Churches were able to continue to inspire men to become candidates for the Baptist ministry and the Catholic priesthood throughout the early 1950s and beyond. Between 1947 and 1954, all of the Churches in NSW experienced growth within their denominations (although only the Catholic Church managed to surpass the NSW population growth of 18.5%). Baptists grew by 15.3%, Catholics by 24.7%, Anglicans by 13.3%, Methodists by 11.5% and Presbyterians by 15.6%.³¹ So it was not that there was a lack of potential candidates for any of the Churches. Rather, there were distinct differences in the nature of the denominational communities which affected the status of the clergy within them.

Baptist and Catholic church members formed strong internal Christian communities which had a powerful sense of being distinct from the rest of the Australian community, as illustrated by the separate Catholic school system and the rigid personal moral code of the Baptists. Throughout the post-war period, weekly church attendance in the Baptist and Catholic communities was over 50%, while less than 35% of Methodists, 30% of Presbyterians and 15% of Anglicans

³¹*Commonwealth Census, 1947, 1954.*

attended church regularly.³² A high level of Catholic and Baptist support for their local church, in a nation where both Churches were in the minority (with Baptists comprising only 1.4% of Australians and Catholics distinct from the Protestant majority) gave high status to the ministry and the priesthood within the Baptist and Catholic 'communities'. In comparison, lower church attendance among Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians lessened the sense of community. Furthermore, neither the Australian Baptist Church nor the world-wide Catholic Church joined the WCC, emphasising the sense of 'separateness' and 'exclusiveness' from the rest of the Christian community for their members.

Nevertheless, the Baptist and Catholic increases suggested by the figures hide the fact that there was at least some discontent within their respective ministries. Between 1942 and 1957 over one third of ministers petitioning to transfer to the Australian Presbyterian Church were Baptists. In comparison, around one fifth of ministers transferring to the Presbyterian Church during the period were Congregationalists, Methodists or immigrants, and one minister was Anglican.³³ This was most significant, considering that Baptists were a minority in the Australian community. The movement of Baptist ministers into the Presbyterian Church continued well into the 1960s. Although no specific reasons were given by the transferees, Presbyterian ministers enjoyed several advantages over their Baptist colleagues: a larger stipend, more prestige, and for those Baptists who were so inclined, scope for a more liberal theology.

The great fallout of Catholic priests occurred in the late 1960s and 1970s. Yet many of those who resigned had been trained in the early post-war period. Of the 316 priests trained at St. Patrick's College at Manly between 1943 and 1956,

³²*Australian Gallup Poll*, church attendance, 1947 to 1961; 'Church-going in Australia', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, 22, 4, June 1958, pp. 51-62.

³³Petitions Received, *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1942-1957.

thirty-three had resigned from the priesthood by 1992.³⁴ In the 1940s and 1950s it was considered inappropriate for the Catholic laity to criticise the local priest, much less for priests to criticise the priesthood itself.³⁵ It is therefore impossible to determine whether the clergy who left the priesthood in the late 1960s and 1970s were facing difficulties in the 1950s or not. There were certainly no letters from Catholic priests complaining of working hours or pay in *The Catholic Weekly*.

In contrast, the Presbyterian, Anglican and Methodist Church newspapers, and the statements of their Church leaders at Assemblies, Synods and Conferences, contained numerous references to the problems being faced by their ministers in the post-war period. There were three central areas of concern: theological education; stipends; and clergy relations with the laity.

The Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican Churches were not only having trouble attracting ministerial candidates. They were also experiencing difficulties with candidates failing theological college. Methodists noted that between 1948 and 1950 an average of 31% of theological students were failing examinations in NSW.³⁶ The Methodist Federal Examining Board determined that 'low educational attainment' in English and students' failure to '[pay] sufficient attention to textbooks' were the roots of the problem.³⁷ While the Federal Examining Board report suggested these internal problems as the cause of Methodist students' failure, Presbyterians and Anglicans were experiencing similar difficulties in their theological colleges.

Between 1945 and 1956 an average of between nineteen to twenty men offered themselves for candidature to the Presbyterian ministry per year, but each

³⁴W. Wright, *St. Patrick's College: One Hundred Years*, St. Patrick's College, Manly, 1992.

³⁵E. Campion, *Rockchoppers*, p. 164.

³⁶Report of the Federal Examining Board, *Minutes of the 16th General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia*, 1951, pp. 203-205.

³⁷*ibid.*, p. 204.

year only seven or eight were accepted, and some of these resigned or failed during the six year course.³⁸ Archbishop Mowll's address to the 1952 Sydney Anglican Synod mentioned like problems:

It is as urgent as it has ever been, that properly qualified young men should be encouraged to think in terms of a vocation to the Christian Ministry, but the Church cannot afford to lower the standards which it requires for Ordination, in an age when specialised education is being demanded in so many directions.³⁹

Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian students failing their theological courses in the post-war period suggests a deeper problem. As Mowll related, Church leaders were reluctant to 'lower the standards' of theological training, fearing that the already faltering credibility of the Church would suffer further in a society where education was becoming more important.⁴⁰ Lowering theological course requirements had been less of an issue in the early 1900s, when Moore College had lowered its entry requirements and subsequently attracted a higher number of candidates to the Anglican ministry.⁴¹ By the post-war period however, such strategies were becoming less feasible.

The concern that theological education requirements were 'too high' for many of the students suggests that fewer men of higher intellectual ability were choosing the ministry as their profession in the post-war period. Compared to other professions requiring six years of undergraduate study, ministers were grossly underpaid and had to contend with long hours. Rising living standards and the growing popularity of the concept of leisure meant that fewer men were

³⁸*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1945-1957.*

³⁹*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney, 1953, p. 48.*

⁴⁰G. Bolton, *op.cit.*, pp. 33-34, 115, 117; R. W. Connell, D. J. Ashenden, S. Kessler and G. W. Powsett, *Making the Difference: Schools, Family and Social Division*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1982, pp. 19-20; A. Barcan, *op.cit.*, pp. 171-185; K. Dempsey, *op.cit.*, p. 137.

⁴¹M. Loane, *A Centenary History of Moore College*, p. 101.

prepared to work under such conditions.⁴² As one correspondent to *The Methodist* wrote:

I think our period of training is too long. I am not advocating that we lower our educational standard; but it is hard for young men in these days to live on a mere pittance for seven years or so, when there are so many opportunities offering.⁴³

Furthermore, the growing range of professionals (especially in the fields of social work and psychology), provided other options for men who might have chosen the ministry in earlier days.⁴⁴

In an effort to attract more candidates for the ministry, attempts were being made to bring theological courses in line with 'modern' educational standards. In 1948, the Presbyterian College Committee of the General Assembly began to question whether their current theological course was adequate for the post-war period:

At present, we are training Candidates for ONE type of Ministry only, and without consideration of the varied gifts which students possess...The question should now be asked, 'Is that type of training best fitted to equip them to relate the Church's mission and message to the varied needs of our time?'⁴⁵

They noted the place of economics and science in modern education, and wondered whether these should be incorporated into theological study. In their effort to cater for a wider range of student's abilities and interests, thus broadening the scope of their ministerial training, the College Committee

⁴²K. Dempsey, op.cit., p. 152.

⁴³*The Methodist*, 27th August 1954, p. 2; See also *The Church Standard*, 28th October 1949, p. 3 and 9th December 1949, p. 29.

⁴⁴K. Dempsey, op.cit., p. 137.

⁴⁵*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1948, p. 177.

determined that ministerial candidates must undertake a University subject. The College Committee hoped that this would broaden their ministerial students' educational experience, such that they might 'assume a place of leadership in the community and nation'.⁴⁶ The Committee also suggested broadening the scope of the Practical Training component of ministerial studies to include subjects such as broadcasting, 'down town' parish technique, religious drama and Christian education, as well as more than one parish appointment.⁴⁷

When the new course was introduced in 1953 however, critics in the NSW Assembly's Theological Hall Committee argued that since the compulsory University subject might not necessarily relate in any way to ministerial training, it was therefore not beneficial, and a waste of students' time and money.

In most cases [the University subject] is of no value at all where the student has not matriculated. The subject he takes counts for nought as part of a University Degree Course...The Theological Hall Committee, which pays the students fees, considers the money thus expended to be entirely wasted.⁴⁸

Faced with the practical problems of financing the education of ministerial students, the Theological Hall Committee did not share the wider vision of the College Committee. This concern for the financial aspects of ministerial education directed the Theological Hall Committee's overall estimation of the new course. Not surprisingly, they were pleased that the new course was shorter and allowed students to discontinue their study of Hebrew after the first year. They were disappointed however, that it entailed more than one relocation of ministerial

⁴⁶ibid., 1951, p. 177.

⁴⁷ibid., p. 174.

⁴⁸*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1954, p. 171.

candidates for the practical component of their training, arguing that an additional relocation involved extra expense and organisation.⁴⁹

Long years of study, the declining status of the Churches and the prospect of a financially and personally difficult lifestyle meant that the Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian ministries were becoming less appealing by the 1950s. Church leaders' attempts to modify theological courses were often met with practical and financial constraints. On the other hand, there was one area where Church leaders could have mediated economic factors for the ministry, but for reasons of traditionalism and anti-modernity, chose not to. Clergy stipends were becoming an issue of increasing tension for ministers.

Inflation meant that local church finances were not only stretched to meet renovation and building costs, they also had to pay the minister's stipend. Finances were further strained by increments to stipends stipulated by Church officials in accordance with rises in the cost of living.

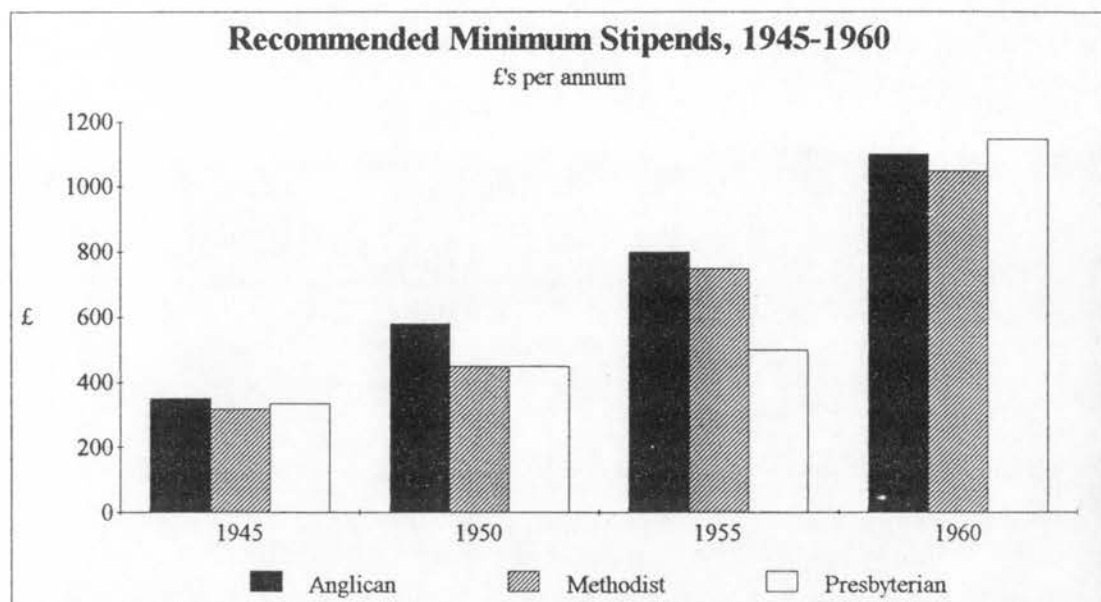
[On] December 1, the Basic Wage throughout Australia is scheduled to rise by as much as 26/- per week. Many wage earners...will automatically receive this increase in their pay envelopes. But many workers will not receive the increase...—amongst that number are the ministers of our Baptist churches...the bare existence which is the lot of many will become a starvation wage once the new upward spiral gets under way.⁵⁰

Ministers' stipends continued to increase throughout the 1950s, rising by 300% between 1945 and 1960. The following table shows the recommended minimum stipend for ordained ministers in the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Church.⁵¹

⁴⁹ibid.

⁵⁰*The Australian Baptist*, 22nd November 1950, p. 2; See also *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1945, p. 134.

⁵¹Anglican figures are stipends for rectors. Curates were paid on average £145 less. *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1944, p. 46, 1951, p. 75, 1956, p. 72, 1960, p. 246; Methodist



Church leaders' recommendations to increase stipends were not always met by churches in low income areas, or churches in dire financial straits, while churches in middle and upper-class suburbs were often able to afford to pay their ministers in excess of the minimum recommended by their hierarchy. In 1950, when the recommended Presbyterian stipend was £450, ministers at Mosman and Wahroonga received over £700, while ministers at Balmain and Abbotsford received £350.⁵² Similarly in 1955, when the recommended Anglican stipend was £625 for curates and £800 for rectors, Anglican ministers at churches such as St. Martin's Killara, Holy Trinity Concord West and St. Andrew's Roseville each received stipends of

figures are stipends for married ministers. *The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1945, p. 130 and 1950, p. 90 and 1955, p. 105 and 1960, p. 117; *Yearbook of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, (figure for 1945 is 1947 stipend) 1949, p. 8 and 1951, p. 8; *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1955, p. 141 and 1960, p. 44.

⁵²*Yearbook of the Presbyterian Church of Australia*, 1951, pp. 8, 15, 17; See also *The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 29th March 1944, p. 2.

£1000, while the minister at St. James' at Smithfield received £350 per annum and at St. John's at Woolwich, £300.⁵³

Even when stipend increases were met, they still proved inadequate for some. As one of a flurry of letters to *The Methodist* concerning ministers' stipends in 1951, one superintendent minister listed additional costs for ministers which included: cost of studying for the ministry (£1000), supplying furnishings for the parsonage (£1000), maintaining a minister's library (£500-£1000), at least sixty hours per week labour with no overtime, and tithing (where ten percent of the minister's income was paid back to the church).⁵⁴

Two issues arise from this situation. First, there was a clear association between the amount of stipend paid and the wealth of a particular parish. Secondly, ministers were becoming increasingly discouraged with low pay. There were various attempts by some Church leaders to address these issues. Their efforts were met with considerable resistance from other Church leaders however, who were uncomfortable with the idea of making the ministry a financially rewarding profession.

In 1940 the NSW Methodist Conference directed their Committee of Management to consider the prospect of 'equalising' stipends. The Committee of Management, which included Alan Walker and Ralph Sutton, recommended the implementation of a central fund. The central fund was to be financed by all wedding fees. Wedding fees were a lucrative source of additional income for some ministers.⁵⁵ In 1950, an unnamed Presbyterian minister claimed that in 'fashionable parishes', wedding fees often added up to £500 each year.⁵⁶

⁵³*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1956; pp. 154, 158, 164, 167, 168.

⁵⁴*The Methodist* 15th September 1951.

⁵⁵*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes*, 1940, p. 195 and 1941, p. 197.

⁵⁶*SMH*, 28th May 1950, p. 5.

In 1942 however, the Committee of Management was mysteriously reappointed 'to include laymen and extra ministers'.⁵⁷ The following year this new committee (the members of which were not named in the minutes) resolved that it was 'not advisable to make any additional levy upon circuits paying more than the minimum stipend'. They further determined that the Home Mission Department should be authorised, 'if the circumstances warranted it', to 'make a special grant' to ministers who had left a circuit without having received the minimum stipend.⁵⁸

A similar resistance to stipend equalisation was apparent in the NSW Presbyterian Church. In 1953, the NSW Presbyterian Assembly directed its Sustentation Fund Committee to address the issue of uniform stipends.⁵⁹ The Committee investigated the stipend payment arrangements of the Presbyterian Churches in England and Ireland. While neither of these overseas Churches had a 'uniform' stipend system, both had a central stipend fund to which all churches contributed according to their membership. Ministers received the minimum stipend from the central fund, regardless of where their parish might be. The English system also had additional increments in pay for ministers with ten and twenty years experience.

When the NSW Sustentation Fund asked individual Presbyteries to comment on the uniform stipend proposal, only Sydney West, Illawarra and New England were in favour of the idea. The remaining Sydney Presbyteries considered that a central fund system was good in principle, but largely 'impractical', while the majority of the country Presbyteries were utterly opposed to the scheme.⁶⁰ At the 1955 Assembly, the Sustentation Fund Committee reported that they had decided

⁵⁷*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1942*, p. 181.

⁵⁸*ibid.*, 1943, p. 130.

⁵⁹*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales, 1953*, p. 61.

⁶⁰*ibid.*, 1954, pp. 157-158.

that the current system of supporting needy churches through their fund was adequate.⁶¹

The issue of an adequate stipend for all ministers also caused division in the Anglican Church. In 1954 the Rev. John Johnstone of St. John's at Beecroft, reported to the Sydney Anglican Synod that 77% of parishes were paying their ministers below the minimum of £750 recommended by the Synod. Furthermore, Johnstone claimed that some ministers were only being paid between £400 and £500 and were reduced to wearing threadbare clothes, being unable to afford new ones.⁶² Johnstone himself was one of the few ministers to be receiving a stipend over the minimum.⁶³ When Johnstone moved a motion that Church officers recognise that the stipend figures he had stated were inadequate, he was narrowly defeated by thirty-eight votes to thirty-five.

The resistance of some churchmen to ensuring that a basic stipend was paid to all ministers was based upon a traditional view of the ministry as a vocation of selfless duty. Anglican ministers from Milson's Point and Balmain (both receiving a stipend above the recommended minimum) maintained that it was wrong for ministers to expect financial returns for their work, and that in any case, God would always provide.⁶⁴ An article in *The Methodist* expressed the opinion that the ministry was a service to the church community and a divine calling from God, and was not necessarily meant to be financially rewarding:

It is sometimes said that if the ministry were made more attractive from a financial point of view the Church's embarrassment would come to an end...The Church might possibly have more ministers, but would they be of the right kind?⁶⁵

⁶¹ *ibid.*, 1955, p. 165.

⁶² *SMH*, 23rd October 1954, p. 4.

⁶³ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1956, p. 151.

⁶⁴ *SMH*, 23rd October 1954, p. 4.

⁶⁵ *The Methodist*, 13th February 1954, p. 7.

Implicit too in *The Methodist's* statement is the belief that men of 'wrong' kind would change the traditional function of the Church itself. Like religious radio dramas and church architecture in the new suburbs, ensuring the payment of basic stipends to all ministers became an issue of modernity.

Despite the traditional view that ministers should not expect any financial reward for their work, the reluctance of ordained ministers to take up positions in country parishes or in small parishes on Sydney's urban fringe was evidence that the prestige and financial rewards of being the minister of a large, middle-class, established church were somewhat important to them. At the 1953 NSW Baptist Assembly it was reported that while there was an abundance of ministers willing to staff Sydney churches, country parishes found it exceedingly difficult to obtain ministers.⁶⁶ Similarly, churches on Sydney's urban fringe, such as the Presbyterian churches at Newport and Mona Vale found themselves unable to attract a full-time minister and had to make do with 'Supply' ministers and the occasional student minister.⁶⁷ The Presbyterian Church Extension Committee soon discovered that churches on Sydney's outskirts were not always appreciative of this situation:

Some dissatisfaction has been expressed with the practice of employing students in developing areas. Students are of necessity part-time workers in the parish.⁶⁸

Country parishes and peripheral parishes were frequently offered to students and probationary ministers, leaving the more central and better financed parishes to

⁶⁶*The New South Wales Baptist Year Book*, 1953-1954, p. 69; See also *Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1952, p. 148.

⁶⁷R. M. Grant and J. Dixon, *op.cit.*, p. 4; P. Hempenstall, *op.cit.*, p. 180; K. Dempsey, *op.cit.*, pp. 155, 96; A. M. Greeley, *The Church in the Suburbs*, Sheed and Ward, New York, 1959, p. 23.

⁶⁸*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1949, p. 120.

experienced and successful ministers.⁶⁹ This had the effect of compounding the problems of the less desirable parishes, while further enhancing the already prestigious parishes.

Established views of the minister as 'God's servant' ignored the concept of 'rank' in the ministerial profession, where distinguished and well experienced ministers were 'rewarded' with prosperous parishes. It further dismissed the desires of ministers for a fairer payment of stipends. The rising living standards of the post-war period encouraged ministers to press for change. Ministers themselves were undergoing a shift in their understanding of their role and function in society, where financial remuneration was not the only issue of increasing importance. Better working conditions and personal privacy became more significant as ministers sought greater job satisfaction, more leisure time, a decent standard of living and material comforts, in common with the rest of Australian society. Unfortunately for ministers, their pursuit of better working and living conditions created tensions between themselves and the laity.

There were two main areas of tension between the clergy and the laity. First, clergy attempts to improve their lifestyle upset lay perceptions of their minister as 'God's servant'. Secondly, post-war problems in local churches, such as declining inner-city churches and widening responsibilities imposed on clergy by Church authorities had forced the clergy to change the established patterns and responsibilities traditionally associated with their work. This conflicted with the laity's expectation of their local minister as the exclusive servant of their parish.

The desire of clergy families to improve their lifestyle and the working conditions of ministers was revealed at the Anglican Conference of Clergy Wives in 1950, where delegates raised issues pertinent to their situation as a minister's wife, a housekeeper and a mother. These included: that parishioners should make

⁶⁹A perusal of clergy biographies, found in Church year books, shows that most ministers began their careers at less prestigious churches.

an appointment to see the rector and not just arrive at the rectory unannounced; that blinds should be provided for rectories, while floors should be left sanded and polished, so that the colour of floor coverings could be chosen by the minister's wife to complement the family's furniture; that washing machines and refrigerators should be provided, 'to enable the Rector's wife to cope with the ever-increasing demands upon time and labour'; and that parishioners should respect the minister's family's need for a quiet time, away from parishioners.⁷⁰ The points raised fall into two categories: firstly the issue of privacy and secondly, the wives' response to the rising standards of living in Australia.

The issue of privacy was essentially an issue of family life and personal autonomy. Conservative politicians of the 1950s placed great emphasis on the importance of family life, while Dr. Benjamin Spock, whose child raising techniques were becoming popular during this period, claimed that juvenile delinquency resulted from maternal deprivation.⁷¹ A 'quiet time' for the family without outside lay interference was increasingly requested by ministers' wives, often to the chagrin of parishioners who did not recognise time limits to a minister's hours of work.⁷² Furthermore, Kenneth Dempsey has shown that some clergy wives were seeking independence from their husband's profession during the post-war period, where traditionally, they were expected by the laity to complement their husband's work through leading church women's groups, teaching Sunday School, providing refreshments for visitors to the rectory and generally supporting the church.⁷³

⁷⁰Sydney Diocesan Magazine, July 1950, pp. 129-130.

⁷¹J. Brett, op.cit., pp. 51-59; B. Spock, *Baby and Child Care*, 2nd ed., Bodley Head, London, 1958, pp. 569-570.

⁷²K. Dempsey, 'The Fate of Ministers' Wives: A Study of Subordination and Incorporation', *Sociology Papers*, no. 15, Department of Sociology, La Trobe University, November 1985, p. 5.

⁷³K. Dempsey, 'The Fate of Ministers' Wives', p. 6; K. Dempsey, *Conflict and Decline*, pp. 33-35, 37, 137-140; See also *The Church Standard*, 14th September 1945, p. 10 and 21st September 1945, pp. 7-8.

The Anglican clergy wives' concern about rectory furnishings was indicative of two situations. First, it reflected post-war consumerism and the availability of time-saving modern devices. Secondly, it reflected the generally poor condition of Anglican rectories, which, like other ministers' residences, were usually inferior to the houses of parishioners in the local community. Lay attitudes to the ministerial lifestyle were revealed in a 1959 report by the Lay Activities Council of the NSW Methodist Conference which detailed the poor condition of Methodist parsonages. The Council, which consisted of eleven clergy, three clergy wives and thirty-two lay men and women, recommended that parishioners should make sure that parsonage furnishings were colour coordinated and replaced (not patched) when worn, that there were refrigerators in each kitchen, a hot water service, power points installed throughout, an adequate supply of linen and blankets for visitors to the Circuit and woodwork painted in modern colours rather than 'old fashioned' dark stain.⁷⁴

Anglican clergy families provided their own furniture, but some of the delegates at the Anglican Conference of Clergy Wives were in favour of the adoption by the Anglican Church of the Methodist Church system, whereby the local church provided a furnished residence for the clergy family.⁷⁵ Considering the state of many Methodist parsonages and their furnishings, this was an optimistic ideal on the part of the Anglican Conference. The Rev. Arthur Oliver recalled a recent visit to one Methodist parsonage:

I remember a Parsonage in which there was, and still is, the stench of dry rot and damp rot. Opening the door on the first entry, the rats, a score at least, disputed my passage. I hurled my shoe at them as Martin Luther hurled his inkwell at the Devil!

Who wants to take a wife and baby into a den of rats?⁷⁶

⁷⁴*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1959*, pp. 212-215.

⁷⁵*Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, July 1950, p. 130.

⁷⁶*The Methodist*, 13th October 1956, p. 6.

While this parsonage may have represented the extreme end of the scale, others were in an indisputably poor state. The Enfield Methodist parsonage had no laundry and was in need of new blankets, tea towels, carpets, kitchen linoleum, crockery and cooking utensils, the last described by the Enfield Parsonage Trust as being 'in a deplorable state'.⁷⁷ The new minister to Stanmore Methodist Church prepared a list of new furnishings urgently needed for the parsonage which included wardrobes, a chest of drawers, kitchen chairs, towels and pillows.⁷⁸ An inspection report of the Eastwood Methodist parsonage in 1951 revealed 'certain structural conditions, such as rain getting through and staining ceilings and walls were referred to as requiring attention by the trustees as early as possible'.⁷⁹ It was not until 1953, however, that £100 was allocated 'for the purpose of giving prompt attention to parsonage building needs'.⁸⁰ In 1954, 'urgent repairs' were still needed on the Eastwood parsonage.⁸¹

Again, for ministers in wealthier areas, the condition of the parsonage posed less of a problem. Both Gordon and Turramurra Methodist parsonages had been bought new refrigerators as early as 1946, and both had renovation work carried out on them in 1949.⁸² Decrepit parsonages were not always necessarily confined to lower income suburbs however, as the Methodist Lay Activities Council discovered:

Too many parsonages are dull and uninteresting—we found one in a well-to-do suburb which had hardly any paint on the outside timbers, there was

⁷⁷*Burwood Circuit, Third Sydney District Minute Book, Quarterly Meetings*, 6th January 1944, 10th October 1955.

⁷⁸*Stanmore Church Quarterly Meeting Minute Book*, 3rd April 1948.

⁷⁹*Minutes of Quarterly Meetings of Eastwood Methodist Church*, 8th October 1951.

⁸⁰*ibid.*, 13th October 1952.

⁸¹*ibid.*, 11th October 1954.

⁸²*Minute Book: Gordon Circuit*, 15th April 1946 and 10th October 1949.

an atmosphere of neglect, the occupants felt depressed, and the work of the church suffered as a result.⁸³

Even in 'well-to-do' suburbs where finances were usually less of an issue, the strength of lay indifference towards the desire of clergy families for decent and comfortable living standards sometimes meant that clergy residences were left to deteriorate. On the other hand, as Kenneth Dempsey points out, the laity's withholding of funds for parsonage repairs and maintenance was sometimes the means by which they expressed their disapproval of the minister and his wife.⁸⁴

Certainly there were some lay people who opposed this thinking. The observations of the NSW Methodist Conference's Lay Activities Council, where 70% of the Council were lay people, was evidence that not all lay people were unsympathetic to the ministers' families' desires for higher living standards. Similarly, in 1955 a lay member of the Anglican synod made a resolution that church wardens be interviewed by their local Archdeacon concerning the state of the rectory, to ensure that it contained 'suitable blinds and floor coverings for the kitchen, hall and study'.⁸⁵ For the majority of lay people however, despite rising living standards and wage increases, the minister continued to be a kind of 'suffering parish servant', who did not need material comforts, privacy and financial rewards. Patched furnishings and dark stain were considered appropriate for ministers and their families.

The efforts of ministers to improve their living and working conditions conflicted with the laity's ideal of the ministerial role, putting considerable pressure on lay-clergy relations. Lay-clergy relations were further strained by ministers adopting additional or alternative duties to their established parish responsibilities.

⁸³*The Methodist Church of Australasia, New South Wales Annual Conference Minutes, 1959*, p. 213.

⁸⁴K. Dempsey, *Conflict and Decline*, pp. 142, 148, 154.

⁸⁵*Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney, 1956*, p. 72.

Ministers were seen by parishioners as ultimately responsible for a church's financial fortunes and membership growth.⁸⁶ The farewell statements of local churches reveal a great deal of what was traditionally expected of a minister and his family by the laity. On leaving Eastwood Methodist Church, the Rev. R. F. Taylor was heartily commended:

His pulpit ministry has been characterised by strict loyalty to Methodist theology and teaching, being most helpful, instructive and evangelical in concept. As pastor his visitation has been outstanding, a real ministry among the sick, sorrowing and distressed people of the circuit.⁸⁷

The emphasis on visitation within the parish (or circuit), membership increase (especially of youth) and traditional orthodox theology was repeated throughout the churches. These expectations were symptomatic of the parochialism of the local church. The minister's job was to attend exclusively to the needs of church members and extend the prestige of their church through attracting more members and raising more money.⁸⁸

Ministers who attempted to go beyond this role encountered lay disapproval. When the Rev. Ralph Sutton left the Glebe Methodist Mission in 1948, church members counted his 'positive' achievements as 'increasing the number of youth coming to the church', 'securing £10,000 in donations to the church', 'doubling attendances at Evening Services' and pioneering a new approach to 'dying Methodist causes in near City areas'. The farewell statement, however, concluded with:

⁸⁶K. Dempsey, *Conflict and Decline*, pp. 21-40.

⁸⁷*Eastwood Methodist Church: Minutes of Quarterly Meetings*, 29th March 1954.

⁸⁸K. Dempsey, *Conflict and Decline*, pp. 21-40, 126, 155.

Despite opposition both within and without the Mission, the Rev. R. F. Sutton has been a faithful disciple of Our Master and has laid well the formations of a great work in the Glebe Mission.⁸⁹ (my italics)

In the Glebe Quarterly Meeting Minute Book, the words in italics had been written, then crossed out, as if to deny the theological conflict that existed within the church. The words indicated a certain dissatisfaction from some members of the congregation towards Sutton for his innovative and unconventional style of 'community church' ministry, which saw him attending to the needs of those beyond the church membership.

Similarly, when a Special Vestry Meeting at All Saints Anglican Church, Hunters Hill, was called to discuss ways of 'deepening the spiritual life of the parish', parishioners complained of dull church services and the inability of the church to hold youth. Parishioners were also upset that their minister was doing more visitation work outside the parish than within it, visiting hospitals and schools rather than visiting 'his flock'.⁹⁰ Earlier in 1947, the Rev. Bill Gumbley had tried to explain to the church his reasons for the decline in parish visitation:

'Why don't the clergy visit as they used to do?' is probably the commonest and most pointed criticism levelled against parish clergy nowadays. And indeed, there is some point in it...But there is a reason for the decline in visiting...The principle factor in the change is that for nearly all the clergy their duties have increased far beyond what they were forty years ago.⁹¹

Gumbley went on to illustrate that an acute lack of funding and the extension of Anglican Church organisations such as the Bush Church Aid Society, Church of England Homes and the Home Mission Society meant that parish clergy were called on to run the societies, leaving less time to attend to parish visitation.

⁸⁹*Minutes of Quarterly Meetings of the Glebe Methodist Mission*, 8th March 1948.

⁹⁰*All Saints' Messenger, Hunters Hill*, July 1953, p. 2.

⁹¹*ibid.*, March 1947, p. 2.

Sociologists such as Norman Blaikie have found that a minister faced considerable lay opposition and resentment if he chose to implement new ideas and practices in his church.⁹² This tension often contributed to men leaving the ministry, as a minister's wife's letter to *The New South Wales Presbyterian* in 1952 confirms:

I would like to give Mr. F—the biggest reason why there is a shortage of ministers. The Mr. F's in our congregations...with their harping criticism, make the work of the ministry so difficult and discourage the minister and his wife to such an extent that I wonder we don't just give up sometimes...⁹³

Attempts to 'rescue' inner-city Methodism and the need for ministers to attend to wider Church concerns upset committed church-goers in the post-war period, placing strain on the lay-clergy relationship. At the local church level, ministers were experiencing difficulties in convincing the laity to change their attitudes to the ministry, and not expect so much from one individual.

The rising socio-economic status of many Australians did not encourage lay people to change their ideas about the ministry. Lay people did not necessarily consider that ministers might desire homes like those of their parishioners. Nor did lay people consider that ministers were entitled to some uninterrupted time with their families. Furthermore, lay people resented ministers attempting to redefine their work to include areas beyond the boundaries of the parish, especially when the parish itself was under threat from urban development.

This raises the question of lay-ministerial power. Kenneth Dempsey has noted the potentially destructive power relationship between lay people and clergy

⁹²N. W. H. Blaikie, *The Plight of the Australian Clergy: To Convert, Care or Challenge?*, UQP, St. Lucia, 1979, pp. 11-12, 22; E. Dowdy and G. Lupton, 'The Clergy and Organised Religion', in P. Boreham, A. Pemberton and P. Wilson, *The Professions in Australia: A Critical Appraisal*, UQP, St. Lucia, 1976, p. 97.

⁹³*The New South Wales Presbyterian*, 22nd February 1952, p. 15; See also K. Dempsey, *Conflict and Decline*, pp. 154-155.

over the working conditions of ministers.⁹⁴ In the post-war period, the issue of local church power was complicated through Church leaders' promotion of lay participation in the work of the Church.

The renewed emphasis on 'the priesthood of all believers' was characteristic of the Church hierarchy's efforts to involve the laity in their post-war reconstruction designs. The concept had its origins in the Protestant Reformation, seen most clearly in Churches or sects which supported the separation of Church and State, such as the Anabaptists.⁹⁵ For the laity, the relatively sudden reintroduction of the concept of 'the priesthood of all believers' in the post-war period conflicted with their traditional expectations of the minister. For many clergymen, the dissemination of some of their power to lay people was undesirable.

Church leaders did not consider the implications of lay involvement for their parish clergy. Instead, they were quick to criticise the clergy for failing to encourage the laity to support the Church's post-war schemes. A 1951 NSW Presbyterian report on the closure of the New Life Movement blamed indifferent Presbyterian ministers for its demise:

The precise amount of re-awakening appears to depend upon the enthusiasm of minister and session. We would stress particularly the responsibility of the minister, for while we fully recognise the validity of the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, many of our people have never heard of it, and every...congregation looks to the minister for an active and vital leadership. If such leadership is not given, there can be little hope of success.⁹⁶

⁹⁴K. Dempsey, *Conflict and Decline*, pp. 21-40.

⁹⁵F. H. Littel, *The Anabaptist View of the Church*, Starr King Press, Boston, 1958, p. 87.

⁹⁶*Minutes of Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the State of New South Wales*, 1951, p. 159.

Conservative Church leaders relied on local clergy to distribute information about lay evangelism, opportunities for lay people to assist their Church's immigration plans and instructions to support their Church leaders' moral stands. The importance placed on the minister's leadership in encouraging lay action by Church leaders was also evident in the CSOM's expectation of the minister:

The key to the situation lies very largely in the hands of the parish clergymen. We must continue to appeal to them to throw in their lot with us...to encourage their adults and young people to join us, to lead the move for parish contributions to our cause.⁹⁷

The directors of the CSOM were well aware that in a diocese where the majority of Church leaders were conservative, their movement had no chance of succeeding without grass-roots support. ANSCA's youth organisations were similarly dependent on the local priest to help promote their cause.

The importance of the power relationship between the clergy and their congregations is illustrated in the lay support for Santamaria's Movement. As Michael Hogan has asked, why was the Movement able to attract lay support, but not the Industrial Councils (or for that matter, any other aspect of Catholic Social Justice Statements)? Hogan has argued that in the late 1940s' political climate of industrial conflict and anti-communism, the ideology of industrial consensus and cooperation, as suggested by the Industrial Councils, was untenable.⁹⁸ In addition, unlike the Industrial Councils, the Movement not only had the support of the bishops and the energetic drive of Santamaria, but also had the opportunity to work within the ALP Industrial Groups. A further explanation however, lies in the recruiting methods of the Movement, where lay people were carefully 'selected' on an individual basis.⁹⁹ In contrast, most of the other statements and

⁹⁷CSOM First Annual Report, *The New Day*, September 1944, p. 8.

⁹⁸M. Hogan, 'Australian Catholic Corporatism', pp. 104-105.

⁹⁹E. Campion, *Rockchoppers*, pp. 104-105, 109.

directives to lay people by Catholic and Protestant Church leaders were directed at 'the local church' or at the broad denominational community, rather than to individual Christians. The appeal to the individual effectively by-passed uncertainties over the clergy-congregation relationship, and the sensibilities of those clergymen who were uncomfortable with the idea of granting power to the laity. Furthermore, petitioning an individual directly engaged their sense of responsibility, whereas a call for help to a congregation left room for individual indifference.

The problems between ministers and parishioners compounded the post-war difficulties already being faced. In the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, many lay people were locked into resisting and opposing a redefinition of their roles and obligations, while their ministers sought to enjoy the same benefits of post-war prosperity as their parishioners. Ministers' appeals for improved working conditions and remuneration, and the arrest of the traditional demands parishioners could make on their minister and his family were disconcerting and disruptive for the local church. This had the effect of distracting the attentions of clergy and laity from the wider Church and concentrating it on their parish.

While some Church leaders, such as the Rev. John Johnstone and the members of the Methodist Lay Activities Council were actively supporting ministers' calls for better pay and housing, the majority of Church leaders remained unmoved by the idea of material remuneration for the clergy. For reasons of traditionalism and conservatism, they were unable to adequately address the issues surrounding the declining number of men offering themselves for the ministry. Insufficient stipends, the generally inferior condition of ministers' residences and the question of more reasonable working conditions were all raised by ministers and their wives as issues which needed urgent

attention. A rise in Australian living standards and expectations, along with a greater emphasis on the family and marital stability mitigated against the continuation of expecting clergy families to succumb to the role of poorly paid parish servants.

Churches in poorer socio-economic areas and in the outer suburbs were in the worst possible situation. They had the least chance of securing the services of an experienced or successful minister, the least possibility of paying him a decent stipend and providing an adequate residence, and the most financial burdens. The question of a more equal remuneration in the ministry, regardless of where the minister's charge might be, remained unacknowledged.

Despite their willingness to serve the Church, women were not considered for the ministry until the 1960s and 1970s in the Methodist, Presbyterian and some sections of the Baptist Churches.¹⁰⁰ Sydney Anglicans, NSW Baptists and Catholics continued to oppose women's ordination, while those Presbyterians who declined to join the Uniting Church revoked the earlier decision to ordain Presbyterian women in 1991.¹⁰¹ The continued insistence on the retention of women's supportive role to men worsened the problem of ministerial supply in the Protestant Churches. In a time of acute ministerial need, conservative Church leaders failed to utilise a ministerial resource out of their greatest source of church-goers in the community. Although the number of men entering the ministry in the Anglican and Presbyterian churches recovered briefly in the early 1960s, a further decline was experienced in the late 1960s and thereafter.

The local church stood at the cross-roads between the Church and Australian society. This predicament was demonstrated in the conflict between Church

¹⁰⁰M. Porter, *op.cit.*, pp. 28-30, 34.

¹⁰¹*ibid.*, p. 34; R. Hakendorf, 'Reflections on the Priesthood in the Roman Catholic Church' in M. L. Uhr (ed.), *Changing Women Changing Church*, Millennium Books, Newtown, 1992, pp. 91-108.

leaders and the local church over lay participation in the wider programs of the Church. Urban change and financial difficulty meant that many lay people were forced to focus on the concerns of their local church. For those whose churches were in more stable situations, local church parochialism and an expanding range of leisure options left the laity largely indifferent to their Church leaders' concerns for the status of the Church in Australian society.

At the same time, some local clergy were rejecting the calls of Church leaders for lay participation, in an effort to arrest the declining status of the clergy in Australian society. Local clergy also came into conflict with their Church leaders when they sought to improve their standard of living in common with the rest of the Australian community. Church leaders attempted to assert the traditional ideal of the clergyman as 'God's servant', denying the clergy's desires for material comfort. These issues stood at the heart of the Church's dilemma, as it attempted to retain a niche for itself in Australian society.

CONCLUSION

By 1949, the CSOM had become desperately short of financial and staffing resources and finally closed down in early 1951. Coughlan expressed deep disgust at the fate of a movement which he felt had promised so much:

The Movement represented an aspect of Christian Truth and Witness which, for the Church at large, is still a foreign language. The Movement came before the Church was ready for it—as all 'prophetic' movements do. The response has been 'too little too late'... an accumulation of straws, originating inside and outside the Churches, has finally 'broken the camel's back'.¹

As Coughlan suggested, opposition to social reformist post-war reconstruction came from 'inside and outside the Churches'. By 1953 CSOC had been absorbed into the Church Life and Work Committee, while the Mission to the Nation was formally closed in March 1957. The Protestant social reformers had not bargained for the political and economic developments of post-war society, nor for the increasingly reactionary responses of their conservative colleagues.

Although the Catholic bishops continued to issue Social Justice Statements in the late 1940s and 1950s, their concerns for social and economic reform were gradually muted. Communist influence in Australian trade unions and in Asian nationalist movements abroad had encouraged the bishops to refocus their statements on the dangers of communism, rather than around a Christian social order alternative to communism and capitalism. This political reorientation also saw the Catholic bishops' ideology move closer to conservative Christian platform.

Opposition to communism acted as a common bond between Sydney and Melbourne Catholics, although both remained in disagreement over the tactics lay

¹W. Coughlan, *SMH*, 29th December 1950, p. 4 and *The New Day*, December 1950, p. 2.

Catholics should employ to fight communism. The ALP split and the revelation of the Movement made public the divisions which existed in the Catholic hierarchy. It took a directive from the Vatican to resolve the debate over the future of the Movement. The Movement was formally dissociated from the Catholic hierarchy. Santamaria reformed it as a separate body, named the National Civic Council. The emergence of the Anti-Communist Labor Party (later renamed the Democratic Labor Party) from the ALP split effectively divided the Catholic vote in Australia, ensuring the continued reign of Menzies and the Liberal-Country Party.²

For conservatives, the political upheavals of the late 1940s were largely favourable, diminishing the credibility of their social reformist opponents and boosting their own agenda within the Churches. Yet despite their dominance in Church politics, many of their plans for post-war Australian society did not eventuate.

The various fortunes of Christian post-war reconstruction planning suggests that as a whole, the relevance of the Church to its society was particular to its historical context. The explanation for both the failure and success of Christian post-war reconstruction was closely allied with the political, economic and social movements in Australian society.

The concerns of the Church were marginalised when they did not reflect the dominant political mood. This was exemplified by the poor reception of the *Sydney Archbishops' Statement* in 1943. Similarly, when the CSOM, the CSOC and the Mission to the Nation went against the current political mainstream they suffered much criticism and loss of support. The CSOM leadership's retention of their earlier political visions into the late 1940s led to internal division over the communist issue. The use of 'open forum' discussions in *The New Day* did not serve to provoke new ideas to the question of communism, leaving the CSOM

²G. Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria*, pp. 100-152.

without a clear platform of response. The growing emphasis on anti-communism threw doubt upon the reformists' ideological agenda, leaving their emphasis on economic and social planning open to conservative attack as signs that they were 'soft' on communism. The early euphoria of the CSOM and CSOC membership was effectively smothered, leading to declining interest in the further development of a Christian critique of Australian politics and society.

A further political issue over which the Church was marginalised was social cohesion. Protestant fears for their societal hegemony were heightened by Catholic immigration and the injection of migrant European Catholic culture. Yet while Protestant leaders were fighting to maintain their hegemony, the conservative political ideal of social cohesion was proving more pervasive. Social cohesion thwarted Protestant claims to authority in Australian society and mitigated against a continuation of sectarianism and Protestant cultural dominance.

The Church was also unable to adapt its ideology to the post-war consumer economy. This rendered many Christian post-war reconstruction ideals peripheral to mainstream society. The Catholic bishops' socio-economic reforms were largely thwarted by the endurance of capitalism. None of their strategies, such as the family wage, rural reconstruction, the Industrial Councils, decentralisation and the redistribution of wealth and power were implemented by government bodies. At the same time, rising living standards and the emergence of the long boom left the Protestant Christian reformists' fears of another depression unreasonable and their platform of economic justice less attractive. The beginning of the 'long boom' also frustrated Protestant reformists' plans for wider social reforms in work and leisure. With the failure to maintain dissatisfaction with capitalism within the CSOM and in the wider Australian society, they were unable to redefine work and leisure as expressive and creative.

The emergence of mass consumer capitalism also proved problematic to the realisation of conservative Protestant plans for the post-war period. Australia's burgeoning economy undermined the meaning of the Protestant work ethic and the

relative importance of Protestant social institutions. Rising living standards meant greater economic security and more opportunities for leisure, which weakened the foundations of traditional Protestant austerity and moral restraint. Advertising vigorously promoted the new economic alternative of consumerism, spending and unrestricted enjoyment, impairing the relevance of older restrictions on the liquor trade, dancing and Sunday Observance. While Menzies was able to profit from growing anti-communism through appealing to common moral qualities rather than to class loyalties, this approach did not work for mainstream conservative Protestants. Unlike Menzies, conservative Protestants appealed to moral issues which the majority of Protestant individuals were no longer prepared to endorse.

Post-war social movements constituted a third area where the concerns of the Church were being divorced from the mainstream. This was especially obvious in the areas of marriage guidance and community leisure, which were now passing from the domain of the Churches and the clergy to the spheres of scientific 'experts' and the community centres. The issue of 'modernity' was a further aspect of this. Conservative Church leaders were criticised for their insistence on the retention of older architectural styles for local churches. Fears of modernity also hindered the effectiveness of conservative Protestants in evangelism, leading them to neglect radio and advertising. It also influenced them to condemn efforts to develop a new kind of evangelism which made use of technology and advertising, even where this produced widespread public interest in the Church.

Underpinning much of the failure of the Church to remain relevant to its society was the local church. When Church leaders vainly implored the local churches to participate in lay evangelism, social justice or Church immigration programs, to support the Church's stand on Sunday Observance or to join the ministry, many lay people continued to limit their involvement with the Church to their local church's concerns. This was evidence of three issues facing lay Christians: lay parochialism; an inadequate understanding of what was meant by 'lay involvement'; and lay reluctance to commit themselves to Church programs

in light of a widening range of alternative leisure options. The failure of all Church leaders to recognise the situation confronting the laity left an ever widening gap between the grand ideals of Church leaders expressed in their Synods and statements, and the realities of the lay Christian experience in the local church and in Australian society.

The Church's interaction with its society was successful however, where Christian ideology was able to lock into wider social or political movements in the Australian community. There were two areas of success: broader social movements and politics.

The Church was able to forge a new role for itself in society when it was closely identified with certain broad social movements, rather than when it was merely responding to them. The CSOM's involvement in marriage guidance and the successful establishment of the MGC reflected their involvement with the social engineering experts who had risen to prominence in the inter-war years. Indeed, several CSOM leaders had been closely allied with social engineering organisations, such as the RHA. With their Christian reformist position that social and family life needed to be enriched, the CSOM was uniquely placed to capitalise on the widespread acceptance of scientific professionals and 'experts' in the field of marriage guidance. A similar area of success was the Christian community centre. Again, this reflected the association of Christian reformers with organisations such as the Recreation and Leadership Movement during the 1930s, and reflected a wider middle-class concern to 'improve' social and community life. While they did not redress the popularity of what the reformists saw as 'undesirable' pursuits, such as drinking, the Christian community centres met Christian reformist plans for the redefinition of leisure on a small scale, providing educational opportunities and recreational activities for local residents. A further area of contemporary social thought prevalent in the Churches was the concern for adolescents. Although Church leaders were unable to encourage many

young people to join the Church, they were able to attract youth to their leisure-based Christian youth groups and youth centres.

The Church was also relevant to its society, and more particularly, to its denominational community, when prevailing social movements did not upset the dominant moral precepts of the Church. Catholic church attendance remained at high levels in the 1950s, and an ample supply of priests prevailed into the 1960s. The strong leaderships of Gilroy, Mannix, and Duhig, coupled with their relatively long archbishoprics, helped to ensure a continued stability in the post-war Catholic community. The real significance of this however, lies in the fact that the social and economic changes of the 1940-1956 period had an effect on important 'Protestant' issues rather than 'Catholic' issues. The Catholic laity was not confronted with debates over dancing on church property, the liberalisation of Sunday or the extension of liquor trading hours. While Catholic immigration meant cultural clashes at the parish level, it also meant greater Catholic representation in the Australian community. Post-war economic growth had meant upward mobility for Australian-born Catholics, rather than the demise of old social institutions. By the mid 1960s, with the advent of the oral contraceptive pill and greater sexual permissiveness, the important Catholic issues of sexual purity and opposition to contraception were facing the test of change. In turn, the insistence of the Catholic hierarchy in Rome and Australia on the maintenance of traditional attitudes to these questions provoked expressions of lay and clergy opposition.

The Church also achieved prominence in its society when its concerns reflected, rather than opposed, the dominant political mood. The success of *The Call*, the rise of Santamaria's Movement and the early popularity of the CSOM and CSOC were testament to the political relevance of the Church and of Christian ideas at different periods. Similarly, the expansion of Christian missions in Asia and the Pacific and the Catholic bishops' advocacy of developmental aid to

Asia were politically pertinent, reflected in the launch of the Colombo Plan and the considerable support for mission work among the laity.

The further area of the Church's political relevance to post-war society was the Catholic Church's accommodation of the politically conservative social cohesion ideal. The Catholic hierarchy's efforts to ensure that the children of Catholic migrants received a Catholic education, their insistence on migrants' acceptance of the Irish-Australian form of Catholicism and Catholic support for the Queen's 1954 Tour were examples of the Catholic commitment to social homogeneity. This was coupled with the rising 'respectability' of Australian Catholicism, seen in Menzies' efforts to placate Catholic concerns over areas of Protestant cultural dominance.

The successes and failures of the Church with regard to the implementation of its post-war reconstruction in Australian society reveal it as a microcosm of its society. The various fortunes of Christian plans for the post-war period give an indication as to which aspects of Australian society were under challenge and what they were being replaced with.

A further area which points to the integral relationship between Church and society was conflict. The Church was certainly of a conservative bent in terms of the politics, social attitudes and theology of its more dominant clergymen. Church leadership, both at clerical and at lay levels, was also overwhelmingly dominated by individuals who were over the age of sixty and male. Nevertheless, there was a great deal of conflict within the Church and strong pockets of resistance to the dominant stream. These conflicts were particularly over the issues of 'modernity' and politics.

Socially conservative Christians argued that 'modernity' was undermining Christian values. They contended that the Church should retain traditional values and practices to perpetuate the Christian faith. This led them to ignore or oppose contemporary church architecture, the changing status of women in the family and proposals for women's ordination. Socially progressive Christians countered

however, that a failure to embrace modernity would imperil the future of Christianity. They advocated the adoption of new architectural designs for church buildings and the acceptance of women's status in the family. They were also supportive of granting women greater access to authority in the Church. Social progressives contended that it was necessary to embrace these aspects of modern Australian life in order to convince non-church-goers that the Church was relevant.

The issue of 'modernity' gave way to conflict between the generations. The greater acceptance of the new moral/economic culture by younger Protestants regarding issues such as dancing and drinking led to tensions between the generations within the Protestant Churches. This was especially obvious in relation to the ideological differences between older and younger clergymen in the six o'clock campaigns for the liquor referendums, the issue of dancing on church property, the use of drama in religious radio and the new leisure-based oriented youth organisations. Older Protestants also strove to cling to their inter-war Empire loyalties, disregarding the declining prominence of Britain in world affairs and continuing to view Australian Catholicism as an affront to British Protestantism.

Politics caused the most bitter debates within the Churches, leading to a decisive split in post-war reconstruction ideals. Conservative Christians contended that the Church should keep out of politics and accused social reformist Christians of interfering in the political sphere. Conservative Protestant Church leaders publicly opposed the political statements and actions of social reformist Protestants such as Walker and Coughlan, while conservative Sydney Catholics remained in disagreement with the Melbourne version of Catholic Action. At the same time however, conservative Protestants were supportive of the aims of the right-wing paramilitary groups of the 1930s and were opposed to the ALP's banking legislation in the mid-1940s. Conservative Catholics such as Brian Doyle and Leslie Rumble were also opposed to bank nationalisation and publicly voiced

their concern at the ALP's agenda. Conservative Protestants and Catholics were both highly condemnatory of communism. The seeming hypocrisy of the conservative Christian charge that the Church should not involve itself in politics was an indication of their own conservative political convictions. It was also evidence of the close alignment between an individual's theological and political orientation.

The existence of these areas of friction and discord are further evidence of the Church's integral connection with its social and historical context. The Church was not a separate entity unto itself, at loggerheads with its society to protect 'Christian' values from secularism. It was a body wherein members sought to defend a particular set of political and social values as Christian. In defending their value system, Christians came into conflict with the State, with commercial business interests and with each other.

This function of the Church in society can be seen in the myriad understandings of Christianity in different political and historical circumstances, such as the papacy's declaration that the Cathar (Albigensian) movement was heretical, and the persecution of the Anabaptist Movement by Protestants in sixteenth century Switzerland. More modern examples include the development of liberation theology in Central and South America, the theology of apartheid in the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa and the ultra-conservatism of Southern Baptists in the United States.

In Australia during the 1940s and 1950s, conservative Church leaders attempted to equate Christianity with anti-communism, social and political conservatism and loyalty to British values (Protestants). Social reformist Christians tried to encourage an understanding of Christianity as a socially and politically 'revolutionary' faith. At the same time, there was also a struggle to define Christian values based on age, denomination and cultural background. These episodes represented the various attempts of Christians to make sense of

their social and historical context and to promote the Church as an important institution.

For Australian Christians, the promise of the early 1940s and the changes which confronted post-war Australia were both challenging and unsettling. The war had seen hopes for 'building Jerusalem', with aspirations for a Christian social order and hopes for a revival of Christian moral and religious values in the post-war period. The society which emerged after the war culminated a series of political, social and economic changes which would serve to redefine the role of the Churches into Australia's future.

NOTES ON SOURCES

There is a vast wealth of primary research material available on the Churches in NSW during the post-war period. The Mitchell Library, the libraries of the Protestant theological colleges and the Veech library at the Catholic Institute of Sydney hold almost all of the yearbooks, handbooks, newspapers, leaflets and booklets which were produced by the Churches or written by individual Church leaders during the period.

Due to the difference in membership size between the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian Methodist and Baptist Churches, official sources for the larger Anglican and Catholic Churches are centred on Sydney. Anglican Church sources are based on the Sydney Anglican diocese, with the Sydney Synod as the main influential body. Catholic Church sources are limited to the Sydney Catholic Archdiocese and the pronouncements of the Catholic bishops. The smaller Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian sources are more broadly based on NSW material. Each of these smaller Churches had an annual state council known as an Assembly (Baptist, Presbyterian) or a Conference (Methodist). The deliberations of the governing Australian body of the NSW councils of the Methodist Church (General Conference) and the Presbyterian Church (General Assembly) have also been consulted.

The main problem with these sources was that they varied considerably in terms of the extent and quality of the research material at hand for each Church, leading to an uneven balance of information available between the Churches. This was particularly so with sources on lay and local clergy opinion, statistics and the local church experience.

An evaluation of Catholic opinion was complicated by the scarcity of contributions from the Catholic laity or their diocesan priests. Apart from letters to the Rev. Dr. Leslie Rumble concerning issues of faith, morality and Catholic

Church doctrine, there is very little evidence of any positive or negative Catholic lay attitudes to their Church. The bank nationalisation controversy, an issue of vital concern to Catholics and their relationship with the ALP, was one of the few occasions when a glimpse of Catholic lay attitudes to their Church leaders' opinions could be discerned.¹ While the 'Leslie Rumble pages' in *The Catholic Weekly* provided an indirect means for lay Catholics (and some Protestants) to criticise Church policy in the form of a question to Dr. Rumble, they also functioned as a way of dispelling and dissuading such criticism, through the doctrinally orthodox 'answers' of Rumble. There was some evidence of Catholic dissent among Catholic intellectuals during the post-war period, but this was summarily treated with disdain by the Catholic hierarchy. Morris West's *The Moon in My Pocket* (1946), which detailed the difficulties of life in the Christian Brothers was considered scandalous at the time. West had wisely taken the precaution of publishing his book under the pseudonym of 'Julian Morris'.²

Of the Protestant Churches, Baptist laity and clergy were similarly silent. Lay Baptist acquiescence can be explained in terms of the highly conservative nature of the NSW Baptist Church, such that lay people were generally in agreement with their leaders over dancing, drinking and morality.³ In contrast, greater theological diversity in the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches resulted in much criticism and divergence among lay people from their Church hierarchy. Lay people and parish clergy publicly complained in church newspapers and in the secular press about their Church's rules, their Church leaders' statements and the working conditions of parish clergy. While conservative Protestant leaders were certainly uneasy with theological diversity in the Church, contrasting opinions and criticisms of Church policy were not censored from the Protestant press. The conflict between

¹*The Catholic Weekly*, 11th September 1947, p. 14, 25th September 1947, p. 16 and 2nd October 1947, p. 14.

²E. Campion, *Rockchoppers*, pp. 164-166.

³K. Manley, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

Church leaders, parish clergy and the laity calls for a more complex understanding of 'the Church' than has generally been undertaken.

Statistics were another area of disparity among the Churches. The annual calculation of Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian statistics depended on local church cooperation. Some churches did not fill their statistical returns in, and for those who did, the reliability of their statistics for the number of church adherents and Sunday School scholars in their parish is questionable anyway. The Anglican Church published no official statistics after 1944. It is impossible to determine the extent of Anglican church membership, Sunday School attendance and youth group membership for the period thereafter. The number of clergy and churches were manually calculated from the annual 'index to the clergy' and provisional/parochial districts lists. Catholic statistics on the number of clergy, churches and students for the priesthood were available in the annual *Australasian Catholic Directory*. This however, did not include figures for Catholic youth organisations or parish sodalities. The Commonwealth Census' for 1947 and 1954 provide some indication of the size of the different Churches, but the census only records nominal adherence and does not necessarily indicate Church membership. Australian Gallup polls on church attendance were conducted in 1947, 1950, 1954 and 1955, but these have more value in determining attitudes to church attendance than in portraying an accurate record of actual church attendance.

Local church sources also presented difficulties. The Uniting Church Archives (UCA) at North Parramatta hold a great deal of archival material on local Methodist and Presbyterian churches. For the Baptist, Anglican and Catholic Churches however, no extensive archives of local church records exists, with most churches holding their own records. There were major differences between local church sources. Mostly, these differences resulted from the denominational structure of the local churches. Catholics had no system of lay representation. The main sources were in the form of letters between the parish priest and the Catholic hierarchy, and

records of 'church notices' which had been read at Sunday services. Protestants, however, had a two-tiered system of lay representation. On the first level was the local church lay hierarchy. Deacons, church wardens or elders held regular monthly meetings with the minister to discuss financial and administrative issues. The church membership made up the second level. The membership of the church was entitled to meet several times a year to discuss more general issues affecting their church. Minute books of church leaders' meetings and membership meetings detailed the decisions and discussions of these meetings. Church adherents (non-members) had little say in the running of their local church. In other words, church minute books only record the opinions of a certain section of the church.

These problems with the primary sources made it difficult at times to counter-balance the representation of all the Churches in this thesis. If anything, the quality and extent of the Protestant sources, especially Methodist, result in a greater representation of Protestant responses to the issues of the period.

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