

# Images of God: civil religion and Australia at war 1939-1945

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One striking feature of the photographs recording the church services held regularly around Australia during the Second World War is the significant proportion of men in the congregations<sup>2</sup>. At the regular days of prayer called for by King George VI and supported by Australian governments during the war, and at the tumultuous celebrations of thanksgiving when peace was declared, men in uniform and in civilian dress are much more clearly present, if not over-represented, in the crowds. This is not what we expect of religious services in Australia. The assumption has been, sometimes even in the churches, that religion is women's work, and so at the margins of Australian civic life. However, both religion and war mark out the roles of women and men, at the same time as they provide a climate in which those roles can be subverted<sup>3</sup>. In Australia between 1939 and 1945 religious belief and the activities of the churches were entwined with the 'manly' conduct of the nation, and a variety of material reflecting the Australian experience of World War II suggests that the stereotype of religion as peripheral to public life is limited and misleading. In statements of both church and state, religious belief was presented as crucial to civil defense, the moral character of the nation was seen as a key to victory, citizens (men as well as women) responded to calls to prayer and, on the homefront as well as the battlefield, women as well as men fought for a 'just and Godly peace'.

Arguments about the broad significance of religion in Australian life clash with our reputation as 'the most Godless country under heaven'. But writers and commentators are increasingly convinced that the Australian reputation for simple hedonism requires investigation rather than mere assent<sup>4</sup>. In tune with scholars of religion in other countries, Australian historians have begun to move from an academic tradition where religion has been summarily dismissed to one in which it is incorporated into sensitive analysis. The decisions and influences of the institutional churches, and the related but not necessarily congruent experiences of faith and belief in the lives of ordinary and extraordinary people, offer a fruitful starting point for the analysis of particular cultures, Australian cultures among them<sup>5</sup>. Within traditional presentations of Australian history and culture the experience and memory of war has been accorded a central place. By exploring the place of religious belief in the lives of Australian men and women between 1939 and 1945 we can deepen and enrich our understanding of war, while the crisis of the war, refining and delineating underlying cultural tendencies as well as prompting changes, casts light on the nature of religious belief in Australia. Historians have begun to investigate religious imagination, as well as patterns of protest and ideological positions within

the churches, but with a focus on World War I and Vietnam, more than other twentieth-century wars; and with attention on Europe and the United States rather than Australia<sup>6</sup>. Nevertheless, for Australia in World War II the issues of war and religion continued to intersect. Our investigation suggests that public life in Australia during the war years was marked by the language of transcendence and that many people found a broad context for meaning and belonging in a concept of Australian citizenship that had religious dimensions. The question of how deeply those patterns of public life conform to a paradigm of 'civil religion' is important for understanding Australian experience of the State at war, and for bringing the varieties of faith and belief within the community to historical consciousness.

## **What is civil religion?**

Theorists of the role of religion in public life speak of civil religion as the foundation stone of a broad "context for meaning and belonging", around which society coheres. Significantly for Australia, persistent secularism does not exclude the power of transcendent beliefs that constitute both churchly and civil religion. Working in the context of the United States, the country most often used as a model of civil religion, Martin E. Marty argues that far from dissolving in a secular context, traditional religious frameworks are instead overlaid by patterns of civil religion that bind the community together in ways that particular faiths can not.

[P]eople in society may be merely or utterly secular, godless or religionless, yet in practice in a complex culture their lives cohere around certain symbols and myths... The churches and synagogues... do not fulfil the old function of providing enough coherence for enough people. The sectarian, particular, private faiths tend to divide people... they therefore naturally cohere around national symbols... The nation thus becomes more than the locus of political decisions; it provides some context for meaning and belonging.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, from the time of European settlement in the USA, the concerns of the nation, if not the nation itself, became a focus for a religious expression that was not the traditional religion of the churches and synagogues but did not run counter to them and often found support from among them. A modified form of deism expressed a collective identity through a connection with the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. National history became preoccupied with ultimate or transcendent purposes, drew heavily on myth and symbol, and was supported by ceremony and ritual which sometimes had metaphysical or suprahistorical reference. Patterns of behaviour were specified, responsibilities linked with values endorsed by the state, and shrines built to reflect these values. War played an important part in defining the participation in civil religion that ratified citizenship. The endorsement of the sacrifice of one's life in war as the ultimate duty within civil religion placed women in a more ambiguous position as citizens than men<sup>8</sup>. We only need to look to the

significance of ceremony, ritual and the language of past and present-day Presidential addresses to know that even the American separation of church and state has not denied the political sphere a religious dimension<sup>9</sup>. In practice the civic realm remained open to the trappings of religion and frequently adopted them, including a priestly role for the President.

The notion of an Australian form of 'civil religion' has engaged writers on Australia at war, most arrestingly in discussions of the significance of the Anzac legend. This, more than any other Australian tradition, has provided notions of citizenship and the nation which compel attention. Ken Inglis, whose several decades of work on Anzac Day followed his initial interest in the social history of religion, commented in 1974 that: 'The more I learned of it and thought about it, the more [Anzac Day] ceremonies, monuments and rhetoric seemed to me to constitute in some respects a civic religion.'<sup>10</sup> In subsequent work Inglis is still more certain that Anzac is a sufficiently solemn and serious enough component of Australian values to be called a religious principle<sup>11</sup>. It is becoming commonplace to note that women are generally absent from this legend of Australia<sup>12</sup>. But if Anzac is about religious fervour and religious fervour is the realm of women, what happens then? Perhaps we have not only a form of religion designed to elicit the participation of 'manly men', but also a form of nationalism open to re-reading for the presence of women. The question of how far the masculine concerns of the State, reflected in the religiously charged veneration of Anzac, are affected by dynamics of gender is a fascinating question we hope to explore in further work beyond the scope of this article.

Civil religion as a form of faith is even more central to Australian nationalism during the Second World War<sup>13</sup>. In a 1987 article Richard Ely records the call of the 1940s clergy that 'every Australian become a spiritual Anzac, protected by prayer and fighting as a good soldier in a crusade for righteousness'<sup>14</sup>. Against assumptions that Protestantism has been too close to British traditions of authority to have had a role in movements towards a sense of distinctive Australian nationhood, Ely points to the strong Protestant voice that articulated national sentiment during both World Wars. He argues that a 'layered and non-exclusive nationalism' grew from the Protestant endorsement of a God who was in a covenant with the British people broadly understood. While he points out that it would be dangerous to glide glibly from the evidence of newspaper and pulpit pronouncements to the aspirations of the hearts and minds of the people, he does make strong claims for a 'non-denominational, civically-focussed' religious sensibility in Australia during the Second World War. He argues that a 'civic Protestantism' pervaded assumptions about the nation at war, and that:

most or many Australians were literate, at least in a responsive way, in its Old Testament oriented vocabulary; that it was nationally-focussed, although in the inclusive sense of presupposing that individual Australians were members both of God's Australian people in this continent, and of God's imperial British people on whom the sun never sets; and that finally it was civic, in addressing

not just a people, but the polity they lived under. In the early 1940s on the public and ceremonial level in Australia it was still a religious idiom without serious competitors.<sup>15</sup>

Ely has identified compelling evidence for a robust religious ethos in Australia during the war. Our article explores the idiom of Australian civil religion as a form which enables people to cohere around the collective identity of the nation, supported by borrowed forms of traditional faith. Symbols of national solidarity, supported by ceremony and ritual are used to mobilise commitment to common ends. We are interested in asking further questions about the nature of the images of God, church and nation promoted in published sources from a number of states. We are concerned to know what kind of deity was the God of the Australian polity in the 1940s? What understandings of holiness flowed from the acceptance of these models and what qualities of character and dimensions of life were endorsed by the civic God of Australia. Ely works mostly on records from Sydney. In published materials from both church and general community sources around the country we have found the same clear assumption that people would respond to the crisis with prayer, and that their assumptions concerning the covenant of God with the people was based on a legalistic schema, according to which God would bless the nation if the nation kept God's moral laws. In the discussion that follows we draw on three distinct kinds of documentary evidence that linked the concerns of the state and the churches by framing political questions in the language of religious belief. We explore in turn the prayer books issued to Australian troops, a church collection of Hymns for use in Time of War, and a non-institutional pamphlet on Australia's responsibilities in the post-war peace.

## **The Prayer Books of the Armed Forces**

Collections of hymns and prayers for use during war time were a regular part of the Forces' equipment for the task of battle<sup>16</sup>. Using images from the Hebrew and Christian scriptures these texts encouraged Australians to appeal to a just God who would protect them as a favoured people. In the standard issue Form of Service for Church Parades hymns, psalms, prayers, canticles and a Holy Communion service were cast in a liturgical style approved by the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches of Australia. These resources were intended for use during church parades, occasions when the form of worship was intended to cover all religious positions rather than relate to the particular devotional practices of the various believers in the ranks. Ignoring prohibitions against Catholic participation in Protestant prayer, this book aimed to address the needs of the nation as well as the individual believers.

Most Christian denominations, and the Jewish community, provided their service men and women with an additional prayer book containing hymns, prayers and readings that expressed their particular form of devotion<sup>17</sup>. These selections reflected the varied history of the denominations and the persistence of sectarian

differences. For example, *The Catholic Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmens' Prayer Book*, contained a full set of prayers but only five hymns (all identifiably Catholic: Faith of our Fathers, Holy God We Praise Thy Name, Hail Queen of Heaven, and Jesus, My God). The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia published *God Our Strength: Prayer Book for those on service for King and country*, with thirty six hymns and a further five Australian and American national songs, reinforcing this denomination's claim to an English speaking heritage and its reliance on assistance from America, rather than Germany during the war. The Anglican Truth Society published *The Warrior's Manual*, intended to supplement the Book of Common Prayer, and in 1944 the Australian Army Chaplains' Department published *Readings and Prayers for members of Army Women's Services*, with a foreword by the Duchess of Gloucester.

Far from endorsing a stereotype of feminine belief focussed on the next world, the *Readings and Prayers for Members of Army Women's Services* endorsed religious concerns of the state with a particular emphasis on the role of the monarchy. While prayers for women, based on the Magnificat, passages from the book of Proverbs and the story the woman who anointed Jesus' feet with oil were included, the key distinction between this and prayer books provided for Australian men was the emphasis on the King as High Priest of civil religion. The book included a commendation from the Duchess of Gloucester, as well as a reprinted version of the "Call to Prayer by His Majesty the King", given on radio in June 1944. It was the King and not the Duchess who directed the devotion of women. In language which draws on the theme of the people of Israel's escape from slavery in Egypt, the King said he hoped that during the crisis

there may be offered up earnest, continuous and widespread prayer, by which we can fortify the determination of our sailors, soldiers and airmen who go forth to set the captives free...

Now... the supreme test has to be faced. This time the challenge is not to fight to survive, but to fight to win the final victory for a good cause.<sup>18</sup>

The King sought to renew the "crusading impulse" among the people, and called them to dedicate themselves to prayer so that God would keep them equal to their destiny.

If from every place of worship, from home and factory, and from men and women of all ages and many races our intercessions arise, then, please God..."The Lord will give strength unto His people, the Lord will give to His people the blessing of peace".<sup>19</sup>

Like the Presidential priest of America, King George VI transcended the role of an Archbishop and spoke to all, not only to the adherents of a particular creed. The monarch was the priest of a civil religion embracing the whole of the Empire.

The continuous support for services of prayer throughout the war years can be attributed to the fact that, from the beginning, he himself prayed and called the whole of the Empire to do the same. In *Readings and Prayers for Members of Army Women's Services* it is significant that, after the Lord's Prayer and the prayer of Dedication, the first prayers to appear are for "Our King and Empire"<sup>20</sup>. Significantly too, the editors did not see fit to modify "A Personal Meditation Before Prayer" which concluded with the exhortation:

Pray for the strength of God,  
Strength to obey His plan;  
Rise from your knees less clod  
than when your prayer began,  
*More of a man.*<sup>21</sup>

The spirit of Anzac was recalled explicitly in a typewritten dedication pasted inside the cover of the book. Intended for Anzac Day dawn services, the dedication was a strong statement of the context that provided meaning and coherence to much of Australia's war effort. Through it women linked themselves with Australians who had "sacrificed" their lives and "baptised" the nation with their blood in battle.

At this hour upon this day Anzac received its baptism of fire and became one of the immortal names in history. We who are gathered here think of the comrades who went out with us to the battlefields of the wars but did not return. We feel them still near us in the spirit. We wish to be worthy of their great sacrifice. Let us therefore once more dedicate ourselves to the service of the ideal for which they died. As the dawn is even now about to pierce the night, so let their memory inspire us to work for the coming of new light into the dark places of the world.<sup>22</sup>

## Church resources for civil religion

The language of civil religion is, by definition, a dominant discourse: religious forms that persuade the people that the activities of the nation-state are Godly can not easily include the voices of protest against those activities. While there were patterns of faith and belief in Australia during the Second World War that led church men and women to question and object to the war-effort, the issue of contraceptives to troops and the deployment of atomic weapons are two examples<sup>23</sup>, our concern here is with devotional aids which made church traditions available to civil religion. One collection of hymns offers a good example.

In 1941 the Rev'd Christopher E Storrs, an Anglican, of Claremont, WA, published his compilation of forty hymns "for use in time of war"<sup>24</sup>. Storrs believed the communal singing of "sincere and noble words to a worthy tune, may be the greatest inspiration to Faith in days of doubt and conflict", and that the power of music could "purify and stir the emotions", and "reinforce the will"<sup>25</sup>. He included Rudyard Kipling's familiar "God of our fathers, known of old" and other less well

known hymns which he had garnered from a wide range of sources. But he did not rely on hymns alone. Brief historical notes accompanied many of his selections to interpret “the various moods and hopes evoked by this struggle”. Within a range of familiar themes, Storrs’ selections emphasised God as chastener and judge, the purifier of the nation, and the warrior who called forth valour. Not all his selections were “war hymns”, some were traditional hymns, also found in the Service books, which petitioned God for peace, a protective presence, or for strength<sup>26</sup>. Storrs’ collection was a statement of his understanding of the crisis and his perception of the images of God that would most assist public devotion. And his historical notes heightened the sense of connection between this war and larger contexts<sup>27</sup>.

Of the themes which dominated Storrs’ collection the concept of God as chastener and judge who was purifying the nation through war underpinned six hymns and featured in several others<sup>28</sup>. Congregations called on a reforming God to:

Give us a conscience quick to feel,  
A ready mind to understand  
The meaning of Thy chastening hand.<sup>29</sup>

The hymn was a prayer which asked God to cleanse the hearts and spirits of the people with purifying fire so that:

A new born people may we rise,  
More pure, more true, more nobly wise.<sup>30</sup>

Similarly, congregations asked for the eradication of selfishness and “low desires”, and appreciation of Christ as preparation for heaven:

O purge us in thy cleaning fires  
From selfish ease and low desires,  
That we may learn in death and loss  
The solemn gladness of thy Cross  
And find with thee, through pain and strife,  
The secret of eternal life.<sup>31</sup>

Sometimes the outcome of God’s chastening and purifying of the people and their eschewing of selfish deeds and desires were more earthbound.

Chastened by pain we learn life’s deeper meaning  
And in our weakness thou dost make us strong.<sup>32</sup>

The underlying theology of these hymns expressed the civil religionists’ belief that the benefits of God’s covenant with the nation would be obtained through effort and moral purity.

Some unusual variations of the image of Christ appeared in Storrs’ collection. Christ was the Righteous Warrior, the example for his people who, along with soldiers who have already paid the supreme sacrifice, called them to war.

The Lord of life his life did yield;  
 Thy brethren counted death no loss,  
 So mark as token on thy shield  
 The blazon of the Warrior's Cross.  
 Go forth with God - and though it be  
 Through broken hope to victory.<sup>33</sup>

In verses by G. A. Studdert Kennedy, the celebrated First World War chaplain known as "Woodbine Willie", Christ, who is "pierced to the heart by the sorrow of the sword", was used by God to beckon men to war through his bloodied hands.

Passionately fierce the voice of God is pleading,  
 Pleading with men to arm them for the fight;  
 See how those hands, majestically bleeding,  
 Call us to rout the armies of the night.<sup>34</sup>

In these examples Christian religion served the purposes of civil religion by linking Christ's death with the blood that was being spilt on the battlefield. These words also reignited the sentiment that the enemy belonged to the realm of Darkness and had to be routed by the forces of truth and right<sup>35</sup>. The last stanza of the Toc H Hymn offered similar imagery.

Go forth with God! the world awaits  
 The coming of the pure and strong.  
 Strike for the Faith and storm the gates  
 That keep the citadel of Wrong.  
 Glory shall shine about thy road,  
 Great heart, if thou go forth with God.<sup>36</sup>

A more colourful variation on this theme, which also looked for moral purity in the land, was a petition for the nation to emulate the fearless St George, patron of England.

Arm us like him, who in thy trust,  
 Beat down the dragon to the dust;  
 So that we too may tread down sin  
 And with they Saints a crown may win.  
 Help us, O God, that we may be  
 A land acceptable to thee.<sup>37</sup>

Storrs commented that in the legend of St George Australians would find "as fine a symbol as any nation can call her own". Through St George Storrs linked Australian aims with those of the British Empire, and the aims of Christianity with the larger purposes dictated by the state.

God emerged strongly as the supporter of the valiant in Storrs' collection<sup>38</sup>. The Deity was pictured as one who strengthened the faint hearted and allowed the

brave go out to war.

Lord of the brave, who call'st thine own  
In love's fair name to fearless war...

Today we dare. Tomorrow who  
Can guard the soldier-faith unshamed?  
For valour faints as valour flamed,  
We dare: 'tis thou must make us do.<sup>39</sup>

Even stronger sentiments were found in Faber's hymn where the warring "workmen of God" were warned against the sin of doubting their victory, with God on their side.

Workman of God! O lose not heart,  
But learn what God is like,  
And in the darkest battle-field  
Thou shalt know where to strike.

For right is right, since God is God,  
And right the day must win;  
To doubt would be disloyalty,  
To falter would be sin.<sup>40</sup>

And these sentiments were supported by Storr's comment on "Thy Will Be Done":

"Thy will Be Done" was not a cry of resignation to a God who willed our sorrows and afflictions, but a cry of triumph that God's glorious will might be accomplished.<sup>41</sup>

The masculine and soldierly tone of these hymns supported the state sending its sons to war. Sentiments which were written for prayer and devotion in a particular setting were applied to the greater purposes of civil religion. Poetic and theological support was given to the state which required a context of meaning and purpose to justify the involvement of its citizens in the war, and for requesting they be ready to make the supreme sacrifice.

## Deserving the peace

Civil religion appealed to religious impulses outside the boundaries of the institutional churches in order to draw the nation together. On 25 August 1945, two Sundays after VP day, Mary McCreedy Purcell of Adelaide, wrote a lengthy reflection, intended for general distribution at Christmas time, addressed to all Australians as "Betty and Bill". *Australia says 'Thank you' to God: reflections on VP day* featured the Australia flag on the cover and contained no Christian iconography. Instead two photographic illustrations helped to underline the source of power found in the natural

world. The first picture was of a large garden and the second featured a car on a road winding through a sylvan setting of eucalypts, a scene offering promise of peaceful progress in a comfortable rural setting, over the caption: 'A young, beautiful, virile country'.

Purcell's reflection, motivated by the coming of peace to the Pacific, aimed to stimulate a spiritually-based discussion of life after the war. She stressed the providential position of Australians and used this as a spur for greater moral effort. She assumed a generalised concept of God and an unspecified, non-traditional Christian 'faith' amongst her audience. "Betty and Bill", who were expected to have been "Christian" enough to have thanked God for the peace and their providential deliverance from invasion, were counselled to interest themselves, and others, "in the forces of life that always have been and ever will be here, so long as the world lasts"<sup>42</sup>. These forces included the natural world, inherited possessions and family traditions. Purcell encouraged them to appeal to:

flowers, animals, birds, music and art, the sunshine, mountains, crops and gum trees. [As well as] Grandma's old silver teapot and the chair the babies all used. Such priceless things as laughter and fun (without hysteria and a sob at the back of it all). Do you see the idea?<sup>43</sup>

For Purcell these mundane things had salvific properties and would save Australians from selfishness and the nation from 'sinking back into complacency'.

If we concentrate on all the natural treasures of life and quietly emphasize them, they will save us and our children from ourselves and for our country.<sup>44</sup>

Inspiration for the moral and ethical imperative of Purcell's message was drawn from outside the realm presided over by traditional religion. For "Betty and Bill" to be worthy of the second chance given to Australia, with its favoured status as a free and uninvaded country, they must in the future, show strength of character and exercise moral responsibility.

What I have been trying to say is that Australia, perhaps more than any other country in the world, has reason to say "Thank you dear God, for sparing me", and she should add "I will endeavour to be a nation worthy of the second chance You have given me. I have beauty, plenty, and boundless possibility; please give me grace, faith and strength of character"<sup>45</sup>.

Purcell's exhortation to patriotic, moral and ethical vigilance occurred in a context that was paradoxically religious and secular. There was little reminiscent of church or creed, though she wanted her audience to ask for the decidedly religious attributes of 'grace, faith, and strength of character'. And she assumed that on hearing of Japan's surrender many readers would have said "Thank God!" and joined the crowds who flocked to Church and community Thanksgiving ceremonies.

Purcell did not avoid reference to the horrors of war but, rather like an

evangelical preacher, used the past to induce guilt and moral fortitude in her readers. She asked them to consider what it would have been like if Australia had been invaded, and contrasts this with the devastation overseas. Purcell appealed to the Anzac tradition and pointed out that the sacrifice of life by members of the armed forces had spared Australia “many of the ordeals suffered elsewhere”. Australians could now enjoy their possessions and the beauties of the natural world, while in a summary marked with condescension, ‘the tragic little peoples of Europe have had every living possession wrested from them’. There would have been many to disagree with her view that Australian family life has not suffered to the same extent, apart from those

dear boys and girls who have died for us, and those who will always bear in their minds and bodies the scars earned while fighting for our safety, and excepting the pain we know through the loss and suffering of these children we have loved, there has been no real disaster for Australia.

Purcell dwelt at some length on the ugly experience of war in order to discern the reason for Australia’s providential deliverance, and provide the motive for her ethical exhortation to the common people.

Unless we honestly study the things we have escaped, how can we be proportionately grateful for our deliverance? If we are sufficiently Christian to want to say “Thank you” at all, we must be Christian enough to believe there is a Heaven-sent purpose in our good fortune.

Purcell believed Australia had been spared by Providence and was now being given an opportunity to grow. She argued that a healthy context had to be provided for the surviving youth of Australia, along with the war weary from Europe and the energetic Americans, now ready to flock to this land. Such an opportunity presented a challenge and responsibility which would be fulfilled by exercising ‘a kindly sanity’ through staying in touch with the ‘forces of life’ elaborated above.

There is much in this pamphlet to prompt reflection on the religious experience of Australians during the Second World War. Reference to a traditional Christian vocabulary was almost entirely absent. The sense of the ‘God who spared us in history’ and divine deliverance was used as a basis for ethical endeavours to be undertaken in the future, but the language of transcendence was touched upon only lightly. The two sources of inspiration for nobler human endeavour were earth-bound and had no reference point outside the natural world. Purcell based her faith on gratitude that worse fates had not been suffered, and on human qualities and possessions representing the span of generations.

## Conclusion

When individuals gathered at thanksgiving services and military parades in Australia during the Second World War, they brought an infinite variety of personal interests and commitments yet, as members of the nation, found a common context of coherence and meaning in which to unite. The particular idiom of Australian civil religion transcended specific traditions sufficiently for a collective identity of the nation to emerge. Symbols of national solidarity were found in the Anzac legend, borrowed forms of traditional faith, the cultivated natural environment harnessed to family traditions, and a God with whom bargains could be struck.

## Notes

1. This paper has been developed as a result of research assisted by funding from the ARC. We are also grateful to those who offered comments on a version of this paper delivered at the Australian Historical Association, Sydney, July 1998.
2. Anne O'Brien '“A Church Full of Men”: Masculinism and the Church in Australian History' *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 25, no. 100, April 1993 pp. 437 - 57; Anne O'Brien, 'The Case of the “Cultivated Man”: Class, Gender and the Church of the Establishment in Interwar Australia' *Australian Historical Studies* vol. 27, no 107, October 1996, pp. 242-56. David Hilliard, 'Australian Anglicans and Homosexuality', *St Mark's Review*, No.163, 1995, pp.12-20; John H. Smith, 'A Bridge between the Sanctuary and the World: reflections on the ministry in Australia as a profession', *Trinity Occasional Papers, Essays in honour of Revd Dr Michael Owen*, Vol XV, 1996; Katharine Massam, 'The Spirituality of Catholic Action in Twentieth-Century Australia: Religion and the Real Men' in Hutchinson and Campion (eds) *Long Patient Struggle: Essays on Women and Gender in Australian Christianity*, Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, Sydney, 1994, pp.139-49.
3. M. R. Higonnet et al *Behind the Lines: gender and the two world wars*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1987pp.3-4, C. Bynum et al (eds) *Religion and Gender On the Complexity of Symbols* Boston, Beacon Press, 1986; N.Yuval-Davis *Gender and Nation* London, Sage, 1997; C. Gledhill and G. Swanson (eds) *Nationalizing Feminist: Culture, sexuality and British cinema in the Second World War*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996.
4. For example, Patrick O'Farrell, "Spurious Divorce? Religion and Australian Culture", *Journal of Religious History*, 1989, vol. 15, pp.519-524, Patrick O'Farrell, "The Cultural Ambivalence of Australian Religion", in S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (eds), *Australian Cultural History*, Cambridge, 1988, pp.7-14; Roger Thompson 'Women and the significance of religion in Australian History' *Australian Historical Studies*, vol.108, April 1997, pp.118-125; Anne O'Brien 'Sins of Omission? Women in the History of Australian Religion and Religion in the History of Australian Women. A Reply to Roger Thompson', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 108, April 1997, pp.126-133; John Thornhill, *Making Australia: Exploring our National Conversation*, Newtown, Millennium, 1992.
5. For discussion of the absence of religion in Australian academic work: Richard Ely, 'Secularisation and the sacred in Australian History' *Historical Studies*, No. 77 (October 1981) pp. 553-566; for examples of work incorporating faith and belief: Robert Orsi, *Thank*

you *St Jude: Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Causes*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1996; Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth Century England*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1992; Katharine Massam, *Sacred Threads: Catholic Spirituality in Australia*, UNSW Press, Kensington, 1996.

6. Michael McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War*, Melbourne, Nelson, 1980; Val Noone, *Disturbing the War: Melbourne Catholics and Vietnam*, Melbourne, Spectrum, 1993; Annetoinette Becker, *La Guerre et La Foi: de la mort à la memoire 1914-1930* Paris, 1994; Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Cultural History*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1995.

7. Martin E Marty, *Religion and the Republic*, Beacon, Boston 1987, p.80. Compared with France, American civil religion was not anticlerical or militantly secular, it did not compete with traditional religion but borrowed from it to build up "powerful symbols of national solidarity" which mobilised deep levels of personal commitment towards the attainment of national goals.

8. Rousseau's primary interest was in providing a rational sanction for society and the civil religion he sought was based on a version of unanimity which allowed no separate loyalties to church or state. Rousseau's civil religion is a form of patriotic nationalism, the dogmas of which are to be provided by the state and assent to which is compulsory. In Chapter 8, Book 4 of the *Social Contract* he wrote:

"There is, thus a profession of faith which is purely civil and of which it is the sovereign's function to determine the articles, not strictly as religious dogmas, but as expressions of social conscience, without which it is impossible to be either a good citizen or a loyal, subject. Without being able to oblige anyone to believe these articles, the sovereign can banish from the state anyone who does not believe them; banish him not for impiety but as an anti social being, as one unable sincerely to love law and justice, or to sacrifice, if need be, his life to his duty.

Rousseau, J-J, *The Social Contract*, Penguin Books, 1968, p.186, translated and introduced by M. Cranston; Robert N Bellah, *Daedalus: civil religion in America*, Vol. 96, Winter 1967, p.13.

9. Robert N Bellah, *Daedalus*, p.3.

10. K.S. Inglis *The Australian Colonists* preface, cited J.Lack *ANZAC Remembered: selected writings of K.S. Inglis* Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Department of History, 1998, p. 3.

11. K.S. Inglis, *Sacred Places*, forthcoming, K.S. Inglis, "ANZAC and Christian - one tradition or two?", *St Mark's Review*, no. 2, 1965, pp.3-12; The memory of Anzac becomes the Australian component of the religious mourning of the Great War explored for Europe and Great Britain by Jay Winter and others, see Jay Winter *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*.

12. Marilyn Lake 'The Politics of Respectability: identifying the masculinist context' *Historical Studies* 86, 1986, pp.116-131; Ann Curthoys, 'Visions, Nightmares, Dreams, Women's History 1975' *Australian Historical Studies*, April 1996, pp.1-13; Kay Shaffer, *Women and the Bush: Forces of Desire in the Australian Cultural Tradition* (CUP, Cambridge, 1988) chapter 1; Richard White, *Inventing Australia*, (Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1981) especially chapter 5;

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13. Richard Ely 'The Forgotten Nationalism: Australian Civic Protestantism in the Second World War' *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 20, May 1987, pp.59-67.
  14. The Reverend C B Crockett (Pitt St, Congregational Church) *Sydney Morning Herald* 23 Feb 1942 cited Ely 'Civic Protestantism' p.62.
  15. Ely 'Civic Protestantism' p.64.
  16. *Form of Service at Church Parades*, RAAF Publication No 143, Melbourne 1939-1945. The 125 Hymns in this book were reproduced from the British Army Prayer Book.
  17. *The Catholic Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmens' Prayer Book*, compiled by Rev. G.F. Butler for the Catholic Patriotic and Armed forces Welfare Organisation, Queensland, Brisbane, 1940, and *God Our Strength: Prayer Book for those on service for King and country*, United Evangelical Church in Australia, Second Edition, 1943. *The Warrior's Manual*, Anglican Truth Society, no date, *Readings and Prayers for members of Army Women's Services*, with a foreword by the Duchess of Gloucester, Australian Army Chaplains' Department, 1944. Examples of similar books published by the Salvation army and the Jewish community can be found in the archives of the AWM.
  18. *Readings and Prayers for Members of Army Women's Services*, Australian Army Chaplains' Department, 1944, p.10.
  19. *Readings and Prayers*, pp.10-11.
  20. *Readings and Prayers*, pp.14-15.
  21. *Readings and Prayers*, p.16, Emphasis added.
  22. *Readings and Prayers*, addition to p.1
  23. Massam and Smith 'There was another weapon' in Gregory, J. (ed) *On The Homefront: Western Australia and the Second World War*, UWA Press, Nedlands, 1996, pp149-161.
  24. The Revd C. E. Storrs was General Editor of a series of six pamphlets on Christian involvement in war that were available from an early date, *Western Methodist*, May 1940, pp.1-2, 'The Christian and War'.
  25. Storrs, C.E., *Hymns For Use in Time of War*, Claremont, 1941, preface.
  26. Peace, Hymns 13, 20, 30, and 36, Protective presence, Hymns 9, 10, 20, 21, 24, and 28, Strength or stronghold, Hymns 11, 27, and 38
  27. These were drawn heavily from the Oxford volume, *Songs of Praise Discussed*.
  28. Hymns 1,7, 17, 24, 31 and 38.
  29. Hymn 1, William Boyd Carpenter, (1841-1918).
  30. Hymn 1, William Boyd Carpenter, (1841-1918).
  31. Hymn 31, J.H.B. Materman, (no date). See Hymns 7, 17, 24, 31 and 38.
  32. Hymn 7, F.L. Hosmer, (1840-1929).
  33. Hymn 8, A Hymn to Toc H, 1936, third stanza.
  34. Hymn 6, G.A Studdert Kennedy (1883-1929).
  35. Elsewhere God is pictured as the "Dread Captain of the hosts of light", Hymn 21, John Henley Skrine, no date.

36. Hymn 8, A Hymn to Toc H, 1936, last stanza
37. Hymn 19, Laurence Housman, (no date).
38. Hymn 14, John Bunyan, (1628-88), see also Hymns 21, 22, 26, 33 and 40.
39. Hymn 21, John Huntley (no date), stanzas 1 and 3.
40. Hymn 40, F.W. Faber, (1814-63), stanzas 1 and 3.
41. Footnote to Hymn 26, Frederick Mann (1846-1928).
42. Purcell, M. McC., *Australia Says "Thank You" To God: reflections on V.P. Day*, A.B.C. Printing Works, 98 Pirie St, Adelaide, 1945, National Library of Australia, NP, 244, PUR.
43. Purcell, "Thank You", last page.
44. Purcell, "Thank You", last page.
45. Purcell, "Thank You", last page.