A Second Front: Canon Garland, Chaplain Maitland Woods and Anglo-Catholicism in the Australian Imperial Force during World War One.[1]

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Abstract

This article explores the work and influence of Anglo-Catholicism in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) during the Great War, based on reading the wartime correspondence of key AIF Anglo-Catholics, especially that of Canon David Garland and Chaplain William Maitland Woods. Anglo-Catholics were enthusiastic in support of the war, but simultaneously used it to promote Anglo-Catholicism, and combat what they perceived to be the errors of non Anglo-Catholic Anglicanism and the various Protestant groups, opening what might be considered a second front against these religions.

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While Britain was the template for the institutions and culture of British Australia, nevertheless there were differences in how these were manifested when transplanted to the far side of the world. In particular, the place of religion in Australia differed from that of Britain. While the United Kingdom had Established Churches, Australia had no legislated official religion and, though Anglicanism was the largest and politically most influential denomination due to its entrenchment in Australia's ruling class, it did not have the same power and reach as its parent body in England. Instead, the four largest denominations – the Anglicans, Catholics, Presbyterians and Methodists – engaged in considerable sectarian sparring for influence and control. Anglicanism's cultural advantage made it a target for Protestant groups who wanted to ensure that Anglican hegemony was not repeated in the Antipodes, even occasionally allying with the Catholics, of all people, to dethrone Anglican aspirations.

At the same time, Anglicanism had its own divisions, as the Oxford Movement of the Nineteenth Century developed out of High Church Anglicanism to become known as Anglo-Catholicism. It reacted against latitudinarian and evangelical Anglicanism by stressing its continuity with pre-Reformation Catholic and Orthodox tradition, elevating the role of sacraments, ritual, and religious orders, and decrying Protestantism as a German innovation bordering on heresy. Its reach and impact can be judged in part by the vigorous reaction of evangelicals, firebrand Anglican theologian Everard Digges La Touche denouncing its 'strong following among the clergy,' and accusing it of undermining church membership.[2] Jeremy Morris's review of the historiography of the High Church revival considerably nuances the common perception of its triumph in the Twentieth Century, also noting the difficulties in distinguishing between Anglo-Catholicism and High Church Anglicanism, which existed on a complex continuum of intersections and overlaps, though he affirms the considerable influence of both on the Anglican Church of the period.[3]

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As with its parent church, Australian Anglicanism was fracturing under challenges from secularism, liberalism and Anglo-Catholicism, the latter seen by many Anglicans as the greater threat, sparking a vigorous fight for dominance in the church. As Australia's leading clerics were invariably imported from Britain, they brought with them the internecine struggles between Low and High Church Anglicanism, and dioceses tended to one side or the other according to the temper of the bishop. Diocesan outlooks become entrenched and self-perpetuating through episcopal appointments of like-minded administrators and parish priests, thus ensuring an episcopal succession in the same tradition.[4] Just prior to World War One, evangelicals were precarious poised in the Australian Anglican Church, feeling increasingly challenged as they held sway in only a minority of the Australian dioceses, and were divided even among themselves.[5] The battle for supremacy between evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics continued during the war, for example in Melbourne, where the 1918 synod was fiercely contested, with controversy continuing in the inter-war years.[6]

A standard-bearer for Anglo-Catholicism in Australia was David John Garland, Canon of St James Cathedral in Townsville, Queensland, and Archdeacon of North Queensland. Surprisingly, he was of Irish Orangeman origin, with a background in law, but he became 'a most fervent Anglo-Catholic',[7] being ordained a deacon in 1889, and serving in New South Wales and Western Australia, where he made his reputation as an energetic missioner with a gift for organization and administration.[8] An ambitious man, he rose rapidly in the hierarchy, but fell out with his bishop in Western Australia and transferred to Queensland where he became influential in its Anglo-Catholic milieu. Historians have said his beliefs 'could readily be described as either "Catholic Evangelicals" or "Evangelical Catholics"'.[9] He was passionate about religious instruction in government schools, Sunday observance and

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military chaplaincy, being an 'accomplished lobbyist' for the first in Western Australia, Queensland and New Zealand, and having been a chaplain to the militia since 1896.[10] While being a most effective promoter of Anglo-Catholicism and a mentor to many clergy and laity, he was also capable of influential ecumenism, cooperating with the Baptists for example on shared concerns over 'drink, gambling and morality'.[11]

The Australian military faced a complex situation in providing Army chaplains. With no state religion to turn to, an uneasy arrangement was negotiated whereby the four major denominations, Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist, ran their own affairs on a more or less equal footing through the appointment of four Chaplains-General. The new Australian Army Chaplains' Department was established in 1913, and had not really bedded down before being thrown into action with the Great War erupting the following year.[12] Each denomination appointed chaplains on a ratio roughly matching the census data for religious affiliation, with additional chaplains from minor denominations such as Baptist, Congregational and The Salvation Army. On the outbreak of World War One, Garland reactivated his chaplaincy and was appointed Senior Chaplain to the Army camps in Queensland, 'in order to be able to minister to troops coming into barracks for training prior to transport to Egypt'.[13] He was enthusiastically, perhaps even aggressively, supportive of the war effort, promoting voluntary recruitment while advocating for compulsory military service, and he proved to be one of the most successful fundraisers in the country for soldier-related charities. As Army camps were established around the state capital of Brisbane, a stronghold of Anglo-Catholicism, he successfully used his position to promote Anglo-Catholicism in the camps under his jurisdiction. By 1916, new camps were established in the regional centres of Toowoomba, Maryborough, Rockhampton, and Townsville, and again, Garland was active in supplying ministry and welfare to the men in the new locations.

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Another prominent Anglo-Catholic in the Brisbane archdiocese was William Maitland Woods. He was also a military chaplain, serving in the Queensland forces since 1893. In 1915, he volunteered as a chaplain for the Australian Imperial Force, spending the war in active chaplaincy with the Australian Light Horse at Gallipoli and during the Palestine Campaign.[14] Maitland Woods and Garland worked closely, bookending home camps and front line to promote their common interests, and their wartime correspondence forms the core of this study.

Two interlinked themes emerge from the letters preserved in the State Library of Queensland archives.[15] Firstly was an active engagement in supporting the war, specifically through soldier welfare, fund-raising, recruiting, patriotic advocacy, chaplaincy, and the promotion of soldier morality – the latter two tying in with the second theme of the advancement of Anglo-Catholicism. They emphasised a Catholic spirituality in the form of Sacramentalism, prayers for the dead, a love of Church history, and a contrasting of Anglo-Catholicism with the tainted liberal Protestant theology of German origin, the religion of the enemy, now sadly shared in modified form by so many British denominations. The net effect was that, alongside their wholehearted commitment to the British war effort was an attempt to use the war to position Anglo-Catholicism as the only true form of British Christianity. Defeating Germany went hand-in-hand with assaults on latitudinarian and evangelical Anglicanism as well as the various Protestant groups.

Garland was the dominant force in the partnership, applying his many skills and passions to the task at hand with singular efficacy. He also had a network, built over the years, of like-minded priests and influential lay people and, once the war began, many civilians and soldiers repaid in loyalty the care he had invested in them. While committed to the soldiers' spiritual welfare, he recognized that 'it was also essential that the Church be seen to be caring as well for their creature comforts'.[16]

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Garland led the way in investing in soldier welfare, establishing the Soldiers' Church of England Help Society (SCEHS), which provided various comforts for the recruits in training in Brisbane. By September 1915, within its first three months of its existence, the Society had set up five recreation tents in training camps and supplied Anglican soldiers embarking for overseas with Prayer-books.[17] Its impact can be seen in a departing soldier thanking Garland 'for all the kindness and good nature you have shown to me. Will you express to the Ladies of the church my gratitude for their kindness in providing those Sunday teas which I have so much enjoyed.'[18] Reading material was placed on almost every transport leaving from Brisbane, while in 1916 the SCEHS ensured that every transport had a piano on board, with a chaplain speaking of the pleasure this afforded a very musical group of soldiers sailing to England.[19]

The Society also distributed money to chaplains to provide welfare to troops while travelling to the war, and in the war zones, usually donations of £10. Chaplains were free to spend the money as they saw fit.[20] Padre Thomas Hely-Wilson used the money to provide leisure activities during the otherwise boring sea voyage, later funding a soldier excursion to Stonehenge, near the Australian training camps on the Salisbury Plain in England, with more money from the SCEHS. In both cases, the soldiers expressed appreciation to the Society for its kindness to them while in camps in Queensland and overseas.[21] Hely-Wilson ran a soup kitchen in the forward areas of the trenches in France, providing hot drinks during the bitter winter of 1916-17, possibly using SCEHS funds as well as other sources, for which he was thanked by Brigade staff.[22] Maitland Woods used funds to purchase books about Palestine, which he circulated amongst the men, who, he said, 'read them with great interest'. He also 'fitted up a comfortable reading tent for them'.[23] Obscure units were not overlooked either, with the miniscule Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force occupying German New Guinea supplied with recreational material.[24] Returned soldiers

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were catered for with the establishment of the new Kitchener Memorial Chapel at the military hospital in Brisbane, and an Anzac[25] Club for repatriated soldiers, which Garland considered 'a perfect boon to the men'.[26]

This welfare was made possible through Garland's extraordinary fundraising, largely sourced through the Anglican Church in Queensland, which was disproportionately successful. Public fundraisers were run under the banner of 'Lavender Day' events, which triumphed against many competing charities, including high-profile national organisations such as the Red Cross and the Comforts Fund.[27] Garland's reach extended beyond Queensland, with a number of donations from Anglican clergy in other states.[28] In 1917, Garland's 'Lavender Day' raised over £7,000, (about £1.5 million sterling in today's money),[29] a figure that 'much astonished a great many people outside Queensland'. He was soon appointed to head a nation-wide appeal among Anglican churches for a 'Church of England Fund for Soldiers at the Front funds', 'to meet the moral and social needs in Egypt'. The Government had appealed for £10,000 for such work, and Garland wrote, 'We inaugurated the fund with a grant of £4,000 given by the Soldiers' Church of England Help Society, Queensland, being part proceeds of "Lavender Day"; in addition to that we cabled £1,000 to England', to be used for two soldier's huts in France. The SCEHS allocated a further £1,400 for the Anzac Club and Returned Soldiers' work, and £500 for the work of SCEHS branches.[30] Seven rest clubs, similar in style to those of the Y.M.C.A., were established in Egypt and Palestine, and a house-boat on the Nile acquired for convalescents, with funding from the SCEHS, and all facilities were made available to other denominations when not used for Anglican services. Also supplied were 'marquees, sports, games, comforts, libraries, and on many occasions free quarters and free meals either for groups or for individuals'.[31] Garland, while praising the work of the Y.M.C.A., was anxious to publicise the similar efforts of the Anglican Church, which in his opinion was too little

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recognised.[32] Rumours that Garland was being handsomely paid for the 'astronomical' amount of money raised for war work, as well as other related war work, were dismissed, revealing that his only income was his clerical stipend, and that this voluminous additional work, which had earlier brought on a break-down, was purely voluntary.[33]

The majority of the Australian clergy of all denominations supported the war effort, but few as ardently as the Anglo-Catholics. Their commitment to God and Empire was strong, while their antagonism to German liberal Protestant militarism was deep-seated. Garland was very proud of the Kitchener Memorial Chapel at the Army hospital in Brisbane, in memory of the iconic, and recently-deceased, Imperial Field Marshal Lord Kitchener.[34] Garland's most enduring achievement, however, was the foundational effort in celebrating the first Anzac Day[35] in 1916, working hard to ensure it was a solemn rather than festive occasion, with 'Meetings held to extol our heroes,' but with 'no jubilation'. He was successful in preventing united church services, and introduced the institution of the minute's silence at commemoration events.[36] Anzac Day has since become Australia's most celebrated national day, retaining a number of rituals of his devising.[37] Maitland Woods also extolled the virtues of the British Empire, but made a special point of lauding the uniqueness of the Australians in physique, courage and character, labelling them as 'Crusaders under the triple Cross'.[38] Soldiers who looked to Garland as their mentor also expressed their patriotic commitment, linking God and Imperial sentiment, a sergeant writing, 'you can scarcely imagine how glad I am to have the honour of being able to assist our boys in striking a blow for our Empire, in a cause I feel that God approves'.[39]

As Empire loyalists, Anglo-Catholic leaders were active in recruiting and strong advocates of conscription. Garland in particular was prominent, becoming the head of recruiting in Queensland. Using the flag raised on Gallipoli at the first landing, which Maitland Woods had brazenly souvenired and sent home, Garland had 'taken it over the

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country for recruiting marches; it has been cheered in the streets and at meetings and kissed by men and women'. He was quick to see that voluntary enlistment would not answer the man-power needs of the AIF, and was an early advocate of conscription.[40] However, leading the recruiting campaign undermined his health, and Garland gave up the leadership, though he still helped with it, judiciously using covert information from Maitland Woods at the front to appeal to people in Australia.[41] In mid-1916, when the formal campaign to approve conscription began, Garland 'tried to keep out of it but they forced me into it', its leader in Queensland, Andrew Thynne, being a close friend and political ally.[42] He noted that among the groups that supported conscription were nearly all the Churches, though it was opposed by the Labor Party, the trade unions and the Catholic Church.[43] But while the Anglican Church Synod came out in favour of conscription, Garland was 'very disappointed with our Church authorities' for not publicising the decision adequately.[44]

Garland was 'very ashamed' at the failed Referendum vote in October 1916, surprised that 'the heart of Australia would have proved anything but sound to the Empire, and yet we find half of the people of Australia have voted from sheer selfishness'.[45] Within weeks, however, Garland bounced back from his disappointment and had been 'made a member of the new State Recruiting Committee,' and was getting 'plans ready for a fresh campaign'.[46]

The chaplaincy work of the Anglo-Catholic chaplains was, on the whole, quite effective, led again by the charismatic Garland and the flamboyant Maitland Woods. Garland had a knack for creating special bonds with the soldiers in the camps in Queensland, with many writing to him to express their appreciation.[47] Chaplains also wrote to tell Garland how highly soldiers spoke of him, and of the lasting impact of his ministry. Maitland Woods wrote of men who 'spoke so warmly of your work, such real affection!' In a later letter,

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Maitland Woods wrote of meeting 'some of your disciples'.[48] Sergeant William Leacock wrote from England, 'I can assure you, Sir, that very many of our soldiers remember you with feelings of gratitude; remembering that you have done much towards furthering their welfare; and also your zeal in working for the Cause we are fighting for'.[49] One chaplain noted the difference in attitude between the New South Wales soldiers and those from Queensland, who had been under Garland's influence in camps, concluding, 'Eloquent testimony to work of the Church in camp'.[50] Sometimes, individual soldiers were brought to Garland's attention, and he invariably mentored them, building lasting relationships with them through personal contact and correspondence.[51]

Maitland Woods was also charismatic and effective, delivering hugely popular lectures to the troops on biblical history in Palestine, and leading tours of biblical sites. His reputation as an Oxford-trained classicist led many soldiers to go straight to him if they found anything of archaeological curiosity, leading eventually to the excavation of the Shellal mosaic, now displayed in the Australian War Memorial. A soldier wrote of him as 'the most wonderful and interesting speaker I have ever heard. He had us – dumb – spellbound … Wonderful,' though some considered this fount of knowledge to be 'skiting,' an Australianism for showy boasting.[52] Other chaplains allied to Garland also reported, or were reported by soldiers to have, effective ministries.[53] Maitland Woods laughed to Garland that troops were asking for 'lectures' which were 'really Bible Classes' such as they had delivered at Sunday School for many years.[54]

A key concern of Anglo-Catholic chaplains was the morality of the soldiers, one shared by many Anglo-Catholic laity – and indeed by chaplains of all denominations, as well as by a large proportion of soldiers, religious and otherwise.[55] Garland again led the charge against alcohol and sexual immorality, and one officer appealed to him to ensure that chaplains devoted one sermon in six 'on the subject of drunkenness and sexual matters'.[56] A chaplain

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on a troopship engaged the services of an Anglican doctor on board to 'give them a straight talk on Purity, which is our subject for the day'.[57] In 1917, Garland accepted a voluntary appointment, 'to look into the moral and social needs of the troops [in Egypt] and to deal with them'. The government had preferred the non-denominational Y.M.C.A. to take this responsibility, but Garland's reputation and his success as a fundraiser for this mission forced its hand.[58] Garland spent 1918-19 in Egypt and Palestine, exerting his influence and the considerable funds he had raised to improving soldier welfare, with the aim of keeping bored soldiers away from the brothels and bars of Cairo.[59] Maitland Woods was also active in lobbying for the 6 o'clock pub closing time advocated by temperance organisations in Australia, backed by a number of the smaller denominations. This impressed a young Congregationalist, who said to Maitland Woods, '"Your Church did that! My word the Church of England has come on lately." He was referring to [Archdeacon Robert] Hammond and Archdeacon [Francis] Boyce [two leading New South Wales-based Anglican temperance advocates], he had also heard a lot about your work in Queensland he told me.'[60]

The Anglo-Catholic chaplains were able to convert the good standing they gained with the soldiers through a deep attention to their physical needs to spiritual ends. A chaplain on a transport wrote of running a voluntary service, with hymn singing for an hour. 'Big crowd to the service which seemed to meet with general appreciation. The action of the men in asking for the service and their evident earnestness, made a great impression amongst the officers. It certainly is amazing. The desire for religious ministration is very real and one is thankful to be of use.'[61] On Gallipoli, Maitland Woods urged the delivery of more Bibles. 'We want Bibles here very badly', he wrote. 'You see, the long waits in the trenches are very trying to the men, they have to wait; and as we know, they are waiting for, in some cases "the one clear call" and they know it.'[62] On the other hand, a Church of England theology student serving as a stretcher bearer offered his insights into soldier spirituality,

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observing that 'I cannot notice any remarkable religious tone about them', arguing that exposure to war left soldiers more or less spiritually where they had been previously. He concluded that the Australian soldier 'can be won and held if he [is] only understood and approached in the right manner'.[63]

A key element of Anglo-Catholic spirituality was a heightened Sacramentalism, and Garland was effective in promoting this with the soldiers in Queensland camps. He repeatedly stressed the efficacy of the sacraments in living holy lives, and placed great emphasis on the Prayer-book, ensuring that every soldier had the opportunity of carrying one to war. Writing to Chaplain Tomkins, Garland told of the 'hundreds of men present' at Evensong, 'some of whom had never handled a Prayer-book before'. The men spontaneously sang 'For he's a jolly good fellow' in his honour at the end of the service. He added, 'I aim at teaching the men to use their Prayer-books because that will be of more use to them later on…. There is a hunger for the Sacraments, mere preachment and talk does not satisfy them.'[64]

Garland wrote to individual servicemen and women, encouraging their use of the sacraments. To Sister Ellen McLean, he wrote spiritual encouragement, concluding with, 'Keep close to your religion and especially to Holy Communion, never miss an opportunity of being present at the Holy Eucharist whenever you can, going right into the presence of Jesus to gain from the good Physician himself the strength and grace for your share in his work'.[65] To Private George Tarrant, he directed, 'Stick to your Religion as you have been doing and especially so to the Blessed Sacrament that keeps us in touch with God'.[66] To Maitland Woods, Garland observed, 'I am now more than ever convinced that the Service which helps the men the most is the Holy Eucharist and that it ought to be the Church Parade'.[67]

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In return, people wrote to him about how they fared spiritually. Nurse Edith Avenell added a post-script to her letter, saying, 'I am still wearing my cross', while Lieutenant Jack Collum urged him and all chaplains 'to base five sixths of all your sermons on the use of the Sacraments, especially the H.C. and Penance'. In resisting temptation, while no saint, Collum claimed,

a great advantage over many in having those ten [sic] most helpful Sacraments to fall back on. Please do your best to get in the minds of Churchmen with regard to 'Penance'. As a Christian I make use of the Sacraments and found it useful and as a soldier I have found it together with H.C. the most steadying influence one can wish for.[68]

Various chaplains in Garland's sphere of influence updated him on their ministry, tracking how many attended the Celebration of Holy Communion, the uptake of Prayer-books, and the ornaments with which they decorated chapels while on active service.[69] Others wrote approvingly of Anglican churches they attended that worshipped in the Anglo-Catholic manner. Writing from Colombo, Chaplain Horace Walton told Garland of attending St Michael and All Angels Church for Mass one evening. 'The service was sung, was a feast day,' he lauded, noting the presence of a number of Sisters of a religious order and the use of incense.[70] Maitland Woods and Garland exchanged letters detailing their various efforts to foreground ceremony and ritual, Maitland Woods highlighting that, 'One realizes here in this land the wisdom of Holy Church in giving us, her children, a daily office', which he celebrated in a little chapel that he had equipped.[71] Chaplain Cecil Edwards noted in his diary various Confirmation sessions, also allowing the unconfirmed 'to receive the Blessed Sacrament…. They seem a fine lot and most earnest. Sister Stone threaded the

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bronze crosses for the boys to wear round their necks.'[72] Chaplain Gerard Tucker maintained as much ritual décor as he could manage in extempore chapels in dugouts and tents at the front, with 'an altar … hangings, crucifix, candles and flowers'. He attended the wounded at a casualty clearing station in full robes, 'offering bedside confession, absolution, the Prayer of Humble Access and blessing'.[73]

A hypersensitive Private Verdi Schwinghammer wrote several times to Garland, sometimes to praise services and sometimes to damn them when services fell short of his Anglo-Catholic expectations. He appreciated the churches he visited in South Africa, with their Altar lights, vestments, incense, processions, banners, and Anglican sisterhoods, though he found one well-ornamented church strangely using only 'a moderate ritual'. On his transport ship, he was disappointed 'when the Chaplain does not worthily represent our Church, and teach its full doctrine', and though excusing the young cleric's inexperience, he missed the full vestments at all services and the relegation of Holy Communion to the background. 'It's really too bad after the beautiful services and full Prayer-book teaching at Enoggera Camps…. Wouldn't it have been grand to see the Holy Service being pleaded on the main deck before nearly all the men every Sunday instead of Combined Services?' he asked. He 'was also disgusted at the irreverent way our Eucharist was celebrated', the ship's smoke room being used, 'and our Chaplain used to place the sacred vessels on the green table covering (where the officers had been smoking and playing cards the night before) without a linen cloth or even a small napkin under them. This is done every Sunday. No cross or candles on table! He only wears coloured stoles', he protested. He found more comfort in some Churches in England, enjoying 'a beautiful Catholic service' at an Evensong, exclaiming, 'oh what a joy it was to worship in a real Church again'. In camp, he considered Church Parades to be 'just Mutilated Matinees', while, 'The ignorance on church matters amongst Anglicans in camp is appalling'.[74] Garland replied, telling him that the small

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Canterbury stone cross Schwinghammer had sent him would be 'among my most valued treasures'.[75]

On the matter of prayers for the dead, the Anglo-Catholics found the Great War helpful to their cause. The theology of grace made it hard for Protestants to argue that all soldiers killed in battle went to heaven, as this would suggest salvation by works, yet there was a tacit belief in this among Protestant chaplains and among many of the men.[76] Anglo-Catholics had no such difficulty, capitalising on a sentiment in favour of prayers for the dead. Garland integrated it into his Anzac Day memorialisation, his Requiem Eucharist ensuring that, 'There will be no doubt in the minds of those present that we are pleading for the souls of our fallen heroes'.[77] Despite opposition from Senior Chaplains, Maitland Woods held weekly services 'when we pray for the souls of our dear comrades who have fallen'. He found receptive soldiers who told him his talks reminded them of Garland's.[78] Trooper Frank Weeks wrote of Chaplain Francis Tubman speaking to soldiers about death, concluding, 'He says, therefore, if we have a comrade who has fallen, mention his name to God. I cannot tell you all he says, but I tell you it is good.'[79]

Seeing an unbroken link to the historic Church extending back to the time of the Early Fathers, the Anglo-Catholics were receptive to ecclesiastical history. Anglo-Catholics in the AIF enjoyed the opportunity of visiting old churches in England, soaking in the historic elements they saw. Schwinghammer took the opportunity to visit four Cathedrals and 'scores of churches' while in camp on the Salisbury Plain, rejoicing in their ancient qualities and high rituals while bemoaning the damage done to frescoes and stained glass during the Reformation and English Civil War. 'We have much to be thankful for that God saved England from Levitan rule [a reference to the Puritan governments of the Interregnum, who subjected England to religious law, much like ancient Israel with its Levitical laws], and restored our church to its rightful place again', he told Garland.[80] Private Spencer Booth,

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who was seeking to train for the Anglican ministry at Cambridge, wrote 'as for the Churches with records dating back to 1200 to be seen and with histories and traditions going back much earlier still is beyond me to say how much they interested me'.[81]

Maitland Woods managed two pieces of historic collecting with the intention of using them in the Brisbane Cathedral as objects of veneration. The first was a modern relic, namely the flag planted by a group of Queensland Anzacs ashore on the day of the Gallipoli landings. Maitland Woods souvenired this historic flag with breathtaking audacity in front of a crowd of men, exercising a kind of self-appointed *droits du seigneur*. 'I simply took it being a Lieutenant Colonel and they being simply non coms and officers of junior rating.' His motivation was that, 'The flag has become, through its wonderful history and associations, a sacred object, a symbol, a holy thing'. This appropriation provoked a hostile reaction, but he mailed it to Garland in Brisbane and asked him to defend its possession.[82]

The other notable piece of heritage collecting was the now-famous Shellal Mosaic, once the floor of a 7th Century church in Palestine. Maitland Woods excavated the ruins, including the bones presumed to be of its saint, George of Shellal, and had it shipped to Australia, intending that it be kept at Brisbane Cathedral, though it was eventually acquired by the Australian War Memorial. He admitted using 'devious devices' to recover it, and expected that 'a perfect hurricane of abuse will be directed against us in the Press', having to fight not just competing Australian claims for its possession but also those of the British, who wanted it for the British Museum. He intended it as 'a fitting witness to bravery of our Anzacs in Palestine and a link between our Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in Queensland with the Church (alas! now extinct, since it was destroyed by the Mohammedan invasion of the 8th Century) in Southern Palestine'.[83] With characteristic high-handedness, he had it covertly crated and sent to Australia. While the Church lost the battle for the Mosaic, it retained the relic of the bones of St George, which Maitland Woods

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gave to his friend Revd Herbert Rose at St Anne's Anglican Church, Strathfield, for safekeeping, where they were stored under the Altar.[84] Such behaviour was driven by Maitland Woods' conviction that Anglo-Catholicism was the rightful heir to such significant heritage pieces, pre-empting any claim that might be made by national or other religious bodies.

As this demonstrates, driving the good work done by Garland, Maitland Woods and other Anglo-Catholics was an evident grief at the position of Anglo-Catholicism in the religious world, revealed in the swipes they took at other in their correspondence and, occasionally, behaviour in the field, and their representation of Anglo-Catholicism as a church within a church – or more accurately in their minds, *the* Church within a church. They had a strong sense of being misunderstood and misrepresented, as if displaced from their rightful position as the true heirs of historic Christianity, a grievance shared with their English Anglo-Catholic colleagues.[85] While virtually every shade of Christianity carries an assurance of its own theological orthodoxy from which all others deviate, Anglo-Catholic legitimacy was based on many centuries of Church tradition that the Protestant world had overthrown in order to validate its own theological positions.

There were frictions between certain Anglican chaplains and those of other denominations over perceptions of entitlement to pre-eminence. 'The C of E chaplains are causing a vast amount of trouble', complained Methodist Chaplain Thomas Rentoul to his fiancée, decrying their application of British Army rules of Anglican supremacy to the Australian context where Anglicanism was merely one denomination among many. He objected to their exclusive behaviour, using the Anglican Prayer-book instead of the authorised Australian Service Book, and refusing to hold Combined Church Parades.[86] The aggressively anti-Catholic Presbyterian Chaplain John Rentoul (no relation) also bristled at Anglican pretensions of superiority, while Salvationist Chaplain William McKenzie crowed

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over chaplains of mainstream denominations jealous of his success in getting men to attend his services, telling his wife he had 'the parsons snowed under', but by and large, relationships between Australian chaplains were marked by ecumenical goodwill.[87] This ecumenism was abetted by a soldierly hostility towards sectarianism and an expectation of an interdenominational closing of the ranks in time of war.[88]

However, combined services were the bane of the existence of Anglo-Catholic chaplains, for they disliked having to adulterate their high ritual to meet the expectations of mere Protestants. Garland wrote to Chaplain Tomkins, arguing that soldiers objected to combined services. He communicated his sense of superiority in saying, 'Of course we get larger attendance than anyone else; this might be expected as we are numerically superior', but noted that 'in some cases, rather more than I like, men of other denominations prefer to come to us'.[89] He triumphantly told Maitland Woods that while the free Testaments distributed to soldiers 'were meant for Nonconformists, … many of them preferred to take our Prayer-book'.[90] Chaplain Horace Boultbee noted the attendance of a Roman Catholic, a Methodist and a Baptist at his Confirmation classes with quiet pride.[91]

Garland's sense of being wronged was highlighted in another letter to Tomkins about the Anzac Day commemoration in 1916, speaking of the 'great fight to get better provisions for Church of England Chaplains. We contend it is wrong to take the percentage of the population as the basis on which Chaplains are provided, because we are convinced the majority of the soldiers belong to the Church of England.'[92] In fact, there was little variance in the proportions of denominational affiliations in the AIF compared to the national statistics, though it was a bone of contention in Australia during the war.[93] Garland had waged a successful battle against combined services for Anzac Day, thus being able to preserve the full Anglo-Catholic ritual in the service he ran on that day, with no compromise to Protestant sensibilities.[94]

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Maitland Woods also used combative language to describe his relationships with Protestants, and even with Anglican moderates. Replying to Garland's account of Anzac Day, Maitland Woods took a pot-shot at the evangelical Archdiocese of Sydney, for its 'very tame reading with its open service in the Domain [a large park in central Sydney, and a common venue for public ceremonial and political events]. The Protestant German influence has always been strong there.'[95] He also revelled in the conflict over his souveniring of the Anzac flag, telling Garland, 'The tremendous attacks on the "flag of the IXth" is a splendid testimonial to the growing power of our Church, I gave you a hint when I sent the flag that it would mean a fight and I knew you would protect our right to it.'[96] In a letter to Garland which he marked 'Confidential', suggesting his covert intent, Maitland Woods told of 'hundreds' of men seeing things 'in their true light' regarding 'the Catholic position of our Church… They are beginning to realize that our dear Old Church is not a Protestant sect, that she is Holy, Catholic and Apostolic; that the word "Protestant" was made in Germany etc., etc.'[97] In both instances, Maitland Woods positioned Anglo-Catholicism as *the* church, against both latitudinarian Anglicanism and Protestantism.

Garland's correspondence with Schwinghammer highlighted similar attitudes towards Protestantism and evangelical Anglicanism. In a lengthy letter, Schwinghammer bemoaned how 'The Y.M.C.A. and Protestants were in the front in everything and our dear old Church put in the background'. Despite finding the Presbyterian Chaplain and Y.M.C.A. secretary on his ship 'excellent', 'fine' and hard-working, Schwinghammer, an accomplished musician, took offence when 'Anglican hymns are sung altered to suit the Protestants', with doctored lyrics and no '"Amens" at the end of hymns', to the extent of 'refusing to play the organ at his "sing song" services'. Schwinghammer also refused to attend Combined Services.[98] Replying to Schwinghammer's description of the Anglican Church in South Africa, Garland took him to task over his terminology. 'Why do you use the word "Anglican"? and not the

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words “Church of England”, which is the real name of the Church, far better,’ he admonished; ‘our dissenters love to call us “Anglicans” because it places us on a level with the Methodists and Presbyterians. “Ecclesia Anglicana” does not mean “Anglican Church”, but “Church of the English speaking people wherever they are”.’[99]

Other chaplains vented yet more strongly against Protestants, or noted even minor triumphs of Anglo-Catholic superiority. Horace Watkins conducted a service using ‘the vestments, lights, etc. and heard no protestant squeals’, persistently refusing to capitalise their name. Of the main Church Parade, he labelled it the ‘mutilated form of Anglican Matins’, resenting the populist description of it as ‘very hearty’, for ‘one never hears of a “hearty” mass’. In another letter he damned an Anglican church for its Evensong, attended by ‘all kinds of protestant freaks in galore’.[100] Even letter-writing paper became a battleground, as the bulk of soldiers’ letters were written on Y.M.C.A. stationery, distributed free by the ream with its distinctive triangular red logo at the top. ‘The ship is inches deep with YMCA writing paper but ours is being increasingly used,’ wrote Chaplain Edwards to Garland, while Garland himself wrote to Chaplain David Collins, ‘it was most useful what you said about the demand for Church of England note-paper as it was so superior.’[101]

Anglo-Catholics in Australia came to the Great War with a sense of being besieged. Their practical ministry in camps, on ships and at the various fronts formed an impressive foundation for them to reclaim territory, influence and power of which they felt wrongfully deprived. Their effectiveness contributes to the growing scholarly awareness that contradicts the popular myths of Anglican chaplaincy ineffectiveness during the Great War, and of the secularity of the Australian soldier.[102] Garland in particular was a most effective exponent of Anglo-Catholicism, mentoring fellow clergy and large numbers of laymen and women to advance the cause of Anglo-Catholicism in its battle against the forces that

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would dilute its adherence to historic Catholicism. Anglo-Catholicism had a great influence on the memorialisation of the Great War through the work of Garland on Anzac Day commemorations, and also an impact on Australian society more broadly through the introduction of the Toc H movement, a wartime service organisation emphasising personal relationships and hospitality inspired and organised by British Anglo-Catholic chaplains.[103] It also saw 'substantial growth in both numbers and influence' in post-war Australia, especially in rural parishes in New South Wales and Queensland.[104] While the rivalry between Anglo-Catholicism and the rest of Anglicanism would continue for decades, the war work of Garland and his colleagues undeniably strengthened the cause in Australia.

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[1] A paper originally presented at the Oxford Symposium on Religious Studies held from 2-4 December 2019, Somerville College, Oxford University, Oxford.

[2] Stuart Piggin and Robert D. Linder, *The fountain of public prosperity: evangelical Christians in Australian history 1740-1914*, Clayton Vic 2019, 512.

[3] Jeremy Morris, *The High Church revival in the Church of England: arguments and identities*, Leiden; Boston 2016, 1-25, 34-37, 252.

[4] Ruth Frappell, 'Imperial Fervour and Anglican Loyalty 1901-1929,' in Bruce Kay *et al.* (eds), *Anglicanism in Australia: a history*, Carlton South Vic 2002, 87-89.

[5] Piggin and Linder, *The Fountain of Public Prosperity*, 514-520.

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[6] Michael McKernan, *Australian churches at war: attitudes and activities of the major churches 1914-1918*, Sydney & Canberra 1980, 166.

[7] John A Moses and George F Davis, *Anzac Day origins: Canon DJ Garland and trans-Tasman commemoration*, Canberra 2013, 104-105.

[8] Wendy M Mansfield, 'Garland, David John,' *Australian dictionary of biography*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/garland-david-john-6278.

[9] Moses and Davis, *Anzac Day origins*, 106.

[10] Moses and Davis, *Anzac Day origins*, 109.

[11] Moses and Davis, *Anzac Day origins*, 114-115.

[12] Michael Gladwin, *Captains of the soul: A history of Australian Army chaplains*, Newport, NSW 2013, 27-30.

[13] Moses and Davis, *Anzac Day origins*, 155

[14] J P Haldane-Stevenson, 'Woods, William Maitland,' *Australian dictionary of biography*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/woods-william-maitland-9181.

[15] OM71-51, Canon David John Garland Papers, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, Australia; OM74-101, Maitland Woods Papers, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland.

[16] Moses and Davis, *Anzac Day origins*, 159

[17] 'Soldiers' Church of England Help Society,' *Brisbane courier*, 17 September 1915, 8.

[18] H M Coldson to Garland, 1 March 1916, OM71-51-10, Garland Papers.

[19] Garland to Maitland Woods, 26 October 1916, OM74-101-45, Maitland Woods Papers; Austin Eva to Garland, n.d., 1916, OM71-51-43, Garland Papers.

[20] Garland to Charles Tomkins, 18 May 1916, OM71-51-14, Garland Papers.

[21] T Hely-Wilson to Garland, July 1916, OM71-51-24, Garland Papers; Hely-Wilson to Garland, 3 August 1916, OM71-51-32, Garland Papers.

[22] Hely-Wilson to Garland, 25 January 1917, OM71-51-74, Garland Papers.

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[23] Maitland Woods to Garland, 15 August 1917, OM71-51-113, Garland Papers.

[24] Cyril Massey to Garland, 23 April 1917, OM71-51-90, Garland Papers.

[25] The acronym ANZAC comes from 'Australian and New Zealand Army Corps,' a descriptor of several corps containing antipodean troops during the Great War. 'Anzac' became, and remains, a popular shorthand for Australian servicemen of all eras, regardless of whether they served in any of the Anzac corps.

[26] Garland to Hely-Wilson, 15 July 1916, OM71-51-27, Garland Papers.

[27] Garland to John Collum, 9 June 1916, OM71-51/20, Garland Papers.

[28] See for example, R Woodger to Garland, 12 August 1916, OM71-51-35, Garland Papers.

[29] Gladwin, *Captains of the soul*, 52.

[30] Garland to Verdi Schwinghammer, 4 September 1917, OM71-51-116, Garland Papers; Garland to Maitland Woods, 22 August 1917, OM74-101-62, Maitland Woods Papers.

[31] Gladwin, *Captains of the soul*, 52.

[32] Garland to Maitland Woods, 22 August 1917, OM74-101-62, Maitland Woods Papers; Garland to Maitland Woods, 18 June 1917, OM74-101-59, Maitland Woods Papers.

[33] 'Soldiers' Church of England Help Society,' *Brisbane courier*, 17 September 1915, 8; Moses and Davis, *Anzac Day origins*, 188; Maitland Woods to Garland, 9 July 1916, OM74-101-33, Maitland Woods Papers.

[34] Garland to Mrs Philp, 7 August 1916, OM71-51-33, Garland Papers, John Oxley Library; Garland to Tomkins, 12 September 1916, OM71-51-44, Garland Papers.

[35] Celebrating the anniversary of the landing of the Australians and New Zealanders at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915.

[36] Garland to Maitland Woods, 1 March 1916, OM74-101-19, Maitland Woods Papers; Garland to John Collum, 24 April 1917, OM71-51-91, Garland Papers.

[37] For an in-depth treatment of the topic, see Moses and Davis, *Anzac Day origins*.

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[38] Maitland Woods to Garland, 10 April 1916, M74-101-22, Maitland Woods Papers; Maitland Woods to Garland 13 May 1916, OM74-101-26, Maitland Woods Papers.

[39] William Joseph Leacock to Garland, 24 July 1916, OM71-51-28, Garland Papers.

[40] Garland to Maitland Woods, 4 December 1915, OM74-101-9, Maitland Woods Papers.

[41] Garland to Maitland Woods, 1 March 1916, OM74-101-19, Maitland Woods Papers; Maitland Woods to Garland, 13 May 1916, OM74-101-26, Maitland Woods Papers.

[42] Garland to Maitland Woods, 19 July 1916, OM74-101-35, Maitland Woods Papers.

[43] Garland to Maitland Woods, 3 October 1916, OM74-101-42, Maitland Woods Papers; Garland to Hely-Wilson, 3 October 1916, OM71-51-51, Garland Papers.

[44] Garland to Maitland Woods, 26 October 1916, OM74-101-45, Maitland Woods Papers.

[45] Garland to Maitland Woods, 29 November 1916, OM74-101-49, Maitland Woods Papers.

[46] Garland to Trewellyn Crommelin, 4 December 1916, OM71-51-62, Garland Papers; Garland to Maitland Woods, 7 December 1916, OM74-101-50, Maitland Woods Papers; Garland to Fred Baker, 23 December 1916, OM71-51-66, Garland Papers; Garland to Maitland Woods, 2 February 1917, OM74-101-52, Maitland Woods Papers.

[47] Schwinghammer to Garland, 29 December 1916, OM71-51-68, Garland Papers; Schwinghammer to Garland, 12 July 1917, OM71-51-105, Garland Papers; Crommelin to Garland, 23 September 1916, OM71-51-48, Garland Papers.

[48] Eva to Garland, n.d., 1916, OM71-51-43, Garland Papers; Collum to Garland, 30 June 1917, OM71-51-102, Garland Papers; Maitland Woods to Garland, 14 January 1916, OM74-101-13, Maitland Woods Papers; Maitland Woods to Garland, 21 February 1916, OM74-101-18, Maitland Woods Papers.

[49] William Leacock to Garland, 24 July 1916, OM71-51-28, Garland Papers.

[50] Cecil Edwards, Diary, 11 June 1916, https://www.anglicanarchives.org.au/online-exhibitions/military-chaplains/war-time-diary-transcript/.

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[51] Woodger to Garland, 12 August, 1916, OM71-51-35, Garland Papers; Garland to Woodger, 12 August 1916, Garland Papers; OM71-51-35, Garland Papers; Schwinghammer to Garland, 29 December 1916, OM71-51-68, Garland Papers; Schwinghammer to Garland, 6 February 1917, OM71-51-79, Garland Papers; Garland to Schwinghammer, 4 September 1917, OM71-51-116, Garland Papers.

[52] Clement Ranford, Letter, 14 October 1917, 'Letters written on active service, A-L, 1914-1918,' A 2660, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW; Frank Smith, Diary, 5 March 1916, MLMSS 2742, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW.

[53] Philip Micklem to Garland, n.d., 1916, OM71-51-17, Garland Papers; Baker to Garland, 7 July 1916, OM71-51-18, Can Garland Papers; Hely-Wilson to Garland, July 1916, OM71-51-24, Garland Papers; Tomkins to Garland, 26 July 1916, OM71-51-29, Garland Papers; Horace Watkins to Garland, 13 July 1917, OM71-51-106, Garland Papers.

[54] Maitland Woods to Garland, 15 August 1917, OM71-51-113 Garland Papers.

[55] Daniel Reynaud, *Anzac spirituality: The first AIF soldiers speak*, North Melbourne 2018, 192-194, 221.

[56] Collum to Garland, 24 October 1916, OM71-51-55, Garland Papers.

[57] Horace T Boultbee to Garland, February 1917, OM71-51-88, Garland Papers.

[58] Garland to Schwinghammer, 4 September 1917, OM71-51-116, Garland Papers.

[59] Garland to Maitland Woods, 22 August 1917, OM74-101-62, Maitland Woods Papers.

[60] Maitland Woods to Garland, 18 July 1916, OM74-101-34, Maitland Woods Papers.

[61] Edwards, Diary, 20 October 1915.

[62] Maitland Woods to Garland, 4 December 1915, OM74-101-10, Maitland Woods Papers.

[63] J Spence Booth, Letter to Garland, 26 January 1917, OM71-51-75, Garland Papers.

[64] Garland to Tomkins, 18 January 1916, OM71-51-8, Garland Papers.

[65] Garland to Ellen McLean, 10 September 1917, OM71-51-118, Garland Papers.

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[66] Garland to Tarrant, 12 October 1917, OM71-51-121, Garland Papers.

[67] Garland to Maitland Woods, 7 December 1916, OM74-101-50, Maitland Woods Papers.

[68] Edith Avenell to Garland, 8 June 1916, OM71-51-19, Garland Papers; Collum to Garland, 24 October 1916, OM71-51-55, Garland Papers.

[69] Tomkins to Garland, 23 November 1915, OM71-51-6, Garland Papers; Micklem to Garland, July 1916, OM71-51-17, Garland Papers; Hely-Wilson to Garland, July 1916, OM71-51-24, Garland Papers; Tomkins to Garland, 26 July 1916, OM71-51-29, Garland Papers; T Edwards to Garland, 15-17 February 1917, OM71-51-83, Garland Papers; Maitland Woods to Garland,10 April 1917, OM74-101-54, Maitland Woods Papers.

[70] Horace Walton to Garland, 22 July 1917, OM71-51-107, Garland Papers.

[71] Maitland Woods to Garland, 9 July 1916, OM74-101-33, Maitland Woods Papers.

[72] Edwards, Diary, 26-29 October 1915.

[73] Gerard Kennedy Tucker, quoted in Michael McKernan, *Padre*, Sydney 1986, 70-71, 114-115.

[74] Schwinghammer to Garland, 29 December 1916, OM71-51-68, Garland Papers; Schwinghammer to Garland, 6 February 1917, OM71-51-79, Garland Papers; Schwinghammer to Garland, 12 July 1917, OM71-51-105, Garland Papers.

[75] Garland to Schwinghammer, 4 September 1917, OM71-51-116, Garland Papers.

[76] Gladwin, *Captains of the soul*, 78-79; Stuart Bell, *Faith in conflict: The impact of the Great War on the faith of the people of Britain*, Solihull 2017, 100-107.

[77] Garland to Maitland Wood, 8 March 1916, OM74-101-20, Maitland Woods Papers.

[78] Maitland Wood to Garland, 21 February 1916, OM74-101-18, Maitland Woods Papers.

[79] Frank Weeks to Garland, 9 May 1915, OM71-51-1, Garland Papers.

[80] Schwinghammer to Garland, 12 July 1917, OM71-51-105, Garland Papers.

[81] John Spencer Booth to Garland, 19 January 1917, OM71-51-73, Garland Papers.

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[82] Maitland Woods to Garland, 29 September 1915, OM74-101-1, Maitland Woods Papers; Maitland Woods to Garland, 1 October 1915, OM74-101-4, Maitland Woods Papers; Maitland Woods to Garland, 18 June 1916, OM74-101-31, Maitland Woods Papers.

[83] Maitland Woods to Garland, 10 June 1917, OM71-51-96, Garland Papers.

[84] W G Nisbet to Garland, May 1934, OM71-51-131, Garland Papers.

[85] Peter Howson, *Muddling through: The organization of British Army chaplaincy in World War One*, Solihull 2013, 118-122.

[86] Thomas Craike Rentoul to Ivy Comben, 1 May 1916, MSS1207, Australian War Memorial.

[87] William McKenzie to James Hay, 27 December 1914, 4 January 1915, 16 March 195, PR 85815, Australian War Memorial; Gladwin, *Captains of the soul*, 67-69.

[88] Reynaud, *Anzac spirituality*, 174-176.

[89] Garland to Tomkins, 18 January 1916, OM71-51-8, Garland Papers.

[90] Garland to Maitland Woods, 1 March 1916, OM74-101-19, Maitland Woods Papers.

[91] Boultbee to Garland, February 1917, OM71-51-88, Garland Papers.

[92] Garland to Tomkins, 18 May 1916, OM71-51-14, Garland Papers.

[93] Reynaud, *Anzac Spirituality*, 18-21.

[94] Garland to Maitland Woods, 1 March 1916, OM74-101-19, Maitland Woods Papers; Garland to Maitland Woods, 8 March 1916, OM74-101-20, Maitland Woods Papers.

[95] Maitland Woods to Garland, 3 June 1916, OM74-101-30, Maitland Woods Papers.

[96] Maitland Woods to Garland, 9 July 1916, OM74-101-33, Maitland Woods Papers.

[97] Maitland Woods to Garland, 21 February 1916, OM74-101-18, Maitland Woods Papers.

[98] Schwinghammer to Garland, 29 December 1916, Item OM71-51-68, Garland Papers.

[99] Garland to Schwinghammer, 4 September 1917, OM71-51-116, Garland Papers.

[100] Watkins to Garland, 13 July 1917, OM71-51-106, Garland Papers; Watkins to Garland, 22 July 1917, M71-51-107, Garland Papers.

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[101] Edwards to Garland, 30 December 1916, OM71-51-70, Garland Papers; Garland to David Collins, 12 October 1917, OM71-51-122, Garland Papers.

[102] On Anglican chaplaincy effectiveness, see for example, Edward Madigan, 'Hidden courage: post-war literature and Anglican Army chaplains on the Western Front', in H. Jones *et al.* (eds), *Untold War: New Perspectives in First World War Studies* Leiden, 2008, 63-94; Michael Snape, 'Church of England Army chaplains in the First World War: goodbye to "Goodbye to All That"', *Journal of ecclesiastical history*, 62/2 (2011), 318-45. On the myth of the secular Digger, see Robert D. Linder, *The long tragedy: Australian evangelical Christians and the Great War, 1914-1918*, Adelaide 2000, Colin Bale, *A crowd of witnesses: epitaphs on First World War Australian war graves*, Haberfield NSW 2015; Gladwin, *Captains of the Soul*; and Reynaud, *Anzac Spirituality*.

[103] Ruth Frappell, 'Imperial fervour and Anglican loyalty 1901-1929', in *Anglicanism in Australia*, 78-79.

[104] Tom Frame, 'Local differences, social and national identity 1930-1966', in *Anglicanism in Australia,* 108.

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