

ARTICLE

An Anglican Odyssey: The Ecumenical Vision of Canon David John Garland (1864–1939) OBE and his Hidden Christian Agenda for Anzac Day

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(Received 24 May 2021; revised 26 October 2021; accepted 26 October 2021; first published online 26 November 2021)

Abstract

There is still much unclear about the nature of the origins of Australia's most respected and hallowed national day, namely Anzac Day, 25 April, and about who was primarily responsible for instituting a day of solemn commemoration for the fallen in the Great War of 1914–18. Much has been written by mostly unqualified would-be 'authorities' that is either patently false, uninformed or hostile to the commemoration. This is either because of resentment in some quarters of the distinctly Anglican contribution to the nature of the commemoration or pacifist misunderstanding that the celebration of Anzac Day is somehow a glorification of war. This paper based on original research into the files of the Queensland Anzac Day Commemoration Committee establishes the key role of Canon David John Garland (1864–1939) in shaping a liturgy of civic religion for the day which he hoped would become a means of reminding the population of their calling as part of the British Empire to emphasize the reign of Almighty God over all nations of the earth. That was the hidden Christian agenda in the mind of Canon Garland. Naturally he had his opponents to this objective.

Keywords: Army chaplaincy, Bible, British Empire, Canon Garland, civil religion, Huish, New Zealand, RSL

When a sermon by a well-known Anglo-Catholic priest begins with the invocation inspired by Isa. 11.9, 'May the earth be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea' (also Hab. 2.14), one would be forgiven for thinking, 'This man is really an Evangelical!'

But, as with many things Anglican the reality is far more complicated. The priest in question, David John Garland (Figure 1), was an Irish immigrant to Australia – a Dubliner – arriving in 1886, who worked initially as a 'gopher' in a law firm in the country town of Toowoomba some 100 km west from the colonial capital Brisbane.²

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²Garland had a reputation in the Church as a priest with an extensive knowledge of the law, though he had no formal legal training or qualifications. What he knew had been obviously gleaned from his employment as a 'gopher' or 'gofor' in Toowoomba, that is, as a general factotum in the office. Enquiries reveal that

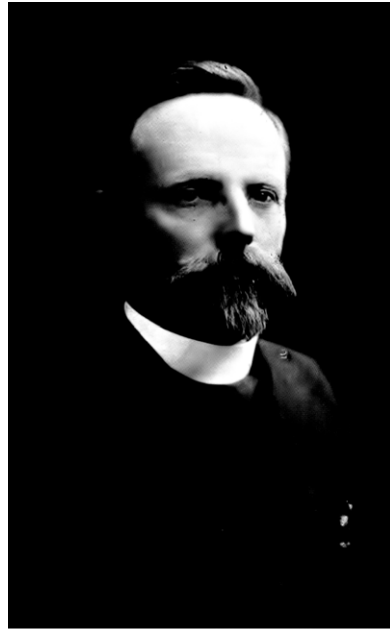


Figure 1. David John Garland as a young priest.
Source: Anglican Archives, Brisbane.

It was there that the young Orangeman and Free Mason came under the influence of a most energetic disciple of the Oxford Movement, namely the Reverend Thomas Jones (1836–1918) (see Figure 2). Garland was, as the record shows, eternally indebted to the formation he received under the guidance of his wise and patient Rector.³

Remarkably, Garland's ministry conforms in every respect to David Bebbington's *Evangelical Quadrilateral*. First, there is Garland's undoubted prioritization of the *Bible* as the source of everything needed for the healing of the world. Secondly, there is no doubt about his *Crucicentrism* and its focus on Christ's atoning act on Calvary. Thirdly, on *Conversionism*, Garland obviously set great store on the individual's personal embracing of the faith; and fourthly, there can be absolutely no doubt as to Garland's vigorous *Activism* in fearlessly proclaiming the faith.⁴

the firm in question no longer exists. Whereas in the general record, at least by some authorities, Canon Garland's work in establishing Anzac Day is acknowledged, its deeper significance is yet to be unearthed and advertised. As with most problems of understanding history and politics the essential spiritual-intellectual aspects remain obscure to the general public.

³Jones had arrived in Australia as member of a band of six clergy accompanying Bishop Tufnell who founded the Diocese of Brisbane. At that time he was a deacon and was duly ordained priest in St John's pro-cathedral 26 May 1861. When Jones died in 1918, Garland published a warm eulogy of his mentor in the Brisbane daily *The Courier Mail*, 7 December 1918. See also *The Church Chronicle*, 1 July 1934, p. 206, for Garland's speech to the Brisbane Synod on the occasion of his award of an OBE when he paid tribute to the shaping influence of the mentor of his youth in Toowoomba.

⁴Cf. David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1988). Garland's entire ministry is distinguished by his most vigorous *Activism*, for example. Indeed, his energy was acknowledged by his Ordinary who called him a 'Triton among the minnows'. See n. 13.



Figure 2. Left to right: The Reverend John Hunt, missionary; the Reverend Canon Thomas Jones; and Lt Col. The Reverend Canon David Garland (ca. 1915).

Source: Anglican Church Archives, Brisbane.

Anglo-Catholics, on the other hand, some remarkably idiosyncratic exceptions notwithstanding, are generally more concerned with what one may designate ‘the sacralising of the world’. That implies they are ecumenically oriented, understanding the Church to be a society that exists to ‘keep alive the memory of Jesus of Nazareth’ for the healing of the entire world.⁵ For them the Church is not a ‘closed shop’ with rigid rules for membership but is open to ‘all sorts and conditions’ of humanity. In short, it is a community ‘without walls’.⁶ This is the essential point of difference between Anglo-Catholics on the one hand and conservative Evangelicals on the other, such as are to be found in the Orange movement. Against this, Anglo-Catholics prioritise the Word meaning *the Logos* in the Fourth Gospel where it is comprehended as the life-giving force of Creation, indeed the source of cosmic energy that holds the universe in place.

This being so, the Reverend ‘Tommy’ Jones, as he was known, was able to convince the young Orangeman that there was no irresolvable conflict between belief in the Christian Scriptures and the mission of the Church for sacralizing the world. Jones had thus constructed a bridge over which the young Garland could

⁵Some clergy designating themselves ‘Anglo-Catholic’ seem to insist that they distinguish themselves by pursuing a largely ritualistic and anti-feminist agenda. These people, as do fundamentalist champions of biblical inerrancy, advocate a doctrinaire submission to what they are pleased to call ‘the Church’. In either case ecumenical dialogue is rejected as is the ordination of women to either the priesthood or the episcopate.

⁶See Bruce Kaye, *A Church without Walls: Being an Anglican in Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995).

confidently cross without abandoning his devotion to Holy Scripture.⁷ So, for the Bible-oriented Orangeman there was no intellectual-spiritual obstacle to embracing Anglo-Catholicism, and this he did with Evangelical fervour throughout his long and highly entrepreneurial priesthood.⁸ This is why Garland's intellectual-spiritual biography is instructive; it shows that there need not be any confrontation between Evangelical and Catholic because in reality they are complementary.

The Bible: Product of the Church

Since Hans Küng, and doubtless many others before him have pointed out, the Bible was produced by what he called the *eschatological community of salvation*, that is, the Church.⁹ By the middle of the fourth century AD the Church had produced a Bible which has been used liturgically ever since. From his Orange upbringing, Garland understood the Bible to be the foundational document of Western civilization and the virtual handbook of morality for the British Empire. This remained the irreducible core of Garland's life-long conviction. On this basis was constructed the edifice of Anglo-Catholicism built by Tommy Jones at St James', Toowoomba. Thus equipped, Garland was admitted to the diaconate by the Bishop of Grafton-Armidale in 1889.¹⁰ He served in that capacity in the towns of Grafton and Quirindi and further in Narrandera and Broken Hill in the Diocese of the Riverina until he moved to Perth, Western Australia. There he was finally ordained priest by Bishop Parry in 1892 and from then on Garland's priesthood began to evince the many gifts that lay dormant within him. For a good decade he worked with uncommon energy, his peripatetic tendencies having been channelled into creative enterprises. There in the West the energetic former Orangeman discharged a range of duties of

⁷See Hans Küng, *On Being a Christian* (London: Fount Paper Backs, 1974), pp. 466. '... Christianity is not a book religion. The Scriptures are not themselves divine revelation. They are merely the *human testimonies* [emphasis added] of divine revelation in which the humanity, independence and historicity of the human authors always remain intact.' It is fair to observe that Garland would have understood this. Nevertheless, his point is still valid, namely that the Bible is the source of our spiritual and political culture. With regard to Jones, as Garland himself attested, he was the priest who led Garland to the Faith by making clear that the Church was there to heal the world, that is to make it 'whole' again.

⁸It is instructive to use the concept of conflicting paradigms here: There is the Evangelical paradigm that ascribes inerrancy to Scripture and there is the Catholic paradigm that prioritizes the Word and the Sacraments in the task of sacralizing human society. Crucially, the German Protestant theologians by the time of the First World War had evolved a new paradigm that elevated the German Power State (*Machtstaat*) to the status of being God's instrument for the conversion of the world. One may call that the Harnack paradigm after its foremost champion, Professor Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930). It was, however, vigorously contested by the Swiss Social Democratic theologian, Karl Barth, in his path-breaking study, *The Epistle to the Romans* (1918).

⁹Hans Küng, *The Church* (London: Search Press Ltd, 1973). On p. 486, Küng proclaims, 'The Church has the gift and responsibility of being in the world and with the world; of thinking, speaking and acting as part of the world. But even this ministry is not sufficient. The Church exists for the world by being committed to the world.' Garland's ministry bears this out quite dramatically in his concept of Anzac Commemoration and his energetic dedication to it.

¹⁰Why Garland was not made Deacon in his own Diocese of Brisbane instead of the neighbouring Diocese of Grafton-Armidale in New South Wales is not clear. It may have had to do with some disagreement between Jones and Bishop Webber of Brisbane (1885–1903) but a satisfactory answer cannot be found in the surviving archives. The point is that Jones's influence on Garland was of crucial significance in his overall development as both priest and citizen.



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Figure 3. Garland standing front row second from left.

Source: Batty Library, Perth.

spectacular diversity ranging from Diocesan Administrator (on the sudden death of Bishop Parry on 15 November 1893), editor of the Diocesan newspaper, *The West Australian Church News*, agitator for religious instruction in government schools, discharged a roving commission to revive run down country parishes, and a ministry to out-back Aborigines as well as becoming a chaplain for troops in training prior to embarkation for South Africa. The latter posting required Garland's commissioning as a member of the chaplaincy section of the then colonial militia (Figure 3). It was the beginning of a life-long creative association with service men and army nurses in time of war.

This early phase of Garland's priesthood in Perth evinces two main features: first, he was extraordinarily entrepreneurial in the number of tasks he undertook. For a young priest whose only previous ministerial experience had been as a Deacon for three years in the Dioceses of Grafton and Riverina, his record of service was unequalled. Indeed, his position on the Perth Diocesan Council alone indicates a person of advanced administrative ability. The second factor was somewhat less positive. Over the course of time Garland came to clash with his second bishop, Charles Riley (Figure 4), who arrived in 1895.

The new prelate was a dour Yorkshireman of low church persuasion who found Garland's High Church proclivities a distinct irritation.¹¹ It took, however, until 1902 for the growing rift between the turbulent Irish Canon and his imperious Ordinary from Yorkshire to become irreparable. In that year, undoubtedly embittered, Garland left for Sydney and then for Townsville where he had found a more hospitable Father-in-God.

¹¹Riley Diaries, held in the Perth Public Library. See entries for period, 16 October 1901 to 24 March 1902.



Figure 4. Charles Owen Leaver Riley, later Archbishop Riley in Perth.
Source: Battye Library, Perth.

There in the far north, the characteristic features of Garland's earlier ministry in the West became over time even more vigorously manifest, especially during his later career in Brisbane and also in New Zealand. These features included predominantly Garland's campaign for the spread of biblical knowledge for the education of the young, and his abiding concern for troop welfare.¹² He was, as shall be shown, at the forefront of agitation for the Queensland State Education Act to be amended in order to allow ministers of religion into government primary schools to give religious instruction.¹³ His second major concern was the welfare of troops who had volunteered to fight for the Empire. These two issues were theologically linked in Garland's mind; the nexus between Bible and Empire in a world of competing Empires.

The Roots of 'War Theology'

One discerns here a unique 'war or imperial theology' which was shared by most Anglican prelates and intellectual leaders of the time.¹⁴ It was indeed at the core of British Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone's thinking when he wrote *The State in its Relations with the Church* (1838). Essentially, national policy ought to conform

¹²John A. Moses, 'The Faith of David John Garland (1864–1939): An Australian Gladstonian Imperialist', *St Mark's Review* 225 (August 2013), pp. 72–84, and John A. Moses, 'David John Garland: "A Triton among the Minnows"', *St Mark's Review* 230 (December 2014), pp. 60–71. In the *West Australian Church News*, 17 December 1898, p. 157, which Garland edited, he published an article entitled, 'What Mr. Gladstone Believed – Selected from his Writings', in which he set out Gladstone's views on national policy and Christian principles.

¹³See the summary of the work of the Bible in State Schools League prepared by Garland for presentation to the New Zealand Parliament in 1914. This document of 260 printed pages provides information on all the dominions and colonies of the then British Empire on the legislation allowing religious instruction in government schools. See *Religious Instruction in State Schools – Statement prepared by the Rev. Canon D.J. Garland for the Education Committee of the Parliament of New Zealand* (Wellington, 1914).

¹⁴For an outstanding example, see *Christian Patriotism* by Archbishop St Clair Donaldson (1915) reprinted in John A. Moses and Peter Overlack, *First Know your Enemy: Comprehending Imperial German War-Aims and Deciphering the Enigma of Kultur* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly, 2019), pp. 258–73.

to Christian principles, a proposition that drew the jibe of the Prussian statesman and German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck that Gladstone conducted politics like a Pastor.¹⁵ Prussianism expressed *Realpolitik* (or *raison d'état*) which became the synonym for ruthlessly aggressive amoral politics, an ideology that has baffled Western Christian leaders down to the Second World War. During the First World War the English Bishops and churchmen like Canon Garland were particularly alienated from their German counterparts since the German theologians had very openly endorsed the aggressive actions of the Kaiser's government and glossed over such violations of human rights as had occurred in the *Belgian atrocities* which the German armies committed in their westward advance while implementing the Schlieffen Plan.¹⁶ Particularly since the time of the Boer Wars when Germany demonstratively sympathized with the Dutch *Vortrekkers* and as well spurned the offer of an alliance with Britain, did the English opinion of their German cousins deteriorate further. Prior to that, Anglo-German relations had already become less than amiable because of the adoption by Germany of the 'Tirpitz Plan' to out-build Britain in capital ships. Relations from then onwards became increasingly strained. The cumulative effect on British Churchmen of all denominations was to perceive any threat to the Empire as hostile also to Christianity because the belief then prevailed that Almighty God had bestowed great power on Britain in order to facilitate the spread of the Gospel among the benighted heathen throughout the world.¹⁷ In short, the Empire should be understood as an instrument in the history of salvation.¹⁸ Consequently, when in August 1914 the Kaiser's Germany threatened the security of the entire British Empire most bishops and priests like Garland were both ideologically and theologically programmed to resist what they came to regard as Godless Prussianism.¹⁹

¹⁵Bismarck was the celebrated practitioner of Hegelian *Realpolitik*, which means the politics of *raison d'état* totally disregarding concerns for Christian morality. The Prusso-German elder statesman of Lutheran faith was openly contemptuous of Gladstone's theological position. See Frederick B.M. Hollyday (ed.), *Bismarck – Great Lives Observed* (Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1970), p. 160, and Hajo Holborn, 'Bismarck's Realpolitik', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 21 (1960), pp. 88-91; Jonathan Steinberg, *Bismarck – A Life* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹⁶John A. Moses, 'British and German Churches and the Perception of War 1908–1915', *War & Society* 5.1 (1987), pp. 23-44. There is a considerable literature on this subject, the most recent being from John Horn and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001). See also Albrecht Gerber, *Deissmann the Philologist* (New York/Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 245-82. In this lengthy section Gerber has fleshed out the differences between Western theological thinking about war and the then prevailing Protestant German attitude.

¹⁷This subject has also attracted considerable attention. For outstanding examples, see Hilary M. Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World c. 1808–1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) and Rowan Strong (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism. III. Partisan Anglicanism and its Global Expansion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

¹⁸Obviously not all political leaders conceived of the Empire in such exalted theological categories. Gladstone's vision would not necessarily have been uppermost in the mind of many other British statesmen.

¹⁹When the German Lutheran leadership tried to explain to the British churches why the Reich was entirely justified in invading Belgium it elicited a very firm rebuttal from the Archbishop of Canterbury. See Moses, 'British and German Churches'.

Back to North Queensland

We recall that on his departure from Perth for the East, Garland had first tried to find a base of operations at the historic Anglo-Catholic Church of St James', King Street, Sydney. Frustratingly, however, a tenured appointment there was blocked as Archbishop Riley had warned his Sydney counterpart against licensing a putative trouble-maker like Garland. Undismayed, Garland then found an initially welcoming prelate in George Horsfall Frodsham, the Bishop of North Queensland.²⁰ Soon after arrival in Townsville, Garland was collated Archdeacon and installed as Rector of Charters Towers, at that time the second city of the northern diocese. Here, besides engaging creatively in local welfare politics with his Baptist colleague,²¹ Garland resumed his agitation for religious instruction in government schools, becoming secretary of the Queensland Bible in State Schools League.

Garland Moves South

After some five years in the distant north Garland felt the need to get closer to the centre of action in the state capital, Brisbane. He was driven by the need to advance the cause of biblical knowledge, which he prioritized above his very active ministry as Archdeacon of North Queensland. Accordingly, Garland sought a parish in the south in part to avoid the relatively frequent and arduous train journey from Townsville to Brisbane to attend inter-denominational meetings of the Bible in State Schools League. This was chaired by Brisbane's Archbishop St Clair Donaldson.²² After various frustrated attempts to persuade Donaldson to find him a parish in Brisbane, Garland was finally appointed in 1907 to the city parish of Holy Trinity, Woolloongabba in South Brisbane, the title he held until February 1913. While there, Garland devoted himself single-mindedly to the campaign to have the Queensland Education Act amended to allow religious instruction in State schools as he had done in Perth.²³ Indeed, Garland had toured most of the vast State of Queensland armed with a lantern slide projector giving public lectures stressing the centrality of biblical knowledge for the healthy development of civil society.

It was essential to inculcate school children with the values enshrined in the biblical narrative. His efforts were richly rewarded when the Act was amended in the Queensland Parliament (1911) to enable clergy of all denominations to conduct religious instruction in primary schools and for teachers to be required to give lessons

²⁰John A. Moses and George F. Davis, *Anzac Day Origins: Canon D J Garland and Trans-Tasman Commemoration* (Canberra: Barton Books, 2013), pp. 112-15. Frodsham was Bishop of North Queensland from 1902 to 1913.

²¹Moses and Davis, *Anzac Day Origins*, p. 89.

²²Donaldson was Brisbane's first archbishop, appointed in 1904, a scholarly Cambridge graduate and Empire patriot who shared Garland's commitment to the spread of biblical knowledge but otherwise did not warm to the Dubliner, although he referred to Garland as a 'Triton among the minnows' (see Moses, 'David John Garland'). On Davidson, see Alexander Philip Kidd, 'The Brisbane Episcopate of St. Clair Donaldson 1904-1921', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1996, and John A. Moses, 'A Doughty War-time Leader: Brisbane's First Archbishop, St. Clair George Alfred Donaldson 1904-1921', *Queensland History Journal* 24.2 (August 2019), pp.184-96.

²³See Yvonne Perkins, 'Queensland's Bible in State Schools Referendum 1910: A Case Study in Democracy', BA Hons Thesis, University of Sydney, 2010, pp. 65-67.

in Bible study. The jubilation among the leaders of all denominations except the Roman Catholic was palpable.²⁴ Garland's efforts were acknowledged with the award of a canonry of St John's Cathedral. 'Canon Garland' became a household name throughout the State, nation and abroad as shall be seen.

Education in Biblical Knowledge: The Bible Readers for Government Primary Schools

Apart from exhibiting dogged lobbying skills in promoting the adoption of the amendment among all interest groups, political as well as inter-denominational, Garland had prepared handbooks containing excerpts of Bible passages for school classes. Ostensibly, this was the work of 'A Departmental Committee . . . appointed to compile Readers in accordance with the Act'.²⁵ As far as the Old Testament was concerned, the readings selected reflect the sovereignty of God over all Creation as well as the nature of God as a caring, benevolent deity whose truth and mercy is available to all humankind. Here much use is made of readings from the Psalms, Proverbs and Isaiah. And in particular with regard to Isaiah, there was an emphasis on the prophecies relating to the coming of the Messiah. So pedagogically the stress was on the beneficence of God and humanity's indebtedness to God as well as the continuity between the Old and New Testaments.

Unsurprisingly, the New Testament selections began with the content of the Sermon on the Mount, divided into five sections covering Matthew, chs. 5 and 7. Thereafter came the various parables that illustrate the great Christian virtues as well as the fatherhood of God. So overall the key lesson was the essential humanizing potential of Christianity, implying that to be truly human one must be genuinely Christian. But beyond this was also the underlying message that the full flourishing of humanity under Almighty God was made possible by the political order; that is, the rule of law that was safe-guarded within the bounds of the humane jurisdiction of the British Empire. The booklets containing these excerpts from the Bible were still in use until the Second World War.

Garland's Ambitious but Frustrated New Zealand Mission

The success of the Bible-in-State Schools movement in Australia after the Queensland Education Act had been amended led to an invitation to Canon Garland from the New Zealand Anglican Bishops to cross the Tasman and take charge of a campaign to accomplish the same goals as in Queensland. He had no hesitation in accepting. Little could he then appreciate what an impact his trans-Tasman campaign that lasted a good two years would have on the long-term

²⁴The Roman Catholic hierarchy had always opposed the notion that school children of their flock could be exposed to heretical doctrines if the Act were to be amended. To meet this objection children of Roman Catholic families were exempted from attending these lessons as were those of professed atheist or agnostic parentage. Subsequently the Queensland Education Act has been amended to allow the discretion of principals to regulate the admission of ministers of religion or 'chaplains' to conduct Bible lessons.

²⁵From the Preface to *Bible Lessons: Arranged from the Old and New Testaments for the Use of Queensland State Schools* (Brisbane: Queensland Government Printer, 1911).

historical evolution of the sister Dominion. Garland duly arrived with his wife and son in Wellington and was licensed there on 12 August 1912. However, despite his assiduous efforts at pursuing the cause through innumerable sermons and public addresses throughout the length and breadth of both islands, the campaign was denied the success experienced in Queensland. Certainly, the feisty Canon had encountered vigorous opposition and resentment from the atheistic press, which frequently vilified his campaign. On the other hand, he enjoyed the support of not a few leading political figures upon whom he could rely in his later promotion of Anzac Day commemoration. But the real reason for the collapse of Garland's New Zealand campaign came from a *force majeure*. Before the Referendum could be held the looming European war had finally broken out and Dominion concerns became more focused on immediate existential threats such as posed by the Imperial German East Asia Naval Squadron based in northern China. Consequently, by the end of October 1914 the fate of the New Zealand Religious Instruction in Schools Referendum Bill was sealed.²⁶ The campaign had to be dropped and its collected funds bequeathed to the purchase of ambulances for the military.

Garland's dedicated two-year investment in the project, however, had sufficiently impressed the New Zealand bishops that they collectively nominated him for a Lambeth Doctorate which was within the prerogative of the Primate of All England to award. This honour, however, was effectively vetoed by Garland's own Ordinary in Brisbane, Donaldson, on the grounds that Garland possessed no university qualifications whatsoever.²⁷ How Garland responded to this is not revealed in any surviving documentation. More important were the portentous challenges to Dominion security posed by the Kaiser's Germany. Garland, together with like-minded figures in the universities around the Commonwealth, immediately came to grips with these. The first need was to explain the German aggression and its implications for Britain's overseas possessions, and secondly to stress the logical need for increased recruitment. This became Garland's next major project.

Return to Brisbane and New Challenges

From his role as Secretary of the Queensland Recruitment Committee, Garland had closely followed the exploits of the ANZAC contingent in the eventually futile Dardanelles campaign. Hundreds of wounded and very sick and dying Diggers had already been transported home to be hospitalized, also in Brisbane. Consequently, after the withdrawal from the Dardanelles, the Recruiting Committee prompted by Garland convened a public meeting in the Brisbane Exhibition Hall on 10 January 1916. The high-profile key-note speaker would be Lieutenant General James McCay, at that time Inspector General of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF). McCay had himself been in the Dardanelles and having sustained a severe leg wound, had been temporarily invalidated home. At that Brisbane meeting McCay dwelt on the need to replace the men already lost. It was strongly

²⁶See ch. 6, by George F. Davis, in Moses and Davis, *Anzac Day Origins*, pp. 118-33, *passim*.

²⁷Donaldson minuted that the Canon had no learning, but that he was, however, 'extraordinarily well-informed'. See Moses, 'David John Garland'.

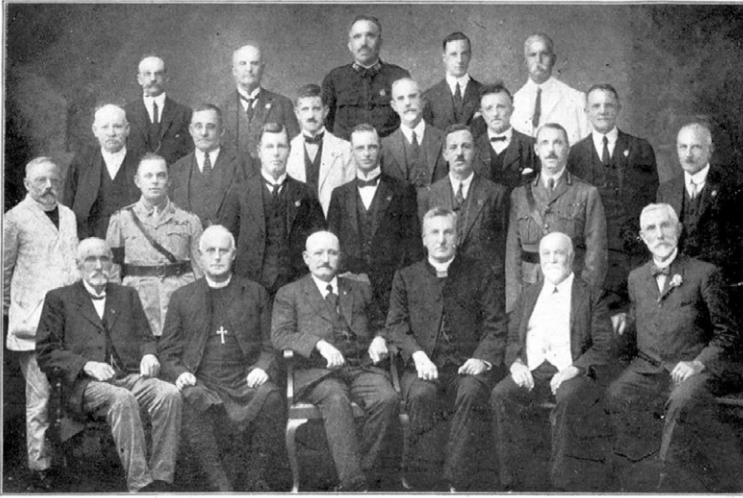


Figure 5. The Anzac Day Committee, 11 March 1922. Back Row L to R: A Watson (Chamber of Manufacturers), Charles Gibbon (Fathers' Association), Colonel McKenzie (Salvation Army), Stanley Wilmott (Overseas Club), Arthur Exley (St George's Society). Third Row L to R: P McDermott (Irish Association), JF Maxwell MLA, ERB Pike (joint secretary ADCC), W Meyers King (Chamber of Commerce), Rev. AG Weller (Chaplin), Ald. Faulkner (Mayor of South Brisbane). Second Row L to R: Canon DJ Garland (Secretary ADCC), LT Colonel Durant, Rev. Dr EN Merrington (Chaplin), Major Dibden RSL, Brigadier General Cannan RSL, Major General Bruche, Captain Maddock. Front Row L to R: TA Ryan, Archbishop G Sharp (CofE), Jon J Harry Coyne (Chairman ADCC), Archbishop J Duhig (RC), Alderman Down, Hon. AJ Thynne. Source: *The Week*, 17 March 1922.

implied that simply to cheer the remaining men on from the sidelines was futile. They were exhausted and desperately needed fresh recruits in their ranks.

It was at that meeting in the presence of the State Governor, Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams, the Premier T.J. Ryan and dignitaries from the mainstream Churches that Garland also spoke of the need to remember those who had already made the supreme sacrifice. He tabled a motion that a committee be set up to explore the idea of establishing a national day of mourning for the fallen. Unsurprisingly, given Garland's reputation for getting things done he was elected to chair what became the Anzac Day Committee (Figure 5).

Thus was the machinery set in motion that produced the most important national event of civic religion for both Australia and New Zealand, namely Anzac Day, 25 April, the date in 1915 of the fateful landing of Empire and French forces on that Turkish beach in the Dardanelles.²⁸ What the Dominion troops called 'Anzac Cove' lies between Suvla Bay and Gaba Tepe on the Aegean

²⁸For the full account of the public meeting in Brisbane held on 10 January 1916 that sparked these events, see John A. Moses and George F. Davis, *Anzac Day Origins: Canon D J Garland and Trans-Tasman Commemoration* (Canberra: Barton Books, 2013), pp. 76-101. See also Nic Maclellan, 'Gallipoli and Forgetting', *Inside Story*, 23 April 2015, in which the author draws attention to the greater casualties suffered by the French colonial troops at Gallipoli.

side.²⁹ The objective of the invasion was for the Allied troops to drive north to capture Constantinople and thus put Turkey out of the war. The entire campaign was a monumental failure. Strategically considered it may have been a rational enough idea but it was disastrously mismanaged. After some eight months of bloody and futile fighting an ingenious withdrawal operation was planned and executed by year's end with minimal casualties. News of these events had been delayed by military authorities but finally the reports of the British war correspondent Ellis Ashmead Bartlett were allowed through. Those of the famous Australian war correspondent, Charles Bean arrived later.³⁰

The regular publication of casualty lists in the daily and weekly press had already brought home to the Australasian public that this war was a deadly serious business soon to become even more brutal and bloody on the Western Front. It was there to which most of the troops evacuated from the Dardanelles were immediately dispatched. Well before that, however, on 10 June 1915, a Thursday morning at 10.00 am, Archbishop Donaldson in Brisbane was to celebrate a Requiem Eucharist in St John's Cathedral. This event was a state occasion attended by the Governor Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams, together with the consuls of both France and Russia.

One recalls that the purpose of the Dardanelles campaign was to enable war supplies and possibly troops to support the Russians on the Eastern Front where the Germans and Austro-Hungarians had invaded. The Cathedral Service Register for that day records some 600 worshippers, thus making it the very first commemoration for the fallen. The entry was made by Donaldson himself. Both Donaldson and Garland, despite the friction resulting from their personality differences, were in total agreement as to the need to prosecute this war against Prussianism to a clean finish.

The Role of Archbishop William St Clair Donaldson of Brisbane

Brisbane's archbishop (Figure 6) was not only a highly educated prelate having gained a first in Classics at Cambridge but also a member of the British Establishment who had strong family connections to the corridors of power. And having *just* spent leave in England just as the war broke out, he was fully informed as to the mind of the imperial government. He boarded the next ship back to Australia. The *SS Themistocles* weighed anchor in London and docked in Sydney unscathed on 14 October. Back in Brisbane Donaldson was dismayed to observe that the citizens there were showing scant concern for the implications of the great imperial collision between the British and German empires.³¹ This complacency the learned prelate set out to remedy by preparing a series of Lenten addresses to be delivered in St John's Cathedral on the subject of *Christian Patriotism* in which he painstakingly explained the dangerous militaristic character of the Kaiser's

²⁹The Turkish name is Ari Burnu.

³⁰Peter Rees, *Bearing Witness: The Remarkable Life of Charles Bean, Australia's Greatest War Correspondent* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2015), pp. 124-28.

³¹For biographical details about Donaldson, see A.P. Kidd, 'The Brisbane Episcopate of St Clair Donaldson 1904-1924', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1996.

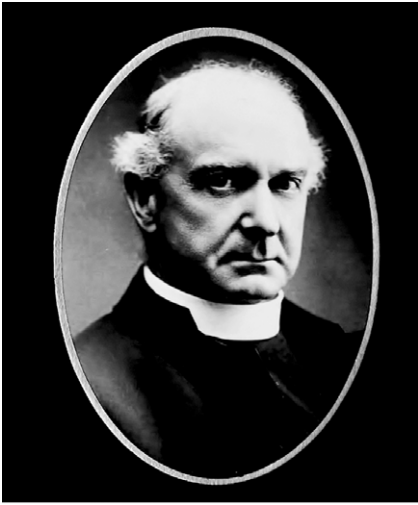


Figure 6. Archbishop St Clair Donaldson.
Source: Anglican Archives, Brisbane.

Germany in order to emphasize the existential dangers that confronted the entire British Empire. It was a logical appeal for imperial solidarity and an eloquent rationale for conscription. Donaldson's public addresses were held weekly in his cathedral during Lent and prior to the Gallipoli landing.

Garland's Imperial Theo-centric World View

It has been emphasized that Garland had conceived of the Anzac commemoration as a 'secular requiem'. Admittedly this is not a concept that resonates especially in the secular mind because it presumes the existence of a benevolent Creator in whom only a few really believed. Garland was well aware of this so the actual liturgy for Anzac Day was designed first to avoid offending atheists and agnostics. The latter obviously harboured doubts about the existence of either a unitarian or a trinitarian God, a concern which also affected Jews. Secondly, it was designed to avoid the objections of Roman Catholics who were then forbidden to pray with non-Catholics. So Garland saw the need to accommodate 'all sorts and conditions of men' in an inclusive Anglican way. Nevertheless, both prayers and hymns presumed the existence of a benign Creator. Obviously, sceptics of all categories cannot intellectually endorse this dimension but in a spirit of solidarity with fellow veterans many still manage to turn out for Anzac Day ceremonies, both for the Dawn Parade and the later morning march in impressive numbers. How does one explain that?

Explaining Australian Sentimental Humanism

The notable Australian historian and Anglican priest, Dr George Shaw recognized this some decades ago and designated the phenomenon as 'Australian Sentimental Humanism'. He called it ASH in the Australian Soul, pointing out that whereas there was a certain admirable decency manifest in the Australian character, it

was lacking in rigorous intellectual reflection. It was essentially sentimental and expressed in such elastic concepts as 'mateship', without any concern from where such values came. The question about what the real origins of 'decency' might be rarely occurred to them.³² 'Mateship' is of course an Australasian male concept of expressing feelings of loyalty to one's comrades in arms. It is essentially a human emotion that transcends doctrinal categories.

Against this background, then, Garland's concept of the Anzac Day ceremonial must be seen as a boldly imaginative experiment in evangelism, namely to awaken in the vast majority of secularized Australians an awareness of the numinous. In short, the act of paying homage to the fallen who died in defence of true Christian values was supposed to arouse a deeper sense of true humanity and spirituality. Garland had obviously understood that being human was not simply having a physical body; this was complemented by a spiritual nature. The 'plain blunt men' of the AIF simply loved their comrades in arms without theological reflection.

During the inter-war years when Anzac Day was being firmly established in the Australasian calendar, padres were often asked to speak at the public ceremonies held at cenotaphs and they would emphasize that 'the cream of our youth had sacrificed themselves for God, King and Empire'.³³ That is certainly what Canon Garland had been at pains to stress and that is why he conceived of Anzac Day as a day of strict solemnity. There were to be no sports or horse racing, no cinemas and no public houses open. Solemnity as practised on Good Friday was to prevail. The phrase then used was, 'No jubilation!'³³ War was the ultimate denial of true humanity. It was, however, a stern necessity whenever nations driven by the forces of darkness tried to impose their godlessness on neighbouring countries. Sacrifices would inevitably have to be made. In that case the duty of the home front was to honour the fallen, comfort the bereaved and ensure that war should never occur again. For Garland and his committee, Anzac Day was sacred; it was Australia's All Souls' Day. The Day was meant to invoke the 'idea of the holy', indeed a 'sense of the numinous'. That was what may be called the 'Garland option' for 25 April. Here, however, there arose an unforeseen problem. If 25 April fell on a Sunday the Anzac commemoration had to be postponed to the next day because the priority of the Church was exclusively to maintain the sanctity of the Sabbath. On this there could never be any compromise, but precisely here a great bone of contention arose when the Queensland State President of the Returned Soldiers' & Sailors Imperial League (RSSILA – now RSL) Raymond Huish and Garland clashed over the mode of commemoration.

Huish had an issue over two elements. First, he did not approve of the total solemnity of the day; sports should be allowed in the afternoon. Secondly, if the day fell on a Sunday as it did in 1937 then it should be held as usual and not postponed until the following day. Despite the remonstrances of Garland and both the Anglican and Roman Catholic Archbishops that precedence had to be given to the Church's tradition, Huish became very truculent towards Garland and the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee (ADCC). He would not accept that the ADCC had been from the very beginning a civilian committee whose aim was to

³²G.P. Shaw in *1988 and All That* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1988).

³³Personal recollection of author.



Figure 7. Garland's funeral, 10 October 1939; State Premier Forgan Smith walking on extreme right. Source: *Courier-Mail Archives*.

demonstrate the nation's gratitude for the sacrifice of the soldiers, sailors and nurses made in the service of freedom.

Mr Huish, although himself having served in the AIF, was emphatically not interested in accommodating the attitude of the various Churches. Consequently, a bitter confrontation erupted between him and Garland, the outcome saw the RSSILA increase its nominees on the ADCC and ultimately to gain control of it. Garland regretted this deeply since it meant the certain end of his concept that the day should be essentially spiritual, albeit in a non-denominational sense, but nevertheless Australia's All Souls' Day.³⁴

Garland's Death at Seventy-five

Until his death, poetically for a priest on Sunday 8 October 1939, having collapsed after he had celebrated the parish Eucharist, Garland had retained his secretaryship of the ADCC. Over the previous two years his relationship with Huish had become irreparably estranged, so much so that the President of the RSSILA declined to attend Garland's requiem with other State dignitaries. It was celebrated by Brisbane's highly esteemed archbishop, William Wand, and not held in the Cathedral as Wand had expected for such a renowned public figure, but at Garland's express wish the service was held in his own modest parish church of St Barnabas, Red Hill in Brisbane among his people, where to this day the congregation still reveres his memory.

³⁴'No jubilation' was the phrase used by the ADCC to oppose the holding of all sporting events or entertainments such as theatre or cinema on 25 April because the day should be kept 'holy' and observed like Good Friday in complete solemnity. See John A. Moses, 'The Struggle for Anzac Day 1916–1930 and the Role of the Anzac Day Commemoration Committee', *Journal of Royal Australian Historical Society* 88.1 (June 2002), pp. 58–77.

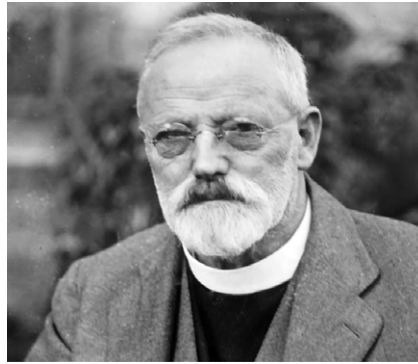


Figure 8. Canon Garland in his final year.
Source: Oxley Library Collection.

These events suggest that the ideological-theological rift between Garland the priest and Huish the ex-soldier and now ambitious businessman over their respective conceptions for honouring the fallen is a parable for today's Australia and New Zealand. When the RSSILA assumed control of the ADCC a secular hedonistic culture became dominant and that was precisely what Garland throughout his priestly life had opposed. His ambition had always been to exploit the day for the intensification of national spiritual awareness of all the things for which the Gospel of Christ stood.

Against the forces of secularism, however, this proved to be a vain hope. Nevertheless, Anzac Day is still firmly fixed in the Australasian calendar despite the best efforts of some agitating to have the Day abolished.³⁵ Further, it does still have some non-denominational religious significance as the considerable attendances at both Dawn Parades and the later public services throughout the country illustrate. If these are only the consequence of Australian sentimental humanism then Canon Garland would have laboured in vain.

Finally, the solemnity for Anzac Day that Garland strove for so long to uphold as Australia's All Souls' Day may never be completely recovered. The priorities of the RSL, the 'sporting public', entertainers and the business community have clearly triumphed. Pacifists, too, had been pointing out for decades that the way in which Anzac Day is celebrated is virtually a glorification of war. That, of course, was far from Garland's vision. How could this situation be turned around? The question now posed is whether there is not a role here for the Churches again to revive the day as originally conceived by resuming the services that were once held on that

³⁵See David Stephens and Alison Broinowski (eds.), *The Honest History Book* (Sydney: Newsouth, 2017). This collection contains contributions from prominent Australian historians and writers very few of whom take little or no account of the spiritual nature of Anzac Day. There are a number of Australian historians whose world view excludes the evaluation of religion in the nation's history, or at least minimize its significance. Among the more strident advocates would be the separate publications of Alison Broinowski, Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds, Joy Damousi and Mark McKenna. See Carolyn Holbrook's chapter 'Adaptable Anzac: Past, present and future' in *The Honest History Book*, pp.48-63. It is, of course, not surprising that in our 'open speech situation' (Jürgen Habermas) it cannot be expected that every one with an opinion who wishes to publish their views will not be 'on the same page'. We live in a pluralistic society, after all.

day? That is something to be seriously explored on an ecumenical basis.³⁶ Nor is it exclusively an Anglo-Celtic Australasian concern; it has to be inclusive of all immigrants to Australia and New Zealand of all ethnic backgrounds. These people want to become citizens precisely because of the freedoms constitutionally enshrined in our respective counties.³⁷ They, too, appreciate that this must be defended from the threat of tyranny from wherever it may come because democracy comes closest to enabling the values of Christianity to be realized, and freedom, both spiritual and political, is the supreme Christian priority.³⁸ Furthermore, Garland's ability to bring into alignment the Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic paradigms – that is, the complementary functions of Word and Sacrament – must be the path to follow. He became the force he did because he comprehended the Bible, on the one hand, as the foundation of our civilization while, on the other hand, he understood the Church as God's agency for the sacralizing of humanity, that is, the means by which a sense of the numinous is communicated to all peoples, because it is essential to becoming truly human. Canon Garland was an Evangelical Catholic or a Catholic Evangelical. For all these reasons Garland designed Anzac Day as a secular requiem to honour the fallen, to comfort the bereaved and to engender into the community the biblical values of justice, peace and decency for 'all sorts and conditions of humanity'. The task lies ahead.

³⁶See the work of Michael Gladwin on this precise question, 'Anzac Day's Religious Custodians', in Tom Frame (ed.), *Anzac Day Then and Now* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2016), pp. 90–111. Gladwin's extensive work on the history of army and navy chaplaincy in Australian military history has broken important new ground in the national story, particularly in his analyses of spiritual attitudes of service people under fire and of the varied work of chaplains especially under front line conditions.

³⁷See Tim Soutphommasane, *Reclaiming Patriotism: Nationality for Australian Progressives*, (Melbourne: Monash University Press, 2009) and Tim Soutphommasane, *The Victorious Citizen: Patriotism in a Multi-Cultural Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

³⁸Michael Lattke, 'Ten Theses on Christian Freedom', reprinted in John A. Moses, *Anglicanism: Catholic Evangelical or Evangelical Catholic? Essays Ecumenical and Polemical* (Adelaide: ATF Theology: 2019), pp. 110–13.