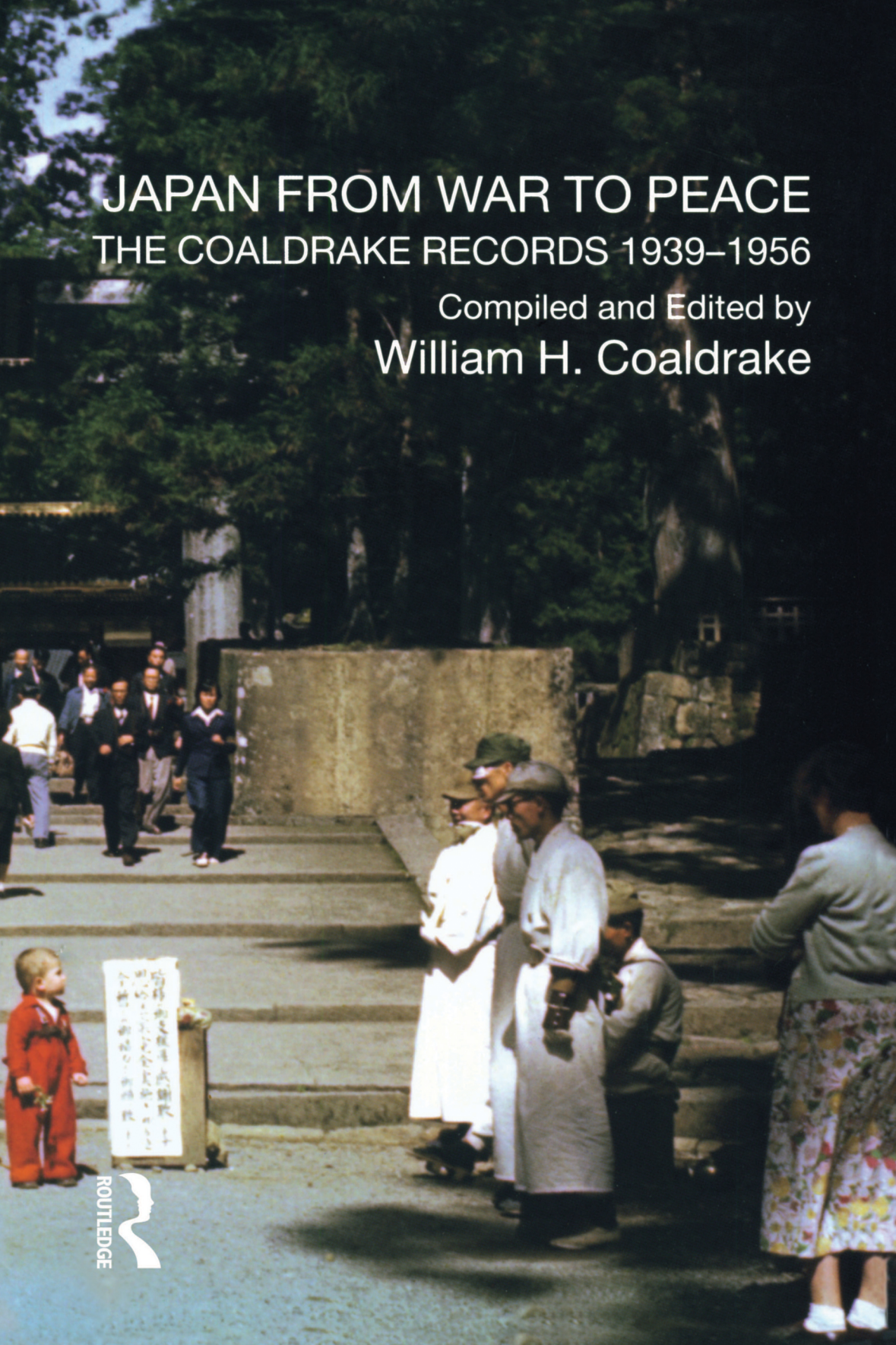


JAPAN FROM WAR TO PEACE

THE COALDRAKE RECORDS 1939–1956

Compiled and Edited by
William H. Coaldrake





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Japan from War to Peace

Why is the legacy of the war with Japan still so bitter? What was it that motivated two extraordinary Australians to venture to Japan in its immediate aftermath? And how did they contribute to the journey from war to peace with Australia, and within Japan itself?

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The documents have been compiled and edited, with an introduction and commentaries, by **William H. Coaldrake**, son of the authors and Foundation Professor of Japanese at the University of Melbourne.



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In loving memory of
Frank William Coaldrake
(1912–1970)



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My final debt of gratitude is to my sisters, Margaret and Kimi, and most of all, to our mother.

William H. Coaldrake
Melbourne, 10 July 2002

Abbreviations

- A.B.M. The Australian Board of Missions, now called the Anglican Board of Mission—Australia.
- A.S.C.M. The Australian Student Christian Movement, also referred to simply as “S.C.M.”
- B.C.O.F. British Commonwealth Occupation Force
- B.S.L. Brotherhood of St. Laurence
- C.E.M.S. Church of England Men’s Society
- C.M.S. Church Missionary Society
- L.A.R.A. Licensed Agency for Relief in Asia
- N.S.K. Nippon Seikōkai
- S.C.A.P. Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (General Douglas MacArthur).
- S.P.C.K. Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
- S.P.G. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel



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Introduction

William H. Coaldrake

To celebrate his fifty-sixth birthday in 1968 my father, Frank William Coaldrake, with that flair for the unconventional which characterised his entire life, gave me a present rather than just receiving one from me. It was a copy of a recently published book on the Brotherhood of St. Laurence entitled *God and Three Shillings: The Story of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence*.¹ My father had been one of the early members of this Anglican Brotherhood in Melbourne, before he ever contemplated going to Japan. He had distinguished himself controversially in the early 1940s as much for his militancy in pursuing issues of social justice as for his pacifism. His campaign against war ran parallel to his war against poverty and led logically and inexorably to a mission of reconciliation to Japan after the war.

On the flyleaf of the book Dad gave me in 1968 he wrote: “To Bill with love on my 56th birthday. Reading about myself 25 years after the events I can only ask ‘What is the truth?’” At the time, of course, we did not know that Dad had only two more years to live. Subsequent events, culminating in his election as Archbishop of Brisbane on 10 July 1970 and his death twelve days later, would overtake us all. My mother suddenly had total responsibility for three teenage children, the youngest only thirteen. We had to get on with life and we did.

Dad’s question to me on his fifty-sixth birthday still remains unanswered. What was the truth about Frank Coaldrake’s journey from war to peace from 1939, when war broke out in Europe, until 1956 when he returned to Australia after nearly ten years in Japan? How did his personal journey contribute to Australia’s national journey from war to peace with Japan? And how did Frank Coaldrake contribute to Japan’s own journey from war to peace over that period? More specifically, why did he try to go to Japan as early as 1943, while the battles still raged in the Pacific War? How did his campaign for social justice in the slums of post-Depression Melbourne and his pacifism during the war from 1939 to 1945 shape his thinking about Japan and his mission of Christian reconciliation

¹ I.R. Carter, *God and Three Shillings. The Story of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence*, Melbourne, Lansdowne Press, 1967.

after the war? What was the training, philosophical disposition and religious conviction undergirding his ten hard years of privation in Japan, his devotion to the Japanese people and to fighting the hatred of them in Australia? And what was the nature of his partnership in this venture with Maida Williams whom he married in late 1949, forming both a family and a powerful and articulate team in the mission venture? (Fig. 1) What exactly happened during these epic ten years from 1946 to 1956, still the “missing years” in the record of the life and ministry of one of the leaders of the Anglican Church of the middle decades of the twentieth century?

This book answers these questions using the actual words of Frank and Maida Coaldrake as preserved in the family records. Most are published for the first time in this book. The documents were kept carefully in numerous family files in Sydney and in boxes and filing cabinets we found in the Itō Church garage on a return visit to Japan in the mid-1970s. Above all else my intention has been to keep the focus on these original documents as written by Frank and Maida Coaldrake. They are the authors and it is their distinctive voices which are heard in answering the key questions about the Coaldrake mission of reconciliation. My approach in editing these documents has been, as much as possible, to avoid coming between the reader and the records. My role has been to assemble,



Figure 1 Frank and Maida Coaldrake on their wedding day, 3 December 1949. A.B.M. used this photograph for a fundraising pamphlet in 1950. In it the caption reads: “Our Missionaries in Japan. The Reverend Frank Coaldrake, M.A., and Miss Maida Williams, M.A., were married in Sydney last December. Miss Williams had been for four years the Youth Organiser in the Diocese of Tasmania. These two young Australians are doing one job in Japan and we must do everything in our power to give them the equipment they need. By filling in the attached form you make it possible for A.B.M. to finance the splendid plans for advance outlined in this leaflet.”

select, collate, transcribe, and comment. I have been careful to differentiate clearly between the words of the authors and my comments as editor (see editorial notes at the end of *introduction*).

As the son of the authors of these documents, I have a particular and personal perspective on the events and issues involved. My earliest childhood memories are of the years immediately after the end of the Allied Occupation of Japan in 1952. Some are predictable childhood memories – of fire engines and aeroplanes, although to me of course they were *shōbō jidōsha* and *hikōki* respectively. Other memories are not so usual, either for Australians or even for the vast majority of the Japanese born and raised in more prosperous times after the war. Most of my early memories are of the Japan that was disappearing rapidly after the war: of the countryside of the Izu Peninsula one hundred kilometres southwest of Tokyo, with its thatched-roof farmhouses, smelly paddy fields and muddy lanes, and of the rugged coastline with wooden fishing vessels pulled up on the stony beaches. Of carpenters and their tools and the smell of freshly planed timber at building sites. Of a church filled with people lustily singing hymns. Of ancient Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines all around on the hillsides, to which I responded for my part from the front seat of Dad’s speeding Land Rover with the words of the Christian prayer to St. Michael “... to cast down to Hell, Satan and all wicked spirits who wander through the world for the ruin of souls.” This was a somewhat different approach from the one I now take to my work in Japanese architectural history and restoration! Although I did not realize it at the time this was a world in which, apart from my parents, I was the only “non-Japanese” except for occasional foreign visitors from Tokyo.

The Authors

Frank William Coaldrake (1912–1970) was an Anglican priest and the first Australian civilian to enter Occupied Japan after the war. He was one of the pioneering members of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence, the Anglican religious order working for social justice in the slums of Melbourne from the late 1930s onwards. He has been acknowledged as “the outstanding figure among Australian pacifists in the difficult years of the Second World War.”² He combined his activities in the Brotherhood with founding the pacifist journal *The Peacemaker* on the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939. He edited and wrote much of it right through until 1946. It was to prove particularly influential in mobilising pacifists because of government restrictions on interstate travel. The first issue was sub-titled *An Australian Venture in Reconstruction*, an immediate signal of Frank Coaldrake’s constructive approach to pacifism. It eventually became the official journal of the Federal Pacifist Council of Australia, which he helped establish in 1942, serving as President from 1943–46. The Council ultimately secured

2 Kenneth Rivett, “Frank William Coaldrake: 12-3-1912–22-7-1970. Pacifist,” *The Peacemaker*, vol. 32, no. 8–9, August–September 1970, p. 5.

legislative change to allow for total exemption from military service for conscientious objectors.³

The journal was to be published regularly, usually monthly, throughout the war, despite government censorship, much community hostility, and Frank Coaldrake's demanding commitments to the Brotherhood of St. Laurence, the parish of St. Cuthbert's, East Brunswick, and for a time as Precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne. Every word published in *The Peacemaker* was meticulously checked by the censor, some of it banned.⁴ This did not stop him publishing. His mail was frequently intercepted and opened, sometimes secretly.⁵ Pacifists were not popular. Japanese were even less popular. Priests were expected to become army chaplains or, at the very least, support the war effort against Japan from their pulpits. A pacifist priest advocating reconciliation with the Japanese during the war was at times reviled as a traitor to his own country and a heretic to his religious vocation. He was interrogated by the security police.⁶ He was equally unpopular with the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Diocese of Melbourne, warned by Archbishop Head that if he were to have a career in the church "I don't want you pooping off on public platforms."⁷ His relationship with Archbishop Head's successor, Dr. Joseph John Booth, was different only in the more moderate language the archbishop used to express the same idea.⁸ Judging from the address he delivered in 1944 from the pulpit of the cathedral itself, the admonitions by successive archbishops had little effect:

3 Until then conscientious objectors were expected to render non-combatant service in the armed forces. See further: Shirley Abraham, "Frank William Coaldrake: 12-3-1912-22-7-1970," *The Peacemaker*, vol. 32, nos. 8-9, August-September, 1970, p. 5.

4 For example, see Letter to Frank Coaldrake from C. Burns, State Publicity Censor, 26 June 1940, "Frank Coaldrake Papers," Baillieu Library and Archives, the University of Melbourne.

5 See Letter from Frank W. Coaldrake to the Post Master General, Parliament House, Canberra, undated, mid-1940:

Dear Sir, All articles of my mail addressed to me, Frank W. Coaldrake, at 65 Brunswick St, Fitzroy, N6, are being surreptitiously opened in transit, and they are also being delayed at least one delivery, frequently more. This has been going on for nearly six months, and in spite of my complaints to the Postal authorities in Melbourne it still continues and I can get no satisfactory statement as to the reason for it . . . If the mail is being opened by the Censor why is it not marked "Opened By Censor"?

6 See Letter from Frank W. Coaldrake to Inspector Birch, Commonwealth Investigation Branch, 3 March 1941 (*chapter 2*).

7 Archbishop Frederick Waldegrave Head, as recorded in Letter from Frank W. Coaldrake to his Mother, Mrs. E. R. Coaldrake, 15 July 1941. "Frank Coaldrake Papers," Baillieu Library and Archives, the University of Melbourne.

8 Letter from Archbishop Booth to Frank W. Coaldrake, 3 December 1943:

I would suggest that you pray for guidance in this matter for you throw the Church at once into a controversy if you speak as a clergyman and, as I told you when you were ordained, you are limited by the fact that you have a duty to others, and as a very junior priest I do not think you should attempt to go [to] the press as such.

"Frank Coaldrake Papers," Baillieu Library and Archives, the University of Melbourne. Frank

If the Church pauses to reconsider its Sacred Scriptures and the ways it has known God's work it must admit that revolutionary action is very common with God. The Church must expect rather than deplore revolution. . . Where God does not see righteousness he wants a revolution. If God looked down on Moscow and Melbourne today it is not possible to say whether he would find righteousness in Moscow, but we know for sure that he would not find Melbourne to be a "city of righteousness."⁹

But actions spoke louder than words. For Frank Coaldrake, high principles had practical consequences, and in making this connection he proved shrewd, savvy, and selfless. He embarked on a program of direct action for social justice. In 1944 he led two "sit-in" protests in the slums of Melbourne, using Gandhi's concept of non-violent civil disobedience. The second case caught the popular, and tabloid, imagination in Melbourne. Accompanied by Tony Bishop, the Welfare Officer of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence at the time, he sat on the exposed veranda of one house in Armadale for thirty-seven days to protest against certain provisions in the Landlord and Tenant Regulations which discriminated against a widowed tenant.¹⁰ We should remember that such actions as protests and sit-ins only became "acceptable" in the 1960s.

Frank Coaldrake felt he must go to Japan because of the combination of his priestly vocation, his conscientious objection and his commitment to practical measures, all those things which sat together so awkwardly in the estimation of his times and his superiors. He had to go to Japan because Japan was the enemy. Japanese were killing Australians and being killed by Australians. Killing was wrong. Some other way of resolving the breakdown in relations between Australians and Japanese was needed.

He had no special personal interest in Japan at first. When the war broke out in Europe his focus was on both Germany and Japan. If the course of the war had been different and Japan had stayed out of the picture, he may have tried to go to Germany instead. In February 1941 he broadcast messages of encouragement and pacifism to university students in Europe.¹¹ Even straight after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 he wrote in *The*

Coaldrake did attempt to separate what he saw as his "personal" views from those of the institutions with which he was associated. In *The Peacemaker* he wrote:

A Personal Note. I should like to take this opportunity to point out with particular emphasis that *The Peacemaker* expresses views for which I myself am responsible, and which are not in any way attributable to the Australian Student Christian Movement, the Brotherhood of St. Laurence, or any other organisation with which I am connected.

The Peacemaker, vol. 2, no. 1, January 1, 1940, p. 2.

9 Frank W. Coaldrake, "Do Communists Belong to God or the Devil?" St. Paul's Cathedral Address People's Service, 20 August 1944. Library of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence.

10 See further: Carter, *God and Three Shillings*, pp. 84–97.

11 *Talks by F.W. Coaldrake*. Department of Information–Broadcasting Division (February 1941), transcripts. National Archives of Australia.

Peacemaker that “we will not knowingly assist our friends to kill Germans, Japanese (or any other people); nor will we knowingly assist Germans, Japanese (or any other people) to kill our friends.”¹² When it became apparent a year later, with the fall of Singapore in February 1942, that the more immediate enemy was Japan, the emphasis of Frank Coaldrake’s attention shifted.

The idea of going to Japan on a mission of reconciliation started taking shape in his mind in May 1942. With the U.S. General, Douglas MacArthur, firmly ensconced in his new military headquarters in Brisbane, having been driven out of the Philippines, and the Japanese Imperial forces advancing south towards New Guinea, Frank Coaldrake wrote a prophetic editorial in the June edition of *The Peacemaker* entitled “Reaching into the future. Our approach to Japan.” Because of its importance, the editorial is reprinted in full in *chapter 2*. In it Frank Coaldrake writes that “war hostilities will some day reach a stage which will permit efforts to be made in the reconciliation of Japanese and Australians.” This may have seemed a trifle optimistic on the day it was issued, June 1, the day after the midget submarine attack on Sydney Harbour. The editorial is full of constructive analysis and specific proposals to establish better relations with Japan:

The reconciliation of the people of Australia with the people of Japan bristles with difficulties. The disagreements leading up to this war; the oppositions being hardened in these months of conflict; the bitterness and sense of being wronged which will be the fruit of “Hate campaigns” in both countries; the radically different ways of life and standards of living in the two countries; the different political habits; the different religious practices and beliefs; the existence of race prejudice in both countries; these are a few of the stumbling blocks in the road to a just reconciliation. They must not be thought insuperable.

He goes on to discuss the idea of “Embassies of Reconciliation,” a concept developed by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in Europe, pointing out that Australians were already “learning Japanese and German, and are striving to equip themselves for a long stay in Japan whenever the war reaches a stage which will permit their reaching and entering the country.” He notes that a similar idea had already been put forward by the Superior of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence, Father Gerard Tucker.

By April, 1943, less than a year later, Frank Coaldrake had decided to go to Japan himself. He wrote to the Minister for External Affairs, Dr. H.V. Evatt, explaining his commitment to better understanding between “our people and the Japanese people” and that “my belief is that the power of the gospel of Christ will, as nothing else can, make these enemies our friends.”¹³ He tells Dr. Evatt that he is “anxious to explore the possibilities of going to Japan at the earliest

12 “Our Attitude to the War Now,” *The Peacemaker*, vol. 4, no. 1, January, 1942, p. 2.

13 Letter from Frank W. Coaldrake to The Minister for External Affairs, 21 April 1943. National Archives of Australia, Series number A989/1, Item 1943/700/48 (see *chapter 2*).

possible moment. I imagine that I should consider going only as a missionary but if there were a possibility of going in some other capacity such as that of a liaison officer with relief work or as one of a relief unit, I should be bound to give serious consideration to it.” He stresses his commitment to going, if possible, even before hostilities cease.

The response, from the Secretary of the Department, reveals that the proposal was not taken seriously. Frank Coaldrake was told “as you realise there is no prospect of missionary activities from Australia being resumed in Japan until some time after the end of the war.”¹⁴ The discussions of Australia-Japan relations in *The Peacemaker* suggest that Frank Coaldrake was not prepared to accept that there was “no prospect” of going to Japan as a missionary before the end of the war. Going to Japan at the earliest possible moment was logical in his thinking and essential as the practical consequence of that thinking. He saw service in Japan, not as a soldier but as an instrument of peace, as a missionary or in some humanitarian capacity, as the positive corollary to his refusal to fight the Japanese in the armed forces. In *The Peacemaker* he was later to make a clear distinction between “passenger pacifists,” or negative pacifists who simply said “no” to war, and “positive pacifists” who set out to do something directly to build the way for peace.¹⁵

He may have decided to go to Japan as early as 1943 but he did not receive permission from the government and the Allied Occupation authorities to enter Japan until 1947. Even General MacArthur, Supreme Commander of Allied Powers in Japan, could not speed up the process, despite a letter promising to assist.¹⁶ By the time the authorities had sorted out the paperwork, Frank Coaldrake was already in Japan. He had “stolen a march” on them in the best military tradition. The official paperwork belatedly caught up with him many months after he actually arrived, forcing the hand of the authorities to give him official permission and sort out his status as non-military personnel. He noted in September, 1947, a full three months after his arrival, that “the B.C.O.F. [British Commonwealth Occupation Force] organisation is still catching up with myself – one section or another realises I’m here and that they should ‘[red]-tape’ the highly irregular proceedings that have resulted from my being here ahead of schedule.”¹⁷

Frank Coaldrake’s arrival in Japan passes entirely unremarked in missionary annals. Surveying the postwar history of missionary activity in Japan, *The Japan Christian Yearbook* notes that the first wave of missionaries after the war consisted of the “experienced missionaries from the pre-war period” who came back in

14 Letter from W.R. Hodgson, Secretary, Ministry for External Affairs to the Rev. F.W. Coaldrake, 5 May 1943. National Archives of Australia, Series number A989/1, Item 1943/700/48 (see chapter 2).

15 *The Peacemaker*, vol. 6, no. 2, February, 1944, p. 2.

16 Letter from General Douglas MacArthur to the Chairman of the Australian Board of Missions, 7 February 1947. See chapter 3.

17 See *Newsletter No. 5*, 20 September 1947.

1946–47. Most were from North America, that is, the United States and Canada. A “second wave” came in 1947–49, consisting of missionaries from the boards which had “missions” in Japan from before the war as well as representatives of new American organisations.¹⁸ According to this chronology, Frank Coaldrake’s arrival in Japan coincided with the end of the first wave of predominantly North American “returnees” and the beginning of the second American wave. Like the Occupation itself, the missionary enterprise was North American dominated. So too, it would seem, have been the histories about it. *The Japan Christian Yearbook* for 1950, for example, includes no mention of Australia in its statistics for “Protestant mission boards.” It lists 58 missionaries from North America, comprising 89% of the total, and 16 from Europe, making up the remaining 11%.¹⁹ It further notes that there were 89 more “independent” missionaries, working separately from any mission boards, most of them Americans. In this analysis of Protestant missions there is no mention of Frank Coaldrake, of the Australian Board of Missions, or of Australia.²⁰

He was sponsored and financially supported in the mission by the Australian Board of Missions (A.B.M.), the official mission board of the Anglican Synod of Australia.²¹ He had approached A.B.M in 1943 asking the board to support his work, as we learn in his letter to Dr. Evatt.

In Japan he felt himself under constant constraints, first by the Occupation military authorities, and, after 1952, by the post-Occupation Japanese government regulation of foreign nationals. Continuing to be in Japan meant compromises. He had to keep his mouth shut, a galling limitation for Frank Coaldrake. If he had not he would have been deported and his mission would have failed. He did participate in a major pacifist congress in 1954, one of the few occasions where he felt he could contribute to public debate on pacifism in Japan without compromising his mission work. Maida Coaldrake explained his quandary in *Newsletter No. 57*: “Since we are residents of Japan at the pleasure of the Japanese Government, and though paying no taxes, have no political status, it has been difficult for Frank to understand where more than in our daily life as missionaries his contribution to pacifism may lie.”²²

Frank Coaldrake was to work for ten years as a missionary from the Anglican Church of Australia and as a member of staff of the Anglican Church of Japan (Nippon Seikōkai). He began as the former and ended much more as the latter. In the meantime his vows to serve in the Brotherhood of St. Laurence expired in

18 See further: Hallam C. Shorrock and Joseph J. Spae (eds.), *The Japan Christian Yearbook, 1968*, Tokyo, The Christian Literature Society of Japan (Kyo Bun Kwan), 1968, pp. 80–82.

19 Figures quoted in *The Japan Christian Yearbook, 1968*, p. 81.

20 The position and recognition of Australia in the contribution of the Roman Catholic Church was very different, with the same history duly acknowledging that appeals issued from Japan “to the entire Catholic world for missionaries and aid.” Australia sent fourteen priests later in 1947. See: *The Japan Christian Yearbook, 1968*, p. 62.

21 Now known as the Anglican Board of Mission–Australia.

22 *Newsletter No. 57*, January, 1954.

1948.²³ All this was under conditions of considerable hardship and deprivation. He had to accept some level of Occupation rations, as the Japanese themselves were under severe local rationing and were eking out an existence on homegrown vegetables and anything else they could catch, including grasshoppers. “Without the privilege of buying food from their [Australian Army] canteen I would not have been able to live,” he explained later.²⁴ His own official rations were one-half the military ration and, by his own estimation, were sufficient to last for only three or four days each month. He would not use the black market as a matter of principle. He distributed most of the food from parcels sent by supporters in Australia. He was diagnosed as suffering rickets and beriberi by late 1949 when he returned to Australia for his first period of furlough after two and a half years in Japan. By then his hair had turned completely white and he had something of the emaciated appearance of many of the P.O.W.s interned during the war. (Fig. 1 and Fig. 27)

While on furlough back in Australia, in December 1949, he married Maida Stelmar Williams (b. 1919). They had met at a summer conference of the Australian Student Christian Movement (A.S.C.M.) held at “Frensham” School at Mittagong, New South Wales, less than nine months before the outbreak of war in Europe. At the time Frank Coaldrake was one of the three national Travelling Secretaries of the A.S.C.M. Maida Williams was a member of the national committee representing the University of Tasmania. After the conference ended, committee members remained for organisational meetings, but were suddenly surrounded by bushfires, when the entire southern highlands of New South Wales exploded into fire. These were to be the worst bushfires in several generations, still talked about today in the same frightening category as the more recent 1994 and 2001–02 New South Wales bushfires. Frank Coaldrake helped organise the defence of the school and Maida Williams soaked blankets in the baths to fight the fires, which proved ineffective because the intense heat dried them out instantly. “For one terrible twenty-four hours we fought for our lives,” she recalls.²⁵ They were to marry a decade later.

Maida Williams had been awarded the University Medal in English and the Sir Philip Fysh Prizes in English and History during the three years of studies for the Bachelor of Arts at the University of Tasmania from 1937 to 1939. She went on to complete a master’s degree in Australian Federation History in 1945, in the days when masters degrees were normally the highest level of academic attainment and doctorates were only awarded for a lifetime of academic work. From 1941–43 she combined her studies with war work in the Cadbury-Fry-Pascall factory at Claremont outside Hobart. She says she was not a pacifist at that stage, but “almost everyone I knew at University did not come back from war service. I could see war was wrong but couldn’t see a way

23 See *Newsletter No. 13*, 1 May 1948.

24 *Newsletter No. 62*, August, 1956.

25 Maida Coaldrake, 23 August 2001.

out of it.”²⁶ In 1945 Maida Williams was appointed as the first woman on the staff of the Diocese of Tasmania, serving as Youth Organiser for the diocese until 1950 when she departed for Japan. From 1950 until the end of 1956, Frank and Maida Coaldrake formed a team of participant observers in the agonising challenge of a nation confronting its past and trying to find hope in the future while vanquished and still occupied by foreign powers.

The Coaldrake Records

The Newsletters: Letters of Reconciliation

During their period of service in Japan, Frank and Maida Coaldrake sent a total of sixty-three newsletters back to Australia. If *The Peacemaker* had been published as “an Australian venture in reconstruction,” their *Newsletters* were a venture in reconciliation between Japan and Australia. We find this explained in one of the earliest *Newsletters*. In it Frank Coaldrake asks his readers:

Do people want to read it (the *Newsletter*)? I fervently hope so, for the sake of Reconciliation between here [Japan] and there [Australia]. We started by sending No. 1 to 100 persons. Requests have now doubled our list and we are glad of every possible reader who will be concerned about the Reconciliation of our peoples.²⁷

Both Frank and Maida Coaldrake were skilled writers and editors, Frank as editor of *The Peacemaker* and Maida as the editor of the student newspaper *Togatus* for two years at the University of Tasmania. Until 1950, the *Newsletters* were written by Frank Coaldrake. After Maida Coaldrake returned with him to Japan in that year, she took over primary responsibility, writing them in terms of what she saw and thought, with sections added by Frank. Both their names appear at the end of the *Newsletters* from 1950 onwards. The headline sometimes includes “Maida writing.” To avoid possible confusion, a brief note clarifying who wrote which sections has been inserted at the beginning of each *Newsletter*.

The Coaldrake *Newsletters* are the core of this book, both in content and quantity. They amount to some 170,000 words of text in their own right. The *Newsletters* provide a more or less continuous narrative and commentary on Japan from June 1947, just days after Frank Coaldrake first arrived in Japan. They end in November 1956 shortly after he was unexpectedly appointed Chairman of the Australian Board of Missions, the executive director of the board which had sponsored his mission in Japan. They were produced almost monthly at first, tapering off towards the end as other forms of information about Japan became available to Australians and the Japanese mission became more self-reliant as Japan itself recovered from the war. We should remember that these were the

²⁶ Maida Coaldrake, 10 September 2001.

²⁷ *Newsletter No. 6*, October, 1947.

days before television and civilian airline flights between Australia and Japan. Information about Japan, as opposed to policy and polemics, reported from the ground by Australians, particularly ones who spoke Japanese, was a rare and priceless commodity.

The *Newsletters* end in late 1956, just as commercial airline flights between Australia and Japan were beginning²⁸ and just after Prime Minister Robert Menzies had made the first visit to Japan by an Australian Prime Minister. The next year the trade treaties, which were to establish the economic foundations of the relationship between Australia and Japan for the second half of the twentieth century, came into force.²⁹ At the same time the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Nobusuke Kishi, paid a reciprocal visit to Australia, apologising for the war:

Although there has been a long tradition of friendship between Australia and Japan, including, in the first world war, our cherished association with your immortal Anzacs, there occurred four years of tragic interruption in that friendship. True, it is over twelve years since hostilities ceased and over six since the formal conclusion of peace. Notwithstanding that passage of time, it is my official duty, and my personal desire, to express to you, and through you to the people of Australia, our heartfelt sorrow for what occurred in the war.³⁰

In the same address, he hailed the Australian Prime Minister's visit to Japan the previous year as the "first major step in the promotion of a better mutual understanding" between Japan and Australia. This statement was made on 4 December, 1957. By then it had been over ten years since Frank Coaldrake had taken his own "first step" onto Japanese soil. And it was fifteen years since he had taken his first "steps" to secure better relations between Australia and Japan in his landmark editorials in *The Peacemaker* in June 1942 and March 1943 (see *chapter 2*).

Copies of most of the *Newsletters* as well as the "carbon copies" of some of the manuscripts, have been held in the Coaldrake family archives for nearly half a century but it took several years of detective work to assemble the complete set, mostly from our relatives. Until now they have not been published, except for a number of short extracts reprinted in *The Peacemaker* at the time as a series called *Odawara Lantern*.

In May, 1948 Frank Coaldrake explained his approach to writing the *Newsletters* in an article published in *The Peacemaker*:

28 *The Agreement between Australia and Japan for Air Services* came into force on 27 April 1956. Australian Treaty Series 1956 No. 6, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1997.

29 *Agreement on Commerce between the Commonwealth of Australia and Japan*. It came into force on December 4, 1957. Australian Treaty Series 1957 No. 15, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1997.

30 Address by the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Nobusuke Kishi, at Parliamentary Luncheon, Canberra, Wednesday, 4 December 1957. See further: "Kishi Expresses to M.Ps Japan's 'Heartfelt Sorrow,'" and "Tribute to Menzies for Leadership," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Late edition, 5 December 1957, p. 1.

As well as the regular contributions to this “Peacemaker” column, I am sending a “Newsletter” to some friends who ask for it. There is a difference between the two. In the “Newsletter” I write in a candidly personal and subjective manner in the hope that some people will be able to see Japan through my life and work here. In these [newspaper] columns I shall try only to describe something of what I see and learn during my life and work here, and I shall sometimes achieve an objective approach.³¹

The *Newsletters* are indeed “candidly personal.” At one point he signs off as “Candidly Frank,” no doubt amused by the tautology. The *Newsletters* are a rare and honest first-hand account by two astute observers of Japan from a unique grass-roots perspective. They speak in an authentic and authoritative voice, informed by daily life and fluency in Japanese language and customs, and by an unshakeable conviction that the passage from war to peace for Japan begins with people and knowledge, not military victories and political vituperation.

A critically important statement of Frank Coaldrake’s approach to writing about Japan in the early period of the late 1940s is contained in the original manuscript for an article published in abridged form in *The Peacemaker* in 1948.³² In the following telling paragraph, omitted from the published version, Frank Coaldrake assesses his competence and viewpoint in writing about Japan and the Japanese:

I prefer to work from the foundation of my observations. You will wish, as I do myself, that I had a more exhaustive array of observations with which to work. But I think my material is now sufficient to justify the undertaking. Moreover, I think it is probable that no one in this country is in a position to get a better selection of material. Occupation Officials can get at statistics which are not available to me – but they lack the personal contact with Japanese citizens on the basis of partnership and friendship which I enjoy in my position. If one had been in this country longer there would be a proportionately greater number of observations, but no one has been here longer than me in such a position. A Press Correspondent would have greater facilities for moving round the country and “interviewing” people, but the formal “Press Interview” never gets to the depths reached by a parish priest with his people.

By 1948 he was already in a unique position of personal trust and friendship with many Japanese, and had been there longer than any one in such a position. To this we should also add his considerable language competence.

The *Newsletters* cover in vivid detail Japan from the ashes of defeat and starvation during the Allied Occupation into the critical period of recovery in the

31 Frank W. Coaldrake, “*Odawara Lantern* and *Newsletter* Relation,” *The Peacemaker*, vol. 10, no. 5, May 1948, p. 3. He contributed a regular column, called the *Odawara Lantern* from the name of his first base in Japan, until March, 1949 and his impending move to Izu.

32 Frank Coaldrake, “What Defeat Has Done to Japan’s Warriors,” *The Peacemaker. An Australian Venture in Reconstruction*, vol. 10 no. 4, April 1948, p. 3. See *chapter 4*.

post-Occupation years. They reveal Japan on the agonising road from war to peace – people and places, tragedies and triumphs of daily life, the struggles of a defeated nation at individual and collective levels coming to terms with the legacy of war, the challenges of foreign occupation and new beginnings. The daily struggle against simple, stark starvation is interspersed with discussion of war atrocities, the war-time atomic bombing of Hiroshima and the 1954 U.S. nuclear tests at Bikini Atoll, the status of the Imperial Family, labour unions, *zaibatsu* conglomerate busting, the working of the new democratic Diet, individual rights and responsibilities. The critical choice of direction for postwar Japan becomes clear – of material well-being over spiritual and cultural values. Lofty principles of democratic rights are set against the grim realities of the American bombers flying overhead by the early 1950s on their bombing missions from nearby Atsugi airbase to the Korean war zone one hour away.

In scope and insight the *Newsletters* go well beyond what is generally understood as missionary enterprise although the fierceness of an uncompromising and self-sacrificing faith is at their core. Professor Ken Cable, recently retired Head of the Department of History, the University of Sydney, has made the following assessment of the character and importance of the Coaldrake *Newsletters*:

The *Newsletters* belong to a well-known and long-established genre. For almost a century, missionaries in the field have been sending back newsletters to their supporters and friends at home, giving information and seeking further help. By their very nature, they are somewhat restricted. Their readers are interested in personal details and stories rather than any close analysis; failure discourages them and too much success reduces their contributions; they do not understand the background and they do not appreciate mission methodology. Long experience has made mission newsletters rigid in form and content.³³

At one level the Coaldrake *Newsletters* fit into the missionary newsletter genre. They were written specifically for the members of the Australian church who sent supplies, financial contributions and well wishes to the mission in Japan. Maida Coaldrake confirms this:

I was writing about topics which I thought would be of interest to the members of the parishes, womens' auxiliaries and so on who were reading the *Newsletters*, and who were sending us the parcels of food and clothes which were keeping us going because we couldn't have lived without this support. These were the sort of people I had stayed with when I had been Youth Organiser in Tasmania. I saw everything from the inside out. . . Until the end of the Occupation we couldn't talk about military movements.³⁴

33 Kenneth J. Cable, Letter to William H. Coaldrake, 1 April 1997.

34 Maida Coaldrake, 16 August 2001.

At another level, the *Newsletters* go far beyond the boundaries of their genre, as Ken Cable explains:

[The Coaldrake] *Newsletters* follow the accustomed pattern. At first glance, they seem conventional. They are not. Frank was an exceptional man, with an unusual background and a highly personal reason for coming to Japan; his later career was to be high-powered. He was perceptive and far-thinking. Above all, he had a very wide view of the Japanese situation and a capacity for seeing beneath the surface of things. His puckish sense of humour was peculiarly his own. His *Newsletters*, apparently routine, are subtle and distinctive when read with care and proper emphasis. They not only describe events but also set them against the changing background of Japanese and Anglican history. They are valuable documents.³⁵

To this we should add the changing background of Australia-Japan relations and attitudes.

How were the *Newsletters* printed and circulated, and what did they actually look like? They had modest beginnings, at first simply roneoed copies of letters sent from Frank Coaldrake to his mother, Mrs. Eliza Coaldrake, in Melbourne and later in Brisbane. "I write the letter as an extra long one to Mother, being able to put all the available time into one long letter, instead of many short ones," he explained in *Newsletter No. 5* of 20 September 1947. Later he fills in more details:

My mother had the letter duplicated and sent it to friends. From then until we reached Australia on furlough in June 1954, [printing and circulating] the *Newsletter* has always been very largely my mother's responsibility. We have written to her, she has seen to the printing, proofing, wrapping and distribution. In some cities friends have accepted the responsibility of delivering copies by hand. Circulation reached a total of several hundred.

Money for the venture has always come, a lot from some, some from a lot. That, too, has been handled by my mother.³⁶

One of the early *Newsletters* in this format (*No. 6*, 22 October 1947) is shown in Fig. 2. They were either *quarto* or *foolscap* in size. A technological advance came with *Newsletter No. 25* of May, 1949 when Mrs. Coaldrake had the letters type-set and professionally printed as a folding pamphlet. These *Newsletters* were usually bi-fold, allowing for four pages of text, each page 210 mm x 140 mm. They were about 5,000 words in length, the same as many of the earlier typed *Newsletters*. Some were even longer, printed as three-fold or four-fold with up to 8,000 words, each page approximately 265 mm x 140 mm. Occasionally *Newsletters* were still sent out in typescript form because of work and family pressures; during the Lake Ipeki summer camps (*No. 27*, July, 1949, and *No. 28*, August, 1949) and

³⁵ Kenneth J. Cable, 1997.

³⁶ *Newsletter No. 60*, April, 1956.

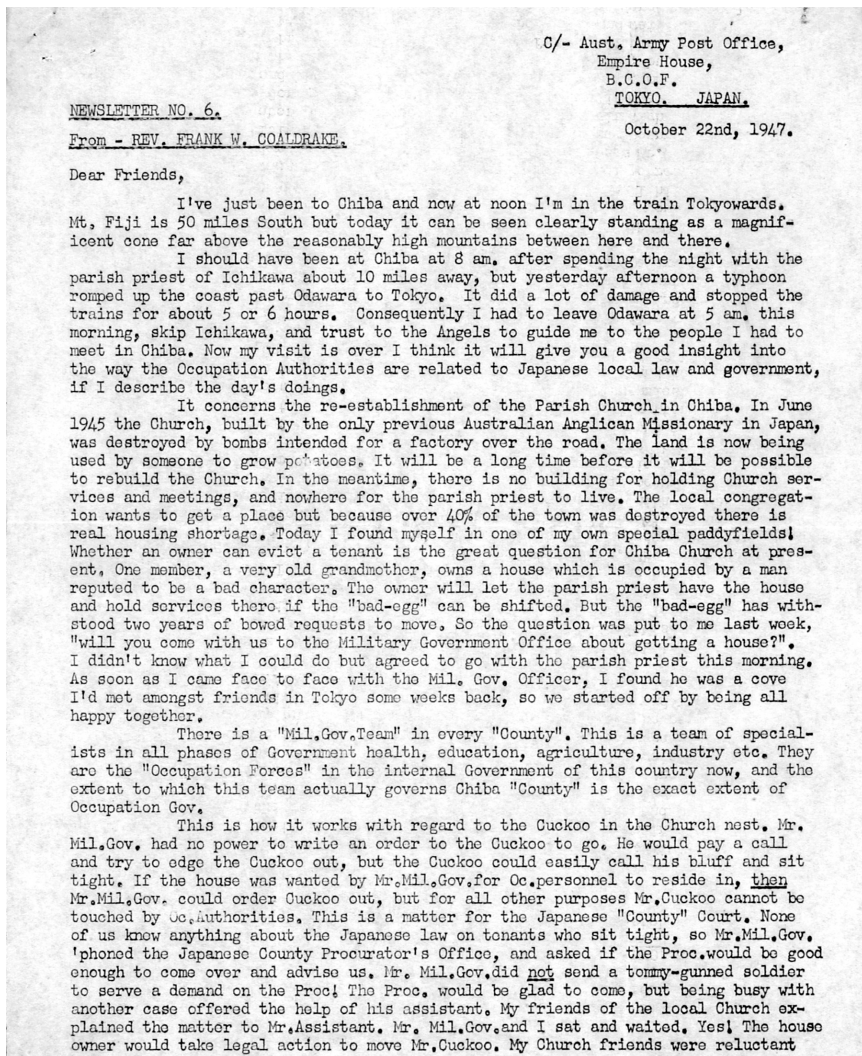


Figure 2 Newsletter No. 6, 22 October 1947, page one. The early typed version.

immediately after the birth of Bill (No. 46, May, 1952). At one point things were so busy that a copy of extracts from a letter of Maida Coaldrake to Frank's mother of 9 November 1955 was circulated (see chapter 8), reverting to the procedure used in the first years in Japan.

By April 1956 the *Newsletters* were being sent not only to Australia, but America, Europe, Asia and Africa, and the production process was changed again:

Beginning with this letter we are to do things differently. The job now is too big for my mother to handle without a great deal of worry. We want to include

photographs and we can borrow without charge blocks which have been used locally if we print in Japan. Chiefly for these two reasons we will print the letter here and post direct to all who want to receive it.³⁷

This phase of the *Newsletters* was to be short lived – only three were produced in this format because of Frank Coaldrake’s unexpected recall to Australia to take over the chairmanship of the Australian Board of Missions. (Fig. 3, *Newsletter No. 62*, August, 1956). In the last *Newsletter* we learn that:

These *Newsletters* have gone out for nearly ten years to an ever widening circle of readers. We now send 600 copies and they seem to be passed around and read at groups so that the actual number of readers is unknown. We have written for two reasons the first being that you have so often urged us to write more. Several times it has been suggested that we publish the letters in book form. They are, however, so full of purely personal allusions that we have always put the suggestions aside. The second reason you would hardly guess. The letters have brought us wonderful sustaining encouragement in the knowledge of your interest and prayers. We have never been alone here and in times of difficulty we have been sure of being upheld by you. For this, and also for your gifts, we cannot find type that is not too cold to express our feelings.³⁸

It is precisely these allusions and incidents that now give the *Newsletters* their poignant immediacy.

Other Written Records

The *Newsletters* are the main type of “reporting” on Japan in this book. They are interspersed with a judicious selection of other types of “reporting” by Frank Coaldrake. Each gives a different “angle” or perspective on events and thinking. From the pages of *The Peacemaker* we find comments of direct relevance in understanding the shaping of Frank Coaldrake’s thinking on Japan.³⁹ Extracts from his reports to the A.B.M. include confidential analyses which were not intended for public consumption at the time but which now throw light on particular problems and issues. The text of newspaper interviews, radio broadcasts, sermons and speeches from the periods of furlough in Australia, 1949–50 and 1954–55, give clear insights into Australian attitudes towards Japan after the war. Recently discovered letters from Frank Coaldrake to Maida Coaldrake reveal more about his thinking and motivation, especially a long letter written in 1943. Selections from his unofficial, handwritten minutes of every church committee meeting he chaired in Izu from 1950 to 1956 complete the picture of his strategies and assessment of progress.

37 *Newsletter No. 60*, April, 1956. It was printed at the Kokusai Press, Tokyo.

38 *Newsletter No. 63*, November 1956.

39 *The Peacemaker* is held on microfilm at the University of Melbourne. UniM Baill MIC/o 6353.

E. J. Richardson

日 本 聖 公 會
(Ni hon Holy Catholic Church)

NIPPON SEIKOKAI

Church of England in Japan

NEWS LETTER No. 62 AUGUST 1956

**St. Mary's Church,
960 Oka,
Ito,
JAPAN.
St. Barnabas' Day.**

Dear Friends,

Today is the ninth anniversary of my first arrival in Japan.

The war was everywhere obvious as I travelled across the country that day. I was taken to see Hiroshima and marvelled at the spirit of the people even then rebuilding the city that had disappeared in a flash. The noise of countless hammers was the thing that impressed me as I stood on the top of the shell of a blasted building.

In that day I learned what most of us Australians had barely been remembering then, and will have forgotten by now. It was the extent to which the Japanese cities had been treated to old-fashioned bombing. Two cities were atom-bombed. Only one city of over one hundred thousand population in the whole of the country was spared conventional bomb raids. Every city or town I passed through that day was more than half destroyed. There's nothing so completely desolate looking as an acre or two of ashes and rubble with a great smoke-stack standing orphaned in the middle.

Japan was Destroyed

Japan in those days was battered, burnt, ragged and starving. Population had been increased in one year by seven million persons because the armies and the colonists had been brought home. To feed and clothe and house the seventy million with the resources of these four small islands would be impossible at the

best of times, but with those islands pulverised the situation was hopeless. And there was a lack of hope in the people one saw standing in queues, sitting in gutters, clinging to the few trains, or feverishly padding along the streets.

American help—Australian ?

The army of Occupation was very much in evidence, and I was soon to learn that this army and the help it was bringing was really the only hope for the country. Much has been written about the Occupation but the thing I remember today is that the ordinary soldiers could not resist the sight of

Woman of five churches representing their Auxiliaries meeting at St. Mary's Ito in June. Foremost is Mrs Shimizu, one of the founders of the Home Mission Movement in Japan. Second from left, in kimono, is Mrs Harada, matron of Ito Hostel. (Cartoonists will please note that only one wears glasses.)



Figure 3 Newsletter No. 62, August, 1956, page one. Professionally printed in Japan.

Oral History

In addition to the written records, a unique oral history has been provided by my mother, Maida Coaldrake. This was recorded over a period of three years from 1999–2001 in Sydney. It explains issues which she felt she could not include in the *Newsletters* at the time she was writing them in 1950–1956:

The fact that Japan was such a tightly constructed and suffering country couldn't be explained in the *Newsletters*. That is why I have never been able to put pen to paper on these subjects – the discrepancy between what I saw and what I was instructed to believe.”⁴⁰

This oral history is particularly helpful in understanding the character of the American leadership of the Occupation of Japan, some of the tensions in church affairs, and personal hardship experienced by the Coaldrakes as Australians rather than American missionaries.

All documents included in the book are from the Coaldrake family archives, except where other sources are specifically acknowledged. Documents not written by Frank or Maida Coaldrake have been included only when they have a direct bearing on understanding particular events and issues. These include correspondence between A.B.M. and Frank Coaldrake which reveals how the Japan mission was set up – the portentous letter of 1943 from Frank Coaldrake to the Minister for External Affairs which was found in the National Archives in Canberra, and the letter from General MacArthur to A.B.M. in 1947 from the Mitchell Library in Sydney.

As a consequence of the decision to concentrate this book on the unpublished Coaldrake Records many records written by others are not included. This book would have become a multi-volume series if we had included everything we would have liked. We look forward to the results of work by other researchers in assessing all this material together, including the Japanese language documents in the archives of the Diocese of Yokohama (formerly South Tokyo), as well as Frank Coaldrake's years as Chairman of A.B.M. (1957-1970) in light of the information about his mission in Japan contained in this book.

The Photographic Record

Frank Coaldrake took an extensive visual record of the mission in Japan. Unless otherwise acknowledged, all photographs in the book are from the Coaldrake Family Records, either taken by, or taken under the instruction of, Frank Coaldrake. He began taking colour slides and movie film as soon as these media became more readily available in the late 1940s. The *Newsletters* include appeals for supporters to send him more film. Always constrained by budget, he was sparing but effective in the images he captured, whether still or moving, although a little too sparing when it came to pictures of himself.

The visual record surviving today amounts to over 2,500 black and white photographs, 850 colour slides and over two hours of 16mm black and white movie film, some of it found in poor condition. Frank Coaldrake was keen to use visual resources as well as the written word to explain Japan. The colour slides were used extensively by Frank and Maida Coaldrake for the many talks and speeches on Japan

40 Maida Coaldrake, 25 August 2001.

made during deputation work in Australia in 1954 and 1955, and after the Coaldrakes had returned to live in Australia. Some are still used in my lectures today.

These images capture a Japan that is hardly recognizable today. They challenge us to remember how much has changed so rapidly. The photographs show the keen interest in people also apparent in the written records, a desire to present “ordinary” Japanese in their daily lives and activities. Each face, sometimes cheerfully masking hardship, poses the question: “are these the feared and ‘sub-human’ enemy of wartime propaganda or are they just people like you and me?”

With the exception of some of the earliest photographs from 1947, the black and white photographs have been reprinted from the original negatives preserved in the Coaldrake family home. This has given them a clarity and freshness which belies their age. Because of the limitations of space the photographs included in this book have been carefully chosen wherever possible to illustrate events and people described in the written documents. Photographs were included in later *Newsletters* and these have been duly included with the *Newsletters* in this book wherever they survive. Because of cost only a few of the colour photographs could be included. Some have been selected with an eye to relevance to the text but most have been chosen because they tell a story in their own right.

The 16mm films have been transferred to archival videotape and are held at *ScreenSound Australia*, the national film and sound archives in Canberra (see *Guide to Archival Resources*, at the end of this *introduction*). The films date from as early as 1948 and include scenes of people and their activities, from church processions in streets of remote castletowns of central Japan to traditional carpenters hard at work with lumber rip-saws preparing the timbers for the church building in Itō. Today this type of saw may only be found in museums in Japan. Relatively little film of this period in Japan’s history survives.

Achievements Material, Spiritual and Strategic

What were the strategies and the results, the consequences material and spiritual, of the Coaldrake mission to Japan? Ultimately the question is for others to consider but many of the immediate results, both large and small, may be gathered from the pages of the *Newsletters* themselves: people helped and lives saved at a practical level, particularly during the desperate years of starvation up to 1952; emotional and spiritual sustenance for many in the heart of despair; a strong and caring Christian witness throughout an isolated and rugged part of Japan, bringing together the people of Izu and those of the Australian church who read the *Newsletters* and who sent the hundreds of parcels and messages of encouragement; a young but growing church with its headquarters in Itō, thirteen cottage churches, and four more in preparation throughout the peninsula,⁴¹ accorded recognition as a full parish in the diocese in October, 1956; two young priests sent to Australia for further theological studies; the experience of the

41 *Newsletter No. 61*, August, 1956.

thousands of young people who participated in the Lake Ippeki Camps, to discover the meaning of community and fellowship away from the bombed-out cities in which they lived, enabling them to go on to make varied contributions to Japanese society; the way the camps inspired the next generation of leaders of the Nippon Seikōkai to become its priests and bishops.

Frank Coaldrake himself summarises the progress of the mission, its achievements and difficulties, in reports and in the *Newsletters*. These summaries should be read first when considering the outcomes of the mission: in the reports from Odawara and Itō, and most particularly his broad overview, quite breathless in the vision and energy which underlies it, contained in *Newsletter No. 62* of August, 1956. This *Newsletter* was written on St. Barnabas' Day, nine years to the day after his arrival in Japan. It was written even as the official selection committee for the new Chairman of A.B.M. was meeting in Sydney, and tacitly endorsing his strategies in Japan as a blueprint for the wider community of partnership in mission for the Australian Anglican church in the Pacific and East Asia, by choosing him as their chief executive.

From Frank Coaldrake's private notes in the file called *Izu Mission Meetings. Unofficial Minutes kept by F.W.C.*, we find his personal record of what he had set out to achieve in Japan. These notes are an unambiguous declaration of what was to later become more widely known as "the post-colonial agenda." The extracts from the *Unofficial Minutes* in chapter 8 reveal the regular and orderly conduct of meetings with local church committees. Consultation, transparency and financial accountability were the basis for stimulating local responsibility in conducting the Izu mission. The basic strategies were to give the laity significant responsibility, and to make this a local church for the people of Japan. For the laity, responsibility was not to be limited to the private practice of Christian faith. Elections were held to select local representatives. This itself was not without difficulties. In *Newsletter No. 42* (December 1951–January 1952) we learn that the first elections had to be postal ballots because "we can't have a general meeting or election because our members are so scattered. Also, nobody knows everybody except myself." Even more importantly, lay persons were required to witness to their faith and to propagate that faith in deeply conservative and often isolated communities. The Ippeki summer camps were an opportunity to give the "campers" opportunities to visit local villages and learn to conduct street missions.

The ultimate objective, as set out in the *Unofficial Minutes*, was to make the church self-sustaining through "spontaneous expansion." We find this term and its origin discussed in *Newsletter No. 53* of May–June, 1953, in which Maida Coaldrake comments:

Ever since the reference in one of Keys Smith's [C.M.S. medical missionary] newsletters about Roland Allen's *Spontaneous Expansion of the Church*⁴² and our

42 See further: Roland Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It*, London, New York, Vancouver, and Nilgiris, World Dominion Press, First edition 1927, Second edition 1949.

own reading of it, we have been much exercised over the problem of the lack of participation of the people themselves – lay and priest alike – in the evangelisation of the nation. . . So in the Easter Committee meeting Frank challenged our lay-people to face up to the situation of an Izu Church less dependent on the priest except for matters of priestly ministry. . . The resulting plan we work to today is very different from anything we ourselves might have devised. Though it has weaknesses, it is the People’s Plan.

Frank Coaldrake explains that his aim was for “a spontaneously growing community of Christian locals, the title of which is ‘the indigenous Church’.” In this church “we must pay more attention to the one deeply concerned person than to the ten only superficially interested.”⁴³ Behind this strategy lies Frank Coaldrake’s assessment that in Japan there were two endemic problems – a danger of becoming over-dependent on foreign financial support, and too much emphasis on the priest, especially the person of the particular priest. We can wonder if this did not become the case with the Izu church after Frank Coaldrake, that he became more iconic and synonymous with the church than he would have ever wanted or allowed.

A decade later this type of thinking about the strategies of indigenous responsibility was becoming more widespread in the Anglican Communion with the concept of mission through partnership, not “conquest and conversion.” In the notes of his final Izu committee meeting, held in Shimoda on 20 December 1956, just eight days before he was to leave Japan, Frank Coaldrake enunciates the central idea of this approach clearly. In his notes he asks, if there is no spontaneous expansion of local Christianity, what follows? His answer goes to the heart of the matter: “10 years no church?” he writes. Either the missionaries should achieve their own obsolescence by succeeding, or, if there is no spontaneous expansion, foreign support should be ended, and the missionaries withdrawn.

It is important to remember that, just two weeks after he discussed these ideas with the Izu Church committee in the town of Shimoda, he was chairing his first meetings at A.B.M. headquarters in Sydney. We can speculate on how this experience in Japan may have shaped his vision for the Australian Board of Missions. We do know it became a significant input at the Anglican World Congress in 1963, as discussed in chapter nine. In 1970, after a fact-finding trip back to Japan, he wrote:

No firm conclusions could be drawn but the impression is given that the Japanese church would be better left without missionaries now and helped to retain its fellowship in the wider church by being invited to offer its own people for missionary service abroad.⁴⁴

⁴³ *Newsletter No. 59*, April–May, 1954.

⁴⁴ Australian Board of Missions (ed.), *Bread for Hungry Souls: Mission Workbook 1970*, Stanmore, N.S.W., Australian Board of Missions, 1970, p. 65.

For myself, I have grown up with my father and his vision reflected in the deep impression he had on so many of my oldest friends – the Miyazawa family, Kimiyosan, Ikue-san – and in the extended family of love and faith which gathered in joy and sorrow in Tokyo on 22 July 2000 to celebrate the 50th anniversary of my mother’s arrival in Japan and the 30th anniversary of Dad’s death. Or in the young church worker I found myself sitting beside after mass at the new church building in Itō in 1998, and who, on being introduced, proudly produced from his wallet a photograph of Dad which he carries everywhere with him.

But there is another dimension entirely to this Australian mission of reconciliation to Japan. Reconciliation by definition involves two estranged parties. The Coaldrake mission was equally a mission to fight prejudice and hatred of Japan in Australia and, by extension, all those who shared the war and its bitter fruits. It was as much a mission of reconciliation of Japanese with Australians as it was a mission of Australians to Japan and the Japanese. This mission, the natural corollary of the first, was carried out in two ways.

First, there were the *Newsletters* themselves. These letters were, after all, addressed to Australians, as well as to an increasingly international audience, who had fought the Japanese in the war. The unhappy experiences during the war of many of the recipients were in danger of becoming a collective prejudice after hostilities ended. The prejudice was shaped by racist wartime propaganda and by a popular mood demanding “justice” after the war. It found psychological security behind the barriers of the restrictive immigration “White Australia Policy.” The *Newsletters* seek to dispel fear and misunderstanding of Japan by information and analysis. The pages are full of practical experiences, real people, actual happenings, and commentary about Japan, for the readers to consider and discuss. The *Newsletters* humanised the Japanese in order to dispel the demons of the past. In a world before television and mass communication they were more important than we can ever understand today.

The second part of the mission to Australia was conducted during the two periods of furlough spent on deputation work back in Australia. This was a mission intended to inform the Australian church and the Australian public generally about Japan, the Japanese and their church. It challenged people to confront their fears and hatred. In 1950 Frank Coaldrake visited every Australian state, delivering his message of reconciliation in cathedrals and parish halls, in newspapers and radio broadcasts, the length and breadth of the land. In 1954–55, during the second furlough, Frank Coaldrake flew 7,000 miles and spoke more than 300 times.⁴⁵ Maida Coaldrake gave 65 speeches in one period of four weeks, despite family responsibilities (looking after Bill and the birth of Margaret). For this mission to Australia Frank Coaldrake was no longer a “missionary to Japan;” he was assuming an identity and a vocation defined by the new title he used for radio broadcasts – “The Rev. Frank Coaldrake of Japan.”⁴⁶ As he identified

45 *Newsletter No. 60*, April, 1956.

46 See *chapter 5*.

himself increasingly with his role as a member of staff of the Anglican church of Japan, becoming less a “missionary” in the process, he became more a missionary of reconciliation from Japan to Australia.

Despite these efforts the mission against prejudice in Australia was less successful than the mission of reconciliation to Japan. On his journey by ship back to Japan in 1950 Frank Coaldrake wrote:

The depressing thing, as I look back now, was to find that among the several thousand people I spoke to in meetings and services very few began by acknowledging the human-ness of the people of Japan. This, it seems to me, is not just the result of war with Japan. We don't find the same attitude to Germans and Italians. There must have been some special feature in our war-time ideas about the Japanese and we ought to be trying to recognise what it was, because it has warped the mind of even the Christian among us. I found that people who were quite impervious to logical argument and a reasoned statement succumbed in a few minutes to a play upon their emotions. This is, I think, because the usual Australian attitude to the Japanese is based on fear – they gave us a mighty big fright as their armies came down through Singapore on to the New Guinea mountains. Later, to this fear was added horror as we heard the stories of returning prisoners-of-war. And because fear and horror are both very strong emotions, often played upon by highly coloured press and radio reports, they overpower any attempt to size up the situation reasonably with calm thought.⁴⁷

His declaration that the war “has warped the mind of even the Christian among us” must be one of the saddest and most telling statements in all the *Newsletters*. Even the carefully organised visit to Australia, arranged through A.B.M., for the Presiding Bishop of the Nippon Seikōkai to explain the needs and opportunities for partnership with the Japanese church failed to raise one single offer of substantial support. “Stay in Japan and save the Japanese” was the attitude.

Had attitudes changed by 1954–55 and the second Coaldrake furlough in Australia? “Everywhere there was plenty of interest, but even within the church there were also to be found prejudice and deep-seated misconceptions,” Maida Coaldrake notes in *Newsletter No. 60* (April, 1956). And the last *Newsletter*⁴⁸ opens with the following statement, surely written out of love and hope, but nevertheless reflecting the deep scarring of the Australian collective psyche by the war:

Dear Friends,

Our days in Japan are numbered. We wish now that we had written many more *Newsletters* so that we might have told you much more about Japan and her people. We feel that we haven't succeeded yet in bringing you to

47 *Newsletter No. 31*, August, 1950.

48 *Newsletter No. 63*, November, 1956.

understand and appreciate these people who are most hated by Australians – the Japanese. And how Australians fear them! And how ridiculous that is, how futile.

Editorial Notes

The *Newsletters* are published in their entirety together with other relevant documents, some of which are extracts from longer reports or articles. The *Newsletters* and documents have been divided into nine chapters, corresponding to the major phases of the journey from 1939 to 1956 in both a literal and a metaphorical sense. A commentary has been added at the beginning of each chapter to explain the context and circumstances of the particular period and to highlight relevant issues. Explanatory notes have been kept to a minimum as it is the editor's intention to allow the documents to speak for themselves. Comments by the editor are added either as footnotes or as short explanations inserted in the text in square parentheses []. Parentheses used by the authors in the original text are rendered as (). The editor has relied on two publications of the Nippon Seikōkai in Japanese to check dates and other details of names, places and events. One is the official history of the Diocese of South Tokyo (now Yokohama), and the other is the official history of St. Mary's Church, Izu.⁴⁹ *The Australian Dictionary of Biography* has been used as the reference for the brief notes identifying Australians appearing in the pages of the documents who are not otherwise introduced in the documents themselves.⁵⁰

The professionally printed *Newsletters* distributed from May, 1949 (*No.* 25) were not proof-read by the authors after they were typeset in Australia because of the considerable delays this would have incurred. Maida Coaldrake has now corrected minor mistakes in these “first edition” *Newsletters*. It should be stressed that, apart from these minor corrections and attention to punctuation and spelling, no alterations have been made to the *Newsletters* and the other documents.

As noted earlier, the *Newsletters* were written by Frank Coaldrake until 1949. Thereafter they were the primary responsibility of Maida Coaldrake with sections added by Frank Coaldrake. To avoid possible confusion an editorial note has been inserted at the beginning of each of these *Newsletters* establishing the authorship of the different sections.

The style of the earlier *Newsletters* is less formal than the later printed ones, and the abbreviations used have been retained as they help convey the “flavour” of

49 Nippon Seikōkai Yokohama Kyōku rekishi iinkai (ed.), *Mina ni yorite. Yokohama Kyōku hyakunijūgonen no ayumi*, (*In His Name. A History of the 125 years of Yokohama Diocese*), Tokyo, Seikōkai shuppan, 1998; Nippon Seikōkai Yokohama Kyōku Izu Mariya Kyōkai (ed.), *Izu Mariya Kyōkai no gojūnen* (*The 50 years of St. Mary's Church, Izu*), Itō, 1998.

50 John Ritchie *et al.*, *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1966–(2000).

the original documents. Most abbreviations are obvious. Of note is the use of “J’ese” for “Japanese,” which avoids the pejorative “Jap” so common in war-time propaganda. The full name of organisations referred to by their acronyms has been added the first time they appear in the text. For convenience, a list has also been appended to this introduction. Japanese names are given in Western order throughout the book, with family name last, as this was the practice observed by the authors. The spelling of names has been standardised according to modern usage and made consistent throughout the documents. Hence “Bishop Mayekawa” is now referred to as “Bishop Maekawa.” It is now customary for Japanese baptised as Christians to take an additional “Christian name” but these have been omitted except when specifically used in the documents, as it was not universal practice in the 1940s and 1950s.

It is normal practice in scholarly work to represent the long vowel sounds in Japanese by the addition of a macron, hence *ō* and *ū*. Macrons were not used in the *Newsletters* or other documents in the Coaldrake Records because the immediate audience did not speak Japanese and the macrons may have caused confusion. In this book, for linguistic accuracy, the editor has included macrons in the *introduction* and commentaries, and in bibliographic citations. Otherwise they are omitted.

The Anglican Church of Japan is referred to in the Coaldrake documents as *Nippon Seiko Kawai*.⁵¹ This romanization, with the *w* inserted before the *ai*, reflects the pronunciation prevailing in the later nineteenth century when the increasing number of foreign specialists were first systematically recording the language.⁵² The official modern romanization *Nippon Seikōkai* has been adopted for the *introduction* and commentaries.⁵³

Currencies used are Australian pounds (£), shillings and pence, and Japanese *yen*, which was divided into 100 *sen*. The equivalents of *yen* to Australian pounds are usually furnished by the authors at the prevailing conversion rate. There were considerable fluctuations because of the instability of the *yen* and high inflation. This is discussed further in the commentary to chapter four.

51 An alternate transliteration was *Nihon Seikōkawai* found, for example, in the official romanized prayer book of 1926 (*Nihon Seikōkawai, Kītōsho, Kyūshū kōsei 1915 nen*, Tokyo, Nihon Seikōkawai shuppansha, 1926).

52 Another common example is *Kiwanto* for the name Kantō Plain on which the city of Tokyo is located.

53 *Nihon Seikōkai* is an alternate pronunciation of the same characters.

1 Ordinary Events, Extraordinary Outcomes: Queensland–Melbourne (1912–39)

The document presented in this chapter is of singular significance in understanding Frank Coaldrake's mission of reconciliation to Japan. It is a letter, written in 1943 in Melbourne, from Frank Coaldrake to Maida Williams. He was thirty-one years of age at the time. Some of the details not relevant to Japan have been omitted here because of its length, sixteen pages of handwriting in all.

The letter is dated 21 February 1943. It is introspective and personal, furnishing rare insights into Frank Coaldrake's thinking about himself, what he was doing and where he was going, or as he puts it "I have wanted to let you see something of what has brought me to this hour." We sense from this that momentous developments lay just ahead. Three days after writing the letter he was ordained priest at St. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne. Precisely two months later he wrote the request to Dr. Evatt asking to go to Japan.

The letter takes the form of a commentary on a set of photographs describing his life and experiences to that time. Only one photograph survives, apparently sent later, and is included in this chapter. Despite this, the descriptions provide a clear understanding of the formation of his personality and ideas. We meet him first as a "grubby young scout" aged 12. The sequence of commentaries takes us from his upbringing in Brisbane and his growing commitment as an Anglican, through his training as a teacher to his work for the Brotherhood of St. Paul, the "Bush Brotherhood." He was Warden of the Boy's Hostel in the western Queensland town of Charleville for four years (1932–36). We are introduced to his activities as a student at the University of Queensland in 1936 and 1937; he had been a part-time student until then. We see him active in student politics, debating and sports. He was editor of the University of Queensland's student newspaper, *Semper Floreat*. In his descriptions he passes quickly over his involvement in the historic university conference in Adelaide in 1937 which saw the establishment of the National Union of Australian University Students (N.U.A.U.S). He notes visits to the Brisbane slums, speaking to the unemployed, discovering significantly that he "could 'do things' with such men." He spends more time describing his involvement in the Australian Student Christian Movement (A.S.C.M.). Through the A.S.C.M. we learn he developed a strong sense of the social relevance of Christianity, learning that "religion in practice" is "friendship." Here are the first indications of the direction his thinking was to take about

reconciliation with Japan. We read about his growing desire to become a priest. Through the A.S.C.M. he meets the charismatic Chinese pastor Dr. K. Z. Koo and is profoundly influenced by Dr. Koo's views about the importance of spiritual values in a changing and challenging world. This is precisely the set of circumstances in which he is to find himself after he arrives in Japan. He is to talk about Dr. Koo's ideas in some of the early *Newsletters* from Japan. The scenes of a seaside camp for children from outback Queensland anticipate the summer camps in Japan for the children of the bombed-out Japanese cities. Finishing his degree at the University of Queensland, he is selected as one of the three national Travelling Secretaries of the A.S.C.M. in 1938. This leads him to Melbourne where he discovers the slums of Fitzroy as the letter ends.

We also see in this letter examples of his practical self-reliance and his skill with his hands. He taught woodworking at Charleville and displayed considerable ingenuity as a "bush plumber." Not surprisingly, we learn that he would have trained as an engineer if money had permitted – his family was too poor. His practical side would become "survival skills" in Japan, where priests were not expected to be practical.

All these experiences Frank Coaldrake characterises in the letter as "ordinary events but somehow working into one pattern," a pattern which was logical but in which we can now see the potential for extraordinary outcomes.

Letter from Frank Coaldrake to Maida Williams, 21 February 1943.

[Note: numbers refer to photograph numbers. Only one photograph survives.]

Maida,

Handle this bundle of photos carefully so that they do not get out of order and you will see something of the life that has been lived – an ordinary sort of life when viewed this way – that should be stressed, quite ordinary events but somehow working many things into one pattern. . .

4. Grubby young scout – keen as mustard – on right is F.W.C. [Frank William Coaldrake] age 12. Went to Adelaide to Scout Corrobooree.

5. St. Margaret's Church, Sandgate – where F.W.C. became head server and read the lessons also. After "lapsing" from 13–17 became keen on "church" and started and ran a "Fellowship" for lads with similar gang for lasses.

6. The lads of the "Fellowship" a bit later together with Fr. Hassell – my parish priest. Should be a picture here of Rev. Cecil Edwards . . . at this stage he was mainly responsible for my interest in church. He was then Head of Bush Brotherhood. Saw me on periodical visits to Brisbane.

12. House in garden suburb [in Brisbane] the Coaldrakes moved to when F.W.C. age 17 [1929]. Was teaching at Sandgate. Rode down on mo[tor] bike. Pictures later. (Fig. 4) Also rode to town four nights a week to night classes and university.

13. 14. 15. Scouting at that time. Had taken charge of backward troop of hooligans. Hard work and rough play made 'em one of top notch troops of Bris[bane]. They still make their mark. . .

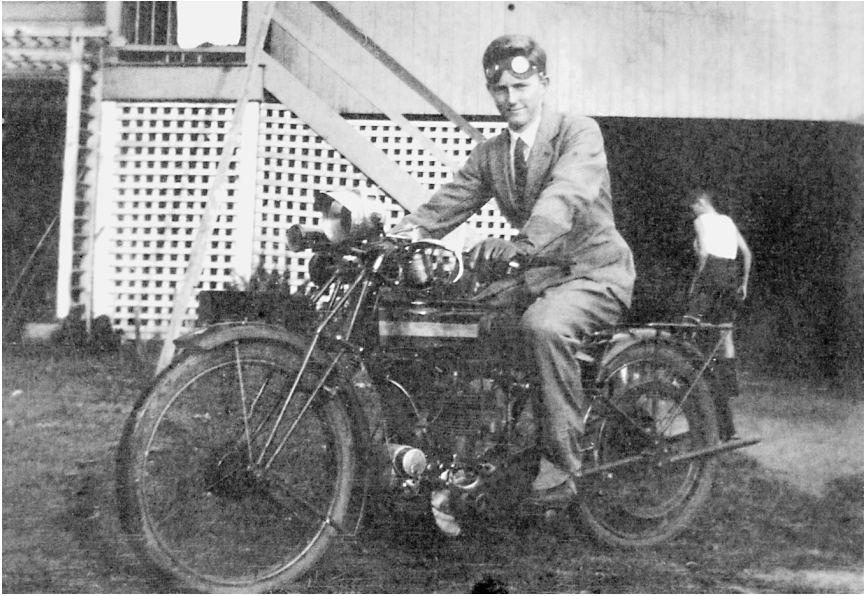


Figure 4 Frank Coaldrake, aged 17 (1929).

16. Church at this stage very “high.”¹ F.W.C. one of the gang. But mainly a spare time activity for F.W.C. the Teacher and Scout. Much work as stage manager and electrician for parish concerts & parish touring concert party. Priest an intellectual “giant,” taught me Latin after church on Sunday nights, in return for which I supplied the Rectory – he was a celibate – with cake for supper – cake made Sunday afternoons by younger sister [Joyce] now age 12.

17. Twin brothers Bruce and Keith, and F.W.C. Starting for a week’s camp at Christmas. Keith proud owner of broken down racehorse, eventually went bush as stockman and drover, finished up as horse breaker and left it suddenly at my request in middle of 1941 to come and help me in [the] Fitzroy Hostel [of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence]. Keith now studying at Keble House to go into priesthood [with the] view [of] joining [the] Bush Brotherhood. . .

22. 23. Scenes at seaside camp for children from far west [of outback Queensland]. F.W.C. first a helper, finally, first long vacation as resident university student, took charge of one.

25. A New Job. Having just started, at 19 years of age, as Warden in charge of Hostel for boys in Charleville, 500 miles west of Brisbane. Ran the place for the Bush Brotherhood which was centred in Charleville. We were the “boarding house” part of a “boarding school.” Boys with us all time except hours of attendance at state school on week days. . .

1 High Church or Anglo-Catholic.

30. F.W.C. patent for pumping waste water away. Was always keen and adept at things mechanical. Hence the fate of this old mo'bike which I bought for £3 to do this job. . .

36. . . . So much for Charleville Days. Could write a book.

Went to the job from teaching. Must go back further. Always wanted to be an "engineer." Had skills that way; was due to start as apprentice in big "shop" after passing "Junior" Exam. (Had won scholarship of 2½ years to grammar school [Brisbane Boys' Grammar School] from State school.)

In sitting for Junior Exam, Dad, an opportunist, made me enter for Teachers' College Scholarship. Results showed F.W.C. entitled to go to Teachers' College. During the remaining week of Holiday decided to become a teacher – in order to study in spare time for the University Engineering course and save enough money to pay for the course. (Family too poor and too many of us. Things definitely too pinching at this stage.)

So I became a teacher in order to become an engineer. Did well at teaching – one of top four of five of 150 in year at college and came out of College to be a teacher because I'd been given a vision of what a teacher could do – linked up with Church work in Fellowship at Sandgate too – and scouts. Taught 2 years. Night class first year managed to matriculate. Second year passed English I on way to Arts Degree. Engineering now relegated to spare time activities. Little time for sport except irregular tennis and swimming. Much "swotting" and "handicrafts" – plaiting, fretwork, mechanics, drawing, painting, photography. No music!

At end of second year came by strange means to resign from Dept. to go out to Charleville to take charge of B'hd Hostel . . .

Main motive in going to Charleville was the appeal of the job and the adventure of it. Rationalisation was "want to get B.A. as soon as possible to get higher up quickly in teaching." So I went to Charleville in order to become a more successful teacher. . .

The work at Charleville – it was a grand "game" really – gripped me wholly. Plenty of scope to do all the things I was fond of doing. Physical work – laying out lawns, gardens, tennis courts, planting trees; mechanical work – repairs and alterations, putting in irrigation system, establishing and running "handicraft workshop" for the boys, – and myself. "Bossing" the boys – and the staff of 4. Bookkeeping too – which I didn't like. Church life which I took as a necessary but not unpalatable ingredient of the whole. Games – camping, hiking, fishing, shooting – trained cricket, football and tennis teams which eventually licked the State school teams – (we had 35 to select from, they had 250 boys). Study – pushing on for the degree.

But as an opportunity for study for B.A. it was a flop. I got 3 subjects in 4 years. Failed in 9 exams out of 12. Learned to keep on in spite of that. Got 2 of the 3 subjects in the fourth year. Gained much from reading which did not secure passes in exams.

Gradually had eyes opened to more reality in worship and religion generally. Then recognised need of men to carry on the good work of the Bush

Brotherhood. So at end of 4th year went down to university to finish degree then go to Theological College [with the] view [of] going bush to [the] Brotherhood as [a] priest.

Decided to throw myself into university life and get all possible “equipment” for job in B’hood. The B’hood members gave some financial help as “recompense” for 4 years on £65 p.a. I wanted to go to work on high pay for 2 years and “save” cost of course. Brothers agreed [it was] valuable [to] do [the] Degree before Theology course, and insisted [that I] not “waste” time earning cost of course.

As part of full university life decided should join S.C.M. [Student Christian Movement]. (Had been in it in Teachers’ College. Was Teachers’ College representative on Queensland State Council in 1930. Present Bishop of Adelaide was Chairman! Not least insight then into what S.C.M. was. [I had] Quite superficial view of religion) . . .

37. Scene at . . . S.C.M. conference which “took me somewhere” [details unknown]. The conference at which I learnt that “Religion in practice” is “Friendship.”

38. Group at General Committee (National Committee of S.C.M.) 1936 August. C.F. Andrews² had just been in Queensland. I was secretary for his visit and he stayed in our College [St. John’s, the University of Queensland]. He was responsible for what I count as my first real “conversion.” Koo sharing the word [of] the “new direction” in 1937.

39. Trips south introduced me to “slums.” Had been visiting Brisbane slum area during 1st year at university. Speaking to 100 men, unemployed, at Mission on Sunday evenings after they had been provided with tea. Learnt there that I could “do things” with such men.

On the trip shown in [photograph] no. 39 met the Legion of Christian Youth and got a real understanding of the social significance of Christianity. Also learnt something of technique of social action. First met “Burgie”³. . .

43. A broadcast debate under “Hecklers.” Found feet in debating as a Fresher. Won leadership in Intervarsity team. First “fresher” to do so – though perhaps not rightly called a “fresher”. . .

45. Feb. 1937. One of 2 Queensland delegates to University Conference in Adelaide. Gave birth to N.U.A.U.S.⁴. . .

48. Dr. Koo [a photograph of him] as secretary for his visit. FWC is discussing his programme with him when Press arrives and take photo. Owe much to Koo. Just after this was asked by S.C.M. chairman, Boyce Gibson, while I was at

2 Rev. Charles Freer Andrews (1871–1940). A Christian missionary who went to India as an Anglican priest and lecturer at St. Stephen’s College in Delhi in 1904. He became a friend of Mahatma Gandhi, and may have been the source of Gandhi’s influence on Frank Coaldrake.

3 Ernest Henry Burgmann (1885–1967), social activist and priest, Bishop of Goulburn from 1934. See: *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 13, pp. 300–301.

4 National Union of Australian University Students. Frank Coaldrake was to become third President. See *chapter 2*.

General Committee, if I would take job as Travelling Secretary. Flabbergasted. Consulted Head of College and Bush Brotherhood. They agreed. Arranged to start after Final Honours exam in February 1938.

49. Spent final long vacation swotting all the stuff for Final Honours I had neglected to do during final year because of being S.C.M. President, Paper Editor, Debates Leader, Union Rep., Sports Council for Rowing Club, Drama Dramatic Society play lead, College Mag Business Manager, member of College crew, and football, cricket and athletic teams and a few other things. Swotted 12 to 15 hours a day in a solid effort to get through and take up S.C.M. job...⁵

51. . . . It was during my first year as Travelling Secretary I discovered Fitzroy. Eventually lived there for 6 weeks in November–December 1938 – in what I discovered after two days was a Brothel. Stayed there 6 weeks!

Lived within $\frac{1}{4}$ mile of Brotherhood of St. Laurence Hostel and saw it without knowing what it was. Early next year found out about it. Then G.K.T. [Father Gerard Kennedy Tucker, Founder of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence] “blew” in to see M.H. [Margaret Holmes⁶] one day just to talk about things. Says now it was most unusual thing for him to do, first time he has ever talked to M.H. though had met her once before. Talked mainly about chance of talking to students about needs of Fitzroy. I undertook to arrange a midday address, and a few weeks later lived for a month at the Hostel while in Melbourne – July ’39.

Eventually when in Brisbane in September ’39 got permission of Bush Brotherhood and College and Archbishop [Halse] to turn away from Queensland Theological College [and] Bush Brotherhood in order to come to Melbourne and join the B.S.L. [Brotherhood of St. Laurence].

There is a weird mixture in the previous 15 pages. You could charge me with egotism and I’d have no answer. But I have wanted to let you see something of what has brought me to this hour. I have not set out all the influences, much less the pin-point ideas which have been the “decision moments” but perhaps you will know me better. . .

5 Frank Coaldrake was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship to the University of Oxford. Having turned 25 years of age in March of 1937, he was then deemed over the maximum age for acceptance.

6 The Executive Officer of the Australian Headquarters of the Australian Student Christian Movement. Everyone called her by her initials.

2 The Peacemaker: Melbourne (1939–46)

This chapter deals with Frank Coaldrake's period in Melbourne working with the Brotherhood of St. Laurence and, more significantly in terms of the later mission to Japan, with his activities as a vocal and vehement pacifist. The period in Melbourne coincides with the long and grim years of World War Two, first in Europe and then, from December 1941, with Japan.

The title of this chapter refers to the name of the pacifist journal Frank Coaldrake founded as his immediate response to the outbreak of war in Europe in September, 1939, but it also refers to his broader role during the war which was to lead him inexorably towards Japan.

War in Europe finds Frank Coaldrake as one of three Travelling Secretaries of the A.S.C.M. his focus was shifting from Queensland to Victoria and the city of Melbourne. He began working with the Brotherhood of St. Laurence in January, 1940, on the completion of his duties with A.S.C.M., combining his activities with the Brotherhood with his role as editor of *The Peacemaker*. At the same time he was completing his Master's thesis at the University of Queensland and serving as the third President of the National Union of Australian University Students (N.U.A.U.S.). In this capacity he voiced his strong views against the war, as we can see in the articles from the student newspapers of the University of Melbourne and the University of Sydney. The conference on "Pacific Affairs" he organised at the University of Sydney in January 1941 included a Japanese representative (unidentified) in a debate on the Pacific. War in the Pacific was less than a year away by then and Frank Coaldrake was including the Japanese in the debate as he turned his own mind increasingly to the issues of war and peace.

It should also be noted, as Shirley Abraham points out, that "he chaired the 1941 N.U.A.U.S. Council Meeting at which the Commonwealth Government scholarships for University students was formulated."¹

Student politics was the initial forum for his pacifism but *The Peacemaker* was rapidly gaining momentum as the national forum for conscientious objectors, as the articles included in this chapter reveal. He was putting his experience gained

¹ Shirley Abraham, "Frank William Coaldrake: 12-3-1912–22-7-1970," *The Peacemaker*, vol. 32, no. 8–9, August–September 1970, p. 5.

as the student newspaper editor at the University of Queensland to good use. The articles in *The Peacemaker* show his pacifism taking positive directions as he puts forward proposals about how to bridge the hostilities with understanding to create a viable framework for post-war Australia-Japan relations.

The journal also served as a vital conduit of information to pacifists around Australia, as travel and communication was now restricted because of war-time controls. We learn, for example, of the activities of the Japanese pacifist Toyohiko Kagawa in an article in March, 1941. This was the beginning of a crucial distinction Frank Coaldrake was to emphasize throughout his dealing with Japan in war and peace, that it was critical to see Japanese as individuals, some “bad” but others “good.” Kagawa (1888–1960) had visited Australia in 1935 and was something of a hero to pacifists and those concerned with social justice, sometimes referred to as “the St. Francis of the Japanese slums.”² He had founded the Anti-War League in Japan, and went on a personal mission to the United States in 1941 in a desperate last minute attempt to avert war. Frank Coaldrake was to meet this kindred spirit finally in 1947 in Odawara (see *Newsletter No. 8*, 1 December, 1947). There is also passing mention of Gandhi, whose non-violent resistance to authority inspired Frank Coaldrake’s “war” against social injustice in the slums of Melbourne.

Meanwhile Frank Coaldrake was attracting the attention of the authorities. Apart from the attention of the censors, he was interrogated by the Commonwealth Investigation Bureau in March 1943, as his letter to Inspector Birch shows.

During all this he was working full-time for the Brotherhood of St. Laurence. He became a member in 1942. In the same year he received his M.A. from the University of Queensland,³ completed the Licentiate in Theology of the Australian College of Theology and was made a Deacon in the Anglican Church. In February 1943 he was ordained a priest at St. Paul’s Cathedral in Melbourne but it was as a pacifist as well as a priest that we find him turning his mind to grappling with the implications of the war with Japan. The documents included in this chapter include the letter he wrote shortly after his ordination to Dr. Evatt asking to go to Japan as soon as possible, even before hostilities ceased. He was finding that the Christian teachings of non-violence contradicted the Church’s institutional support of the war. His pacifism had imperiled his candidacy for the priesthood. In the same meeting in 1941 with the Archbishop of Melbourne, F.W. Head, in which he was warned against “pooping off on public platforms” (see *introduction*), he was also cautioned against “associating with disloyal Communists” and told that:

It is alright for you to hold these views if you really believe them, but you ought not to be passing them on to others. I am also anxious lest your reputation injure the reputation of Keble House. I think that if a man wanted to send his son

2 See further C. J. R. Price, *Toyohiko Kagawa: Christian Social Reformer*, Sydney, Assembly Hall Bookroom, 1935. This was published at the time of Dr. Kagawa’s visit to Australia.

3 *A Theory of Evil (A Study in Ethics Relating to Moral Conduct). A Thesis submitted to the School of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Queensland for the Degree of Master of Arts*, by Frank W. Coaldrake. B.A. 1942.

to a college now, he would look for some place like Ridley or Trinity or some other manly place.⁴

Archbishop Head advised him that if he were “seeking ordination at present. . . I would probably not be able to ordain you,” to which he replied:

Well, Your Grace, you have used the words “unmanly, disloyal and insincere” regarding myself, and I gather that my [pacifist] views are in your estimation almost worthless. I am, however, quite prepared to go on working for ordination, in the belief that by the time I come to ask for ordination you will have seen that there is more of truth and value in what I now say than you can now admit. I am quite happy about going on this basis.⁵

In the letter to his mother, in which he recounts these details, he adds that “the Archbishop was unfortunately somewhat annoyed and hurt by this remark.”⁶ Thirty years later it would have been interesting to see how an Archbishop Frank Coaldrake would have dealt with an ordinand with similar views about the Vietnam War.

“*The Peacemaker’s Policy*,” *The Peacemaker. An Australian Venture in Reconstruction*, vol. 1, no. 1, 29 September 1939, p. 2.

The Pacifists of Australia feel the need for unity. A common journal can be a great help. I have dared to assume that I am competent to offer this help. Please be honest in your criticism.

“*Reconstruction*,” *The Peacemaker. An Australian Venture in Reconstruction*, vol. 1, no. 1, 29 September 1939, p. 3.

The Pacifist concentrates all his efforts for peace and justice on the task of reconstruction.

“*A Personal Note*,” *The Peacemaker. An Australian Venture in Reconstruction*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1 January 1940, p. 2.

I must admit to some uncertainty about the immediate future of *The Peacemaker*. I am relinquishing my present position as Travelling Secretary to the Australian Student Christian Movement and am entering the Brotherhood of St. Laurence in Melbourne. Adjustment to new duties may leave little spare time for the first

4 Letter from Frank W. Coaldrake to his Mother, Mrs. E.R. Coaldrake, 15 July 1941, “Frank Coaldrake Papers,” Baillieu Library and Archives, the University of Melbourne.

5 Letter, 15 July 1941.

6 Letter, 15 July 1941.

month or two, in which case the size of *The Peacemaker* will be reduced temporarily.

**“Whither the University. Statement by N.U.A.U.S. President,”
Farrago, Tuesday 25 June 1940.**

[the student newspaper of the University of Melbourne]

To the Students in the Universities of Australia:

As we gather ourselves together in readiness to answer the Prime Minister’s ringing call to “all in” service we should reflect momentarily upon our duties to those who will come after us.

This is a war against Fascism – against chronic aggression on the national scale, and brutal, unscrupulousness on the individual scale.

This is not the time for spineless non-resistance. Brain and muscle and will are demanded. All, including the pacifists in our ranks, are girding their loins to resist in sundry ways the devastating forces of the new barbarism.

As we go down into the darker days of war let us cast our ideals into the future like a searchlight. There, confronting us, is the spectre of Fascism like a three-headed beast, probably inescapable. (Let me substitute for the word “Fascism” the phrase “rigid, centralized control.” “Fascism” has too many meanings.)

In even one year from now Australia will inevitably be under a much greater degree of centralised control than at the moment of writing. . . Rigid centralised control may come. In an attempt to prevent its imposition by the foreign aggressor this war is being fought. To prevent its growth in our midst is the task of each one of us.

This is not a job that can be relegated to the future. Simultaneously with resistance of rigid control by foreigners, we must guard against the development of similar methods of control in our midst, and be ready to check the first signs of the Fascist attitude in our acquaintances. . . We must withstand brutality, recognise it as such, and refuse to condone or indulge it. We must discover and speak the truth in any situation. Lies and perversions of the truth used to implement policy, must be confronted with the whole truth. Above all, we can at this stage be on guard against “mob” activities. The mob, under Fascist direction, becomes the main instrument for striking fear into the hearts of people. The man in the uncontrolled mob becomes irrational, inhuman. Mob demonstrations now are preparing the psychological ground of Fascism.

Truth and Justice will survive in our community only if enough people want them, and only if these people want them keenly enough and will go after them with energy and intelligence.

It is obvious that University students owe a special responsibility to our people and to future generations at this point.

Frank W. Coaldrake

President, National Union of Australian University Students,
Melbourne, 20/6/40.

“N.U.A.U.S. Conference Begins,” *Honi Soit*, Official Journal of the Sydney University Students Representative Council. Vol. XIII, No. 1, Friday, 17 January 1941. Special N.U.A.U.S. and Camp Edition.

DELEGATES DESCEND ON SYDNEY TODAY:
AUSTRALIAN UNIVERSITIES' VITAL WEEK

The Fourth Annual Conference of the National Union of Australian University Students [N.U.A.U.S.] begins to-day, and will conclude next Friday.

Twenty-six student delegates from other Australian universities, and a number from Sydney, will attend. Canberra University College is represented for the first time.

Public sessions in the Great Hall will include a symposium on “Pacific Affairs,” by four prominent representatives of the United States, Japan, Netherlands, Indies and Australia; also addresses by Mr. Spender, Mr. Mair, and Dr. Evatt. . .

Unfortunately, many students will be unable to attend because of [military] camp, but it is hoped that those who can will attend and observe critically what goes on. . .

WHO'S WHO IN THE N.U.[A.U.S.]?

FRANK COALDRAKE, N.U.A.U.S. President, comes from Queensland, although his long and valuable association with the N.U.A.U.S. has made him truly cosmopolitan. Chairman of this year's Conference, a position he will fill ably. A sincere idealist. Takes a really practical interest in social problems. A nice bloke.

Letter from Frank Coaldrake to Inspector Birch, Commonwealth Investigation Branch, Melbourne, 3 March 1941.

3/3/41.

Inspector Birch,
Commonwealth Investigation Branch,
MELBOURNE

Dear Sir,

It has occurred to me that one or two matters we discussed this afternoon might have been skimmed over so hurriedly that a wrong impression was left.

You asked me what conference I had attended while I was away on holiday. My answer, that I had attended the N.U.A.U.S. Conference, was correct, but I should perhaps have explained that I addressed a meeting of the Christian Pacifist Movement in Brisbane – a public meeting advertised in the daily press. The only other public utterances I made which were not directly associated with the meeting of the N.U.A.U.S. were a sermon preached at a Methodist Beach service at Currumbin, Qld., and a shortwave Broadcast to England for the

Department of Information. Privately I made contact with a great many friends whom I had not seen since I stopped travelling through those parts for the A.S.C.M. While the majority of these friends are not pacifists, a good many are and it was only natural that we spent some time talking about the matters which concern pacifists.

You asked me whether I am in the long run “For you or against you?” My answer, that I was, in the long run, against you, probably did not mean to you what I had in my mind. I am against war, and therefore am against anyone who is for a war – but that is only as far as war is concerned; more fully, I am with you in opposing the spreading movement of the new barbarism from Germany. I am with you in wanting to put an end to persecution and to give the small man and the weak the opportunity to live at peace, but I believe so fully in the futility and costliness of war as a method of solving the problems that cause it, that when you turn to war for the solution of your problems I am Not with you; and if I am not with you when you have chosen your mode of operation I guess I am against you. But that surely does not mean that I am going to give direct aid to those who are warring against you. I will not help anyone who is warring against anyone else to be more efficient in their warring; my efforts go to alleviate the suffering caused by war and to eradicate the causes of war. I might even say that I am quite “determined” about this, if that did not convey the impression of obstinacy.

The root of the whole matter is this – you did not get down to this today, but until you realise this you will probably be wondering what my “game” is – my main driving force is the religious conviction that the truth about God has been revealed to men in the person and life of Jesus Christ. My only unalterable intention is to share this knowledge far and wide. I believe that what the world, and men here and in Germany, need is the Word of God. My calling is to preach it and live it; there are countless others of the same calling. The word of God as spoken and revealed by Christ is quite definite with regard to the method of . . . [remainder of paragraph missing due to a slip of the carbon paper.]

But after all it was you who started to talk about my ideas so I must ask you to take this letter into full consideration. If you should be thinking that only a religious fanatic would write thus I would suggest that you refer to some eminent divines and laymen of the churches who both know my views and respect them; after all, these views are widely held in the churches. But I am sure that Rev. Prof. Calvert Barker, and Dr. R.C. Johnson, both of Queen’s College in the University of Melbourne, Canon C.H. Murray of Christ Church South Yarra, Prof. K.H. Bailey of the University of Melbourne, Prof. F.A. Bland of the University of Sydney, Rev. Dr. W. Dumming Thom, Master of S. Andrew’s College in the University of Sydney, Canon Garnsey, Warden of S. Paul’s College in the University of Sydney, Rev. E.R. Arnott, Warden of S. John’s College in the University of Brisbane, The Lord Bishop of Armidale, The Lord Bishop of Goulburn, and many such others whose names I will supply if necessary, would readily affirm that they know me to hold certain views which they do not themselves hold, that I hold these views strongly, and that in the course of close personal acquaintances they had found no reason to doubt my sanity or good faith.

I hope this has made the matter a bit clearer.

Yours sincerely,

Frank W. Coaldrake

P.S. You should come up and have a meal with us at this Hostel some evening and see just what does go on here. That is meant as an invitation.

“Kagawa of Japan,” *The Peacemaker. An Australian Venture in Reconstruction*, vol. 3, no. 1, 15 March 1941, p. 8.

Late in August Kagawa and his associate, Dr. K. Ogawa, who studied at Oberlin, were seized by the military police while Kagawa was preaching at the church near his home. They were closely confined, and examined for ten days on a charge of having violated the military regulations. A dispatch from Tokyo early in September reported that Kagawa had been released, on condition that he retire to voluntary exile on an isolated island. But a letter received as this is going to press says that he has been unconditionally released and will carry on his activities with unabated vigour.

– Galen Fisher

“Speaking Personally,” *The Peacemaker. An Australian Venture in Reconstruction*, vol. 3, no. 4, December, 1941, p. 2.

When I started this venture over two years ago, I little expected it to find the welcome which it did. In the face of such a strong demand for the paper, it has been exasperating to see manuscript and proofs lie waiting attention for weeks on end – and also to see a publishing fund steadily replenished by donations over and above subscriptions. But the immediate needs of wantful persons, victims of the wider war not waged with weapons, have made an irresistible and exhausting claim on my time and energy. In the contest between their visible and urgent needs, and you’re so often expressed hunger of thought and will, they have generally prevailed.

But circumstances, too numerous to mention, have brought me out of the struggle – to give in order to spend some months preparing for a long-hoped for ordination to the ministry of the Church. What will follow that, God alone knows.

“Our Attitude to the War Now,” *The Peacemaker. An Australian Venture in Reconstruction*, vol. 4, no. 1, January, 1942, p. 2.

We will not knowingly assist our friends to kill Germans, Japanese (or any other people); nor will we knowingly assist Germans, Japanese (or any other people) to kill our friends.

We are trying to follow Christ's way:

An indefatigable attempt to overcome evil with good, whatever the consequence to ourselves.

The Peacemaker. An Australian Venture in Reconstruction, vol. 4, no. 5, 1 May 1942, p. 1.

... Gandhi believes the Japanese are human.

Gandhi differs from the average warring patriot in that respect that he has faith in the readiness of human nature to respond to human treatment ... the majority of Australians, may think of the Japanese as a tigerish and brutal, worthy only of our hatred, and deserving only to be smashed. Gandhi and ourselves think them human, and worthy of goodwill.

“Editorial – Reaching into the Future. Our Approach to Japan,”
The Peacemaker. An Australian Venture in Reconstruction, vol. 4, no. 6, 1 June 1942, p. 2.

War hostilities will some day reach a stage which will permit efforts to be made in the reconciliation of Japanese and Australians. If this reconciliation is effective there will be no more wars between the two peoples. Projects for reconciliation are therefore of first-rate importance.

Such projects will include proposals for co-operation through Government circles, and co-operation of person with person among the masses of the peoples.

While recognising the importance of co-operation between governments we may legitimately turn our attention to the direct relation of people with people. On this will depend the success of any government projects; and out of it may come the call for more far-reaching Government action.

The reconciliation of the people of Australia with the people of Japan bristles with difficulties. The disagreements leading up to this war; the oppositions being hardened in these months of conflict; the bitterness and sense of being wronged which will be the fruit of “Hate campaigns” in both countries; the radically different ways of life and standards of living in the two countries; the different political habits; the different religious practices and beliefs; the existence of race prejudice in both countries; these are a few of the stumbling blocks in the road to a just reconciliation. They must not be thought insuperable.

They are deeply rooted in the lives of the individual persons of each nation. They will be barriers unless an attempt is made by some persons of each country to live amongst the persons of the other country in order to get to grips with each others' problems. The education of public opinion on the basis of such first-hand experience will be the only way to prevent differences being magnified into barriers.

The “Embassies of Reconciliation,” fostered by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, aim to live in foreign countries in order to interpret to their

own peoples the attitudes of the foreign peoples. These Embassies are a growing organisation. Members are learning foreign languages and studying the history and customs of the countries they hope to enter. They aim to be ready to go in at the earliest possible moment.

Embassies of Reconciliation first developed in Europe, but there are already many people in Australia with the same idea. Australians are learning Japanese and German, and are striving to equip themselves for a long stay in Japan whenever the war reaches a stage which will permit their reaching and entering the country.

On very similar lines is a suggestion thrown out in Melbourne recently by Rev. G.K. Tucker, The Superior of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence. "A Christian Army of Reconciliation will be the most valuable single factor in cementing just and peaceful relations between Japan and Australia," he said. "I think it probable that the Church could prepare now to send a new type of mission to Japan immediately hostilities cease. A mission of reconciliation could try to make amends for our past failures. We have sent Japan scrap-iron and wool, and other products of our civilisation. But we have been too much engrossed in business matters to try to take the Christian gospel of love to her people. The church will fail in her duty if she does not take a lead in establishing bonds of peace and love between these two peoples."

More will be heard of these Embassies of Reconciliation and Missions of Reconciliation in the near future.

"Reports Of Japanese Atrocities," *The Peacemaker. An Australian Venture in Reconstruction*, vol. 4, no. 6, 1 June 1942, p. 4.

Fearful atrocities are perpetrated in every war. It could not be otherwise when it becomes a national function, a recognised duty, and an act of patriotism to kill and destroy to the fullest possible extent. Vengeance is let loose and cultivated; propaganda being excelled to goad the nationalities into hatred of one another. But there are many humane acts on all sides, and some have been credited to the Japanese. Escaped prisoners have told of good treatment. The Japanese dropped leaflets apologising for the bombing of a Red Cross unit in one instance, and Mr. J.A. Parker, of the Malayan Civil Service, who has arrived in Australia, was reported in the press on March 6 as saying that, from Singapore to Batavia, the Japanese did not attack the small coastal ship in which he was travelling because it carried an ambulance. "I am fairly convinced," he said, "that this was the reason they did not attack, and they should be given credit for that."

"Japan and Australia," *The Peacemaker. An Australian Venture in Reconstruction*, vol. 5, no. 3, 15 March 1943, p. 4.

It has been stated by an official of a Government Department that the government is vague on the question of Australia's post-war settlement with