

'A National Nuisance'ⁱ: The Banning of Jehovah's Witnesses in Australia in 1941

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In 1941, during the Second World War, the Menzies government banned Jehovah's Witnesses, giving them the distinction of being the only Christian religious body to be banned in Australia during the twentieth century. Unlike the banning of the Communist Party of Australia in 1940 and similar security strictures, the banning of Jehovah's Witnesses has been a little-explored footnote in Australia's political history. This article will redress that situation, based primarily on files from the Attorney-General's Department, and will argue that the banning of the Witnesses had as much to do with personal politics and a cavalier attitude to fundamental legal principles of religious freedom as with broader issues of national security.

Jehovah's Witnesses – Background and Beliefs

Jehovah's Witnesses grew out of an American Protestant Bible study group established by Charles Taze Russell in the early 1870s,ⁱⁱ and the sect's teachings had reached Australia by 1896. Russell stressed a particular millenarian eschatology based on a belief that the end of the world was near, and that Christ would destroy all worldly kingdoms and replace them with a paradise earth populated by Witnesses.ⁱⁱⁱ Russell believed that this paradise was open to all who would accept the message, thus the sect had a moral and spiritual obligation to spread the word to as many people as possible. As the end of the present system was imminent, Russell advised the Witnesses not to vote, hold public office or serve in the military.

Russell had predicted that 1914 would mark the Second Coming of Christ and, when the First World War broke out, took that as a sign that Jesus had indeed returned, *invisibly*. Jehovah's Witnesses were now members of God's Kingdom waiting in a state of grace for secular nations, other religions and anyone not a Witness to be destroyed at Armageddon. Membership of this 'theoretical kingdom' prevented allegiance to any country.^{iv}

By the 1930s, under the Presidency of ‘Judge’ Joseph Franklin Rutherford, the Witnesses aggressively attacked big business, politics and religion. They were politically neutral and were vocal opponents of military service. As a result of these ‘subversive’ practices,^v the Witnesses were banned all over the world during the Second World War and in some countries their literature was banned, they were subject to mob violence, and individual Witnesses were persecuted, imprisoned and executed as conscientious objectors.

‘A National Nuisance’

In September 1939, Prime Minister Robert Menzies announced that as a consequence of Britain declaring war on Germany, Australia was also at war. Australia was placed on a war footing, the *National Security Act* was passed, and calls for volunteers for the Second AIF were made. Surveillance of organizations thought to be dissident or disloyal began, and the Communist Party of Australia was banned in June 1940. In that same year, the 2,500 Jehovah’s Witnesses in Australia became the object of surveillance by the Army, the Navy, Military Intelligence, the Police and the Commonwealth Investigation Branch.^{vi}

Government departments repeatedly and consistently made general recommendations to ban the organization, censor their publications and imprison conscientious objectors among Jehovah’s Witnesses.^{vii} However, the Witnesses remained vocal proponents of their world view, organising marches and demonstrations, and even holding an attention-grabbing meeting outside the Attorney-General’s private residence.

Attorney-General William Morris Hughes received most of the public complaints (and occasional letters of support) in relation to the Witnesses’ beliefs and conduct, although some were sent to the Prime Minister, and politicians occasionally chose to use newspapers as a public forum to express their distaste of Jehovah’s Witnesses. Hughes maintained that he deplored the tenets of the Witnesses yet defended their rights as a religious body under Section 116 of the Constitution, the section that guarantees freedom of religious expression:

The Commonwealth shall not make any laws for establishing any religion or for imposing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, & no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth.

It is clear from the correspondence that Hughes had no intention of arbitrarily banning the Witnesses, and in fact the matter was taken out of his hands by Menzies, who never ruled out the prospect of a ban. However, it would be naïve not to consider the pressure from politicians such as NSW Premier Alexander Mair, members of the public and religious leaders, notably Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne, as an important factor in Cabinet’s decision to ban the Witnesses.

Archbishop Mannix, for example, asked the Administrator of St Patrick’s Cathedral to complain to an Inspector of the Commonwealth Investigation Branch (CIB)^{viii} in April 1940.^{ix} A copy of a Witness publication distributed during the Anzac Day procession was enclosed. It not only savaged Roman Catholics but linked Mannix to major figures in organised crime:

The Roman Hierarchy is the direct cause of most of the poverty and crime in the world. Its teachings are not uplifting in spite of its boastings as proved by the large percentage of criminals from the drunk and the disorderly to a hanging matter who are of the Roman faith. What price Al Capone, ‘Legs’ Diamond, Dr Mannix ... and scores of others? Right down the ages a rogues’ gallery could have been established from the wicked and depraved children of the Hierarchy.^x

On the basis of this publication, Mannix requested an investigation into Jehovah’s Witnesses. This request was forwarded to Hughes,^{xi} who promptly approved it and referred the matter back to the CIB.^{xii}

In October 1940 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported the Premier of New South Wales, Alexander Mair, as saying:

The organization known as Jehovah’s Witnesses was definitely disloyal to the interests of Australia, was anti-British, and was a disruptive element to the community ... he was asking the State Attorney-General ... if the Commonwealth Government did not declare the organization of an illegal body, to consider whether the State Government had power to legislate to control it.^{xiii}

Mair then wrote directly to Menzies, saying that ‘the feeling of indignation against the organization is increasing rapidly’.^{xiv} Menzies replied in December 1940:

Even if the Commonwealth has power to suppress the body, any action by the Commonwealth to that end would probably result in protracted litigation, as the body would undoubtedly challenge the validity of the Commonwealth action.^{xv}

However, the paragraph which was to end Menzies’ letter, saying that the government did ‘not propose to introduce legislation on the subject’ was deleted. This was perhaps a prescient move by Menzies, as approximately six weeks later, the Commonwealth Government banned Jehovah’s Witnesses.

‘And That’s That! Exit “Jehovah’s Witnesses!”’^{xvi}

The matter came to a head during December 1940 and January 1941, when a radio station owned by Jehovah’s Witnesses came under suspicion and a possible pretext for banning the sect became available. By late 1940, the Witnesses owned and controlled four radio stations around Australia: 5KA Adelaide and 5AU Port Augusta (SA), 2HD Newcastle (NSW), and 4AT Atherton (QLD). These radio stations broadcast a mixture of religious material, community information and ‘homely entertainment’.^{xvii} The main station to fall under suspicion was 5KA Adelaide after a sustained campaign against the radio stations was begun by the populist newspapers *Smith’s Weekly* and *Truth*.

When specific allegations were made that 5KA broadcast ‘indirect references’ to the departure of a troop ship from Adelaide on 20 October 1940,^{xviii} the Acting Chief of Naval Staff ordered, ‘We want a catch and drastic action if possible’.^{xix} The Chief of Naval Staff, Sir Ragnar Colvin, stated to Hughes that 5KA was a ‘definite danger’ and recommended that it be shut down.^{xx} Hughes ‘speedily approved’ Colvin’s recommendation, and further recommended that all four Witness stations be closed, even though no direct charge was made.^{xxi} Their transmissions were officially suspended on 8 January 1941 by the Postmaster-General’s Department.

It seems that Hughes had no intention of shutting down the stations permanently, as he acknowledged that the broadcasts were probably more naïve and coincidental than deliberate. Thus after negotiations with the Witnesses through their lawyer and after talks with service heads, Hughes approved a settlement which allowed the stations back on air, under the following conditions:

1. Managers to be approved by the Chief of the Naval Staff.
2. Stations to supply all script for censoring.
3. No extempore broadcasts.
4. Any announcer against whom reasonable ground for suspicion exists shall be dismissed.^{xxii}

The Witnesses also agreed to pay for security monitoring and further suggested a ban on quiz shows 'because of their potential for containing coded messages'.^{xxiii} This seemed pragmatic and settlement was agreed by both parties on 14 January 1941. Hughes signed off on this agreement, which was within his portfolio, even though the matter had not been cleared through Cabinet. Hughes then made a public statement advising that the radio stations were allowed to go back on air, and this was printed in newspapers on 17 January 1941. Ironically, this statement was published right beside the announcement that the government had banned Jehovah's Witnesses the day before. The radio stations remained off air. Hughes may have negotiated a reasonable settlement but Menzies had personally vetoed the agreement reached by his Attorney-General and Minister for the Navy.^{xxiv}

The Minister for the Army, Percy C Spender, had requested a Cabinet meeting to decide upon a ban of the sect on 9 December 1940, and he had enclosed with this request a military intelligence report dated 21 November 1940 recommending the banning of the Witnesses.^{xxv} Cabinet would have been aware of pressure by the clergy, the Returned Sailors, Soldiers and Airman's Imperial League of Australia (RSSAILA), local councils and state politicians, particularly Mr Mair's threat to curtail the Witnesses in New South Wales if the Commonwealth did not ban the sect. Menzies himself had received many letters complaining about the Witnesses and had not ruled out the possibility of banning the Witnesses.

Hughes’ decision to allow the four Witness-controlled radio stations back on the air apparently forced the government’s hand with regard to a banning of the sect. The *Adelaide Advertiser* certainly thought that this was the case. It reported that Hughes ‘had refused to disclose the details of the reopening conditions imposed on the stations’.^{xxvi} Menzies was thus aware of the negotiations although not the details. The *Advertiser* further explained that Hughes’ Cabinet colleagues were of the view that the radio stations should not be opened until there had been a further investigation of their ownership, and that it ‘was desirable to make it plain that the Witnesses had been banned’.^{xxvii}

A Minute from the Chief of Naval Staff, Admiral Royle, to Menzies on 13 January 1941, apparently in an attempt to subvert Hughes’ authority, asked the Prime Minister to approve a cancellation of the four stations’ broadcasting licences.^{xxviii} The Secretary of the Department of the Army pinpointed the real problem for the authorities by noting that it was ‘difficult to obtain sufficiently conclusive evidence to justify prosecution’ under the National Security Regulations.^{xxix} The existing legislation was not up to the task of restricting the Witnesses’ activities.

If the Witnesses and their activities were to be banned, new legislation was needed. The issue was set down for discussion at a Cabinet meeting on 16 January 1941. The meeting was held in Sydney because offices in Canberra were not big enough to accommodate Ministers and their staff. Hughes, still negotiating in Canberra, sent a telegram to Menzies on 11 January which asked that Menzies ‘greatly oblige’ Hughes by changing the location of the Cabinet meeting from Sydney to Canberra, as Hughes was ‘most anxious’ to take part in discussions.^{xxx} Hughes may have felt that Menzies might veto, or at least challenge, any agreement he negotiated with the Witnesses. However, Menzies refused to shift the location of the meeting and may well have wanted Hughes out of the way. He knew that Hughes was bound to protest the legality of any ban against the Witnesses. In his capacity as Attorney-General, Hughes had repeatedly pointed out Section 116 of the Constitution as a stumbling block to banning the Witnesses, whatever his personal feelings.

Official files do not record the documents that were before Cabinet during their discussion regarding the ban. However, we do know which documents were *not*

consulted. A memo from Sir George Knowles, Secretary of the Attorney-General’s Department, confirmed the lack of involvement of his Department:

No files or papers of this Department were before the Governor-General and/or Cabinet when the bodies in question were so declared. Cabinet considered the matter in Sydney on 17 January and the Attorney-General, being in Canberra, was not present at the meeting. Telephonic instructions were received from Sydney [after the decision had been made] to have the necessary papers prepared for submission to the Executive Council meeting. The Attorney-General signed the order, as made, “For Minister of State for Defence Coordination” and the Treasurer signed the Executive Council minute recommending that the Order be made. The Order was approved in Council on the day.^{xxxii}

There is no record of any debate in Cabinet on the matter, and it is therefore impossible to know exactly how the decision was reached. The *Herald* reported that ‘new evidence had been placed before Cabinet’ which was ‘of such a character as to create an entirely different position from that existing when Hughes made his statement’.^{xxxiii} However, that claim was not substantiated and there is nothing in the records to indicate what this ‘new evidence’ may have been. Assumptions can be made that the military intelligence report of 21 November 1940 was before Cabinet, as well as the various naval intelligence reports, and that all members were aware of the pulling off the air of the four Witness-controlled radio stations.

It seems that Menzies took the initiative to present the case before Cabinet, and that the decision may have been arbitrary, with little or no debate as to the legality or otherwise of the ban. The extract from the Cabinet Minutes briefly states that Jehovah’s Witnesses and associated organizations were declared illegal and that the radio stations already banned were to remain off air pending Cabinet decision.^{xxxiiii} This item of the agenda was squeezed between items on rifle production and tenders, and its importance as an issue of religious freedom and constitutional rights seems to have been completely ignored.

When the decision had been reached, Menzies sent a terse telegram to Hughes advising him that Cabinet had decided that Jehovah’s Witnesses should be declared an illegal organization and that ‘no (repeat no) permission’ should be granted to reopen the radio stations.^{xxxv} This directive overturned Hughes’ earlier decision. It seems

possible that Menzies was manipulating Cabinet proceedings in order to assert his leadership as Prime Minister over Cabinet. Menzies had become Prime Minister after the sudden death of Joseph Lyons in April 1939, and he inherited a faction-ridden government. His hold on the Prime Ministership was not strong and Hughes was a rival, particularly after the outbreak of war when Hughes volunteered to lead the country once more in a time of crisis. The banning of the Witnesses, then, which came on the eve of Menzies’ long trip to London, may have owed as much, if not more, to political rivalry as it did to any notions of national security.

The decision to ban the Witnesses was a publicly humiliating rebuff to Hughes, and this is indeed how the case was seen by the *Bulletin*, which commented:

What Mr Menzies said to Mr Hughes afterwards, or what Mr Hughes said to Mr Menzies, has not been made known. But it must be deemed embarrassing to have a colleague who can’t forget he was once Prime Minister and can’t remember that this is 1941.^{xxxv}

Of course, contrary to what the *Bulletin* and others thought, including the *Herald* which lampooned Hughes in a cartoon,^{xxxvi} Hughes acted with a greater propensity to conciliation than when Prime Minister in the First World War. He was oftentimes exasperated with the Witnesses, but always kept in mind that religious freedom was enshrined in the Constitution. In this instance it was Menzies who acted arbitrarily by bowing to pressure from certain sectors of the community and scoring political points, instead of maintaining the constitutional rights of the Witnesses.

The press announced ‘great’^{xxxvii} and ‘tremendous surprise’^{xxxviii} at the banning, because of Hughes’ earlier statements, and *Smith’s Weekly* triumphantly announced “‘Jehovah’s” False Witnesses Get a Shock’.^{xxxix} It was certainly thought that Hughes had been ‘over-ruled’ by Menzies,^{xl} and at first Hughes refused to comment on the matter.

The ban meant that Jehovah’s Witnesses were no longer permitted to meet for study and worship, and were not allowed to print, circulate or have in their possession, any Witness literature. Their property, including headquarters at Strathfield, locally owned kingdom halls in Adelaide and Perth, motor cars, two boats and farm machinery, were

to be seized and confiscated, under the National Security (Subversive Associations) Regulations. However, the announcement was made before the legalities had been completed. Lord Gowrie, the Governor-General, was on a train between Sydney and Canberra and without his signature, the gazetted proclamation could not be enforced. The Witnesses were thus given a full eighteen hours’ notice of their banning in which to prepare for an ‘incredibly bungled’ takeover.^{xli}

While the ‘extraordinary’ bungling of the announcement was criticised openly,^{xlii} the ban itself attracted no negative comment from the press. *Smith’s Weekly* proclaimed, ‘And that’s that! Exit “Jehovah’s Witnesses”!’^{xliii} while Hughes, perhaps relieved that the decision had been taken out of his hands, quickly recovered from the humiliation of being over-ruled by Menzies. The principle of Cabinet solidarity demanded that Hughes either resign or defend Cabinet’s decision. On 18 January 1941 he publicly justified the ban by saying that ‘Jehovah’s Witnesses are in but not of the community’.^{xliv} Justifications set out by Hughes were echoed by others, including the American Consul General, Erle Dickover, who noted that the Australian government objected to Jehovah’s Witnesses because ‘their pacifism, civil disobedience and defeatism were carried to such lengths as to constitute a potential danger to the state’ and because ‘it was strongly suspected that, deliberately or innocently, the sect was lending itself to the service of anti-British elements and thereby giving aid to the enemy’.^{xlv}

Historians and later official government sources have also tended to take Hughes at his word. The New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board, in its 1984 report examining the incident,^{xlvi} attributes responsibility for the ban to Hughes as the Attorney-General and Minister for the Navy, and notes the influence of Catholic pressure, particularly pressure applied by Archbishop Mannix who was displeased with anti-Catholic references in Witness literature.^{xlvii} Peter Strawhan also blames Hughes,^{xlviii} while Bobbie Oliver explains the ban with reference to the suspicious radio broadcasts.^{xlix} Others simply point to the ‘subversive association’ charges as though they were self-explanatory.¹

However, the ban on all four radio stations for the breaches of one was a definite example of religious persecution. Radio 5KA was banned temporarily for

misdemeanours the Navy had been actively searching for, while the other three stations were banned mostly by association. This was contrary to the protestations of Hughes and the Chief of Naval Staff, who said that he 'had no interest in the religious beliefs of the people controlling these Stations'.^{li} Strawhan notes that 'it seems very likely that the stations would not have been put off the air if they had not been operated by Jehovah's Witnesses',^{lii} and says that the Witnesses were banned primarily because they were a 'distinct nuisance' and the suspicious broadcasts 'provided an ideal opportunity to get rid of licensees long regarded as deviant by powerful groups in society'.^{liii}

In a neat twist of logic, the radio stations were put off the air because they were owned or controlled by Jehovah's Witnesses; and the sect itself was banned ostensibly because of suspicious 'careless war-time broadcasts' of the radio stations.^{liv} The fact that Hughes officially lifted the ban on the stations forced Menzies into banning the whole sect, illegally, as the government had been hoping that Jehovah's Witnesses would breach official regulations since the war began. When a subsequent Cabinet meeting was held on 7 February 1941, the licences of the four radio stations were revoked on the grounds that they were held by a banned organization.^{lv}

This article contends that a primary reason that Jehovah's Witnesses were banned during the Second World War was because they were 'out of step with the war effort'. This confirms the argument of Kay Saunders and Roger Daniels that 'crises like war, whether civil or external, produce repression in specific instances in even the most liberal nation'.^{lvi} The pressure from sectors of the community against the politically neutral Witnesses led Menzies to ban them in a show of leadership strength, with the secondary benefit of scoring political points, particularly over Hughes.

Official investigations into the four radio stations owned by the Witnesses provided an excuse for the banning of the sect, and conversely the banning of the sect provided a reason for the banning of the radio stations. No one concerned with the radio stations was ever charged. The minor infringements of the radio stations, particularly Radio 5KA, provided an excuse to get rid of the sect.

During wartime, and as a generally unpopular sect, the Witnesses attracted little support for their rights to religious liberty. What is most noteworthy about the Witnesses’ legal appeal, which was decided in the High Court in 1943, is that Section 116 of the Australian Constitution, which protects religious freedom, was not seen by the Court to have been breached. Legal commentator William Kaplan has noted:

What the ... [ban] demonstrates is that, in wartime, basic rights, whether written down or not, like freedom of religion, will take second place to the security of the state. As, if not more, important, than whether rights are written down, is the political and social context in which their exercise is sought.^{lvii}

Australia’s constitutional protection of religious freedom, in the context of the Second World War, proved meaningless under the litmus test of banning an unpopular religion, Jehovah’s Witnesses.

Notes

ⁱ H E Jones, Director, Attorney-General’s Department to Secretary, Attorney-General’s Department, 19 July 1940, Attorney-General’s Department, Central Office – Special Correspondence Files CS SF 43/1, Jehovah’s Witnesses – Investigations into Australian Activities – Jehovah’s Witnesses – Watchtower Bible and Tract Society – Judge Rutherford – Activities in Australia, Part 1, Series A467(A467/1), National Archives of Australia (hereafter NAA), Canberra.

ⁱⁱ Russell commenced publishing *Zion’s Watch Tower* in 1879, and in 1884 incorporated Zion’s Watch Tower Tract Society as the Witnesses’ primary legal entity. A group of Christians began growing around the readership of *Zion’s Watch Tower* and this group would become known by the names ‘Russell’s Millennial Dawnists’, ‘Bible Students’, and eventually, in 1931, ‘Jehovah’s Witnesses’.

ⁱⁱⁱ Jehovah’s Witnesses believe that only a remnant of 144,000, made up of the first faithful since the time of Christ, will go to heaven to rule over the faithful and resurrected dead on earth.

^{iv} Cross, F. L. (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, London: Oxford University Press 1957, p. 717.

^v Cross, F. L. (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, London: Oxford University Press 1957, p. 717.

^{vi} Approximately 2,500 Australians identified themselves as Jehovah’s Witnesses in 1939. Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society (hereafter WTBS), *Year Book of Jehovah’s Witnesses 1940*, p. 104. In 1948 there were 3,503 Australian members, and in 1942 approximately 113,000 Jehovah’s Witnesses worldwide. Ward, Rowland, and Humphreys, Robert (eds.), *Religious Bodies in Australia*, Melbourne, Vic.: R. Humphreys, R. Ward 1986, p. 124.

^{vii} Jehovah’s Witnesses refused any kind of military service and stated that *all* their members were ministers but were not granted the automatic exemption from conscription due to ‘ordained ministers’, as the government did not categorise them as such. This was overturned in 1943, when some members were granted exemption as ordained ministers. Oliver, Bobbie, *Peacemongers: Conscientious Objectors to Military Service in Australia, 1911-1945*, Fremantle, W.A.: Fremantle Arts Centre Press 1997, p. 95.

^{viii} The Commonwealth Investigation Branch (CIB) was a security service under the Attorney-General’s Department. The Army, Navy and Airforce also had their own security and intelligence organizations, and the state police forces also had security sections, which cooperated to varying degrees with the Services and the CIB. Horner, David, *Inside the War Cabinet: Directing Australia’s War Effort*, St Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin 1996, p. 165.

^{ix} Letter from Patrick J Lyons, Administrator, St Patrick’s Cathedral, Melbourne to Inspector Browne, CIB dated 30 April 1940, Attorney-General’s Department, CS W1125 Part 1, Jehovah’s Witnesses – Activities of – Correspondence from other than official sources re, 1940-1940, Series A472, NAA (Canberra).

^x WTBTS, *Consolation*, 3 April 1940, p. 21.

^{xi} Hughes and Menzies were both Protestants, and Hughes and Mannix were famous rivals over conscription during the First World War. However, this rivalry had disappeared by 1937, when a warm friendship sprang up between them. Similarly, Menzies had regard for Mannix and a hatred of sectarianism. Ebsworth, Rev Walter A, *Archbishop Mannix*, Armadale, Vic.: H H Stephenson 1977, pp. 125 & 435.

^{xii} Strawhan, Peter, ‘The Closure of Radio 5KA. January 1941’, *Historical Studies*, vol. 21, no. 85, October 1985, p. 155. An official enquiry into the Witnesses was ordered by Hughes after Canada had banned the Witnesses, in July 1940, shortly after this correspondence with Mannix.

^{xiii} *Sydney Morning Herald* 16 October 1940 and Attorney-General’s Department – Central Office – Special Correspondence Files, CS SF 43/1, Jehovah’s Witnesses – Investigations into Australian Activities – Jehovah’s Witnesses – Watchtower Bible & Tract Society – Judge Rutherford – Activities in Australia, Part 1, Series A467 (A467/1), NAA (Canberra).

^{xiv} Letter from Mair to Menzies dated 11 November 1940, Prime Minister’s Department, CS 039/2/3, War Section – Jehovah’s Witnesses – Policy, 1940-45, Series A1608, NAA (Canberra).

^{xv} Letter from Menzies to Mair dated 6 December 1940, *ibid*.

^{xvi} *Smith’s Weekly* 25 January 1941.

^{xvii} For detailed information regarding the ownership, nature and content of these radio stations, see Strawhan, ‘The Closure of Radio 5KA’, p. 563.

^{xviii} Oliver, Bobbie, ‘5KA Radio Station’ in Derek Jones (ed), *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*, London: Fitzroy Dearborn 2001, pp. 145-146.

^{xix} Strawhan, ‘The Closure of Radio 5KA’, p. 560.

^{xx} Oliver, ‘5KA Radio Station’, p. 146.

^{xxi} Oliver, ‘5KA Radio Station’, p. 146.

^{xxii} H G Alderman to Alexander MacGillivray, 14 January 1941, Postmaster-General’s Department, Correspondence Files, W210, Closing of Stations 5KA, 5AU, 2HD and 4AT (Jehovah’s Witnesses), Series MP721/1, NAA, Canberra.

^{xxiii} Peter Strawhan, ‘Jehovah’s Witnesses and Radio 5KA, 1930-1941’, Honours thesis, Flinders University SA, 1984, p. 56.

^{xxiv} O’Halloran, Manager, 2HD to Postmaster General, undated, Postmaster-General’s Department, Correspondence Files, W210, Closing of Stations 5KA, 5AU, 2HD and 4AT (Jehovah’s Witnesses), Series MP721/1, NAA, Canberra.

^{xxv} Postmaster-General’s Department, Correspondence Files, W210, Closing of Stations 5KA, 5AU, 2HD and 4AT (Jehovah’s Witnesses), Series MP721/1, NAA, Canberra.

^{xxvi} *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 17 January 1941.

^{xxvii} *ibid* 18 January 1941.

^{xxviii} ‘Closing of Stations 5KA, 5AU, 2HD and 4AT: Memoranda to 2.4.41’, Closing of Stations 5KA, 5AU, 2HD and 4AT (Jehovah’s Witnesses), W210, Postmaster-General’s Department, Correspondence Files, Series MP721/1, NAA, Canberra.

^{xxix} Strawhan, ‘Jehovah’s Witnesses and Radio 5KA’, pp. 47-48.

^{xxx} Hughes to Menzies, 11 January 1941, Cabinet Minutes, M 4/1/3 Part 1, Prime Minister’s Department, Correspondence Files, Series A461(A461/7), NAA, Canberra.

^{xxxi} Secretary Knowles to Crown Solicitor, Canberra, undated, [Jehovah’s Witnesses]: Investigations into Australian Activities – Jehovah’s Witnesses – High Court Action, CS SF 43/22, Attorney-General’s Department, Central Office – Special Correspondence Files, Series A467/1, NAA, Canberra.

^{xxxii} *Herald* 17 January 1941.

^{xxxiii} Cabinet Minutes (microfilm), 1.1.39-30.6.43, Menzies and Fadden Ministries, Folders of Minutes and Submissions Series CRS, A2697, NAA, Canberra.

^{xxxiv} Menzies to Hughes, undated, War Section – JW’s – Policy. 1940-45, CS 039/2/3, Prime Minister’s Department, A1608, NAA, Canberra.

^{xxxv} *Bulletin* 22 January 1941.

^{xxxvi} *Herald* (Sydney) 18 January 1941.

^{xxxvii} *Sydney Morning Herald* 17 January 1941.

^{xxxviii} *Advertiser* (Adelaide) 17 January 1941.

^{xxxix} *Smith’s Weekly* 18 January 1941.

^{xi} *Courier-Mail* (Brisbane) 17 January 1941.

^{xli} *Sydney Morning Herald* 18 January 1941.

^{xliii} *Bulletin* 22 January 1941.

^{xliiii} *Smith’s Weekly* 25 January 1941.

^{xliv} *Sydney Morning Herald* 18 January 1941.

^{xlv} Erle R Dickover in Hall, Richard, *The Secret State: Australia’s Spy Industry*, Sydney: Cassell Australia 1978, p. 230.

^{xlvi} New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board (ADB), *Discrimination and Religious Conviction: A Report of the Anti-Discrimination Board in accordance with Section 119(a) of the Anti-Discrimination Act 1977*, Sydney 1984, p. 204.

^{xlvii} For example, the Witness publication *Consolation* dated 3 April 1940 not only savaged Roman Catholics but linked Mannix with major figures in organised crime. Not surprisingly, Mannix requested an investigation into Jehovah’s Witnesses. Patrick J Lyons, Administrator, St Patrick’s Cathedral, Melbourne to Inspector Browne, CID, 30 April 1940, Jehovah’s Witnesses – Activities of – Correspondence from other than official sources re, 1940-1940, CS W1125 Part 1, Attorney-General’s Department, Series A472, NAA, Canberra.

^{xlviii} Strawhan, ‘The Closure of Radio 5KA, January 1941’; and Strawhan, ‘Jehovah’s Witnesses and Radio 5KA’.

^{xlix} Oliver, Bobbie, ‘Australia: Jehovah’s Witnesses, Censorship during World War II’, in Jones, Derek, *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*, London: Fitzroy Dearborn 2001, pp. 143-145; and Bobbie Oliver, ‘5KA Radio Station’, pp. 145-146.

¹ For example: Peet, Lindsay, ‘The Men Who Stayed Behind’, in Gregory, Jenny, *On the Homefront: Western Australia and World War II*, Perth, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press 1996, p. 53, n. 111.

^{li} Secretary, Naval Office to Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, 17 January 1941, Closing of Stations 5KA, 5AU, 2HD and 4AT (Jehovah’s Witnesses), W210, Postmaster-General’s Department, Correspondence Files, Series MP721/1, NAA, Canberra.

^{lii} Strawhan, ‘Jehovah’s Witnesses and Radio 5KA’, p. 76.

^{liii} Strawhan, ‘The Closure of Radio 5KA’, p. 563.

^{liv} Strawhan, ‘Jehovah’s Witnesses and Radio 5KA’ p. 77.

^{lv} Closing of Stations 5KA, 5AU, 2HD and 4AT (Jehovah’s Witnesses), W210, Postmaster-General’s Department, Correspondence Files, Series MP721/1, NAA, Canberra.

^{lvi} Saunders, Kay, and Daniels, Roger, *Alien Justice: Wartime Internment in Australia and North America*, St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press 2000, p. v.

^{lvii} Kaplan, William, ‘The World War Two Bans on the Jehovah’s Witnesses in Canada and Australia: Do Constitutional Protections Really Work?’, *Australian-Canadian*, vol. 9, 1991, p. 16.