"MY LAND OF RIGHTEOUSNESS?"

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ARNOLD LOMAS WYLDE

by

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My interest in Arnold Lomas Wylde was kindled in 1978 when his successor, the sixth Bishop of Bathurst, the Right Reverend E.K. Leslie, asked me to audit the historical material held in the Diocesan Registry. In doing so I "discovered" boxes of correspondence and other documents and artifacts relating to the episcopate of Bishop Wylde. This material was too important to bypass and in 1980 I began research for this thesis. Bishop Leslie and his successor, the Right Reverend H.A.J. Witt, have been generous and helpful in their interest and in their willingness to grant me unrestricted access to the documents held by the Diocese. Mr Frank Gribble, the Bishop's Registrar, and the staff of the Registry, particularly the Bishop's Secretary, Miss Carol Churches, have given freely of their time and have assisted me with information and references. Over one hundred people have written to me of their memories of Bishop Wylde and have helped me to gain an understanding of him as a man and a priest. Professor K.J. Cable, who has supervised this work, has given much advice and his helpful discussion has enabled me to put my thoughts on paper and to draw relevant conclusions. I owe him much, not least for his trust in me to complete the writing of this thesis even though far removed geographically from the University.

This thesis has been "fitted in" around my other work for the last six years. My ministry in the Diocese of Bathurst has given me an insight into the parishes and the clergy, and an appreciation of the geographically scattered nature of the Diocese. It is ironical that Arnold Lomas Wylde would be the last Bishop to approve of the writing of his biography by one of his priests. For him the pastoral aspects of ministry would have taken

precedence. I am proud that I have not neglected any of the pastoral ministry so dear to him in the course of the writing of his life. I am thrilled to have had the opportunity to correct some common misconceptions about him and the Diocese and to put events such as the 'Red Book' Case in their proper context. I have never lost interest in the subject and it is with a sense of achievement that I have added to the store of knowledge recorded by Ruth Teale in her thesis on the Diocese to 1911 and by Simon Leslie's recent biography of his father.

My greatest gratitude is offered to my wife, Gillian, who has listened to my thoughts on Bishop Wylde and discussed them with me for six years. She has made invaluable suggestions as to method, read numerous drafts, corrected grammar and spelling, organised a typist, and maintained an interest in Bishop Wylde without which this thesis would never have been written. In love I dedicate my thesis to her.

- Chris Whittall
Bourke
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with others of his social position and reduced financial status James Wylde retired to Ilkley where the family lived at 5 Riddings Road until Arnold took his parents to Australia in 1930. Ilkley in the 1920's was a large country town of 8000 to 9000 inhabitants which served as a commuter base for the industrial cities of Leeds and Bradford. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Ilkley had undergone rapid expansion due to its reputation as a fashionable spa resort but this aspect of the town's importance was probably already in decline when the Wyldes moved there. Riddings Road was made up of four story Victorian houses and led off "The Grove", one of Ilkley's two main streets.

Wylde attended Wakefield Grammar School but nothing is known of his time there. In 1899 he matriculated to University College Oxford and two years later he had obtained a Third Class in Classical Honors Moderations and was awarded the Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1903 with a Third Class in Modern History. He qualified automatically for the Master of Arts Degree in 1906. Wylde was more interested in sport than in academic pursuits at Oxford and he played cricket and rowed. He did maintain a proficiency in Latin[2] but did not distinguish himself as a scholar and severed his connection with University College in 1911.[3]

Following his Graduation, Wylde spent three years as a resident of Oxford House in the East End of London,

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2 Wylde's friend Canon E.H. Strong of New Zealand sent his Latin poetry to Wylde for his criticism.

3 College Secretary, University College, Oxford, to author 26 February,1981.

an experience which had the greatest influence on him and marked the pattern for his future. Oxford House was a University Settlement staffed by men of middle and upper class families who had studied at Oxford and wanted to give

> an opportunity to the men of rising to something above their ordinary conditions of life - physical mental and spiritual. It was decided, therefore, to found a club, the distinctive features of which should be the absence of alcoholic drinks, prohibition of betting and bad language, freedom of opinion, political and otherwise, and an ultimate control by the Oxford House, with its opportunities for introducing university methods of athletics and education.[4]

Prior to Wylde's arrival the Head of Oxford House had been A.F. Winnington-Ingram, whose personality continued to dominate the foundation. Oxford House was a training ground for those Englishmen who were aware of a social responsibility to assist the deprived of London's slum East End. Many who had been residents at Oxford House became priests in the parishes of the East End or followed the Anglo-Catholic tenet of missionary service.

During his residency at Oxford House Wylde was involved in the sporting and social aspects of the University Club run at the settlement and he was Secretary for a time of that body. By November 1905 he was Librarian of the Choral Society, Labour Bureau Secretary of the Relief, Employment and Emigration

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4 Good Words, 1895.

Committee, and involved in pastoral work at the Childrens' Hospital and at St. Simon Zealotes Church, Bethnal Green. He assisted the University Club through a financial crisis, organised the C.C.H.F., the Camp, the annual hop-pickers' Mission and the Childrens' Happy Evenings. Wylde's family was typically middle-class with regard to their church affiliation and his involvement in church affairs stemmed from his work with Oxford House and in the East End generally. This work laid the foundations for his later ministry in the East End and in the isolated communities in the west of New South Wales. Oxford House taught Wylde the importance of pastoral qualities and helped him to bring the Christian faith to people in an idiom they understood and to which they could readily respond.

In 1906 Wylde went to Cuddesdon Theological College, having decided to seek ordination. Cuddesdon had been founded by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, in 1854 and had a record of training men who went to missions in South Africa or in India. Wilberforce had come under the influence of the Oxford Movement although he had never been tractarian in his theology.[5] It had always been staffed by men who were pastorally oriented and who followed Anglo-Catholic principles of ritualism and sacramentalism. Since its foundation in 1854 it had undergone considerable change in many respects but these basic principles had never altered. Theologically "its thought was characteristic of the neo-Tractarian school at its best".[6] The Sarum cassock was worn exclusively from 1897 and the dog-collar had taken over from the white tie after 1883.

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5 O. Chadwick, The Founding of Cuddesdon, page 10.

6 ibid., p. 132.

> Of all such changes the most significant was the development of the office-book. King, throughout his Principate, continued to use the office-book in the form in which Liddon had revised it under pressure in 1858. In 1880 Willis published the revised office-book which served during more than half the history of the College, from 1880 to 1940. This returned to the general plan of Liddon's first book of 1856. It was essentially the first book plus variations from the second book which had been found to be improvements, like the grouping of the Antiphons together. Willis was a restrained and senstive composer of prayers, and many of his additions have remained in the revision of the twentieth century. In liturgy he drew upon the same kind of models as Liddon - the ancient western liturgies - taking into account further translations like those of Dr Bright which had appeared since Liddon's day. He added to the book a section of occasional prayers and an appendix containing the prayer book collects for the Sundays and holy days. He included some devotional prayers, the office of preparation before Holy Communion, and two Latin hymns (Adoro to supplex and Veni Creator Spiritus). This edition received a small number of supplements in the numerous reprints published between 1880 and 1929, but essentially it remained the Liddon-Willis book.[7]

The use of the office book at Cuddesdon was to have a profound influence on Wylde for not only did it begin his lifelong habit of reciting Morning and Evening Prayer daily, but it made him familiar with the process of updating the Church's liturgy to make it more appropriate to the changing times and circumstances of the world. Cuddesdon also gave Wylde a feeling for community life and an understanding of the importance of silence in a busy routine. In particular Cuddesdon introduced him to retreats. Cuddesdon brought to Wylde more than the academic study but awakened in him the discipline

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[7] ibid, pp. 133-134.

of pastoral work for God amongst people, for

> it was the community as a community to which they owed most - sharing in its worshipping life, seeking God as their rest and end, dwelling in a surrounding of quiet beauty and common endeavour, meditating upon the acts of God and the truths of redemption.[8]

In 1905 Father R.M. Benson came to Cuddesdon to conduct a retreat from the Community of St. John the Evangelist at Cowley which he had founded and for Wylde this retreat Conductor commenced a lifelong interest in the religious orders of the Church.

On 23 December 1906, Arnold Lomas Wylde was admitted to the Order of Deacons by the Right Reverend Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram, Bishop of London, in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and almost one year later he was ordained priest in company with Reginald Halse, later to be Bishop of Riverina.

Wylde's first appointment was as curate to G.K.S. Marshall who had been Vicar of St. Simon Zealotes, Bethnal Green, since 1899. There were three curates in the parish and Wylde stayed as curate to Marshall until the latter left in 1910. Marshall relied on Wylde to undertake the youth work in the parish and sought to have Wylde accompany him to his new parish.[9] Marshall taught Wylde the elements of sacramental worship and gave him a love for the order and discipline of ritualism in the Anglo-Catholic movement.[10] Wylde

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8 ibid, p. 136.

9 Gerald Marshall to James Wylde, 19 February, 1910, (All Wylde's correspondence is held in the Diocese of Bathurst Archives).

10 The Bush Brother, 1926-1929, articles on "The Sacramental Life"



St. Simon Zealotes cricket team 1910 - Arnold Lomas Wylde in centre of middle row.

cared for the parish in the interregnum and in 1912 he was offered the parish of St. Simon's.[11] The living was in the gift of the Bishop of London and by 1918 the population of the parish was given as 5868 with an income of 375 pounds. Of the eight other Bethnal Green parishes, only one, St. Matthias', paid less.[12] Wylde accepted the Bishop's offer and the collation and induction was organised for 9.00 pm on Wednesday, 8th May 1912. This induction was conducted by the Bishop of Stepney, acting as Commissary for the Bishop of London and Wylde was presented by the Rural Dean of Bethnal Green. As always Wylde paid particular attention to the hymns and some of his favourites from Hymns Ancient and Modern were chosen.[13]

During Wylde's incumbency at St. Simon Zealotes his curates were M. H. Stone and E. N. Moore and the parish continued its work amongst the children in Bethnal Green. Sunday School was held morning and afternoon and each week Band of Hope and Kings Messengers were held. Band of Hope was a temperance group which was conducted in the main hall next to the church with bright songs being sung. Sometimes at one of these gatherings one of the boys or girls would sing alone on the platform and regularly a Church Concert would be held with the entertainment being provided by local talent. At other times another church would provide the entertainment and when this occurred the highlight of the evening would be the

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11 Wylde to his father, 1 March 1912.
12 Crockford, 1918.
13 Form of Service for Induction and Collation, Diocese of Bathurst Archives, Wylde's Papers.



Courtyard of St. Simon Zealotes Church

interval when a cup of tea and an iced cake could be bought for a penny. The other main youth group of the parish was the Kings Messengers which was linked to the work of the S.P.C.K. This was held in a much smaller hall and the young people would sit at small tables supervised by a teacher who taught them the art of hooked woollen rug making. Both these youth groups had the boys sitting on one side of the hall and the girls on the other and for the meetings of the Kings Messengers Wylde sat on a chair halfway between them reading from a book such as "Pilgrims Progress" or telling amusing stories. Prayers were also said and hymns sung at these meetings. The parish also organised a Boys' Brigade which consisted of wind instruments and drums. These childrens' gatherings were extremely important to Wylde and when he had moved to Australia he wrote to the children to tell them of Australia and to encourage them to continue their activities in the parish. Wylde took childrens' choirs from the parish to the Peoples' Palace to sing in competitions and organised pantomimes in which the children would act.[14]

Throughout his ministry Wylde was involved with children and interested in their activities and worship and he was always concerned to see that they received as good an education as possible and a decent home life.[15] When Wylde returned to St. Simon Zealotes

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14 Mrs Eve Jillett to author, 17 February 1981; ibid, 8 April, 1981.

15 Wylde to children of St. Simon Zealotes, 10 May 1922, Diocese of Bathurst Archives, Wylde's correspondence.

in 1950, many of those to whom he had written as children came to see him and to renew their friendship.[16]

Wylde placed immense importance on visiting in the parish and was often seen doing the rounds of the parish on a bicycle and clad in his cassock. He was a forceful preacher keen to teach the essentials of the Catholic faith as he knew it but preaching with an evangelical fervour about the Church and sacraments. St. Simon Zealotes was usually crowded as the East Enders responded to Wylde's charm and understanding. During the First World War Wylde was renowned for his conduct of services whilst in the middle of a zepplin raid. At these times the congregation would walk out of the church in single file supervised by Wylde and his curates and up the metal stairway to the rooms of the hall next door. Sometimes people who had not been at the service stormed the rooms from the front entrance but once Wylde had them all in the rooms no one was allowed to change rooms as this would have brought about chaos. On one occasion a mother abused Wylde because she had been separated from her son so Wylde himself, ever the stern disciplinarian, quelled her outburst with a look and went in search of her boy and brought him back to his mother who did not pause to thank him for his efforts. Whenever Wylde left the room there was little order but as soon as he returned the assembly settled down once more. The gathering sang hymns until midnight accompanied by Wylde on the piano and after midnight the music changed to ragtime. Instead of an official "All Clear" the Boys' Brigade marched

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16 Mrs Eve Jillet, op.cit.

around the nearby streets blowing bugles. Wylde often visited the hospital during the air raids although it was not safe to be out in the streets because of the danger of falling ack-ack. At the hospital he would visit the sick, pray with them and share a joke.[17]

To finance the parish work Wylde advocated the Church Fund Envelope System and even after he had left the parish exhorted the children to continue their giving as "one part of it goes to your parish, another part of it goes to your Diocese and a lovely little part of it comes to help us here by providing money for more men".[18]

Wylde also continued his association with the hop-pickers' missions with which he had been involved at Oxford House. These Missions had been started by Father Richard Wilson as Vicar of St. Augustine's Stepney. Wylde with some of St. Simon's congregation went to the hop fields in Kent to work amongst the East End families who annually went to pick hops in an effort to earn extra money and to have a holiday from the slums of the city.

Like Oxford House, the parish of St. Simon Zealotes was a slum mission that brought religion to the people of the area rather than arising out of the aspirations of the people who lived in the East End. The missions attempted to bring middle class values to the slum urban areas of industrial England where there was no

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17 Jillet, op.cit.
18 Wylde to children, 10 May 1922.



Reverend Richard Wilson being drawn by Arnold Lomas Wylde, 1910.

social services or amenities. This notion of bringing the benefits of improved health and conditions to the underprivileged in London accorded with Wylde's theology on sacramental mission. The ritual style of worship with which Wylde had become familiar brought colour and the mystery of the Church into the drabness of the lives of those who lived in the industrialised cities of England, and for Wylde the sacraments were a way to bring order, discipline and beauty to people who had little opportunity for formal education. By the 1920's however the impetus of the Anglo-Catholic movement in these respects was diluted by the growth of government and other specialised social service agencies and the type of mission with which Wylde was involved both at Oxford House and at St. Simon's was becoming outmoded. Wylde found it difficult to adjust to this changing role and by 1920 he began to question the purpose of his ministry at St. Simon Zealotes.

Wylde stayed at St. Simon Zealotes as Vicar for nine years. He suffered periodic bouts of illness, most commonly influenza associated with overwork but at least on one occasion underwent an operation which necessitated a lengthy convalescence.[19] As well he was almost continually worried about his father whose business was failing and who was himself in poor health. Despite James Wylde's dictatorial nature and Victorian attitudes[20] he and Arnold were close[21] and Arnold felt responsible for the welfare of his parents as they aged. Muriel also required medical attention at this time[22] and the burden of organising the house as well as maint-

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19 Wylde to Jillett, April 1921.
20 Wylde to Long, 25 March 1925.
21 ibid, 1 May 1925.
22 Wylde to mother, 15 March 1920.

aining her job was beginning to tell on her. Muriel had been taught at home initially as was the custom but she attended Wakefield Girls' High School from 1896 to 1908.[23] She went to teach at Ilkley Grammar School and was highly respected for her proficiency at sports, her willingness to keep in touch with Old Boys fighting in the Great War and her ability as Housemaster of Black House which tested her qualities of sound judgment and her professionalism in dealing with the numerous difficulties which confronted those at boarding school. She exhibited great strength when the sudden death of the Headmaster shocked the school community. Muriel Wylde was characterised as a tall, thin, strict woman with a keen sense of humour and very involved in sports and music who taught both piano and singing.[24]

Wylde was worried about the finances of his parish and particularly his personal expenditure. His income for 1920 totalled 380 pounds in addition to the use of the Vicarage and his expenditure for that year was budgetted at 371 pounds 1 shilling and 9 pence with another 9 pounds for such sundries as sports and hobbies.[25]

Despite his attempt at re-organization the strains were great for Wylde and were compounded by the difficulties of the people to whom he was ministering. Sickness, unemployment and business crises had affected the

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23 Headmistress, Wakefield Girls' High School, to author, 18 September 1981.

24 The Olicanian, 1930, p. 40; A.F. Dryden to author, 13 February 1981.

25 Wylde to mother, 3 December 1919.

economic position of the East Enders who were employed in the large city firms.[26] Wylde was unsure of his personal future and depressed about his work at St. Simon Zealotes.[27] It appeared as though the ministry of the Vicar was concerned solely with administration and Wylde felt that he was "not doing the job for which I was ordained".[28] Every time he went away from the parish the paper work accumulated and his ministry seemed to be increasingly occupied with pettiness and routine trivia.[29] It seemed to Wylde that there was no escape from this administration and on 31 March 1921 he resigned as Vicar of St. Simon Zealotes.[30]

Wylde had long had a desire to join one of the Brotherhoods which offered the promise of the missionary work he had hoped to find at St. Simon Zealotes. He believed that this would afford the opportunity he had sought at St.Simon Zealotes to minister to those less socially and financially privileged than himself. He had been tempted to join one of the groups which worked in South Africa[31] but after a retreat at Cuddesdon College in September 1920 it appeared that he was being pointed towards Australia and the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd.[32] He was encouraged by John Oliver Feetham who had preceded him as assistant at St. Simon's and who had gone to the B.G.S., and Winnington-Ingram his Bishop, to assist with the Brotherhood which

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26 ibid, 21 December 1920.
27 ibid,16 October 1920; ibid, 20 October 1920.
28 ibid.
29 ibid, 16 October 1920; ibid, 20 October 1920; ibid, 10 November 1920.
30 Guildhall Library, Manuscript 9532A/14, p. 94.
31 Wylde to mother, 6 October 1920.
32 ibid, 30 September, 1920; ibid, 6 October 1920.

had difficulty in recruiting clergy to staff it.[33] In addition the first Principal of the Brotherhood, F.H. Campion, urged Wylde to go as Principal.[34]

In the meantime he found out as much as possible about the Brothehood from men who had returned to England and waited for an offer from the Bishop of Bathurst in whose Diocese the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd was headquartered. Wylde's decision to go to Australia was not uninformed or hasty but he checked his physical health with his doctor and was sure that he was accepting a call to work in Australia.[35] His decision to work in the Church overseas was not made solely because he could see little future for his ministry at St. Simon Zealotes or because he was commended to the Brotherhood by the clergy he respected, but Wylde held romantic ideals regarding the work of the Church overseas which were basic to his decision.[36] He could not understand how his fellow clergy could volunteer for war service overseas but ignore the claim on them of the Church overseas.[37]

Wylde's own service with the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd was delayed however and the Brotherhood was without a Principal for some time[38] until the

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33 ibid.
34 ibid, 20 October 1920.
35 ibid, 16 October 1920; ibid, 20 October 1920; ibid, 21 December 1920, ibid, 1 February 1921.
36 ibid, 10 November 1920.
37 ibid, 30 September 1920, ibid, 10 November 1920.
38 The Bush Brother, Vol.XVII, May 1, 1921, No.3,p.182; Presidential Address of Bishop G.M. Long, reported in Church News, Vol.X, 1 June 1921, No.4, p.13; ibid, Vol.10, No.8, 1 October 1921, pp.4-5.

Bishop of Bathurst appointed H. Dymond Peel.[39] It appeared that Wylde would be unable to keep his commitment for service with the Brotherhood[40] and he withdrew his offer of service.[41] The problem was one that was to recur in Wylde's time as Principal and as Diocesan Bishop and his own frustrated hopes might have been expected to have given him sympathy with the hopes of other clergy who found similar difficulties in breaking away from their home situations. In fact the reverse was the case and Wylde was to demonstrate a marked annoyance with those who vacillated in their plans to enter the Diocese as priest or bush brother. In his own case Bishop Long of Bathurst was willing to make concessions to encourage Wylde's acceptance of work in the Brotherhood and finally Wylde arrived in Australia in December 1921 and commenced work in the Brotherhood district of Brewarrina as assistant to the Principal.

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39 Official Acts: The Bush Brother, Vol. XVII, July 1921, No.4, p.267.

40 Church News, Vol.10, 1 September 1921, No.7. p.3.

41 ibid; ibid, Vol. 10, No.8, 1 October 1921, pp.4-5.

Chapter 2

Australia and Principal of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd, 1922-1927

In 1896 the Bishop of Rockhampton, Nathaniel Dawes, went to England in search of clergy who would be willing to go to Australia to minister in his predominantly outback Diocese. Whilst in England, Dawes saw the Bishop of Durham, Brooke Foss Westcott, who believed that there was no point in sending clergy to work in the isolation of the bush using the parochial model applicable to England. Westcott sent Dawes to Canon Body and A.F. Winnington-Ingram, then the Head of Oxford House, Bethnal Green in the East End of London, and they devised a scheme where men would be able to live and work together under a common rule and so staff the isolated parishes in Australia. Westcott was quite willing to recommend clergy from his Diocese to this new mission work in Australia. He had been the inspiration behind the Cambridge Mission to Delhi which had been founded in 1877, the University Settlements of the 1880s, the Oxford Mission to Calcutta (1879), and the Dublin Mission to Chota Nagpur in 1890.[1]

At the same time F.H. Campion, the secretary to the Governor of New South Wales, saw for himself the difficulties that the Church faced in ministering to the people of the scattered western regions of New South Wales. Campion sought ordination in England, and following theological training at Wells College, he and a

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[1] J.W.S. Tomlin, The Story of the Bush Brotherhood, pp.33ff.

fellow student, C.H.S. Matthews, went to Dubbo in the Diocese of Bathurst to work as curates in that parish. On 7 August 1903, Bishop Camidge laid the foundation stone of the Brotherhood House in Dubbo as a first step in the formation of a Brotherhood similar to that established by Dawes in Rockhampton. Its completion in 1906 gave the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd its headquarters. At this stage the Brotherhood consisted of two priest-brothers, Campion and Matthews, and a lay-brother, Reuben Coverdale. The districts assigned to these three men were the area surrounding Dubbo which itself remained a separate parish, the area centred on Gilgandra, and a district carved out of the parish of Cobar and based on the mining districts of Nymagee and Canbelego.[2] The Brotherhood was seen by its founders as "a small community of clergy, a kind of Oxford House adapted to the needs of the Bush".[3]

By 1914 the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd numbered seven priests, one deacon and a layman, who between them worked the districts of Brewarrina of about 17,000 square miles, the mining district centred on Canbelego, the Bourke district running up into Queensland, an area of about 25,000 square miles, and the Castlereagh district with twenty-five centres in the neighbourhood of Gilgandra.[4]

Despite the later failure of many of the Australian Brotherhoods, the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd continued to play a unique and vital role in the Diocese

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2 The Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd, A Church of England Mission in the Diocese of Bathurst.

3 C.H.S. Matthews, A Parson in the Australian Bush, p. 65.

4 ibid.

of Bathurst. It was a viable entity partly because Brotherhood House was seen as essential to the corporate and individual spiritual lives of the brothers, and Quarterly Re-Unions were held there as the means of strengthening the spiritual lives of the men.[5] In addition, its success was ensured by a succession of strong Principals and the support and active involvement of the Bishops of the Diocese of Bathurst.

The second Principal of the Brotherhood had been John Oliver Feetham who had preceded Wylde as assistant at St. Simon Zealotes' and who, in 1912, had been eleted Bishop of North Queensland. Feetham had been succeeded as Principal by E.C. Kempe, who later became Superior of the Goulburn based Community of the Ascension, the group in the Australian Church most closely identified with a monastic community for men. Kempe's involvement with both the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd and the Community of the Ascension laid the basis for the close relationship between the two as well as between the Community of the Ascension and the Diocese of Bathurst.

The First World War caused a manpower crisis for the Brotherhood. Many of the brothers had volunteered for War service, and no clergy could be spared from England to take their places. Bishops in England were reluctant to release men for ministry in the colonies when they were having their own difficulties staffing their Dioceses, and when fewer men were presenting themselves for ordination in England. The romantic appeal of overseas church service was being overtaken by the desire of the English clergy to remain

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5 ibid, p.3

in more comfortable and familiar circumstances after the hardship of War.

In 1921 the Bishop of Bathurst, George Merrick Long, appealed to young Australian clergy to take up the challenge offered by the bush districts of the Diocese, and at the same time asked church people to pay for the training of Australian ordinands. Long was one of the first Australian priests to be consecrated as Bishop in the Australian Church, and was a man of considerable intellectual, administrative and pastoral ability. Prior to his consecration he had been foundation Headmaster of Trinity Grammar School in Kew, Melbourne, and he had been offered numerous positions in the Church. A brilliant scholar, winning various scholarships and medals at the University of Melbourne before graduating with First Class Honours in 1899, he had been ordained in that same year. As Bishop of Bathurst from 1911 he had been responsible for the Ordination Candidates' Training Scheme, and had planned and written the Brotherhood Ordinance which placed the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd on a renewed foundation within the Diocese. In addition he had founded the two church schools in the Diocese. Outside the Diocese he had been involved with the A.I.F. as a Chaplain in 1917, and became its Director of Education. This work led to the award of the C.B.E., as well as honorary doctorates from Cambridge and Manchester Universities and from the Archbishop of Canterbury. By 1926 he had presented to the Convention of the Australian Church a draft Constitution upon which he and Professor Peden had jointly worked and which Long advocated until his death in 1930. Long had also been instrumental in securing an interdiocesan theological

college established at Morpeth to replace St. John's College, Armidale.[6]

Within the Diocese of Bathurst Long spent as much time in the outback parishes as his work within such a geographically widespread Diocese would allow. As Bishop he saw it as his duty to preside at the important events in the parishes of the Diocese. Although no Australian clergy responded to his call in 1921, Arnold Lomas Wylde, then aged forty-one, arrived from England. He was drained with the difficulties of ministry in an inner-city London parish through the War years, but expected a challenge from missionary service amongst "white people (who) have relapsed into a state of practical heathenism, accompanied in many cases by a corresponding degeneracy in morals".[7] However, the shortage of priest-brothers continued to be a major problem in the maintenance of the Brotherhood work. In 1923 the three most senior priests announced their resignations following lengthy periods of service. This meant that Wylde became the most senior Brotherhood priest in terms of service, just two years after his arrival in Australia and this highlighted the rapid turnover of clergy with the Brotherhood.

Wylde's first years in the Brotherhood were spent filling in around the parishes until appointed as assistant in the parish of Gilgandra. These years were carefree and filled with boyish enthusiasm and excitement at the adventure which the bush gave him.[8]

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6 George Merrick Long, A Memoir, W.H. Johnson.
7 Matthews, op.cit., p.15.
8 See letters to St. Simon Zealotes' parish, particularly the children, Diocese of Bathurst Archives.



Arnold Lomas Wylde, the Principal of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd. Wylde is about to kill a brown snake on the Collie Road.

His appointment as Principal on 7 May 1923 marked a turning point for him as it showed the measure of Long's confidence in his abilities, as well as indicating that he had firmly settled into the itinerant life of a Brotherhood priest. In addition, Wylde's appointment showed that he was once again willing to fulfil administrative responsibilities with the necessary paperwork and meetings which were a constituent part of such an appointment. Indeed, it was not until Wylde and Long had worked on twenty rules of membership, which dispensed with the need for the Brotherhood to have legal protection under the Companies Act, and Wylde had sponsored this change through Synod, that he was appointed Principal by Long.

The Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd Ordinance, passed at the Synod which began on 10 May 1923, established the Brotherhood as an independent body within the Diocese of Bathurst, but answerable to the Synod of the Diocese, and protected by the Bishop through Synod.[9] Wylde's view of the Ordinance was influenced by its principal architect, Long, and the effect of the Ordinance was that the Brotherhood became more closely linked with the Diocesan structures than had been the case when the Brotherhood was a limited liability company existing within the borders of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Bathurst. This new relationship between the Brotherhood and the Diocese was reinforced by the announcement made by Long in 1923 of different arrangements under which the archdeaconries of the Diocese would operate,

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9 Church News, Vol. 12, No. 5, July 1923, p.11.

> As the parishes of the Bush Brotherhood now constitute in effect an Archdeaconry under the Principal .....The parishes of Gilgandra, Bourke, Brewarrina, and Canbelego are provided for under the Brotherhood Ordinance. For these the Principal acts as an Archdeacon under the Bishop 10

In this way the administrative and Diocesan responsibilities of the Principal of the Brotherhood were expanded through a deliberate policy of Bishop Long, and the Principal was, for the first time, given Diocesan influence and status. The Brotherhood Ordinance of 1923 had a two-fold result. It gave the Brotherhood a sound basis on which to build its future as an organisation in its own right. As well the Ordinance changed the relationship of the Brotherhood to the Diocese as a whole from being an extra-diocesan missionary body with its clergy members holding licences from the Bishop of Bathurst, to a group which was an integral part of the Diocese and the Principal of which held a Diocesan appointment from the Bishop.

The problem of extra-diocesan bodies whose members owed loyalty to the order to which they belonged before their obedience to the Bishop in whose Diocese they worked was a traditional Roman Catholic dichotomy. Due to the scarcity of religious orders in the Church of England, it was a situation which was not commonly encountered and therefore had not been approached in any systematic manner by that Church. In the Diocese of Bathurst the potential difficulties were met by Long before they had a real opportunity to occur with his introduction of the 1923 Brotherhood Ordinance. This protected the Brother-

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10 ibid, pp.12-13.

hood and its own constitution within the Diocese but also made the Brotherhood accountable to the Synod of the Diocese.[11] The personal relationship built up between Long and Wylde was a crucial part of the success of this legislation. In matters of clergy discipline each knew the attitude of the other and each remained within the agreed limitations of their jurisdictions. The appointment of the Principal as Archdeacon of the Brotherhood area, and Wylde's later appointment as Coadjutor Bishop to Long negated the potential difficulties of the relationship of the Brotherhood to the Diocese. Problems of clergy discipline and allegiance never became contentious issues between the Brotherhood and the Diocese of Bathurst.

The Brotherhood movement was not universally accepted in the Church of England and the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd was no exception. From its very beginning, evangelical sections of the Church particularly in the Diocese of Sydney as well as in the few large city parishes of the Diocese of Bathurst saw the Brotherhood as an attempt to romanize the Church of England. The Sydney Watchman vigorously denounced the Brotherhood in articles entitled "Anglican Monks for Bush Parishes, What next? and next?"[12] The Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd magazine The Bush Brother defended the catholicity of the Church of England and maintained the orthodoxy of the Brotherhood movement.[13] Even within the Brotherhood parishes the brothershad to contend with the attitude that they were part of the Roman Catholic faith.[14] The worship

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11 Church News, op.cit.

12 Matthews, op.cit., p. 65.

13 The Bush Brother, Vol. XVIII, April 1922, No. 3, p. 213.

14 Church News, Vol. 11, No.9, November 1922, pp.28-29.

pattern of the Brotherhood parishes lent some credence to these charges of romanization. During the Octave of the Consecration of St. Ambrose's Church Gilgandra a Solemn Eucharist was celebrated with vestments worn which had been outlawed in the Diocese of Sydney.[15] There were sung Psalms, Merbecke's setting of the Eucharist, and a procession. At the 7.30 pm Service there was a

> Solemn Procession from the High Altar, through chapel and aisle, and up the nave and back to the Altar for the Blessing.[16]

Customs such as the "ringing (of) the sacring bell at the consecration in the Holy Communion, so that the absent or sick may associate themselves with those in Church"[17] were re-introduced by Wylde soon after he arrived inGilgandra in 1922. He maintained that this particular custom had "only ceased at the demolition of the old church from necessity, the new bell being so far away. Through a simple electric device, it is now rung again, without interfering with the ordinary ringing of the bell"[18]

The type of liturgical vestments and worship associated with the Anglo-Catholic movement in England accorded with Wylde's personal notions of the importance of singing, colour and ritual in the worship of God.[19] He believed that his coming to the Brotherhood was a direct result of the effects of this movement on his

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15 Church News, Vol. 11, No. 7, September 1922, p.34.
16 ibid
17 ibid No.11, January 1923, p.22.
18 ibid
19 See letters to parents prior to coming to Australia, Diocese of Bathurst Archives.

life with its emphasis on the mission activity of the Church and the duty of the clergy to offer for service in areas of missionary endeavour. For Wylde Brotherhood service was a continuation and extension of his involvement with Oxford House and the East End missions.

It was difficult to see permanency in the type of ministry offered by the Brotherhood model, and indeed permanency would have been the antithesis of the ethos of the Brotherhood. The alternatives, a normal parochial structure or monastic communities, seemed untenable in the situation of the parishes of the western region of the Diocese of Bathurst.[20] The normal parochial ministry had proved economically unviable and impossible to staff. Parishes became part of the Brotherhood to continue the ministry in the isolated areas of the Diocese.[21] Wylde had had considerable contact with various groups of men and women who had formed themselves into communities within the Church of England. The settled monastic form of life was particularly inappropriate to the itinerant nature of the work in the bush. For Wylde as an individual monasticism would have involved a renunciation of his energy and personality. He maintained close links with

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20 The Roman Catholic Church tried to found monastic communities in the bush, particularly in Western Australia - see Mary Durack, The Rock and the Sand.

21 By 1927 the Brotherhood area was Nymagee, Canbelego, Tottenham, Bourke, Brewarrina, and Cobar, with Nyngan joining the Brotherhood in 1932. Gilgandra was in the unique position of having firstly a Diocesan Rector who was also Brotherhood Principal, then a Diocesan Vicar and Bishop Rector.

the recently established Community of the Ascension in Goulburn. Father E.C. Kempe, the Superior of that Order had been Principal of the Brotherhood from 1913-1915. Father Kempe was a familiar figure throughout the Brotherhood parishes during Wylde's Principalship. He undertook locum work in various parishes, assisted with the Christmas services in the Castlereagh district in 1925, and conducted a Quiet Day in 1926. His involvement with the work of the Brotherhood lent credence to the notion that the Brotherhood was a "High Church" group. Nevertheless there were features of the monastic life which appealed to Wylde and which accorded with the traditions of the Brotherhood.

Retreats were not new to him, and it had been the addresses at a Retreat at Cuddesdon which had precipitated his decision to offer for the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd. Wylde's first year in Australia confirmed the value of a regular period of spiritual renewal in his life as a priest. Although clergy retreats were not usual in the Church of England in Australia in the 1920's, and were perceived as a manifestation of the Oxford Movement, Long had introduced them into the Diocese of Bathurst. Since then an annual retreat had been considered vital for the clergy of the Diocese. Wylde encouraged this because for him the retreat pointed up the importance of regular contact with fellow clergy for those who were isolated. In February 1922, Wylde attended his first Brotherhood retreat, and then in May there was the Diocesan Clergy Retreat, Synod, and the Clergy Conference. By 1924, Wylde, as Principal, organised Brotherhood retreats and the members of the Community of the Ascension began to be familiar conductors.

Other bush Dioceses in Australia dealt with the difficulties of ministry in the more remote parts in their own ways. Some fostered local Brotherhoods,[22] but the main alternative which was to have a widespread impact in the Church was the establishment of the Sydney based Bush Church Aid Society in 1919. Despite its attempt to work in the parish of Cobar,[23] Bush Church Aid never gained a place in the Diocese of Bathurst, although it became firmly established in the neighbouring Diocese of Riverina where there were equally isolated bush parishes. This failure of the Bush Church Aid Society to pre-empt the dominant role of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd in the Diocese of Bathurst was due to the strong leadership and uncompromising power wielded by the Brotherhood Principals and to the solid foundation of the Brotherhood in the Diocese which the 1923 Ordinance provided. The Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd was grudgingly accorded its position in the Diocese of Bathurst because it appeared to be the answer to the problems of ministry in the western parts of the Diocese.

The major recurring worry for the Brotherhood was staffing. In Wylde's first years in the Diocese, due to the insufficient number of priests available to staff the Brotherhood districts adequately, the Mining District was "divided - as was Gaul - into three parts".[24] Consequently Wylde spent much of his time ministering to the people of this area, the viability of which was constantly threatened by the removal of faithful parishioners to other places, and the downturn in the mining industry. Wylde had hoped that the "Mother Church"

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22 Diocese of Gippsland, Diocese of Grafton, Diocese of Bunbury.

23 Long to Wylde, 7 August 1925.

24 The Bush Brother, Vol. XX, No. 3, May 1924, p.206.

would provide the senior men needed to direct the early ministries of the young newly ordained brother,[25] mainly because the more experienced Australian clergy were urban in origin and training. These clergy were unwilling and unable to serve in the bush areas and preferred to offer for the metropolitan Dioceses where the opportunity for work in large, more important parishes was greatest. This meant that there was a great need for English recruits to the Brotherhood, but the tradition which had brought Feetham and Wylde to Australia was declining quickly. There were fewer University graduates from Oxford and Cambridge presenting themselves for ordination in England, and the Catholic ideals of missionary service which had brought Wylde to the slums of London and then to Australia was already being rejected by the post-War clergy. The English Bishops were also facing a serious shortage of experienced clergy following the First World War, and were increasingly reluctant to release men for service elsewhere.

Despite this shortage of senior clergy, the future was hopeful so far as young Australian ordinands were concerned. On St. James' Day 1924, seven Deacons and two priests were ordained, four of the Deacons for work with the Brotherhood. The parish of Grenfell gave 90 pounds for training, which allowed another lay-brother to go to theological college in Armidale. In addition there were three lay-brothers who were expecting ordination in 1925, and three more who were looking forward to their ordinations in 1926, and Wylde

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25 The Bush Brother, Vol. XX, No. 3, May 1924, p. 126.

was confident that they would receive the training they needed to equip them for the isolated and difficult districts in which they would serve.[26]

These Australian recruits were the fruition of the Ordination Candidates' Training Scheme which had been pioneered by Long in an effort to ensure the continuation of the Brotherhood during the War years, and to provide clergy from amongst the young Australians who had previously received little academic training. Wylde as Principal had cause to be confident that he had assumed responsibility for the Brotherhood at a time when it was undergoing a revival. He developed the practice of keeping all the lay-brothers in Dubbo for three weeks at a time, twice a year, for some extra training in addition to their formal academic training at College. With this, and the apparent success of Long's Training Scheme, Wylde was convinced that,

> the young clergy of Australia will not fail the Church of England unless 'the elders' of that Church fail to realise their vocation and undertake their responsibilities.[27]

Wylde's vision for the future of the Church of England in Australia was that it would be continually staffed by young Australian-born clergy trained by the Church in Australia for its own situation and drawing on the experience of senior English clergy.[28] Despite this optimism there seemed little chance of experienced men coming from England to join the Brotherhood, regardless of Wylde's efforts during his visit there in 1925. So he made the suggestion to Long that

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26 However, it did not always work out like that. The Reverend J.D. Martyn who had been trained for the Diocese, was "loaned" to the Brotherhood spending his first five years alone at Bourke, having been sent there as a deacon.

27 The Bush Brother, op.cit.

28 ibid, Vol. XIX, No. 4 July 1923, pp.274-275.

younger men who were unable to afford the "high charges at the older Universities",[29] might be willing to accept the challenge as "many of them are taking a great interest in the Spiritual things of the Dominions and are wanting to take Orders".[30] Long advised caution in the cases of some of these men and, as Wylde appeared to have made few enquiries as to their suitability for bush work in the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd, Long indicated that he would investigate the backgrounds of the men suggested.[31] Wylde's enthusiasm and impulsiveness, coupled with an unshakeable belief in his own ability as a character judge, led him sometimes to make poor judgements on the characters and abilities of men he viewed as prospective Diocesan clergy or ordinands.[32]

A less pressing, but continual source of worry for Wylde as Principal was the financing of the Brotherhood operations. It had often been claimed that the Brotherhood provided ministry on the cheap.[33] Wylde maintained the opposite view and used as an analogy the extra work done by the Bishop in order that necessary Diocesan work might be completed.[34] Although the stipends of the brothers were considerably less than those of parochial clergy, the expenses of the organisation as a whole were heavy. The stipends were paid out of a central fund, with each district being asked to pay a specified amount

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29 Wylde to Long, 17 June 1925.

30 ibid.

31 Long to Wylde, 18 June 1925.

32 see also his opinion of Archbishop Wright as an "incompetant ninny"[Wylde to father, 30 September 1926] cf. other Bishops reliance on Wylde's judgement of clergy.

33 The Bush Brother, Vol. XXI, No. 4, October 1924, pp. 7-8.

34 ibid.

quarterly. In addition, grants were made to brothers who were returning to England at the completion of their service and to individual parishes such as Bourke and Brewarrina in times of drought and economic difficulty. Wylde continually expressed the hope that the large pastoral stations with their absentee owners would realise their responsibility to contribute realistically to the stipend of the clergy so that the spiritual needs of the people living on those stations in the more isolated parts of the Brotherhood districts, and of the small, financially struggling settlers, would be met. This did not eventuate and the Brotherhood continued to rely for finances on Annual Campaigns amongst its supporters in Sydney and on the Southern Tablelands of New South Wales.

Wylde's work with the Brotherhood marked a re-vitalisation of his ministry. His compassion and understanding of the ordinary man's problems, stemming from his experiences in the East End of London, shone into the difficulties and loneliness of the people of the western bush districts of New South Wales. Life in these areas changed little. The rain was always needed but made travel impossible because of the black soil, yet the ministry of the brothers depended on constant travel for them to take services and to visit the settlers in remote parts of the districts. Communicant numbers in the bush centres fluctuated from one service to another, population movements threatened the viability of some of the parishes and the itinerant ministry was very much a personal one to the isolated settlers and townspeople in the remote west of the Diocese despite the constant rotation of brothers between the parishes.

Wylde's first major expedition to the country centres of the parish was typical and lasted from 22 March 1922 until 6 April, being a round trip on horseback from Gilgandra down towards Eumungerie to Everton and Kickabil, where he curved up to Collie on the Warren road and then went to Armatree near Gulargambone, and Yarrandale, Dooroombah, Bingle, and Tooraweenah, all out towards Coonabarabran, and then back to Gilgandra, conducting services and visiting.[35] In 1925, following his return from England, this pattern of late nights and early mornings on the road to take services or to teach scripture in one-teacher schools was resumed as though it had never been interrupted and formed the basis of Wylde's pastoral ministry. In addition he had the responsibility of overseeing the work of the other brothers in their districts. On 24 December, he expected to set off for Bourke, spend the Saturday in Byrock, the Sunday in Brewarrina, "and then Christmas Communion tours around Bre & Bourke"[36] lasting three weeks or more. It was the first time for three and a half years that he had been to Brewarrina. For Wylde the temperature of Bourke of 90 degrees "was ideal",[37] after a week or more of temperatures of over 100 degrees.

The early trips around the Brotherhood parishes were made on horseback, and as with all the clergy who were forced to spend long hours in the saddle, Wylde developed a special affinity with the animals which carried him around the west. In his letters and diaries anecdotes abounded about "Trump" and "Bounce", and he frequently related his affection for them. Wylde had the same feeling for the cars he drove when they came

35 Diary, 4 February 1922.
36 Wylde to mother, 23 December 1925.
37 Wylde to father, 27 December 1925.



In Wylde's handwriting on the back of the original of this photograph is:
"G.Q.B. ready for action
G = good
Q = Queen
B = Bess
I am all ready for many hundreds of miles"
This photograph was published after Wylde's death in newspaper obituaries and became the hallmark of his pastoral style of ministry.

into use in the Brotherhood, and he endowed them with almost anthropomorphic characteristics.[38] Unlike most of the brothers who regarded their vehicles as the means of getting them from one point to the other, and as a necessary evil because of the frequency of breakdown, Wylde always named his cars and regarded them as special friends to be nurtured.[39]

On his pastoral journeys, Wylde was always willing to join the station people for a meal and indeed this formed an important part of his visiting pattern.[40] He enjoyed staying on the properties when invited.[41] However if there was nowhere else, he would make use of the church verandah, as in Byrock on one trip when he arrived at 1.00 am, and slept through to the dawn at 5.30 am, after which he prepared the church for a service.[42]

Throughout his life Wylde maintained contact with his former parish of St. Simon Zealotes', Bethnal Green, and wrote particularly to the children to keep them informed about his activities in Australia and to check on their behaviour.[43] These letters provided graphic and lyrical descriptions of the mystical quality with which Wylde endowed the country through which he journeyed, and indicated his love for the isolated surroundings he had chosen for his home. On these journeys, as

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38 see letters to children at St. Simon Zealotes'.

39 Some of these anecdotes are related in The Bush Brother, see for example. Vol. XIX, No. 4 July 1923, pp. 50-51; Vol. XX, No. 1, October 1923, p.13; No.2 April 1924, p.21.

40 Later some of the clergy derogatively referred to him as a "cup of tea Bishop".

41 Wylde always joined in the family activities and assisted in the washing up after the meal.

42 Diary, 1924.

43 Wylde to children of St. Zealotes', 10 May 1922.

in the overcrowded, inner-city Bethnal Green, he used casual encounters as opportunities to preach the gospel. In this way he built a relationship between himself and the settlers working on the railway, or the labourer or small settler on an isolated property. Wylde was both practical and spiritual in his approach, sharing his food with those he met. As he became part of their lifestyle so he began to overcome some of the suspicion of those who saw few strangers.[44] Despite the apparent ease with which he approached these men and women of the bush, he felt keenly the inadequacy of the ministry he provided to them. This was not due to feelings of personal inadequacy and doubts about his own ministry as had troubled him at St. Simon Zealotes'.[45] It related more to the lack of time which he could devote to seeking out those most isolated and neglected by the Church because of that isolation,[46] and to the circumstances in which he was placed with regard to ministering to these people.

The link between the work of the Church and the secular, everyday lives and work of those whom Wylde met on his journeys around the Brotherhood parishes was highlighted in his preaching to the isolated communities. His connection between the spiritual and the practical allowed him to draw upon analogies and situations which were part of the daily life of his congregation.[47] His ability to speak to the ordinary men and women on their own level and in their own situations was by no means common in the Brotherhood and helped create the great affection of the people of the western parishes for Wylde, even as he became more involved in the adminis-

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44 ibid.
45 Wylde to mother, 10 November 1920.
46 ibid.
47 e.g. sermon based on Exodus XII, 26 in The Bush Brother, Vol.XX p.342.

trative work of the Brotherhood and the Diocese as a whole.[48]

Wylde had strong opinions on almost everything, attributing that trait to his Yorkshire stubborness.[49] It is to be expected that a man of forty-one, as Wylde was when he joined the Brotherhood, would already have had his views formed. From the commencement of his service with the Brotherhood, Wylde maintained a forthright stand on many issues, particularly on matters concerning the authority of the priest and the nature and importance of the sacraments. He strongly held to the view that it was the priest's right to perform the sacraments only after proper instruction and due consideration of their significance by those who were to be involved. In the 1920's the ceremonies of the Church were coming to be regarded by many merely as socially important events, and Wylde had no patience with those who took the sacraments for granted or did not treat them with the reverence he considered they deserved. On one occasion at Curban, in the parish of Gilgandra, Wylde

> arrived there at 2.30 am got ready;
> v. large crowd, refused Walton baby
> without notice & without father, &
> I without stole, font, water, etc.
> v. good service (Tempt. 2).[50]

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48 e.g. see article on giving with practical advice on how to follow the biblical injunctions about the amount the "average churchman" should be paid for his work, and setting out how money is to be used in the local parish, in the Diocese, and in the mission field, in The Bush Brother, Vol. XXI, No. 4 October 1924, pp. 6ff; pp.119-120. These Principal's letters contrast with those written by Peel who used a philosophical and spiritual tone with a reliance on scripture to support the points he made and with an emphasis on the intellectual and educated reader. See also editorials in The Bush Brother of the various Principals before Wylde.

49 Wylde to Archbishop of Melbourne, 3 November 1951.

50 Diary, 20 August 1922.

It was not long before he was able toreport that his insistence on the presence of the father at baptisms was having positive results in the bush parishes.[51] As well he consistently maintained that baptisms ought to be conducted at a public service of worship, and that bishops ought to censure those clergy who baptised people from outside their parish boundaries.[52] This uncompromising stand was far from the prevailing practice in the Church, but Wylde was always ready to recognise that particular circumstances might make the rigid application of these beliefs difficult to implement.

Wylde also had strong views about marriages between people of different denominations,

> Wedding at 11.
> thought I was going to take it - no fear.
> Seem to think they can order Priests about as they like. No use for mixed marriages.[53]

However Wylde's dogmatism was not unusual in New South Wales in the 1920's on the issue of mixed marriages. For Roman Catholic clergy particularly this was one of the dominant contentious issues of a pastoral nature. Nevertheless, Wylde had brought his views from England where he had formed them in a completely different religious atmosphere to that in Australia, and so he strengthened religious divisions and perpetuated issues which were already sensitive in Australia when he arrived. His insistence on the proprieties to be observed, and the upholding of the dignity of the sacraments, coincided with Wylde's absolute belief in the Church of England

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51 The Bush Brother, Vol.XX, No.4, August 1924, p.234.
52 ibid, Vol.XX, No.4, August 1924, p.235.
53 Diary, 15 March 1922; 23 August 1923.

and the practices to be maintained within it.[54] It was at this time that the services of the Church of England were coming to be regarded by many of the bush people as a duty necessary to continue the Church of England presence in their community.[55] Such a presence was seen as vital to counter the threat of an increasing Catholic population.

Without diminishing the importance of the Church of England or its teaching as he saw it, Wylde maintained cordial relations with the clergy and adherents of other denominations. He gave permission for members of other denominations to attend services of Holy Communion in Church of England churches if the ministration of their own denominations was not available. However he would not allow the clergy of other denominations to preach in Church of England churches and was strict in insisting on his right of teaching only Church of England children in the schools. He was often caustic in his comments and criticisms of the clergy of other denominations, and when Roman Catholic priests, in particular, tried to detract from his authority as he undersytood it, he confronted them and held to his right to the pastoral oversight of the Church of England people in an area.[56] In these encounters with the clergy of other denominations Wylde was never afraid to use his forceful personality to achieve the result he sought. His belief in the apostolic succession of the Church of England was absolute and he countenanced no suggestion that the Church of England was a Protestant denomination.

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54 Diary, 23 August, 1923.

55 Church News, Vol. 12, No. 9, November 1923, p.21. The Bush Brother, op.cit, No.1, October 1923, p.55.

56 Diary, 22 April 1922; conversation with Reverend A. F. Dryden, 5 March 1981.

Despite the fulfilment Wylde had found in his work with the Brotherhood, family responsibilities began to draw him back to England. The grave illness of his father in 1925 seemed to both Long and Wylde like a repeat of the difficulties which had delayed Wylde's joining the Brotherhood in 1921.[57] Wylde was unsure whether or not to return to England and relied heavily on the advice of Long.[58] At the same time he was resolute that his private life would not affect his perceived responsibility to the Brotherhood and to the Bishop.

His belief in the efficacy of the sacraments led him to place great reliance on the healing ministry of the Church particularly following the visit of James Moore Hickson to the Diocese of Bathurst in 1923 to conduct a Healing Mission. Wylde wrote to his father prior to his return in 1925 and extolled the benefits of the laying-on of hands and sacramental confession, quoting Hickson that "it is as easy for Him to cure a cancer as a toothache".[59] As always, the practical was not separated from the spiritual and Wylde wrote to Bishop Long to ask for leave of absence to return to England. He also wrote to Bishop Mosely, the Bishop of Stepney, as well as to his doctor and great friend in Bethnal Green, Henderson, and solicited their assistance on his return to England.

Due to the uncertainty surrounding his father's health, Wylde's future plans were indefinite. He did

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57 Church News, Vol. 13, No. 12, February 1925, p.6.

58 The Bush Brother, Vol. XXI, No. 3, October 1925, p.103; p.105.

59 Wylde to his father, 22 December 1924.

not know if he could return to Australia after visiting his family. Long was not able to guarantee a Brotherhood role for Wylde in the Diocese of Bathurst.[60] Indeed, in January there was the news that the Reverend F.M. Sykes, Vicar of Middlesborough, might join the Brotherhood, and Long wrote to him suggesting that he might come as Vice Principal and take over the Principalship from Wylde "when his period of service comes to an end".[61] At this time Wylde's service with the Brotherhood was not regarded as any different from that of any of the other brothers. After he arrived in England Wylde maintained his involvement with Brotherhood affairs. He developed a scheme for the training of the men who offered for ordination so that they might have the opportunity to develop their spiritual life in a separate institution after their formal academic training was completed at the theological college.[62] Wylde made practical arrangements for the Brotherhood affairs in England, addressed meetings about the work, accepted preaching engagements at which it was hoped to "get something towards another [a car] & also help for Armatree Church from them",[63] and interviewed prospetive members for the Brotherhood. However, now that he had arrived in England it appeared less likely that he would be able to return to Australia due to his family commitments and despite the financial assistance that his family were assured would be available from the Bishop.[64] James Wylde was an extremely bad patient with the ulcer

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60 Muriel Wylde to Long, 26 January1925; Wylde to Long 20 February 1925; ibid, 1 March 1925.
61 Long to Sykes, 6 January 1925.
62 The Bush Brother, op.cit., p.103 ff.
63 Wylde to Long, 8 May 1925.
64 Wylde to his father, 22 December 1924.

which troubled him, and his notions of the role of women were Victorian, which made his nursing a trying task.[65] His son's insistence that his father attempt to do things for himself led to friction in the house, although Arnold asserted that "he and I have always been more like brothers than father and son".[66] As his father's health began to improve, and it became the state of the family finances which caused him to further delay the decision as to whether to return to Australia, Long made arrangements for 200 pounds to be remitted to England "so long as the need exists',[67] so that "you must not allow the financial side of things to be a determining factor in your decision".[68] Even before Long's letter which indicated his readiness to make available a "special diocesan allowance",[69] Wylde was "taking it for granted that you will arrange with Burkitt, Vernon & Co at Dubbo & you will let me know what you think can justly & fairly be allowed me a year for the home here"[70] Wylde had been approached to be nominated for the position of Northern Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which carried a salary of 500 pounds, or to accept one of the vacant parishes in the North "with very good money attached",[71] but he "rather mistrusted these large stipends, they generally mean large responsibilities which cannot be avoided".[72] Having indicated to Long his

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65 Wylde to Long, 24 March 1925; ibid, 1 May 1925.
66 ibid.
67 Long to Wylde, 9 June 1925.
68 ibid.
69 Cablegram of Long to Wylde, 10 May 1925.
70 Wylde to Long, 8 May 1925, cf. Cablegram op.cit., and letter op.cit.
71 Wylde to Long, 24 March 1925.
72 ibid, p.6.

value to the English Church, as well as his expectation that the way would be made clear for his return to Brotherhood work if he wished, Wylde made certain that he visited every parish in England which had any interest in the Brotherhood and made contacts with some new ones as well. He took the opportunity of this time in England to set up a network of Branch Secretaries in various places as a way of overseeing the English money-raising efforts of the organisations interested in the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd.

The work of the Brotherhood continued in his absence, but there were decisions taken on the advice of the Acting Principal which were at variance with the suggestions made by Wylde himself, and despite the fact that "I am far away & you & Palmer may have better plans",[73] Wylde felt neglected in this decision making. Bishop Long was continually troubled by financial difficulties in maintaining the Diocese, and the manpower situation in the Brotherhood parishes threatened to deteriorate rapidly. As a result he was anxious that Wylde should return as rapidly as possible as Principal and was grateful for the money which had been raised on behalf of the Brotherhood in England, as "without your assistance the Sydney Campaign will not produce as much as it did last year".[74]

On 17 October 1925, Wylde left England on the Ormonde on which he had been offered a Chaplaincy by the S.P.C.K. His doubts remained as to whether he had done the correct thing in leaving his family, although he was

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73 Wylde to Long, 6 August 1925.
74 Long to Wylde, 7 August 1925.

pleased to be returning to the work he had come to love in Australia.[75] His failure to obtain priests in England who would lead the work of the Brotherhood left him with a feeling of obligation to return himself, but despite this lack of success in attracting clergy his money-raising efforts had been worthwhile. As well as obtaining a new car for his journeys throughout the districts,[76] Wylde managed to enlist "the sympathy and help of Church people in England in the building of Bush churches and asked them to try and send money to help in the fitting and furnishing of all churches which people in the bush might build'.[77] So far as Wylde, and the Diocese of Bathurst itself, were concerned, the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd was the Home Mission work of the Diocese, and the support of church people in England as well as in New South Wales, was solicited on the basis of the work as a missionary undertaking.[78]

Because of the uncertainty surrounding Wylde's return as Principal "there are one or two who played up thinking I was not coming back; they are already beginning to alter their tune".[79] He wasted little time in setting out for Bathurst in time for the celebrations at the Cathedral at the end of November.[80] His return from England marked a growth in his confidence and there was a new purpose in his actions.

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75 The Bush Brother, Vol. XXI, Christmas 1925, p.4.
76 ibid. p.2.
77 ibid, p.1.
78 see, for example, the offical publication "The Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd - a Church of England Mission in the Diocese of Bathurst."
79 Wylde to his father, 9 December 1925.
80 Wylde to his mother, 28 November 1925.

From this time he began to treat the whole Brotherhood area as though it were his own parish with the brother in each district acting as his vicar. Although he did not approve of other clergy taking services outside their parishes, Wylde himself constantly moved throughout the districts, taking the bush people their communion, teaching in the schools, visiting the parishioners of whole townships and the properties round about, taking other services in the bush parishes, and performing occasional services when asked, irrespective of the fact that there was the resident priest-in-charge present.

On 5 December 1926, Wylde was inducted as Rector of Gilgandra,[81] which meant that he could be Principal as well as holding a Diocesan parish.[82] Wylde's position in the Diocese was consolidated as he was now assured of security of tenure, as well as being a member of the Brotherhood of which he was Principal. The twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd[83] provided the opportunity for evaluation and for setting goals for the future.[84] This was for Wylde a time of personal examination and an assessment of his own future. Bishop Long's confidence in his abilities was boundless,[85] and in 1925 Long had determined, if at all possible, to facilitate the return of his Brotherhood Principal to Australia.[86] Long had given him a good deal of authority

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81 The Bush Brother, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, February 1927,
82 Church News, Vol.16, No.1 January 1927,p.6./p.53.
83 1927.
84 The Bush Brother, Vol. XXIII, No.2, May 1927, p.64.
85 Long to Muriel Wylde, 28 August 1925.
86 Long to Wylde, 9 June 1925.

within the Diocese even before Wylde was appointed Brotherhood Archdeacon in July 1923.[87] Long trusted and respected Wylde, and was willing to give him Diocesan responsibility although he had been in the Diocese less than two years. The Bishop, his family, and Wylde became close personal friends, and Long suggested that Wylde accompany his son on his return to England in 1925. Wylde always stayed at Bishopscourt when in Bathurst,[88] and in great measure this close personal relationship accounted for the success in changing the nature of the Brotherhood.

The influences which had shaped Wylde during this early period of service in the Diocese of Bathurst were the foundation of the whole of his ministry in the Diocese. He continually acknowledged the debt he felt he owed to Bishop Long and his own personal regard of him.[89] Wylde's attitudes towards church finances, to liturgical reform, the "Nexus" debate and the Constitution for the Church[90] as well as other matters in which Long took a decisive role, were ones that Wylde took from Long and maintained throughout his ministry in his Diocese.

At this time of self-examination and assessment of Wylde's future, when he began to experience the

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87 Wylde was commissioned to make the declaration of assent and to take and subscribe the oaths of the Reverend W.J. Conran, and Long gave Wylde authority to induct Conran into the parish of Coolah on 23 May 1923.

88 Diaries

89 Diaries and letters - see also "Long Window" and plaque in All Saints' Cathedral, Bathurst. Wylde had Long's ashes interred under one pillar of the Cathedral altar, and his own are interred under the other pillar.

90 see various issues of The Bush Brother.

lethargy he had known in 1920 at St. Simon Zealotes as the administration of a large, complicated organisation threatened to keep him from the pastoral work he valued, new horizons opened up which were to change the course of Wylde's life once again. The change was heralded with Bishop Long's Presidential Address to the Diocesan Synod called in 1927 to assent to the Constitution of the Church of England in Australia. At this same Synod the passage was secured of an Ordinance which created the office of Bishop Coadjutor for the Diocese of Bathurst.

Chapter 3

Bishop Coadjutor, 1927 - 1936

Bishop Long had come increasingly to rely on Wylde in the six years Wylde had been in the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd. In addition to Wylde's responsibilities as Principal of the Brotherhood, Long appointed him as Archdeacon of the Diocese with oversight of the Brotherhood parishes, and by 1926 he was an Examining Chaplain to the Bishop.[1] On 18 June 1926 Wylde attended his first meeting of the Diocesan Bishop-in-Council to which he had been appointed by Long. From that time he began to take a full part in the organisation and administration of the Diocese as well as the Brotherhood which greatly aided the integration of the two.

The measure of Long's regard for Wylde[2], and the indication of his confidence and trust in Wylde came with Long's offer to Wylde of the position of Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese.[3] Long was the senior Diocesan Bishop in the Province of New South Wales and in Wylde's opinion

> With all the terrific outside work he has to do because the Archb. of Sydney is an incompetent ninny he cannot really do the work of his vast diocese without help. I urged him either to get an Australian or, if that cannot be, to get some one to come out from England to be Bishop (it might be more attractive) but he would not consider either, it would be good if either old Mosley or Eck would come .[4]

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1 Wylde to mother, 11 May 1926. The other Examining Chaplain was the Rector of East Orange, the Reverend A.G. Powell, Th. Schol. who was more evangelical. It is probable that Wylde was to examine the Brotherhood Ordination Candidates, and Powell the Diocesan candidates.

2 Johnson, op.cit., p.35.

3 Announced 14 July 1927. Wylde to father, J.L. Wylde, 30 September 1926; ibid, 5 September 1927; ibid, 23 April 1928.

4 op.cit.

However, Long had consulted

> one or two of his Clergy & his best laymen... & they were very kind about my taking it on but saw the impossibility if the B.G.S. is to continue. Nolo Episcopari & volvo to remain here until the end of 1927 & see what happens in between .[5]

Wylde was reluctant to become Coadjutor and postponed making the decision by raising difficulties, such as the stipend of a Brotherhood Bishop "I can't be a Bishop on 40 pounds a year and I can't be Principal on more, so there",[6] as well as the problem which the Brotherhood continually had with staffing, especially attracting experienced clergy.[7] Wylde was also under pressure from his family to accept the offer, but he had not made definite plans to remain in Australia whilst his family was unable to come to Australia to live. He had pursued employment opportunities for his sister who was a teacher, but there did not appear to be anything suitable at the salary she received in England.

These unresolved questions made the settling in to parish life at Gilgandra a greater strain for Wylde than he had expected.[8] The possibility of the arrival of the Reverend Tom Armour for work with the Brotherhood eased the worry about its future. The necessity for "two Bishops for a Diocese which was equal in size to the Province of Victoria"[9] was made more urgent by the recent illnesses of Bishop Long who was suffering from overwork

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5 ibid.

6 Wylde to mother, 8 January 1927.

7 Previous letters cited; Wylde to mother, 19 August 1927; the Bishop of London showed no interest in assisting with clergy for Australia at this time, in marked contrast to his enthusiasm for Wylde joining the Brotherhood in 1921 - see Chapter 1.

8 Wylde to mother, 14 March 1927; ibid, 22 March 1927; ibid, 17 July 1927. Wylde to father, 22 March 1927.

9 Church News, May 1 1927, Vol. 16, No. 5, pp. 10-11.

and exhaustion.[10] After "I got a letter from old John a day or two ago very keen on my accepting the 'Bp.Coad.' job...only the thought that I can perhaps be a help to our Bishop had persuaded me to accept".[11]

Wylde had no desire to be Diocesan,[12] and as a principle believed that the Australian Church ought not to have Englishmen as bishops.[13] The official announcement of Wylde's nomination as Bishop Coadjutor was made after consultation with the members of the Board of Electors of the Diocese.[14] Bishop Long, after he had catalogued Wylde's fitness for the office of his own great respect for him, outlined the uniqueness of Wylde's new position as Bishop while Rector of a Diocesan parish as well as being "especially associated with the work of the Brotherhood as part of his division of the episcopal work of administration".[15]

Although General Synod had made 'Rules for appointing Bishops Coadjutor' in 1896,[16] Wylde's situation was unusual within the Church in Australia. There was a fear amongst Diocesan Bishops that a Coadjutor might polarise the Diocese or that he might attempt to establish a right of succession as Diocesan. In the Diocese of Sydney, for instance, Archbishop J.C. Wright

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10 ibid, Vol. 16, No.6, June 1927, pp.7-8; Wylde to mother, 14 March 1927.
11 Wylde to mother, 3 June 1927.
12 Wylde to father, 3 June 1927.
13 Wylde to mother, 19 August 1927.
14 Church News, Vol.16, No.8, August 1927, pp.5-6.
15 ibid, No.9, September 1927, p.10.
16 Wylde's Consecration Certificate.

had reluctantly appointed a Coadjutor when pressured to do so by the Diocese. Gerard D'Arcy-Irvine was a man of similar temperament to Wright and unlikely to pose a threat to his authority which was already under challenge.[17]

Despite his diffidence about accepting the newly created position in the Diocese of Bathurst[18] Wylde received many effusive congratulations. His appointment also attracted unfavourable comment from evangelical sections of the Church[19] as had the election in 1913 of a former Principal of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd, John Feetham, to the Diocese of North Queensland. That Diocese however was much more geographically isolated than the Diocese of Bathurst. Wylde's appointment by Long who was Acting Metropolitan in the absence of Wright was viewed as evidence of the hold of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd and Anglo-Catholicism on the Diocese of Bathurst.

It was an impressive and significant time for the Diocese of Bathurst and the celebrations were occasions for great pride. On Sunday 30 October the Dedication of the Chapel of St. Michael and St. George within the Cathedral took place and the Bishop of Goulburn preached, to be followed by Festal Evensong at which the Bishop of Armidale preached. The next day was devoted to the

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17 Notes during discussion with Professor K.J. Cable, January 1984.

18 Wylde to father, ibid; Wylde to mother, 14 March 1927; ibid, 1 November 1927.

19 The Bush Brother, Vol.XXIII, No.3, August 1927, p.131 Church News, Vol.16,No.8, August 1927,pp.5ff; ibid, Vol.16,No.9, September 1927, p.10; ibid, Vol.17, No.5 May 1928, Report of the Nineteenth Synod; Marshall to J.L.Wylde, 28 August 1927; contras.Wylde to mother, 1 August 1927; ibid, 5 September 1927.

Consecration of the newly completed Cathedral,a Civic Reception by the Mayor of Bathurst, and the Dedication of new buildings at All Saints' College, with a Garden Party as part of the Jubilee celebrations of the College, a Diocesan Festival Tea Meeting in the Cathedral Hall, and a Public Meeting addressed by the visiting Bishops. At 10 o'clock on 1 November commenced the service of Consecration of the first Bishop Coadjutor in the history of the Diocese.[20] It was also the first time that Bathurst had witnessed the Consecration of a Bishop and civic pride in the growth and importance of the city was high. It had been intended that Canon E. N. Wilton the Rector of the Cathedral who had accepted nomination as Assistant Bishop of Melanesia would be consecrated with Wylde but the rules of the Province of New Zealand, of which Melanesia was part, forbade this.

For Wylde his Consecration was linked to other significant events in his life. The Consecration had been deliberately planned to take place around St. Simon Zealotes' Day[21] although the dedication of the Cathedral to All Saints took precedence when the date for the celebration was set. The Bishop of Riverina, Reginald Halse, with whom Wylde had been ordained in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, twenty years before, was the preacher at his Consecration, and took as his text Ecclesiastes 4:12, "The perfecting of the Saints". The Bishop of Grafton, J.W. Ashton, who had been educated by the same Headmaster as Wylde at Wakefield Grammar School, was a presenting Bishop with D'Arcy-Irvine, the Coadjutor of Sydney.[22] The Consecration was an event of deep

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20 Church News, Vol.16, No.10, October 1927, p.6; account of Consecration in ibid, 1928.

21 ibid.

22 The Bishop of Goulburn (Lewis Radford) read the Epistle, and the Bishop of Newcastle (Reginald Stephen) read the Gospel.

spiritual meaning for Wylde,[23] and to be consecrated by Long as Acting Metropolitan in the Cathedral of the Diocese in which he was to serve made a lasting impression on him.

Wylde's duties as Coadjutor had not been specifically defined.[24] George Pile, introducing the ordinance for the creation of the office of Bishop Coadjutor, referred only to the assistance necessary for Long since his illness, that a second Bishop would be of encouragement to the clergy, and that the laity would welcome the increased episcopal visitations and more frequent confirmations.[25] Wylde's episcopal ministry embraced these general outlines, but he continued the pastoral work to which he was primarily devoted and which he had been doing as Archdeacon amongst the physically and geographically isolated in the Diocese. Thus it was appropriate that his first Confirmation was of an eighty year old woman who had to be wheeled to Church at Balladoran in a bath-chair.[26] Wylde revelled in these pastoral situations and was as much in control of the events as he was at Cathedral ceremonies, although he enjoyed the bush so much more and his personal preference was for the freedom and informality if offered.[27]

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23 Diary, 1 November 1927.
24 Wylde to mother, 19 August 1927.
25 Church News, Vol.16, No.6, June 1927, pp.7-8.
26 Wylde to mother, 14 November 1927.
27 See description of Confirmation at Goonery Boundary Rider's Hut in parish of Bourke, Wylde to mother 22 November 1927; description of Gilgandra Confirmation, ibid, 4 December 1927.

Wylde's 'on-the-job' training as Bishop had hardly begun when the man he respected and trusted above all others in the Church[28] was elected Bishop of Newcastle despite his refusal to be nominated.[29] Both Long and Wylde realised the great difference that this election would make to Wylde's position in the Diocese[30] but Wylde believed that Long ought to accept the election to Newcastle although he was disturbed by the circumstances which had brought it about.[31] There had been some expectation that Horace Crotty, the Dean of Newcastle, would have been elected but he did not have the support of the majority of the clergy of the Diocese.[32] Crotty himself had been very anxious to be elected to Newcastle but had not been willing to cast the deciding vote for himself.[33]

Even though Bishop Long was about to leave the Diocese of Bathurst his personal regard of Wylde was so great that

> Don't breath this. Dr Long offered me the Deanery of Newcastle & 1000 pounds a year - with of course Episcopal work too. What we all hope is that after 3 or 4 years there he will be elected to Sydney & I want nothing more than to be his Co. there.[34]

Wylde however believed he should remain in the Diocese of Bathurst carrying out the work with the Brotherhood and in the west of the Diocese for which he had primariy been consecrated.

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28 Wylde to father, 6 March 1928.
29 Church News, Vol.17, No.1, January 1928, p.1.
30 Wylde to mother, 17 December 1927.
31 Wylde to father, op.cit.
32 ibid.
33 ibid.
34 Wylde to father, op.cit.

Wylde was adamant that he would not accept election as Bishop of Bathurst to succeed Long[35] although he was equally certain that he would be chosen.[36] He took a keen interest in the election process and was present in Bathurst assisting Long during the meetings of the Board of Electors. It was his view that "Prejudice is the only thing that can keep Crotty out or put anyone else in".[37] However, contemporary newspapers were not as certain of the outcome and canvassed all the possible contenders. Wylde was characterised by one Sydney newspaper as "an Oxford scholar, and Anglo-Catholic, and a tireless worker",[38] whilst other clergy thought to have had a chance of election were Reginald Halse,[39] who had also been nominated for Newcastle and

> Dr Crotty, Dean of Newcastle - known in the coal districts as a big man's man. As much at home with his feet under a miner's table as he is in the mansions of the wealthy. He it was who put the Bishop of Riverina out of the running for Newcastle. When he himself could not get the necessary majority, he advised his supporters to stand behind Bishop Long. Many clerics in Sydney regard him as a certainty for Bathurst. He is a distinguished scholar, and is younger than any of his competitors. But he is a moderate churchman, and there is a good-sized High Church vote west of Dubbo to be reckoned with .[40]

Less likely to be elected were the evangelical Archdeacon Charlton of Sydney and Canon E. Howard Lea of St. Mark's Darling Point and formerly Rector of Dubbo.

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35 Wylde to father, 11 January1928; ibid, 1 April 1928.
36 ibid.
37 Wylde to mother, 23 January 1928.
38 D.G. (cutting) 10 December 1927, Wylde's papers.
39 Diocese of Bathurst Archives.
40 ibid.
ibid.

Long was scathing in his criticism of the Sydney newspapers which had speculated on the outcome of the election[41] but their assessment proved accurate. Wylde was elected at the first meeting of the Board but refused the election as he believed that he could accomplish more if he remained as Rector of Gilgandra and Bishop Coadjutor.[42] He was still not inclined to be involved in the tedium of the administration of the Diocese.[43] After further consideration by the Board, Crotty was unanimously elected Bishop of Bathurst.[44] Long felt it important to make a lengthy public statement regarding the circumstances of the election in which he recounted that Wylde had refused election but that Wylde had stated his unequivocal support for Crotty as Bishop.[45] This statement indicated a feeling of dissatisfaction towards the result of the election so far as Wylde was concerned.[46] However both Long and Wylde had hoped that Crotty would be elected[47] and Wylde was adamant in his fervent desire that Halse should not be elected.[48] Long's statement was probably designed to give unity in a situation where the Bishop Coadjutor had been elected on the first ballot. On 3 February 1928 Long notified the Board of Electors of Crotty's acceptance of the See, and by 8 February Crotty and his wife were in Bathurst to inspect their new home. This gave Wylde an early opportunity to compare Mrs Crotty with Mrs Long.[49]

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41 See newspaper cutting, Wylde's papers, source unknown

42 Wylde to mother, 1 February 1928; Wylde to father, 11 January 1928; ibid, 1 April 1928; newspaper cutting, op.cit.

43 Wylde to mother, op.cit.

44 ibid; newspaper cutting, op.cit.

45 Church News, Vol.17.No.3, March 1928, pp.1-2.

46 ibid.

47 Wylde to father, 11 January 1928; Wylde to mother, 23 January 1928.

48 ibid.

49 Wylde to mother, 11 February 1928.



front: Horace Crotty, George Merrick Long, Arnold Lomas Wylde.
back : H.R. Holmes, Edward N. Wilton.
Note particularly the differing styles of episcal dress: Crotty in frock coat and gaiters; Long and Wylde more casually dressed in cassock.

Crotty's consecration was set for 26 March 1928 in St. Andrew's Cathedral Sydney [50] and after the 1928 Synod he was enthroned in All Saints' Cathedral Bathurst.[51] At each of these ceremonies Long played a prominent part, presenting Crotty to the Archbishop of Sydney at his consecration and installing Crotty and preaching at the enthronment.[52] Despite Crotty's haste to accept his election and then to be consecrated and enthroned, it was not until Ascentiontide 1928 that he and his wife came to live in Bathurst.[53]

Horace Crotty had had a career similar to that of Bishop Long. Born in Melbourne and a graduate of the University of Melbourne where he had headed the first class honours list as he had also at theological college, Crotty had been at Trinity Grammar School, Kew, as Master under Long. After this Crotty had become Headmaster of All Saints' Grammar School, Melbourne, followed by service as chaplain with the AIF and then experience at large city parishes as Rector of St. Thomas' North Sydney and Dean of Newcastle. He took a prominent part in conferences and meetings of the Church and revelled in the role of Church statesman. He was particularly interested in social issues and as Bishop made many pronouncements on contemporary morality and the Church's role in society. In continuing to elect Australian born clergy to the See the Diocese of Bathurst chose men who would give it an impressive and outspokenly intellectual voice in the Australian Church.[54]

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50 ibid; 27 March 1928.
51 Wylde to mother, 16 April 1928.
52 Church News, Vol.17, No.3, March 1928.
53 Wylde to father, 18 April, 1928.
54 Wylde to mother, 16 April 1928; Wylde continued to refer to Long as "our Bishop" even at Crotty's enthronement.

However Crotty had quite a different personality to that of Bishop Long. Immediately after his election Crotty wrote an open letter to the Diocese which revealed a verbose, pompous man who appealed to an outdated nationalistic sentiment. The letter showed a man who expressed himself in esoteric philosophical terms about the religious life. This contrasted sharply with the practical taciturn nature of those who lived in the major portion of the Diocese.[55] Crotty was essentially a city man, well versed in the urbanity and social graces of life amongst the new aristocracy of Bathurst, Orange, and Mudgee and used to mixing with businessmen not bushmen.[56] To that extent Crotty had been elected to the See of Bathurst by and for the influential laymen of the Diocese and he enjoyed only sectional popularity. He maintained close relationships with those whom he regarded as his social and intellectual peers such as the Diocesan Chancellor, Clive Teece[57] who Crotty referred to as "a cultivated Australian of a not very common type".[58] It can be said, therefore that Crotty and Wylde complemented each other in a Diocese such as Bathurst, which comprised both country cities and bush towns.

Wylde was sure that he would be reappointed Coadjutor if he wanted the position[59] and Crotty's

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55 Church News, Vol.17, No.3, March 1928, pp.3-4.

56 Crotty was a member of Rotary, for instance, Bathurst Times 19 December 1935; his dress of frock coat and gaiters contrasted with Long's and Wylde's purple cassock or suit.

57 By 1931 they addressed each other as "Horace" and "Clive". Teece was a prominent Syndey lawyer and layman.

58 Crotty to Mansbridge, 8 February 1929.

59 Wylde to mother, 22 April 1928.

first Official Act was to appoint Wylde Coadjutor and Commissary.[60] It was a difficult situation for the newly enthroned Bishop. Wylde was Principal of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd as well as Rector of the Diocesan parish of Gilgandra. He was also a bishop who enjoyed enormous popularity in the western regions of the Diocese. Crotty disliked the loneliness of the isolated areas of the Diocese, and had little intention of travelling regularly throughout the extensive outback parts but preferred to stay in the city parishes where he felt most comfortable. The easier course for Crotty was to give Wylde offical approval by reappointing him Coadjutor and add to his authority by making him Commissary. In this way Crotty could avoid the arduous bush travel and at the same time ensure Wylde's loyalty and support. Crotty was never quite certain of his own position in the Diocese and continually sought to restrict Wylde's actual sphere of influence to the relatively unimportant Brotherhood area.[61]

Crotty's concern with the prestige and external ceremony attached to the office of Bishop extended to the situation of his Coadjutor. On 17 August 1928 he appointed the Reverend T.M. Armour, the newly arrived Principal of the Brotherhood, as Chaplain to the Bishop Coadjutor. It was an appointment which took no account of the itinerant nature of both mens' ministries in the

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60 Official Acts.

61 When Wylde forwarded his resignation as Principal of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd on 29 December 1928, Crotty had a legal document drawn up which set out the limitations of Wylde's authority and set out what had previously been an understanding between the Diocesan and his Coadjutor; Church News, Vol. 18, No.2, February 1929; pp.2-3; Wylde to mother, 3 January 1929; ibid, 6 March 1928.

west of the Diocese. Crotty also instigated an appeal amongst the friends of the Brotherhood in Sydney for a pastoral staff for Wylde and "it is my wish that Bishop Wylde should carry this emblem of his pastoral office when on episcopal work throughout the Diocese.[62] Crotty's edict ignored Wylde's expressed dislike of ostentation and his earlier privately voiced desire to dispense with wearing the pastoral cross and ring.[63]

Crotty's choice as sub-Dean of All Saints's Cathedral was Canon H.R. Holmes, a scholar who was Rector of West Maitland in the Diocese of Newcastle. At the ceremony of induction and installation of Holmes on 20 May 1928, Crotty took as his text "He shall build the higher gate",

> and in the course of an eloquent address, pointed out the significance of "gates" in their spiritual application, as leading to the higher life. Canon Holmes, he said was not to 'tickle the ears of the groundlings', but to build the higher gate, and he was going to do it in love and fellowship in the cottage and in the mansions .64

Crotty might well have been referring to his own ministry in the Diocese which had little understanding of the practical,almost primitive, life of people outside the large cities. Two days after the Register resigned on 30 September 1928, Crotty appointed Holmes to that position although most of the routine work was carried out by Stella Chapman, the Deputy Registrar. As well, Holmes was immediately appointed to Bishop-in-Council by

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62 Church News, Vol.17, No.11, November 1928,p.2.

63 Wylde to mother, 18 November 1928; ibid, 14 May 1929; ibid, 8 April 1929, p.2.

64 Church News, ibid, June 1928.

Crotty and was present at Crotty's first meeting as President on 16 August 1928.[65]

Wylde believed that Crotty was unable to communicate effectively with the people of the west despite his reputation as preacher. It was with some surprise that at Balladoran "we had the Consecration Service & the Bishop preached a really beautiful Sermon".[66] At the confirmation at Collie the Bishop's speech at the supper was "excellent".[67] However the next year at Collie "the Bishop was good but too far above heads".[68] Crotty's Presidential Address and Synod Charge in 1929 were judged favourably by Wylde and "he handled Synod admirably".[69] In Wylde's opinion the chairing of meetings and intellectual pursuits were the limits of Crotty's ministry. To Wylde his capabilities could not be compared with the breadth of Long's activities and achievements in the Diocese. Crotty's intellectual approach was seen with his changes to the Diocesan newspaper Church News. In 1933 it became The Drover under the editorship of Holmes. The Journal was stamped with Crotty's philosophical style. It had the stated aim of "giving our people vision, call them to tasks, summon them to higher loyalties and closer unities"[70] rather than merely providing items of church news which "suggests only one of the functions that such a journal as this should want to serve".[71] Crotty's Letter was entitled

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65 Official Acts, 1928.
66 Wylde to mother, 16 November 1928.
67 ibid.
68 ibid, 16 November 1929.
69 Wylde to mother, 22 April 1929.
70 The Drover, Vol.1, No.1, October 1933,p.1.
71 ibid.

"Oculus Episcopi" and he made much use of poetry in it. Moral issues were concentrated upon and were usually written about by Holmes or Crotty himself. Crotty's attitude to the parochial ministry was evidenced by the title he gave to the news articles from the parishes.[72] In contrast with the emphasis of Wylde and Long, to Crotty the pastoral ministry was a minor and unfulfilling part of the work of the Church.

Bishop Long had envisaged the Bishop Coadjutor assisting in all aspects of the life of the Diocese. Wylde during Crotty's episcopate had little involvement with the more important city parishes of the Diocese such as Bathurst, Orange, Mudgee, Forbes, Parkes and Dubbo. Although Crotty did visit throughout the bush areas of the Diocese, these tours were in the nature of a special annual event.[73] He preferred to keep to the major city parishes and his most westerly tour in his first year as Diocesan was to Tottenham and Cobar in June 1928. This convinced him of the "splendid Ministry of Bishop Wylde and the Brothers in those scattered areas".[74] By June 1929 Crotty had visited the other western parishes and continually expressed his admiration for and appreciation of the work being carried out by Wylde in those areas.[75] In the course of his tour Crotty "covered some 2500 miles, almost entirely by car"[76] in a period of three weeks which gave him "considerable insight into

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72 "The Road-Menders, A Record of the Work of our Parish Priests and of their People".

73 Church News, Vol.17,No.6, June 1928, pp.1-3,ibid, No.12,December 1928, p.3; ibid, July,August,September 1931; The Drover, Vol.1,October 1933, p.10; The Bush Brother, Vol.25,p.137; ibid, Vol.27,p.156.

74 Church News, op.cit, No.8,August 1928,p.3.

75 ibid.

76 ibid, Vol.18, No.8, August 1929, p.1.

the problems of the Brotherhood and the conditions under which it is called upon to face its honourable but exceeding baffling tasks".[77] Bishop Crotty was completely unable to grasp the challenges of ministry in the non-parochial system that the Brotherhood developed in the Diocese of Bathurst. He was content to maintain the status quo as he found it and left Wylde to carry out the practical pastoral responsibilities in the less settled regions of the Diocese, confining himself to visits during the harsh Bathurst winter.

Although Wylde was quite certain that his services as Coadjutor would be required by Crotty he had no guarantee how long that situation would prevail as his position depended on the relationship between the Diocesan and his Coadjutor.[78] Wylde had never been completely in favour of remaining Principal of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd as well as Bishop Coadjutor and Rector of Gilgandra. The difficulties of combining these three roles had been one of his main objections when first approached by Long to be Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese in 1927. No senior priest was found to assume the Principalship of the Brotherhood until 1928 when the Reverend Tom Armour arrived in the Diocese. Armour had been Vicar of Orford in Lancashire and was the first English priest to join the Brotherhood since Wylde himself in 1921. Armour had been highly recommended by the Bishop of Liverpool[79] but "is not anxious to take up any official position at present, but

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77 ibid.

78 Document outlining Wylde's "territory" in Diocese, Wylde's papers.

79 Church News, Vol.17, No.3,March 1928,p.7.



Bishop Wylde dedicating "St. Julian", the car given by the Norwich Mothers' Union. The Principal of the Brotherhood, Tom Armour, is in surplus and scarf.

prefers to be 'just a Bush Brother', so the present Principal is remaining on till the end of this year".[80] This was the same situation under which Wylde had joined the Brotherhood. It had a two-fold purpose: it enabled Armour and the Brotherhood to test his vocation and suitability to the work before he was appointed Principal and it also allowed Wylde to continue as a Brotherhood priest until the position between Crotty and himself had been clarified and their relationship settled. Wylde formally tendered his resignation as Principal to Bishop Crotty on 29 December 1928.

The next few years were the most carefree Wylde had known since 1921 when he was newly arrived in New South Wales. After his resignation as Principal, he had no responsibilities or decisions to make on behalf of the Brotherhood. He did not have the daily duty of organisation and administration in a parish as Rector since he had appointed the Reverend J.A.L. Armstrong as Vicar of Gilgandra.[81] Armstrong was a graduate of Oriel College Oxford and had been working in Wylde's old parish of St. Simon Zealotes' Bethnal Green before coming to Gilgandra in 1928. Wylde knew exactly what he required of Armstrong so far as Gilgandra was concerned and had no intention of allowing him to become a member of the Brotherhood, short-staffed as it was, even if Armstrong had shown any thought of joining.[82] For Wylde, Armstrong provided the way of coping with the workload of a parish whilst at the same time safe-guarding his position as a Diocesan Rector after he

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80 The Bush Brother, Vol.XXIV, No.2, May 1928,p.73, Wylde's own impressions of Armour are catalogued in his letters of 16 April 1928; 18 April 1928, 24 May 1928, 20 October 1928.

81 Letters of Wylde, 29 September 1927; 8 May 1928

82 Letters of Wylde, 29 September 1927; 8 May 1928

had resigned from the Brotherhood.[83] Wylde greatly enjoyed the freedom of movement around the Diocese and particularly the pastoral ministry which he was able to exercise in the Brotherhood districts which his office as Coadjutor gave him. For this reason he was unwilling to allow his name to go forward for nomination as Diocesan elsewhere.[84] The lack of responsibilities and the freedom of continuous travel as a 'missionary' bishop was what Wylde had come to Australia in 1921 to find and paralleled his first years in the Diocese.[85] Although he excelled at administration and organisation he constantly rebelled against the tedium of these aspects of his work.

Wylde was quite sure that as Coadjutor he would be summoned to the Lambeth Conference in 1930.[86] At the same time his whole nature rejected the constant tedium of meetings and the partisanship which he believed prevailed in the Church over issues such as the foundation of the Church of South India.[87] For Wylde therefore the summons to the Lambeth Conference provided the opportunity to return to England to see his

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83 Wylde to father, 11 January 1928; ibid, 6 March 1928

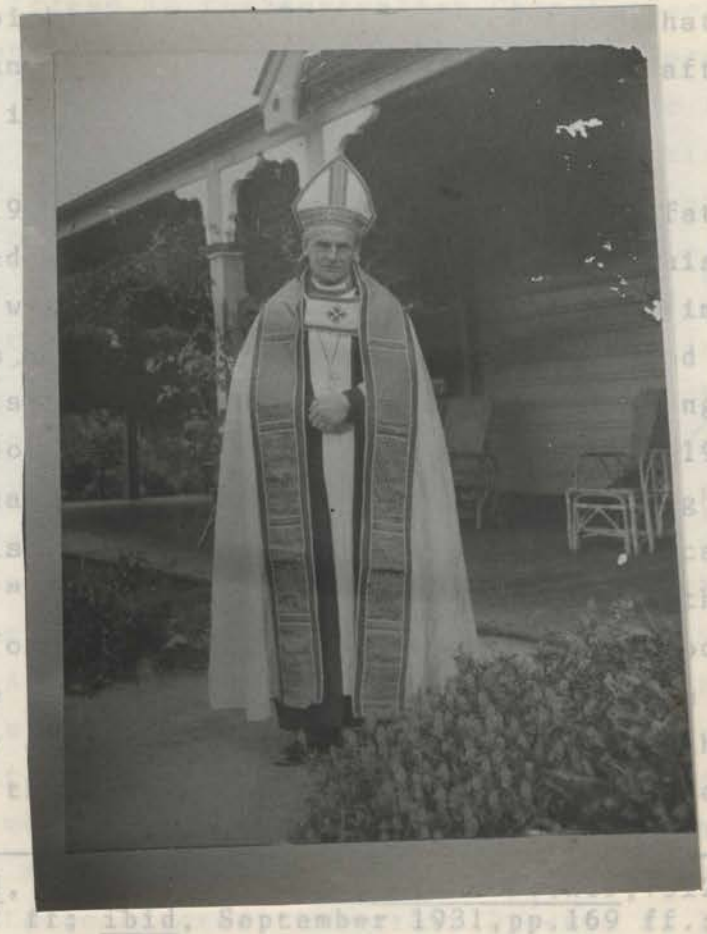
84 Bishop of Warminster (Wylde to mother, 22 January 1929); Bishop of Armidale (Wylde to father 3 August 1929; Wylde to mother 21 May 1929); Rector of St James' Church King St Sydney if Micklem was elected Archbishop of Perth as had been rumoured (Wylde to mother, 24 June 1929)

85 Letters before Wylde came to Australia. This also partly explains his reluctance to become Principal of the Brotherhood.

86 Wylde to father, 5 September 1927; ibid, 3 August 1929.

87 Wylde to father, 14 May 1929; Wylde to mother, 5 November 1929.

family for the first time in five years. It gave him the chance to visit those English parishes which were already well disposed towards the work of the Brotherhood, make new contacts in the continual search for finances for that ministry to the west of the Diocese, and to interview prospective Brotherhood recruits in the theological colleges of England.[88] To these ends his appoint-



Arnold Lomas Wylde about 1930.

88 ibid, ... 27,June 1931, p.72 ff.; ibid, September 1931,pp.169 ff.; ibid, December 1931, pp.216 ff.; ibid, Vol.28,March 1932, pp.ff.

89 Much of the time in England was spent preaching about the Brotherhood, Diary, 1930; Wylde also preached at the Crusader's Service held at York Minster, see photograph album on this.

90 Letters, 5 September 1927; 2 July 1928; 12 July 1928; 3 August 1929; 2 September 1929.

91 Wylde to mother, 31 July 1928.

92 Wylde to mother, 31 July 1928.

93 ibid

family for the first time in five years. It gave him the chance to visit those English parishes which were already well disposed towards the work of the Brotherhood, make new contacts in the continual search for finances for that ministry to the west of the Diocese, and to interview prospective Brotherhood recruits in the theological colleges of England.[88] To these ends his appointment as bishop was invaluable as it meant that he had a prestige and social status which was sought after by parishes in England.[89]

In 1925 it had been the health of his father which had caused Wylde to return to England. In his correspondence with his family he never failed to impress upon them his belief in the benefits conveyed by the sacraments of the Church as the means of bringing the healing power of God to a patient.[90] Since 1928 his parents had written anxious letters informing Wylde of his sister Muriel's "malady",[91] and he recalled for them the "great and true saying" of Hickson that "It is as easy for God to cure cancer as mumps or toothache".[92] The whole basis of Wylde's faith was on God's goodness and mercy and it was through the sacraments that he conveyed this mainstay to his family.[93] Muriel died at

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88 ibid, 26 June 1928; The Bush Brother, Vol27, June 1931, p.72 ff; ibid, September 1931, pp.169 ff.; ibid, December 1931, pp.216 ff.; ibid, Vol.28, March 1932, pp.ff.

89 Much of the time in England was spent preaching about the Brotherhood, Diary, 1930; Wylde also preached at the Crusader's Service held at York Minster, see photograph album on this.

90 Letters, 5 September 1927; 2 July 1928; 12 July 1928; 3 August 1929; 2 September 1929.

91 Wylde to mother, 31 July 1928.

92 Wylde to mother, 31 July 1928.

93 ibid.

5.00 am on Friday 4 July 1930[94] whilst Wylde was in England and for him this was the ultimate healing[95] although her death left "a big gap in my life specially as neither of us being married we were always drawn very closely together".[96]

Two days after Muriel's funeral Wylde's great mentor and friend in the Australian Church, George Merrick Long, died while at the Lambeth Conference sessions.[97] Long's unexpected death took the Australian Bishops by surprise. With his customary emotive language Crotty wrote an account of Long's death on Wednesday 9 July 1930 in which he attempted to place himself as Long's confidante and close friend.[98] Wylde did not record his reactions to these deaths in his family and in his adopted Australian family but during this one week in England the course of his life was irrevocably altered. The death of his sister meant that his parents came with Wylde to Austrlaia on his return from the Lambeth Conference and spent the rest of their lives with him. Long's death left Wylde with no future in Australia outside the Diocese of Bathurst and no contacts elswhere in the Australian Church except those built up through the Brotherhood. He had hoped that Long would be elected to the Diocese of Sydney and dreamed of working as his Coadjutor there.[99] Now unless Wylde was to be elected to another Diocese as Bishop his future was at the whim of the Bishop of Bathurst. For the foreseeable future this was Horace Crotty with whom Wylde maintained an uneasy alliance. Wylde's return to

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94 The Bush Brother, Vol.26, October 1930, p.127.
95 Wylde to C.H. Simpson, 14 September 1954.
96 ibid.
97 Church News, Vol.19, No.10, October 1930,pp.3-4.
98 ibid.
99 Wylde to father, 6 March 1928; ibid, 18 April 1928.



James Lomas Wylde and Sarah Jane Wylde
about 1932.

Australia with his parents also meant that he had cut his remaining ties with England and the likelihood of being offered work in England diminished the longer he was away. In addition the freedom he treasured so much was once again circumscribed, this time by his parents living with him.

Wylde and his parents left England for Australia in December 1930.[100] From the time of his return to the Diocese until 1935, the pattern of Wylde's ministry continued in the way he had established before he had left for Lambeth. Wylde continued his extended tours around the Brotherhood parishes as before. Crotty made his annual tour throughout the Diocese and otherwise concentrated his work around the large city parishes of the Diocese. Wylde ruled the Brotherhood parishes as though he was the Diocesan but maintained good relations with Armour, the Principal. Wylde's oversight of the Brotherhood parishes gave him an autonomy in the Diocese unusual for a Coadjutor Bishop. Crotty authorised him to perform ordinations on his behalf[101] and he ordained most of the Brotherhood candidates. He always assisted at the annual Brotherhood Campaign in Sydney.[102] Crotty was content to retain this division between their episcopal functions. Wylde attended meetings of Bishop-in-Council but otherwise had little part in the organisation and general running of the Diocese as a whole. By August 1934, Wylde had resigned as Rector of Gilgandra,[103]

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100 The Bush Brother, Vol.26, December 1930,p.185; ibid, Vol.27, March 1931, p.1; ibid,p.4; ibid,June,p.13;
101 Church News, Vol.20, February 1931,p.4.
102 The Drover, Vol.1 January 1934.
103 The Bush Brother, Vol.27,p.156.
ibid, 1934, p.268; The Drover, Vol.1 September 1934, p.2.

but continued to live there as his parents lived in the Rectory at Gilgandra. When the parish reverted to the care of the Brotherhood the brothers working there set up a separate residence as Brotherhood House.

Crotty believed that the Diocese was moving away from a period of difficulty towards a new "Spirit of unity and fellowship".[104] However he had completely lost interest in the Diocese of Bathurst since his second failure to be elected to the Diocese of Newcastle in 1931 although that Diocese had gone through a lengthy election process when Talbot of Pretoria had rejected it.[105] By January 1935 Crotty had gone to England for a visit.[106] During the time he was away Wylde acted as Diocesan.[107] This experience was exceptional for any Coadjutor at that time. Wylde's title during 1935 changed from Bishop's Commissary to Administrator to Bishop Coadjutor as Crotty's absence became more protracted and his permanent return less likely.[108] Wylde had all the power of the Diocesan and Crotty's influence on the Diocese became less pronounced the longer he stayed in England.[109] In October 1935 Crotty returned and almost immediately tendered his resignation as Diocesan.[110] He left the Diocese of Bathurst shortly after to assume the duties of Rector of Hove in England.[111]

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104 Crotty to Wylde, 9 June 1934.

105 I am indebted to Professor K.J. Cable for this information.

106 Bathurst Times, 26 February 1935.

107 The Drover, Vol.2, April 1935, pp.2ff.

108 Official Act, 1935.

109 Wylde, for instance, forbade alterations to church buildings unless proposed alterations accorded with his preferences. He carefully vetted all proposed designs for windows and furniture.

110 26 November 1935; The Drover, Vol.3,December 1935, p.9; The Bush Brother, December 1935, p.207.

111 The Drover, Vol.3, January 1936,pp.4ff; ibid, February 1936, pp.22ff; ibid, March 1936, p.8.

Chapter 4

The Diocese of Bathurst to 1958

4a

Bishop of Bathurst, 1937 - 1958

When Bishop Crotty left the Diocese of Bathurst in March 1936 his Coadjutor had already been carrying out the duties of a Diocesan Bishop for more than a year.[1] Crotty's resignation meant that a successor had to be elected in a Diocese where a Bishop consecrated and working in the Diocese for ten years had been carrying out the functions of the Diocesan. For a considerable period of time Wylde had been making decisions which affected the future of the Diocese. The Synod of the Diocese of Bathurst delegated the responsibility of election to a Board of Electors which consisted of five clergy and five laymen.

The Board met for the first time after the declaration of the vacancy of the See on 20 April 1936 and had four meetings spread over a four month period. These meetings quickly assumed a pattern.[2] As Chairman Wylde took little part in the actual proceedings of the meetings. He adopted a policy which allowed the various members to discuss the candidates and the meeting soon became polarised with no conclusion reached.[3] Wylde confined his activities to discussions with the various members outside the meetings themselves.[4] There was no resolution of the deadlock between the two candidates, Wylde and Holmes, and on 4 November, in accordance with

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1 See before, Chapter 3. The Diocese had fixed Wylde's remuneration during this period as salary 950 pounds per annum, with 50 pounds house and grounds allowance 250 pounds travelling allowance, and the use of the Episcopal residence.

2 Diary, 20 April 1936; ibid, 16 May 1936; ibid, 8 July 1936; ibid; 29 August 1936.

3 ibid.

4 Diary, 15 May 1936.

the Ordinance,[5] a special Synod was summoned to elect a new Board of Electors. On 3 November there was a "last minute rush to nominate four more clergy",[6] and the close of nominations saw ten clergy and ten laymen nominated.

The election took place after considerable lobbying with "tickets" for election having been issued.[7] Wylde was able to announce the result 2½ hours after the voting had commenced. Only two of the clerical members of the previous Board were re-elected and none of the lay members of that Board.[8] With Archdeacon Needham of Orange presiding the newly elected Board met on 21 November at 11.30 am and by noon had informed Wylde that he had been unanimously elected Bihsop with no other nomination having been made.[9] Once elected Wylde was confident that confirmation by the Archbishop of Sydney was a matter of course as "Every Bishop of the Province of New South Wales had written most kindly".[10] Without delay Wylde fixed the enthronement for 23 February 1937.

From the time he had first summoned the Board of Electors to meet in 1936 Wylde had been confident of the outcome.[11] In marked contrast to his nomination in 1927 which he had accepted only after a protracted period of doubt as to his ability to fill the office, and his

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5 Bishop's Appointment Ordinance 1913.
6 Diary, 3 November 1936.
7 Conversation with Miss J. Purser, former Diocesan Registrar, 1983; A.L. Bird to writer, 19 February 198
8 The Drover, Vol.4, No.3, December 1936, p.8.
9 ibid, p.3; see also official minutes of Board of Electors meeting, Diocese of Bathurst Archives.
10 The Drover, Vol.4,No.4,January 1937, p.9.
11 Diary, 1937.

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consecration which had taken place in an atmosphere of great excitement and pride for the Diocese, the process of election as Diocesan had not interrupted Wylde's routine of work as Administrator. The enthronement merely placed the seal on the work he had been doing since Crotty had first left the Diocese for England.[12]

Wylde had changed his attitude towards becoming Diocesan since the time of Crotty's election in 1928 when Wylde himself refused election. The six years when Crotty was involved in the active administration of the Diocese had given Wylde an invaluable opportunity to learn the craft and duties of a Bishop. At the same time he had been able to concentrate on the pastoral work which he valued so highly without the encumberance of excessive paperwork and administration. This experience led him to realise that the pastoral work of a bishop was not incompatible with the administrative duties. With Crotty's departure for England in 1935 Wylde was able to put this style of episcopate into practice and was able to appreciate first hand that the administration of a Diocese such as Bathurst did not automatically overwhelm the pastoral aspects. His loyalty to and personal regard for Bishop Long meant that he received his understanding of what it meant to be a bishop from Long rather than from any other bishop with whom he had been acquainted. In addition Crotty's intellectual approach and scarcely concealed dislike of the more remote areas of the Diocese led Wylde to the realisation that he would not be able to serve as Coadjutor under the scholarly Holmes should he be elected. His options had so narrowed by 1936 that

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12 Accounts of theenthronement are in The Drover,ibid, No.6, March 1937, p.1; The Bush Brother,XXXIII,No.1, 1937, p.6; Diary, 23 February 1937.

Wylde was convinced that he should secure election as Bishop of Bathurst.

After Wylde's enthronement in 1937 his episcopate became noted as that of a pastor.[13] His continual emphasis was on visiting the parishes of the Diocese. He delighted in going to the centres of each parish and constantly travelled throughout the Diocese as he had when Bishop Coadjutor and Principal of the Brotherhood.[14] Wylde had knowledge of the whole Diocese but in contrast to Crotty was particularly acquainted with the more isolated Brotherhood areas where he knew personally many of the people in each parish. His visit to a parish was conducted as though he was the Rector and the priest-in-charge his Vicar.[15] His practice was to teach scripture in the local school,[16] visit the parishioners in their homes and generally assume control of the parish affairs as if he was still Principal of the Brotherhood and needed to encourage and inspect the ministry of inexperienced clergy.[17] The contrast

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13 Newspaper articles after his death in 1958 referred to this aspect and Wylde is remembered by clergy and laypeople alike for his pastoral care and oversight.

14 Details of the tours Wylde undertook around the Diocese are given in The Drover. Each month he was absent from Bathurst, mainly in one or another of the parishes of the Diocese, often spending two or three weeks at a time in a Brotherhood parish.

15 This had been the situation he had developed at Gilgandra in 1928 with the Reverend J.A.L. Armstrong as his Vicar.

16 Wylde to Headmaster High School Bathurst, 26 May 1942; Diary, numerous references.

17 cf. His earlier outspoken views on clergy "who act as if the world were their parish"(The Bush Brother, Vol XX, No.4, August 1924, p.234), and his view on the Bishop's role in maintaining "their clergy's right" (ibid): but see, Wylde to The Anglican, 29 June 1953.

between this type of episcopate and the more intellectual prelatial manner natural to Crotty could hardly have been more emphasised than in the writing of each for The Drover. Wylde's articles concentrated on his activities in the Diocese and on the Diocesan functions and organisations as well as on pastoral homilies and the observance of liturgical festivals in the life of each parish. Crotty laid great emphasis on the larger social, moral and philosophical questions of the time particularly as they affected the worldwide Church.[18] After Crotty left the Diocese it was not long before his influence on the Diocese was negated although stories about him continued to circulate for many years[19] fuelled by rumours of his reception into the Roman Catholic Church prior to his death.[20]

Wylde maintained the episcopal style he had learned during Long's episcopate as if there had been no break between the two episcopates.[21] However Long's stature in the Church and his statesmanship could not be duplicated. The Diocese of Bathurst became more and

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18 This contrast is also evident in Wylde's Principal's Letters' in The Bush Brother, which followed Peels' more philosophically academic style.

19 Bishop of Armidale to Wylde, 24 December 1940, on Weston brothers' attempt to secure Crotty's election to the Diocese of Adelaide; ibid, 30 December 1940.

20 Bishop of Chichester to Wylde, September 1954; the Bathurst Diocesan Registry holds a file of correspondence on the alleged reception of Crotty into the Roman Catholic Church.

21 Many things indicate this, for instance, the renaming of The Drover as Church News, which had been the name of the official Diocesan journal during Long's episcopate. Also, with the retirement of Holmes as Dean, Wylde became Dean himself, reverting to the practice of Long with the Rector of the Cathedral parish being sub-Dean.

more inward looking after 1937 as Wylde displayed little interest in academic or philosophical issues. Under his leadership the Diocese had only minimal involvement in the activities of the wider Australian Church.[22] Wylde himself refrained from taking part in Bishops' Meetings on many occasions.[23] He regarded the Provincial Bishops as suffragans of the Archbishop of Sydney[24] and used this as the basis of his demand that the Provincial Bishops have a say in the election of the Archbishop.[25] Wylde resented the intrusion of extra-Diocesan meetings such as General Synod and Provincial Synod into the routine of Diocesan affairs.[26] This lack of involvement in matters concerning the whole Church was more pronounced because of Wylde's personal lack of experience in the Australian Church outside the Diocese of Bathurst. At the same time relations between Bathurst and the other Dioceses were always cordial. Archbishop Mowll paid visits to the Diocese[27] and Wylde was invited to preach at St. Andrew's Cathedral on more than one occasion.[28] He conducted

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22 There were visitors to the Diocese, for example, Niemoller, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Chester, Mother Ida, C.H.N., who helped to bring a wider perspective.

23 Wylde missed 1952-54 Bishops' Meetings; Wylde to Bishop of Riverina 26 May 1953. Diary; after Collins' consecration in 1951 he attended many of these meetings in Wylde's place and represented the Diocese at the Lambeth Conference.

24 Wylde to Archbishop of Sydney, 26 October 1956.

25 Wylde to Archbishop of Sydney, 26 June 1945.

26 Diary, op.cit.; His opnion of Provincial Synod was that it had "no power but to pass ordinances and to vote on pious resolutions" (1951).

27 5 October 1937; April 1946; May 1953.

28 Archbishop of Sydney to Wylde, 14 August 1940; ibid, 17 March 1946.

retreats in other Dioceses and came to be regarded as a source of advice by the less experienced bishops. Nevertheless the Diocese of Bathurst preferred to keep its affairs to itself and Wylde chose to stay within the Diocesan boundaries working in the parishes.[29]

Not even the outbreak of World War II in 1939 disturbed this emerging pattern in the Diocese. In fact the tendency towards introversion became established as Wylde's style of episcopate meant that he spent a great deal of time in the parishes of the Diocese and became more fully involved in the daily administration and pastoral life of each parish. During the War years Wylde regularly filled in, conducting services and performing the other duties associated with parish ministry when the clergy had volunteered for active war service and no other priest could be found to act as locum.[30] Wylde did not take a militaristic stand with regard to the War but he was decisive in his belief that Britain was correct to fight what he saw as the evil of totalitarianism.[31] Wylde issued to each parish copies of prayers which could be used in time of war and called on the Diocese to pray for peace.[32] He was at the same time extremely proud of the Diocesan record of having the greatest number of clergy pro rata in the Australian Church to volunteer for service as chaplains. He believed this appointment to be suitable for clergy[33] but he

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29 Diary.

30 ibid; see also issues of Church News.

31 War suffering was linked with Christ's suffering in articles for Church News.

32 League of Prayer for Peace; Prayers in Time of War and Battle Hymn(Bishop's Letter June 1940).

33 The Drover, Vol.5, No.10, July 1938, p.3, ibid, Vol. 6, No. 9, July 1939, p.2; ibid, p.7; ibid, Vol.7, No.11, August 1940, p.1; ibid, No.10, July 1940, p.66.

refused permission for the clergy to enlist as combatants.

The Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd remained Wylde's main interest in the Diocese, and he continued to regard it as the Home Mission work of the Diocese much as it had been in the 1920's. Throughout his episcopate Wylde maintained that "the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd is in no sense a Community but a Society which is an integral part of this Diocese, constituted under Ordinance and answerable both to the Bishop and to the Synod of the Diocese."[34] His expectation was that Brotherhood priests would leave the Brotherhood at the expiration of their terms of service usually five years.[35] Wylde was always present at the Campaign meetings which in 1939 and 1940 were chaired by the Bishop Coadjutor of Sydney, Pilcher, and at which the Archbishop presided in St. Andrew's Cathedral Chapter House in 1941.[36] Wylde involved himself in the English "Bush Brotherhood Committee" which attempted to redraw the Constitution of the Brotherhoods in 1949, as well as which he developed proposals to extend the Brotherhood work.[37]

Wylde also maintained his personal interest in the mission fields of Papua New Guinea and Melanesia. His

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34 Wylde to Bishop of Tasmania, 11 April 1957.

35 L.C.S. Walker was the exception to this.

36 The Bush Brother, September 1941, p.123.

37 Plans to establish a daughter house of Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd at St. Columb's Wangaratta in 1957, see Wylde to Bishop of Wangaratta, 21 September 1957; BGS launch into Northern Territory as memorial to Bishop Halford, 6 May 1957.

mother had a particular interest in the Melanesian Mission and Wylde and his mother contributed financially to both Papua New Guinea and the Melanesian Mission. Bishop Strong of Papua New Guinea was a frequent visitor to the Diocese when in Australia and he and Wylde corresponded regularly.[38] Wylde's personal interest in missionary activity meant that the Diocese maintained a heavy financial commitment particularly to the work of the Australian Board of Missions.[39] Synod always contained an afternoon session on missionary activity, and Wylde was always willing to release clergy who offered for the missions[40] although the Diocese of Bathurst was continually short of clergy. Wylde was especially critical of the Metropolitan dioceses who in his estimation failed to realise the obligations they had to the mission work. Consequently he refused to accept a Diocesan financial quote for the Church Missionary Society until the Dioceses of Sydney and Melbourne accepted and paid ABM quotas. At the same time he was critical of the Australian Board of Missions and its outlook and he advocated that the Head Office move to Canberra as a more central location.[41] The Diocese also paid a substantial contribution to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and Wylde was proud that the Diocese headed the contribution list for some years.[42] Because Wylde was not

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38 Extracts from Diaries of P.N.W. Strong and tape by Bishop Strong sent to author.

39 Wylde's notes in 1954; "Bathurst just under one pound less than Syndey and Melbourne together and 110 pounds more than Brisbane and Perth put together" for the South East Asian Appeal.

40 For example, Clint, Graham, Ramsden.

41 Wylde to ABM, 16 April 1958.

42 Wylde to bishop of Rockhampton, 14 March 1955.

interested in generalizing, statements on moral issues were not prominent during his episcopate in contrast with the time of Crotty.[43] Wylde's interest and involvement in matters which did not affect the Church in the Diocese was minimal and only brief reference was made to the Aborigines of the Diocese,[44] to organised sport on Sundays to gambling and to temperance. Despite this Wylde forbade any gambling or raffles in parishes[45] and refused to allow alcohol at parish functions.[46] Wylde maintained a firm position on the breakdown of marriage and the growing practice of remarriage of divorced people[47] and his main concerns were the spiritual welfare of those involved and the pastoral problems these issues raised.

The emphasis which Bishop Long had place on education in the Diocese was one which Wylde completely endorsed and which accorded with his own interests.[48] As Diocesan Wylde ensured that the work of the Diocese

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43 The Diocesan Registry holds a copy manuscript of Crotty's writing on marriage and moral issues, and marriage and divorce laws of the various States.

44 The Drover, Vol.7, No.5, February 1940, p.3; ibid, No. 10, July 1940, p.9; also reply to letter from Secretary, Board for Protection of Aborigines, 11 October 1939; Wylde's overriding concern for the spiritual welfare of those in the Diocese meant that he confined himself to arrangements for marriages o the Board's stations in the Diocese; see also Wylde to ABM, 20 June 1952.

45 In the 1980's there is still an Ordinance forbidden raffles and gambling; see also The Drover, Vol.7, No.5, February 1940, p.10; ibid, p.18; ibid,No.11, August 1940, p.2.

46 ibid, No. 6, March 1940, p.9. Generally on these matters, A.L. Morse to author, 20 May 1981, p.1.

47 Wylde to Bishop of Ballarat, 27 March 1937; Wylde to Bishop of Armidale, 7 June 1956.

48 See below, Chapter 1 and Wylde's youth work at St. Simon Zealotes.

of Bathurst with young people was expanded. Wylde advocated Sunday Schools in all parishes and recommended the "Church Mail Bag School" of Goulburn for those parishes where young people were isolated from the main parish centres.[49] Marsden Girls' School in Bathurst closed early in the 1940's and Wylde was severely criticised for this[50] but after its re-opening in 1949 the School was an object of deep affection for him and he spent many hours there, often dining with the boarders.[51] Wylde also worked on the extension of All Saints College, and prior to his death gave much of his household furniture and personal belongings to both Schools.

Following the return of the Reverend H.R.B. Thorpe from War service, he was appointed by Wylde as Diocesan Homes and Youth Commissioner and this began a new era in youth work for the Diocese. Wylde attended many of the camps and dances organised by the Young Anglicans Fellowship under Thorpe's leadership. In the 1950's all over the Diocese there was a resurgence of interest in the Church by young people.[52] The Young Anglicans were an important initiative in the post-war Diocese of Bathurst and each parish became involved in fostering branches. Wylde had elected to Synod various young people to represent parishes which were unable to have synodsmen in

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49 Wylde to Miss Eva Rapley. Wylde often organised and paid for material for children if the Rector was not willing to be involved with C.M.B.S.

50 Morse, op.cit.

51 ibid; Diary.

52 Morse, op.cit; Thorpe to author, 16 January 1981; Church News for 1950's.

attendance. Other Diocesan youth activities were centred around the Australian Board of Missions auxilliary "Heralds of the King",[53] and the Church of England Boys' Society also played a prominent role.[54] The establishment of St. Michael's Girls Home at Kelso as a War Memorial was an important part of the Diocesan structure in the 1950's, its usefulness being outlived only in 1980.[55] Wylde had a continuing interest in the Fairbridge Children's Home at Molong which had not been established by the Church but which developed close links through Wylde with the Diocese. In some respects it was a symbol of Wylde's "Englishness" which he never lost despite his long period in Australia.[56]

Wylde maintained a lifelong interest in the theological education[57] and in St. John's College. He attended Council Meetings regularly, and intervened with the other Bishops when one of the staff did not receive the Principalship which he had been promised.[58] Wylde was hostile to proposals to move the College because "as you probably know I am not enthusiastic about our candidates coming under the influence of either Armidale or Goulburn".[59] He believed that the "lack of attention at present being given to men in their first year at St. John's" meant that those with little academic ability

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53 Ian Shevill to Wylde, 12 May 1952.

54 Correspondence May 1938; March 1939.

55 Church News for 1950's: One Sunday each year was set aside in the Diocese as "Homes and Youth Sunday".

56 Wylde always referred to England as "home", or "the old country", Wylde to St. Hill Bourne, 4 January 1956.

57 Wylde had put forward proposals to Bishop Long about the theological training of Brotherhood ordination candidates. These ideas were implemented by L.C.S. Walker as Principal in 1951.

58 The Reverend H.R. Smythe in 1955.

59 Wylde to Bishop of Newcastle, 27 July 1951.

were not encouraged fully.[60] So far as Wylde was concerned Greek as a language to be taught at College ought to be abolished and if any "foreign language should take its place that language should be Latin as our Prayer Book enjoins".[61] Towards the end of his episcopate Wylde sent ordination candidates to University and College in England which he believed offered a better training.[62]

Wylde was not interested in the activities of the World Council of Churches and on occasion expressed hostility towards its work. He was particularly scathing in his comments about the Reverend Winifred Kiek and wary of any attempt to legitimize the Protestant denominations and give them official status. Although he developed a close relationship with the Roman Catholic Bishop of Bathurst, under Wylde's leadership the Diocese had little involvement in ecumenical affairs.[63] He also was unsympathetic to the claims of particular organisations to hold services or to have a Sunday designated for their interests.[64]

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60 ibid, 5 September 1951.

61 Wylde to Archbishop of Melbourne, 3 September 1951.

62 Marshall to Oxford; Mason and Timbrell to St. Augustine's College, Kent, in 1956.

63 Letters on Migration, 19 April 1938, 27 May 1952. Wylde to British and Foreign Bible Society, 3 May 1951; Wylde to Bishop of Newcastle, 27 April 1953; ibid, 15 June 1953; Wylde to Archbishop of Sydney, 20 July 1938; Wylde to Bishop of Carpentaria, 16 August 1955.

64 Wylde to B.& F.B.S., ibid; Wylde to Red Cross, 15 June 1949; Wylde to Bishop of Perth, 26 March 1943 (Anzac Day); cf. personal relations with Bishop Norton, Roman Catholic Bishop of Bathurst, for example, Norton to Wylde, 22 October 1948.



Arnold Lomas Wylde C.B.E. being congratulated by the Governor of N.S.W., Sir John Northcott.

Just as he had strong views on the churchmanship differences which threatened to assume control of the Church of England,[65] so Wylde expressed himself unequivocally when secular politics sought to play a role in the life of the Church. At the same time he was interested in the outcome of the elections and expressed definite views on the various political parties, mainly in British politics[66] but also maintaining personal friendships with politicians in Australia.[67] He was particularly proud of his award of the C.B.E. and had his photograph taken with both the Governor, Sir John Northcott, and the Premier, J.J. Cahill.[68]

Wylde's predominant interest and pre-occupation remained with the Diocese of Bathurst and its affairs, and the post-war period was for the Diocese a "golden age". Wylde enjoyed the loyalty of his Diocesan officers and trusted them implicitly[69] and was highly

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65 Wylde to mother, 5 November 1929; Wylde to father, 14 May 1929.

66 Wylde to father, 5 June 1929; Bishop of Wangaratta to Wylde, 29 March 1951.

67 Wylde's friendships in Australia were mainly with Labor politicians, Chifley and Cahill, but he was also very friendly with the Governor, partly as a result of the Annual Brotherhood Campaign meetings some of which the Governor chaired; Wylde to Kelly 21 November 1942.

68 This award put an official seal of approval on Wylde's ministry in the west and removed the stigma which followed his prosecution in the "Red Book" Case.

69 Morse, op.cit.; Wylde paid the hotel bill of the Chancellor and other invited guests to Synod, see Kerrigan to Wylde, 7 May 1957; "Kerrigan is a perfect gentleman & a real good friend of mine, I'll never forget his kindness to me when he was my Junior Counsel in the Red Book Case of impious memory"; Wylde to Teece, 24 November 1936; Wylde to E.W. Street, 9 May 1938; ibid, 17 April 1952; ibid, 21 November 1951.

thought of by them mainly because of his thoughtfulness and courtesy.[70] The conclusion to the "Red Book" Case had brought a unity and common purpose unusual to the Diocese.[71] Those who visited the Diocese "came away with the impression of a Diocese in which there was most thorough pastoral oversight, and in which the Bishop and people knew and trusted one another".[72] Wylde knew everything which occured in the parishes of the Diocese and ruled authoritatively and with a single-minded passion for the affairs of the Diocese. It was part of his nature to be meticulous and pedantic with regards to his personal accounts and this carried over into his scrutiny of the Registry office work and parish paperwork throughout the Diocese. As part of this continual review, by the 1950's, under the impetus of the Diocesan Treasurer, there was a concerted effort to lay a more solid financial foundation for the Diocese.[73]

The consecration of Montague D'Arcy Collins as Bishop Coadjutor in 1951 brought greater pastoral care and promised a solidarity and cohesion rare in the history of the Diocese. Collins' consecration was

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70 Wylde always recalled the birthdays of the Registry staff and for Christmas he invariably gave the female office staff a Georgette Heyer novel,[Carol Churches to author]. Mrs Mills to Wylde, 3 November 1952.

71 Morse, op.cit. Collins' speech at Jubilee; Kelly to Wylde, 14 November 1952.

72 Archbishop of York to Wylde, 30 May 1952.

73 1951: Capital Appeal 100,000 pounds divided into All Saints College, 30,000 pounds; Marsden 30,000 pounds; Homes 20,000 pounds; Bishop's Stipend 10,000 pounds; Ordination Candidates' Training Fund 10,000 pounds. In 1950 the Diocese of Newcastle sent 500 pounds towards this Capital Fund and allocated it to the Bishopric Endowment Fund.

important also in that the increased episcopal oversight took some of the routine burden off Wylde. Wylde was reluctant to retire[74] despite continued rumours that he would do so.[75] His health had become increasingly poor[76] due partly to old age but also to a certain extent caused by the strains of the Diocese during the War years and to the anxiety over the "Red Book" Case. However Wylde would not recognise the limitations which age had placed on him[77] and would acknowledge no future for himself other than as Bishop of Bathurst. Old age had made him increasingly irascible and pig-headed.[78] He became increasingly unwilling to accept advice and his judgement suffered.[79]

Arnold Lomas Wylde died in his sleep at Bishopscourt Bathurst on Saturday, 7 June 1958, having worked until a few hours before.[80] He had few possessions and

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74 Wylde to St. Hill Bourne, January 1956 "being just on 76 & there being many over 70 Bishops out here, at least 3 in this Province of NSW, of course I am entirely in favour of those retiring who wish to do so, but let there be no compulsion."

75 Street to Wylde, 21 April 1954.

76 Before 1941 Wylde had tired heart, low blood pressure and general debility; in 1952 Dr Mulvey of Bathurst found a mild degree of neurasthesia, with low blood pressure, his general health was satisfactory but "urgently necessary" that Wylde be released from duties for at least four weeks; in 1953 Wylde's eyesight was poor and he gave up driving in 1954; in January 1958 Wylde had a hernia operation.

77 Wylde gave up driving in 1954, Wylde to Bishop of Carpentaria, 8 March 1955; Wylde made it a personal rule to clear his desk and tidy his affairs every night in case he died that night.

78 Wylde to Archbishop of Melbourne, 30 November 1951.

79 Wylde to Mrs Powell, 6 July 1958.

80 Probate documents.



Arnold Lomas Wylde outside 229 Howick Street, Bathurst, 1958.

81 Probate Documents.

his entire estate of 1,998 pounds he had bequeathed to the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd.[81] His funeral service was conducted at All Saints Cathedral, Bathurst and there was a private cremation at Beresfield conducted by Bishop Batty of Newcastle, who had supported him so strongly in the "Red Book" Case, after which Wylde's ashes were interred beneath the High Altar in All Saints Cathedral.

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81 Probate Documents.

Chapter 4

4b

Wylde and the Clergy

The thirty years from 1928 to 1958 saw little change in the total number of clergy licensed in the Diocese of Bathurst. In 1928 there were 59 clergymen who staffed the Diocese, of whom 10 were members of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd. When Bishop Wylde died in 1958 the staff number was 61, of whom 14 worked in the Brotherhood parishes. During this same period the number of parishes in the Diocese had increased by one to a total of 47.[1]

Despite the stability in the overall number of clergymen in the Diocese during this period there were many moves by the clergy both into and out of the Diocese, and within the Diocese from one parish to another. The total staff number during the period 1920 to 1958 was 251, of whom 113 came into the Diocese during Wylde's twenty-one year episcopate, approximately 83 men left, and 28 died or retired.[2] By contrast a total of 68 men who were on the Diocesan strength in 1920 had left in the seventeen years to 1937 when Wylde became Diocesan.[3] Although there was no larger variation in the number of men who left or came into the Diocese overall during Wylde's episcopate as against any other period, there were some particular factors which accounted for the movement of clergy in the Diocese

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1 Year Books of the Diocese of Bathurst, 1928 to 1958.
2 ibid.
3 ibid. 1920 to 1937.

of Bathurst in that period. Some of these factors were common to the Church across Australia and particularly rural dioceses, and some were peculiar to the Diocese of Bathurst at the time.

Wylde's election as Diocesan in 1937 had the effect of causing some of the clergy to seek parishes in other dioceses. Some of these clergy left because of personal differences with the new Diocesan, and some because of the greater opportunities of more prestigious parishes in the metropolitan Dioceses. In the first two years of his episcopate fourteen of the clergy, in addition to the three Archdeacons, left the Diocese. The first to accept parishes in other Dioceses were those who had been ordained by Crotty and those who had come to the Diocese during his episcopate. Some of the older generation of clergymen also took the opportunity of the new episcopate to retire and the last links with the episcopate of Bishop Camidge were severed. Archdeacon Frank Weston had left the Diocese of Bathurst in 1934 to accept a parish in the Diocese of Adelaide where he eventually became Dean and Bishop's Commissary.[4] His brother, Archdeacon Arthur Weston, the Rector of South Bathurst, resigned in 1936 following Bishop Crotty's resignation and the subsequent meeting of the Bishop's Election Board of which he had been a member. Weston was also appointed an Archdeacon in the Diocese of Adelaide and the two brothers were considered "middle of the road" churchmen[5] who had been more at ease with Crotty's style of episcopate and worship than with Wylde's.[6] When Wylde was elected Diocesan in November 1936, there was only one Archdeacon in the Diocese,

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4 Archbishop T.T. Reed to author, 2 May 1982; Secretary, Diocese of Adelaide to author 7 April 1982

5 Reed, op.cit.

6 ibid, Bishop of Armidale to Wylde 24 December 1940; ibid, 30 December 1940.

H.S. Needham, the Rector of Orange since 1928. Needham had replaced Arthur Weston on the Board of Electors in 1936 and had presided over the newly constituted Board which had elected Wylde.[7] In addition to the Archdeacons who had left the Diocese, the Reverend Tom Armour, the Principal of the Brotherhood, after much discussion with Wylde accepted his advice and became Dean of Newcastle. In 1943 Armour became another Brotherhood Bishop when he was elected to Wangaratta Diocese. Therefore at the time of Wylde's enthronement only two of the six clergy who held the most senior positions in the Diocese remained in those positions. These two were Needham and the Dean, H.R. Holmes, who had been Wylde's only challenger for election to the Bishopric.

Wylde was therefore able to appoint clergy whose ideas accorded with his own and whose loyalty to himself and diligence in the pastoral ideals he valued were beyond question. Three of Wylde's appointments as Archdeacon had been members of the Board of Electors which had unanimously elected Wylde as Diocesan in 1937. Due to natural retirement occurring every ten or fifteen years at this level of seniority, another complete change of Archdeacons took place in the 1950's and Wylde was again able to appoint men of sympathetic outlook who would pose no threat to his authority and who conformed to his liturgical and sacramental viewpoint. Those whom Wylde had ordained as well as former Brotherhood clergy who had stayed in the Diocese now began to assume greater prominence at these senior levels. The fifth Archdeacon was the

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7 See before, Chapter 4a.

Brotherhood Principal as Wylde himself had been in Long's episcopate. When Armour had resigned from the Diocese in 1937, the new Principal, W.J. Hudson, came from England as his predecessors had done. Hudson stayed until 1942 when the illness of his parents caused him to return to England and Wylde appointed L. C.S. Walker as Acting Principal. Walker had been ordained in the Diocese in 1924 and had spent from 1929 to 1935 in the Brotherhood when he had been appointed Rector of Mudgee and a Diocesan Canon by Wylde in 1937. With Hudson's resignation in 1944, Walker became the first Australian Principal of the Brotherhood.

An influential position in the Diocese was that of Dean. When Camidge was Bishop his relationship with the Dean, Marriott, deteriorated to the point that the Bishop removed his cathedra to South Bathurst and then to Kelso.[8] In Long's episcopate the Bishop was also the Dean, the Rector of the Cathedral parish being appointed sub-Dean. This remained the situation until Crotty was consecrated when he appointed H.R. Holmes. Holmes was a scholar who had initially studied architecture at Melbourne University and had then served as a missionary with the Church Missionary Society in India until 1921 when he was appointed to the Parish of St. Mary, West Maitland in the Diocese of Newcastle.[9] St. Mary's was recognised as the leading

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8 Ruth Teale, By Hook or By Crook, M. A. Thesis, University of Sydney.

9 Mrs Enid Davis to author, 26 September 1981, p.2.

evangelical parish in that Diocese[10] and it was from there that Crotty appointed Holmes as Dean of Bathurst. In 1928 Holmes also became Diocesan Registrar and Crotty appointed him editor of the Diocesan newspaper for which he wrote articles in a similar philosophical and intellectual style to that of Crotty. Holmes was popular with that section of Bathurst society which prided itself on its intellectualism, and he was the antithesis of the informal, pastorally-orientated Wylde. With Crotty's resignation as Bishop in 1936, Holmes became Wylde's only challenger for the Bishopric but with the Synod election of the second Board Holmes' support disappeared. Like Crotty in the Diocese of Newcastle in 1927, Holmes' support had been predominantly amongst the influential laymen of the urban parts of the Diocese. With the election of Board members sympathetic to Wylde's candidature, Holmes' chance of becoming Bishop of Bathurst was minimal. Holmes was a reserved man without the domineering personality of Dean Marriott, but as Diocesan, Wylde found it intolerable that his Cathedral Church should be in the care of a priest out of sympathy with his own notions of the priesthood and the pastoral ministry. Wylde sought an alternative position in the Church for Holmes. This proved difficult because of Holmes' seniority, lack of inclination to move from the Cathedral parish, and also because he was, at 64, older than Wylde himself. Wylde spoke to the Provincial Bishops and then wrote to suggest Holmes as successor to the Chairman of the Australian Board of Missions if the Chairman was to retire as rumour had indicated.[11]

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10 A.P. Elkin, The Diocese of Newcastle, p.567.

11 Wylde to Bishop of Riverina, 27 August 1941.

So far as Wylde was concerned,

> There is no chance of his (Holmes) pulling things up at the Cathedral here; things are getting worse and worse. He is not, and is unable to be, interested in pastoral work and he has had very little training in priestly work, it does not appeal to him. He is good at meetings and conferences, especially when they are on subjects which appeal to him .[12]

In September 1941 Wylde received a petition signed by 39 parishioners which expressed their dissatisfaction with the ministry of Holmes at the Cathedral. This initiated considerable correspondence between Wylde and Holmes, in which Wylde demanded a reply to the charges in the petition. Wylde then delivered a copy of Holmes' statement to the petitioners for their comments.[13] Wylde sought the opinion of a Macquarie Street specialist as to how it could be shown that Holmes was suffering from mental instability[14] and that he could be validly removed from his office as Dean. The culmination of this action against Holmes came with Wylde's judgement that the petitioners' charges were accurate. Wydle made his own criticisms that Holmes had disregarded the Bishop's Pastoral Letters to the clergy as well as Wylde's requests that various matters be implemented in each parish of the Diocese.[15] Wylde issued an admonition against Holmes which caused Holmes to resign from the Cathedral parish in 1942 and he retired to Sydney where he died in 1948. By 1943 the whole of the Cathedral Council had been replaced. Five of the nine new members of the Council had been petitioners against Holmes in 1941.[16] After Holmes resigned there was no Dean appointed until 1971 and

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12 ibid, p.1.

13 There are copies of this correspondence held by the Diocesan Registry, Bathurst.

14 Dr. John McGeorge to Dr. Mulvey, 5 December 1941.

15 Wylde to Holmes, February 1942.

16 Year Books, op.cit., 1941 and 1943.

for the remainder of Wylde's episcopate he acted as Dean. Wylde appointed the Rector of the Cathedral parish and made him a Canon of the Diocese.

Wylde was an authoritarian Bishop[17] and expected the clergy of the Diocese to be completely obedient.[18] He had a forceful personality and was proud of the fact that he was a "pig-headed Yorkshireman"[19] who had definite and incontrovertible views.[20] He was not afraid to discipline the clergy when he believed it to be warranted.[21] At the same time he displayed great compassion as well as practical assistance for clergy who erred or found themselves in difficulties provided they put their future in his hands and sought his advice.[22] Those clergy who conformed to Wylde's pastoral and sacramental view of the priesthood and who were loyal and obedient to his demands found him to be a thoughtful and caring pastor of themselves and of their families.[23] Wylde formed strong personal feelings for some of the clergy which ranged from the relationship of a father with his son[24] to his deep expressions of

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17 R.E. Mills to author, 20 February 1981; and others.

18 Wylde to Powell, April 1952, consuring Powell for ignoring the Bishop's marriage regulations.

19 Wylde to Archbishop of Melbourne, 30 November 1951.

20 Various letters.

21 Powell, op.cit.; Wylde to Maynard, 6 November 1956.

22 Wylde to Bishop of Adelaide, 9 February 1951. Wylde to Bishop of Adelaid, Wylde to Bishop of Armidale, 26 March 1938; Wylde to Archbishop of Perth, 23 September 1941.

23 Wylde always remembered the birthdays of his clergy and took part in Rectory family activities; see also Richards to author, 1981.

24 Those clergy at Hill End particularly, but also most of the younger clergy.

grief at the death of Len Steinhauser "(who) was affectionately known in the B.G.S. as 'little Len'; to me he was what Lycidas was to Milton".[25] Although Wylde was a formal and very private man with few close friends[26] he was particularly dependant for advice and support on Stephen Ball, the Rector of Kelso, who died in 1955. Wylde often called at "Leaholme", Ball's family home where he lived as Rector of Kelso, to play bridge and to discuss diocesan matters.[27] Ball had been ordained in 1905 and had been Chaplain to Long, Crotty and Wylde, becoming Wylde's Commissary in 1937[28] and was his closest confidante in the Diocese.

Wylde's attitudes and expectations of the clergy were the result of his own temperament and background. His understanding of obedience and authority was inherited from his English Church training. However it was not unusual for a Bishop of that time to be authoritarian in his dealings with clergy. Crotty had displayed similar authoritarianism in dealing with matters of obedience.[29]

Wylde came to rely increasingly on Montague D'Arcy Collins[30] who came to the Diocese in 1943. Collins had been ordained during World War I after an education at the University of London. He was a Yorkshireman like Wylde and had served with the Royal Army Medical Corps during the First War. He became Rector of Mackay in

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25 Presidential Address, Year Book, op.cit., 1955 p.48.

26 Wylde called no priest by his Christian name except Feetham and Armour, and none including fellow bishops used his Christian name.

27 Diary, op.cit., various entries.

28 Presidential Address, op.cit.

29 Crotty's treatment of the Reverend E.S.C. Woolley at Nyngan illustrates this.

30 Wylde to Bishop of Newcastle, 30 October 1952.

the Diocese of North Queensland in 1927 and Bishop Feetham appointed him Archdeacon of North Queensland in 1939 after which he became sub-Dean of the Cathedral where he developed his interest in religious drama.[31] In response to Wylde's requests of Feetham that he recommend a priest for the position of Rector and Canon Residentiary, Collins came to the Cathedral parish in Bathurst in 1943. Wylde and Collins complemented each other, as Crotty and Holmes and done. They shared a mischievious sense of humour[32] as well as the same attention to liturgical detail and devotion to sacramental worship and the same pastoral ideals.[33] Collins was an urbane man, less casual than Wylde about his personal appearance[34] and he was totally loyal to Wylde even when he disagreed with him privately.[35] Wylde respected his judgement[36] although he believed that Collins was sometimes indiscreet in his views.[37] Wylde appointed him Rector of Dubbo in 1948.[38]

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31 Ross Fraser, ed., Historical Sketch of the Diocese of Northern Queensland.

32 Collins was well known for his limericks and poems commemorating Diocesan events. He referred to Wylde as "+1" and himself as "+2".

33 Letters of various clergy to author.

34 Compare photographs of Wylde and Collins; Mills to author, op.cit.

35 Collins had counselled Wylde privately against taking further action in the 'Red Book' Case but defended Wylde's decision publicly at Cathedral services.

36 Wylde to Bishop of Newcastle, 30 October 1952, Wylde to Farnham Maynard, 6 November 1956.

37 Dora Baber to Wylde, 20 September 1954; Wylde to Dora Baber, 29 September 1954.

38 Collins' successor as Canon Residentiary was A.E. Winter who had been ordained in Melbourne in 1927 and had won numerous prizes as an undergraduate and earned four degrees including an Oxford Bachelor of Arts (Honours). Winter was elected Bishop of St. Arnaud in 1951 and his successor was C.H. Copp a former member of the Community of Ascension who left the Cathedral in 1956, after which Wylde appointed Priests-in-Charge who were mostly regarded as his curates.



Montague d'Arcy Collins.

By the 1950's , under pressure from the leading clergy and laymen of the Diocese, Wylde had realised that the only alternative to retirement was to appoint a Coadjutor. The Ordinance was moved in Synod by the Diocesan Treasurer[39] and on 11 June 1951 Collins was consecrated in St. Andrew's Cathedral by the Primate, Archbishop Mowll. After the consecration Collins officiated at Evensong in Christ Church S. Laurence, a gesture which reinforced the opinion in Sydney that the Diocese of Bathurst was "High Church" and was influenced by John Hope, the Rector of Christ Church. As Rector of Dubbo Collins was in the same situation as Wylde himself twenty years before but without the Brotherhood responsibilities. Wylde had no intention of handing over any of his Diocesan responsibilities except those which could not be undertaken by him because of the pressure of time. Wylde remained firmly in charge of the Diocese and there was no question of Collins succeeding Wylde as Diocesan.[40]

When Wylde was elected Diocesan, the clergy of the Diocese were a diverse group. Some of them had been ordained for many years and had pioneered the more remote parts of the Diocese. Others had been ordained by Bishop Long and were more educated and liberal in outlook than their predecessrs. The clergy who had been ordained by Bishop Crotty or who had come into the Diocese during his episcopate were generally of a more scholarly persuasion and were more evangelical in their theological and liturgical views. The clergy who formed

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39 Alan Morse.

40 Collins died in 1959, the year after Wylde.

the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd were a separate group to the Diocesan clergy. Despite Long's efforts to integrate it the Brotherhood did not completely coalesce with the rest of the Diocese at the time of Wylde's enthronement.

Many of the newcomers did not stay long in the Diocese, some of them volunteering for War service as chaplains but some taking the opportunity of the increasing Australia-wide shortage of clergy to accept a more attractive parish in another Diocese. Indeed this became the established pattern for the Diocese of Bathurst as war service claimed the involvement of the younger clergy, many of whom did not return to the Diocese when discharged. The effect of this was that the parishes came to be staffed by clergy who could not volunteer for the war and who mostly stayed in the Diocese for short periods as locums until more normal staffing arrangements could be made. Wylde also took much of this relieving work upon himself and constantly moved around the Diocese from one parish to another taking services until a priest could be appointed. Wylde thrived on this work and readily assumed the pastoral role throughout the whole Diocese, organising each parish as though he was its Rector. This meant that he was able to cement the ties he had with the parishioners in each parish and although he did not allow the laypeople to dominate parish or Diocesan affairs, he was progressive in his attitude towards the involvement of laypeople.[41]

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41 Wylde welcomed women as members of Parochial Councils and fostered the work of Lay Readers in the Diocese; see Sherlock to author, 8 February 1981; Wylde to Secretary of Women on Vestries, Melbourne 11 March 1955; cf. Wylde to Beveridge, 17 September, 1952.

Some of the clergy left the Diocese in the latter stages of the war when the Diocesan staffing position was at its most critical. Some of these men left because of the lack of recognition in the Diocese of their seniority but some left because of ill-health caused partly by the pressure of overwork in a difficult time. Many of these men had been impelled into unsuitable positions by the manpower shortage and their abilities had been overreached. To some extent the situation was eased by the ordinations, although the numbers of men offering for ordination diminished the longer the war lasted.[42]

The Brotherhood Ordination Candidates' Training Scheme continued to prove its value to the Diocese as a whole, and without the Brotherhood clergy the Diocese would have found it impossible to staff the parishes throughout the War. Although Wylde's conditions for joining the Brotherhood were stringent[43] many of the Brotherhood clergy stayed for longer periods than their initial five years service and some of them accepted a Diocesan parish while others returned to the Diocese after work elsewhere. Wylde was particularly pleased when one of the Brothers stayed in the Diocese after his term of service had expired and former Brotherhood clergy were often appointed as Rector of the more prestigious city parishes of the Diocese. Although

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42 1937 saw 6 ordained; 1938, 1; 1939, 3; 1940,2; 1941, 5 priests; 1942, 4 deacons; 1943, 2; 1946,5. Of these 23 men, 14 were ordained for the Brotherhood.

43 Wylde to Armstrong, 1 December 1955.

the number of brothers fluctuated during Wylde's episcopate[44] the Brotherhood clergy provided a constant source of likeminded men for the Diocese. Some of them were appointed by Wylde to positions of seniority in the Diocese and although this was partly due to the high proportion of former brothers attracted to the Diocese, it appeared to some of the clergy who had not served with the Brotherhood that those who had been members were specially favoured by the former Principal now Diocesan Bishop.[45] There was no doubt that Wylde preferred clergy who had been members of one of the many Brotherhoods which operated throughout the Australian Church[46] and although many of these men did not remain in the Diocese of Bathurst for more than a few years, Wylde was always keen to offer them work. These clergy more readily understood and accepted the discipline Wylde enforced on the clergy, the traditions he maintained and the emphasis he placed on loyalty and obedience. Wylde was also particularly willing to place single clergy in a parish[47] although he did not actively discriminate against clergy who were married.[48] This was due to his belief that single clergy were less likely to be divided in their devotion to the work of the parish and in their loyalty to him.

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44 1937, 12 members; 1937, 7; 1938, 5 priests, 2 deacons; 1947-48, 12 priests, 3 deacons, 6 probationers; 1956, 8 priests, 4 deacons, 5 probationers.

45 Verbal comment of Archdeacon C.E. Ussher, 1982.

46 At least 9 members of other Brotherhoods came to Bathurst during the war years.

47 Wylde to Bishop of Armidale, 13 February 1953; Wylde to Gladys St. Hill Bourne, 3 October 1953.

48 cf. Mills to author, op.cit.; Wylde to Bishop of Grafton, 3 February 1953.

Wylde was always willing for other Bishops to offer the clergy of the Diocese of Bathurst a parish elsewhere[49] and himself sought parishes for clergy whom he believed would benefit from a change.[50] At the same time he was intolerant of any bishop who made no enquiry of him before that Bishop offered one of the Bathurst clergy a parish.[51] Other Diocesan Bishops sought his advice about particular clergy and relied on his judgement.[52] As well as former Brotherhood clergy, Wylde was always anxious to accept clergy from the Diocese of North Queensland where his mentor and advisor Feetham was still Bishop. For Wylde this continued his link with St. Simon Zealotes parish where both he and Feetham had served.

With the end of the War the staffing problems of the Diocese began to ease as some of the chaplains were discharged and returned to work in the Diocese. Clergy came from other Dioceses also, as they had throughout the war. These were often younger men hoping for quick promotion[53] and many of them did not remain through the post-War instability.[54] These clergy often had difficulties of adjustment following personal danger and imprisonment during their war service. They found that

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49 Wylde to Bishop of Grafton, 3 February 1953; ibid, 21 June 1954.

50 Wylde to Bishop of Adelaide, 9 February 1951; Wylde to Archbishop of Perth, 23 September 1941.

51 Wylde to Collins, 20 November 1956.

52 Archbishop of Brisbane to Wylde, 17 August 1940; Bishop of Goulburn to Wylde, 24 May 1949; Bishop of Riverina to Wylde, 29 November 1955.

53 Wylde to Bishop of Grafton, 3 February 1953.

54 Bishop of New Guinea to Wylde, 25 June 1953; Wylde longs for revival of old "die-hard" type in B.G.S.

the daily round of parochial life was tedious and unfruitful and at variance with the situation which had faced them during the war. Most of the men who came to the Diocese immediately after the war stayed for less than five years. Those who had been ordained during the war or immediately after it began to find the rigidity of the Diocese outmoded. Their failure to gain the promotions they believed that they deserved often caused them to leave.[55] Wylde was insistent that clergy under 30 years of age should be assistants and he was proud that all the Rectors were over that age.[56]

The selection process of ordination candidates for the Diocese was not as thorough as it might have been.[57] Wylde preferred to trust his own judgement and accepted some candidates for ordination on the slightest acquaintence and after only the briefest interview. His enquiries regarding those seeking work in the Diocese wereequally brief and he was often more concerned with the Superannuation Table subscribed to by the priest than about his reasons for applying for a parish in the Diocese of Bathurst.[58] Although Wylde sought the advice of John Hope of Christ Church S. Laurence in Sydney and Farnham Maynard of St. Peter's Eastern Hill in Melbourne, as well as his commissaries in England[59] he was in the habit of ignoring their advice if it suited him to do so. He would accept men

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55 Wylde to Grafton, op.cit.
56 Wylde to Gundry, 9 November 1955.
57 Walker to Wylde, 30 November 1955; Wylde shortens period as deacon.
58 Wylde's letters to those applying for a parish.
59 Prebendary F.H.Campion, Reverend A.L. Bird, both former Brotherhood clergy.

rejected elsewhere and took great delight in sponsering those Englishmen who had not been accepted for ordination in England because of their lack of academic ability.[60]

The frenzy of movement in the Diocese by the clergy produced great instability in the parishes. The 1950's witnessed record numbers of candidates for ordination[61] partly as a reaction to the equally large number of clergy leaving.[62] However some of the men Wylde accepted in this period became future leaders in the Church as Bishops and scholars as well as caring pastors in Wylde's own mould. Many of them served the Diocese for many years after his death and provided the Church with the next generation of experienced priests.

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60 Wylde was never influenced by C.A.C.T.M. reports on ordinands which rejected candidates for ordination in England.

61 1953, 4; 1954, 4; 1955, 8; 1956, 4. Walker to Wylde op.cit.

62 1953, 10; 1954, 7; 1955, 5; 1956, 6 all of whom had come to the Diocese since 1951; 1957, 4.

Wylde and the Parishes of the Diocese of Bathurst

The period from 1920 to 1958 was one of great change in rural Australia. The economic and political pressures of the Depression and the Second World War were compounded by the social adjustment which became necessary following the decline in importance of rural communities. The period was marked by fluctuating markets for primary products. The advent of modern transport and road systems brought both positive and negative results to those who lived in areas remote from the capital cities and the main centres of population.[1] The small country towns had witnessed the migration of the younger people to the coastal fringe in search of greater financial prosperity, increased opportunities of employment, and a more exciting way of life than that offered in the isolated communities of the west of the State of New South Wales.[2] Mechanisation gave a measure of prosperity to the land owner but the unskilled farm worker and the labourer became redundant. This redundancy increased the drift to the cities of the eastern seaboard. Improvements to the motor car and its cheapness meant that the smaller towns could by bypassed in favour of the larger centres with their greater variety of goods and cheaper prices. The leisurely lifestyle which had characterised the less urban parts of the State increasingly gave way to an emphasis on material possessions and the facilities available in the city.[3] Following the Depression and the Second World War the common attitude was characterized by cynicism and an unwillingness to accept what

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1 see particularly issues of The Drover during this period.

2 this was a constant refrain in the parish/ reports in The Drover, ibid.

3 Wylde's letters.

was presented merely on the authority of the speaker. This of course was aided by the growth of Public Schools throughout the State and an increased awareness of the importance of education. It became less the case that sons followed their fathers onto the land merely for the sake of continuity.

The Church in the landlocked Dioceses of New South Wales was ill-equipped to cope with these physical and sociological changes. In these areas the Church had grown in response to the westerly push for land but now it had become stranded on the ebb tide as the population moved back towards the coast away from the harshness with which the people had struggled since the time of the first white settlement.[4]

The Diocese of Bathurst included parishes which encompassed the best and the worst features of these changes occurring in rural Australia. Within the borders of the Diocese were the solid provincial towns like Bathurst, Orange, Mudgee, Forbes, Parkes and Dubbo, but the majority of parishes were small villages such as Cudal, Blayney and Oberon. Further west than Dubbo a quite different set of conditions had to be faced. This was not new but the Church particularly in the aftermath of World War II was more slow to respond creatively to the challenge than it had been in an earlier period. Geographically there was no uniformity within the Diocese and this was reflected in the differing styles of ministry in the parishes.[5] This lack of uniformity

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4 Municipal Records.

5 The Brotherhood ministry was quite different in style and purpose to that provided in the more settled areas, and local differences dictated the style of worship in the main towns, for instance Orange was more evangelical than Dubbo mainly because of the influence of the early settlers of each region.

was also shown in the attitudes of the parishes to the Diocese as a unit and to the govenring organisations of the Diocese.[6] The variation in parish life within the Diocese of Bathurst was probably no greater than that in any country Diocese in New South Wales at the time and reflected the liturgical backgrounds of the founding clergy and laypeople. In the case of the Diocese of Bathurst the division within the Diocese between rural and town parishes, between Brotherhood and Diocesan parishes, was to increase and would create particular problems. These problems related partly to the distances to be travelled and the geographical isolation of the parishes from one another, partly to the lack of social and financial unity, and partly to the personality and episcopal style of the Bishop.

Due to the social change in the nature of the Diocese of Bathurst the major townships which were in it grew steadily in population throughout the period 1920 to 1958. Bathurst itself increased from a population of 9443 in 1921 until by 1951 there were 13260 people living in the See city.[7] Some of the other city areas of the Diocese recorded more spectacular population growths. Orange had a population in 1921 of 7399 but by 1951 it had more than doubled to 17820.[8] The ten years 1941-1951 had seen the most rapid growth, from 10320 to 17820.[9] Similarly Dubbo doubled its population from 5031 in 1921 to 10900 in 1951. Here the

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6 There was always a feeling of resentment against the hierarchy related to a rejection of authority. The attitude is often expressed that "our money all goes there" (to Bathurst).

7 Municipal records.

8 ibid.

9 ibid.

largest growth occurred between the Depression and the Second World War, from 6270 to 9080, as people on the east coast walked west in search of work.

Despite this steady growth in overall population in the Diocese many of the smaller parishes were in financial decline before the War. These parishes relied on a few church families to support them regularly and the removal of key churchpeople affected the viability of the parish. Nature continued to govern the financial position of the majority of the parishes of the Diocese. Nyngan had always been close to financial unviability and in 1936-1938 the drought, described as the worst since 1902[10] with its attendant handfeeding of stock and loss of income for the farmer, aggravated the financial difficulties of the parish. The disastrous drought was followed by bushfires throughout the Diocese which wreaked havoc in many parishes.[11] Rain and floods made the unsealed roads impassible, particularly in the west and many of the centres of the parishes were isolated for lengthy periods.[12] The solution in the Diocese of Bathurst was to join these unfinancial western parishes to the Bush Brotherhood and in that way minimise the financial responsibilities of the people while continuing to provide a priestly ministry.

Many of the towns in the Diocese witnessed an increase in the amenities available to the inhabitants.

10
11 The Drover, 1938.
12 ibid.
The Bush Brother, 1938.

This often brought with it an increase in the town's population. In Wyalong the improved water supply accounted for an increase in population, whilst in Bourke bores were sunk and homesteads renewed after the Depression and this resulted in an increase in the population of the town itself. In 1937 the population of Cobar doubled because of the growth of the mining industry there but it dwindled rapidly as the War proceeded and men enlisted. Rylstone experienced a similar increase in 1938. Events such as the installation of the electric light in 1939-1940 meant a resurgence of interest in these small country areas and were gestures of confidence in the future.[13] This general population increase was naturally reflected in the growth of the parishes.

Parishes that relied on such external stimuli to generate interest also found that the reverse applied. In 1938 Geurie reported that it was unfinancial and Hill End was designated as a mission district. That parish could not be attached to the Brotherhood because of its geographical distance from the west of the Diocese, so the Bishop became the Rector and installed a young priest in the parish to minister under his direction. The lack of coal contracts in 1936 brought stagnation to the economy of Portland although with the coming of the War this situation rapidly changed and Portland became the only industrial parish in the Diocese. Trundle and Tottenham were both without resident priests due mainly to their inabilities to pay the stipend and Tottenham was cared for by the Brotherhood Principal in addition to his duties at the new Brotherhood parish of Nyngan.[14] In 1938 receipts

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13 The Drover, op.cit.
14 The Bush Brother, op.cit.

at Gilgandra exactly matched the expenditure and each year the parish was unsure if it could meet its financial commitments.

Despite the small financial demands of the Brotherhood on the individual parish the parishes of the Diocese staffed by the Brotherhood were in similar financial straits to the rest of the Diocese because their income relied directly on the rural markets. In Nyngan in 1939 the priest brother received a stipend of 40 pounds per annum with a household allowance of 60 pounds per annum when the lowest stipend paid in a Diocesan parish was 250 pounds with a travelling allowance paid as well.[15] Many of the Brotherhood parishes found even this amount beyond their financial capabilities partly as a result of the rural recession and partly due to the ministry provided prior to the brothers assuming control. Nyngan had become a Brotherhood parish in 1933 after the Rector had drowned leaving accumulated debts. By 1937 receipts were 602 pounds and expenditure was 575 pounds and the parish was able to repay some of its debts.[16]

Some of the western parishes were huge in area. Bourke in 1937 was a town of 2000 but the parish area was 25000 square miles. The centres were small, only reached by arduous journeys through the treacherous red soil plains. The only church building in the parish outside Bourke was at Byrock, 50 miles towards Nyngan, and was a tin shed originally destined to be a garage but licenced as a church in 1929. Bourke used

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15 Year Books, op.cit.
16 The Bush Brother, op.cit.

a hall following the destruction of the original St. Stephen's in 1895. By 1939 an English bequest enabled the Church of the Holy Innocents to be commenced and the grandiose Louis Williams design reflected the optimism which had earlier planned to make Bourke the See city of a Diocese of the western region. By 1937 this optimism had dwindled to the reality of 100 Church of England people in the town and about 75 throughout the scattered centres. In June 1938 some rural recovery brought a growth to the parish and the priest/brother travelled 750 miles to distribute Easter communion in the parish.[17] In Brewarrina the brother travelled 995 miles to celebrate communion for parishioners in the more remote parts of the parish for Easter. The finances of the parish showed the knife-edge on which most of these Brotherhood parishes existed,[18] despite an increase in the number of services.[19] Cobar had an area of 12000 square miles.

The "parish pump" activities continued much as always. There was a constant demand for money to maintain the parishes. The contrast was sharply delineated between those parishes which relied on fundraising activities, social events and quotas to finance their ministry, and those which tried to implement the Weekly Freewill Offering Scheme which was in vogue and which Wylde had brought from England in 1921. Parishes which raised money from social events relied on balls, fetes, flower shows, bazaars, and quotas from the centres in their desperate attempts to continue as viable financial entities.[20] Some of the smaller

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17 The Bush Brother, op.cit.

18 In 1937 receipts totalled 646 pounds and expenditure was 650 pounds.

19 1937, 170 Sunday services and 260 weekday services compared with 296 in 1936.

20 The Drover, op.cit; Church News.

parishes had introduced the Weekly Freewill Offering system where parishioners pledged themselves financially and these parishes experienced less difficulty with finances.

Reflecting the continuous but generally undramatic growth in population the number of parishes in the Diocese of Bathurst did not alter. In the Jubilee Year 1920, there were 43 parishes, 4 of them designated Brotherhood. In 1937, the year Wylde was enthroned as Diocesan, there were 46 parishes of which 6 were staffed by the Brotherhood, and this did not change for the next twenty years.[21] There was some variation in the number of centres within individual parishes and of the boundaries between some parishes. This was more internal parochial rationalisation than the implementation of a conscious Diocesan plan to respond to the social changes taking place throughout the Diocese.

A peculiar bridge which to some extent unified the Diocese was the Bishop. Marsden, Camidge and Long were both at once, city and country. Division in the Diocese was not as apparent during their episcopates which related to the missionary conditions which prevailed in the early days of the Diocese.[22] The pattern was changing during Long's espiscopate but his personality and his appointment of Wylde as Coadjutor with responsibility for the West of the Diocese ensured a measure of unity in the Diocese. Bishop Crotty made little attempt to conceal his dislike and difficulty in relating to the people of the western, less urbanised parts of the Diocese.[23] Wylde, the inner city

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21 Year Books, op.cit.
22 Teale, op.cit.
23 See Below, Chapter 2, p.8.

slum priest turned bushman, became impatient with what he saw as the pettiness and false social aspirations of the town parishes of the Diocese. Here an attitude of independence had always smouldered beneath the surface, to come to light in personality clashes and feuds over the authority of the Bishop and in an attitude of superiority over the smaller parishes of the Diocese.

During the episcopate of Wylde the parishes of the Diocese were content to maintain the status quo despite the changing social and economic conditions which had begun to apply to the rural sector. The position of the Church in the area covered by the Diocese was consolidated following the expansion of the earlier missionary years. The pivot was the War period. Parishes which were struggling until 1938 witnessed a resurgence of interest after this time. This was most pronounced in the emphasis on the maintenance of the parish plant and equipment. In 1939-1940 West Wyalong, Coonamble and Bourke erected new church buildings and in the whole Diocese between 1937 and 1957, 32 churches were consecrated.[24] The boom in building in the parishes of the post-War period reflected the relief of those who had returned from danger to the stability and continuity of country New South Wales. With the apparent security of growing rural parishes and the renewed optimism in the future of vital country communities, Wylde placed emphasis on the people within the parishes, and reminded them that "the Church is people not a building"[25], a sentiment easy to express

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24 Year Books, op.cit.

25 Church News, op.cit, 1940.

when the buildings which he insisted upon were also being erected. This optimism brought a growth in various other fields of Diocesan endeavour. In Dubbo in September 1940, 87 females and 81 males were confirmed by the Bishop, witness to the return to the Churchin time of War.

Otherwise the Second World War had little obvious impact on the life of the parishes of the Diocese beyond the natural consequence of men who left for the battle zones and were killed. The declaration of War brought Wylde's announcement of support for the English war effort but at the same time his thoughts were for peace. The parishes were instructed to hold prayers for peace and Wylde wrote articles which outlined Christ's conception of peace.[26] The League of Prayer for Peace became the crux of the Diocesan spiritual effort as the War progressed. At the same time special Prayers in Time of War and the Battle Hymn were put forward as suitable for parish use.[27] In individual parishes there were overtones of a militaristic Church and Empire and surges of nationalism[28] but this reflected the attitudes of the clergy rather than a Diocesan imposed policy. The Rector of Wellington maintained that support of the Church during this War period particularly was as important and as patriotic as support of the armed forces. 1940 witnessed a National Day of Prayer but despite hopes of a general return to worship, congregations the following week were no larger, than before. There were various military camps throughout the Diocese and in the parish of Cowra a prisoner-of-

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26 The Drover, op.cit., October 1939.
27 Bishop's Letter to Clergy, June 1940.
28 Warren and Gumnock particularly.

war camp. The parishes mainly had contact with those servicemen who chose to come to worship and there was no overall Diocesan plan for ministering to a diverse and troubled group of men such as there was in the Diocese of Sydney.[29] Wylde himself often visited the Army Camp in Bathurst and encouraged the men to attend Church services at the Cathedral. The only other contact that most of the parishes had with the War was when the clergy sought release for duty as chaplains. Although the War brought a growth in the physical plant of the Church in the Diocese, it ultimately hastened the decline of rural Australia and caused the inhabitants to become less content with their sedentary lives. Their experiences outside Australia made those who had fought overseas take a broader view than they had been accustomed to take and accelerated the demise of the smaller parishes despite the record harvests and the 1950 wool boom.

In 1948 there were 14 inductions in the Diocese which indicated a renewed interest in the country Diocese. However the lack of continuity which this influx of clergy brought about soon became apparent despite the various Diocesan initiatives which Wylde had projected onto the parishes. In the Synod of 1939 the adoption of the Church Mail Bag School was agreed to and Wylde made himself responsible for the collection of payment for the lessons when the Rector was not willing to be involved. Mothers Union was the main aspect of womens' work in the Diocese, and Wylde's mother was Diocesan President from 1938. In a similar way mission work was fostered by Wylde and he was a strong advocate of the Australian Board of Missions and urged the cause of this agency on each parish.

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29 Marcus Loane, Archbishop Mowll.

A League of Prayer was begun throughout the Diocese in 1939. Wylde constantly emphasised the importance of Bible reading and this was portrayed as the main way of countering the evils of war.[30]

Lay people were encouraged by their Bishop to conduct services of worship other than those offices which involved a sacrament. In many parishes this enabled the services of the Church to be continued during the War years despite the shortage of clergy. For Wylde this development accorded with his principles which sought greater involvement of the lay people in their worship. Although he had rigid and definite ideas about the role of the priest, Wylde also laid emphasis on the importance of evangelism amongst nominal Church members and again this was an extension of his earlier ministry with the Brotherhood and in London when a knowledge of every inhabitant of an area was the prerequisite for pastoral care in a parish. This was the kind of ministry Wylde expected from the clergy he licensed and this was the pattern established in the parishes of the Diocese of Bathurst from the beginning of his episcopate.

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30 The Drover, op.cit., 1940.

Chapter 4

4d

Liturgical Attitudes and Worship

Arnold Lomas Wylde was a priest who had definite ideas about the place of the Church of England and the liturgical basis of that Church. These ideas were inflexible towards the end of his life and were firmly imposed on the Diocese of Bathurst as a whole,

> You will find that in this Diocese we rightly and strongly object to being considered a Protestant denomination and believe our church is a true branch of the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church. We protest equally strongly against the omissions made in the Catholic faith by the Protestant denominations as with the additions which have been made by the Roman Catholic Church [1]

Wylde considered himself to be a Bishop in the Catholic tradition[2] and this governed his actions within the Diocese of Bathurst. He was a subscriber to the English Church Union's Faith and Unity newspaper. Both Wylde and Collins were Vice Presidents of the Church Union for the American Catholic Congress which Collins attended in 1954. Wylde made no secret of his inclinations towards the ceremonial and sacramental aspects of Catholicism although he referred to himself as an Evangelical Catholic or a Catholic Evangelical.[3] He believed that the various expressions of the Church ought to work together in an atmosphere of toleration

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1 Wylde to AMF Chaplains, 29 June 1956.

2 Wylde to Archbishop of Melbourne, 30 November 1951; Wylde to Bishop of Carpentaria, 16 August 1955.

3 Evidence in "Red Book" Case transcript, Hammond, The 'Red Book' Case, p. 80.

and co-operation.[4] Within the Diocese of Bathurst Wylde's greatest concern was with the churchmanship of the clergy and the potential this had to cause division between the parishes of the Diocese.[5]

His understanding of the nature of authority in the Church led him into differences with the Diocese of Sydney over what Wylde believed to be its Protestantism.[6] Wylde was consistently hostile to the claims of the Diocese of Sydney to be the pre-eminent Diocese in Australia with an automatic claim on the Primacy.[7] Wylde believed that Catholicism as he knew it was under threat from a militant evangelical section of the Church[8] which sought to turn the Church of England into a Protestant sect and tried to dominate Church affairs in Australia. To Wylde this group within the Church intended to use the Synods of the Church to achieve this end.[9] To counter this move Wylde endeavoured to have all the Provincial Bishops instrumental in the election of the Metropolitan in accordance with his interpretation of resolution 55 of the 1930 Lambeth Conference.[10] In this way he hoped lessen the control of the Diocese of Sydney. This fundamental difference with the Diocese of Sydney on churchmanship and what he believed to be its attempts to gain domination over the Australian Church led Wylde to a deep distrust of

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4 Wylde to mother, 5 September 1927; ibid, 5 October 1927; ibid, 9 December 1927; ibid, 24 May 1928; Wylde to father, 5 June 1929.

5 Wylde to mother, 5 October 1927; ibid, 9 December 1927; ibid, 24 May 1928; Wylde to father, 5 June 1929.

6 Wylde to Bishop of Kalgoolie, 19 August 1953; Wylde to Bishop of Newcastle, 27 April 1953.

7 Wylde to Bishop of Newcastle 9 January 1950.

8 Wylde to Bishop of Adelaide, 14 June 1945.

9 ibid.

10 Wylde to Archbishop of Sydney, 26 June 1945.

the proposed Constitution of the Church[11] although it was championed by Bishops whom he respected and trusted.[12] Wylde's opposition to the Constitution meant that he would vote against it[13] because of his fear that the Diocese of Sydney would use it to control the Church in Australia. At the same time Wylde sought to have some of the offshoots of the Anglo-Catholic movement enshrined in it in the event that the Constitution might be accepted by the Church.[14]

In a similar way the Diocese of Sydney, which was also hostile to the Constitution, sought to temper the force of the Constitution by enshrining in it the fundamental evangelical precepts.

Wylde's religious attitudes had been formed during his training at Cuddesdon College and inculcated even more strongly during his curacy at St. Simon Zealotes Bethnal Green under the Reverend G.K.S. Marshall. They had been further confirmed by Wylde's period of service with the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd when he had seen how the sacraments brought practical and positive spiritual strength into the lives of the isolated settlers of the West.[15] Wylde had been

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11 Wylde to Bishop of Riverina, 11 April 1957; see

12 Bishop of Riverina's Synod Charge in 1956. Bishop Long had initiated the Constitutional process and Bishop Batty of Newcastle was the champion during the 1940's and 1950's.

13 Wylde to Bishop of North Queensland, 4 June 1957;

14 Wylde to Bishop of Carpentaria, 8 March 1955.

15 Wylde to Bishop of Newcastle, 15 May 1957. The Bush Brother, Vol. XXII, No 3, September 1926, p. 126; ibid, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, February 1927, pp. 64ff; Wylde to children at St. Simon Zealotes, 10 May 1922.

greatly influenced by the legacy of an early Vice Principal at Cuddesdon[16] but the sacramental basis of his personal life had been formed by Marshall[17]. Constantly in his personal life Wylde stressed the sacramental foundation of his faith.[18] It was the mainstay of the strength he tried to impart to his family as well as to others in crisis.[19] Although Wylde was eager to mix with all sections of the Church in the Diocese of Bathurst[20] he would not compromise his beliefs.[21]

The election of Wylde as Diocesan in 1937 ensured the growth in the parishes of the Diocese of a greater liturgical and spiritual awareness than had been apparent during Crotty's episcopate. Wylde understood it to be part of his function as Bishop to be teacher and spiritual guide to the clergy and lay people of the Diocese. He regularly instructed the parishioners of the Diocese through the pages of the Diocesan magazine with articles on the seasons of the church's year and on its liturgy and practice.[22]

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16 Liddon; E.H. Strong to Wylde, 19 June 1954.

17 The Bush Brother ran a series of articles from 1926 to 1929 which had been sermons preached by Marshall at Fulham on "The Sacramental Life".

18 Wylde to Simpson, 14 September 1954; Wylde to Archbishop of Sydney, 24 December 1957.

19 Wylde to mother, 31 July 1928; see also letters during father's illness 1925.

20 Wylde to mother, 24 September 1929.

21 Wylde to Bishop of Carpentaria, 16 August 1955; Wylde to Archbishop of Sydney, 10 February 1958.

22 The Drover, September 1937 on Ember seasons; ibid, November 1937 on Advent and the prevailing practice in society on holding "Christmas" parties which he deplored. Wylde recommended instructional books to his readers, E.J.G. Forse, Ceremonial Curiosities, Farnham Maynard, The Continuity of the Church of England, and others.

Wylde constantly brought before the people of the Diocese the festivals of the Church and urged their observance as aids to spiritual growth.[23] In many parishes Patronal Festivals began to be celebrated and other liturgical innovations were introduced. Much of this reflected the background and attitude of the incumbent.[24] Midweek celebrations of Holy Communion became the practice in many parishes[25] and vestments began to be worn on a regular basis throughout the Diocese[26] although they had been the

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23 ibid.

24 Kandos in 1937 with a sung Eucharist and Te Deum. O'Connell a cross and candlesticks appeared in July 1940. Portland a crucifix in 1938 and the Reserved Sacrament following Edwell's induction. In September 1939 a Guild of St. Mary was formed there. Gilgandra requiems for departed members of the congregation were celebrated. Hill End in 1939 confessions were advertised as an aid to the "Catholic religion". Easter services included the lighting of the Paschal Candle and in December 1940 a Shrine of Our Lady was established. Coonamble under Pollard began to refer to the "mass" in 1939. Wylde himself strictly enjoined the burning of the lint after wiping the chalice, and

25 railed against the use of linen purificators. Wellington, Rockley, Gilgandra, Cobar, Nyngan, where the daily offices were also said. Inductions were usually followed by a celebration of the Holy

26 Communion by Wylde the next morning. The Kilburn Sisters made vestments for the parish of Cobar in 1937 and even the evangelical clergy like Powell at Mudgee began to wear stoles. cf. Cumnock where the incumbent had been in the parish for more than ten years prior to Wylde's election: communicant number for 1936 was 263; 1937 was 2191, and 1938, 2109 (Year Book, ibid.) East Orange where the evangelical Powell had been Rector since 1925: 1938, 2809 communicants, 1939, 4587. Parkes where Conran had been since 1934: 1936, 308 Sunday services and 341 weekday, 208 of the total being Communion with 8149 communicants. In 1937, 230 Communion services with 8129; 1938, 216 services with 8755; 1939, 291 Sunday services with 338 weekday and 9061 communicants.

custom in certain parishes for many years.[27] The chasuble became the common eucharistic vestment and Wylde himself always wore it if that was the custom of the parish he was visiting. After Holmes' resignation as Dean, Wylde introduced the chasuble and other vestments to the Cathedral.

After Holmes' resignation from the Cathedral in 1942 the services reverted to the tradition known during Long's episcopate[28] and Wylde took care to organise the Cathedral to conform with his own customs.[29] He imposed a more Catholic tradition on the worship which was to reach its culmination in Copp's incumbency.[30] Observances of the English Church were important to Wylde and he encouraged the use of English celebrations like Mothering Sunday and Harvest Festivals.[31]

Wylde was forthright in his doctrinal views and as Diocesan impressed upon the clergy that they were

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28 Gilgandra when Wylde first arrived there in 1922.

January 15 1922.	January 19 1935.
7.30 am Holy Communion.	7.30 am Holy Communion
9.45 am Childrens' Office	9.45 am Childrens' Service
11.00 am Choral Eucharist	11.00 am Litany and Address
3.00 pm Sunday School Classes/	7.15 pm Evensong and Address.
4.15 pm Baptism	
7.30 pm Evensong.	

When Wylde became Dean the 11.00 am Choral Eucharist was restored.

29 Source: Bathurst Times
At Wylde's enthronement where over 1200 people were present, he was "doing vestrymen's work until a minute before the Enthronement Service began" (Diary). Wylde takes keys of Cathedral safe and locks collection in the Diocesan Registry, refuses to allow the purchase of a car or fence for the Deanery, and organises the service of Reception for Collins.

30 Amongst other things, Copp would prostrate himself on the floor of the Cathedral.

31 Use of the Coronation Service in 1937; celebration of Mothering Sunday with its simnel cake; observance of the season of Rogationtide.

to set out the faith boldly.[32] However he was concerned to impose some uniformity on the style of worship in use throughout the Diocese[33] and to this end was intolerant of the excesses of some of the clergy.[34] Wylde himself did not use the title "Father" except for members of the Community of the Ascension and for John Hope of Christ Church St. Laurence[35] and Wylde expressed annoyance with those clergy who insisted on being addressed in this manner.[36]

Despite his dislike of labels he was revered as a "Catholic Bishop" and was perceived by many within the Church as a leader who sought to restrict the expansion of evangelical tenets within the Church of England[37] in New South Wales. This was particularly true after the "Red Book" Case when many clergy came to the Diocese of Bathurst because of his prosecution and Wylde came to be regarded as a martyr for the cause of Catholicism.[38]

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32 R.E. Mills to author, 20 February 1981.

33 This was Wylde's stated reason for compiling and distributing the "Red Book".

34 Wylde to Maynard, 6 November 1956.

35 Wylde normally used the title "Padre" particularly after the War.

36 Wylde to Bishop of Riverina, 12 May 1955.

37 Bishop of Wangaratta to Wylde, 29 October 1952.

38 Mrs Mills to Wylde, 3 November 1952.

Chapter 4

4e

Wylde and the Sisters of the Servants of the Holy Cross

In 1912 the Community of the Sisters of the Church had been invited to undertake the running of a Church of England school at Gilgandra by the priest-in-charge, J.O. Feetham, Principal of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd. The School was staffed by two professed sisters and a postulant, but closed in 1915 when Feetham left to become Bishop of North Queensland. As well as the conduct of St. Hilda's School, the sisters had been involved in visiting in the bush regions of the parish. The Order was also responsible for a Girls' Hostel in Dubbo which cared for girls from the western districts who were attending schools in the city. When the last C.S.C. Sister left in 1923, St. Mary's Hostel was carried on by a matron supervised by the Rector of the Parish.[1]

This did not end the work of Sisterhoods in the Diocese of Bathurst. The Servants of the Holy Cross, then consisting of two members, had begun in the Diocese of Rockhampton and then left for New Zealand, to return to Deniliquin in the Diocese of Riverina where several novices joined the Community. When the Community disbanded, one of the novices, May Bechervaise, became an Associate of the Community of the Sisters of the Church, and during 1921 served in Melanesia with the Australian Board of Missions. In February 1922 she arrived in Nyngan in the Diocese of Bathurst where it was suggested by the Rector that she assist with a church school and some parish duties.

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1 The Bush Brother, Vol.XIX, No.2, January 1923, p.87 ff.

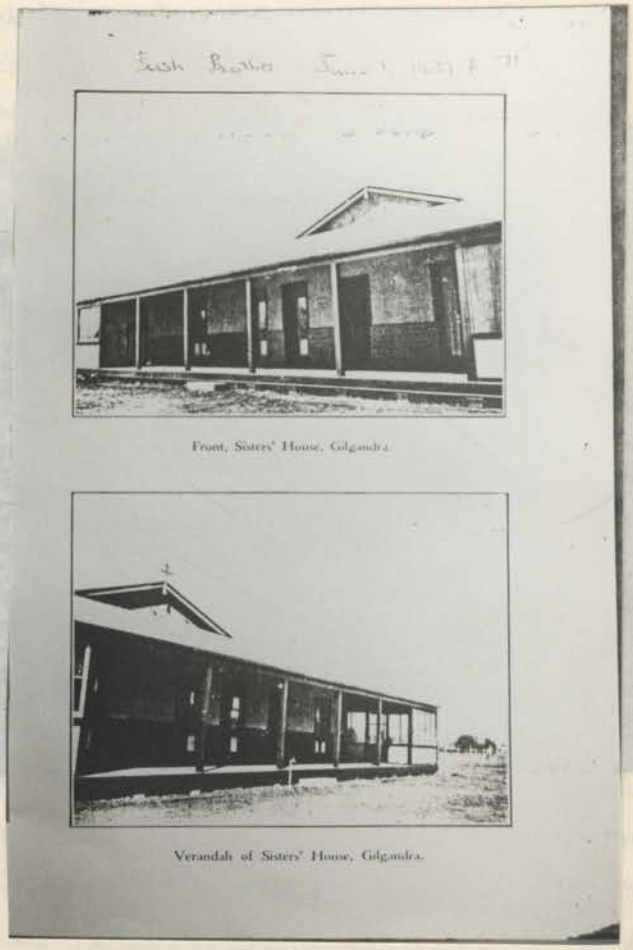
The Parish of Nyngan had had a checkered and difficult history. Following the construction of the railway line in 1883, Nyngan was a sub-centre of the Parish of Warren but was separated in 1889 with a Church being consecrated by Bishop Marsden in 1897. However, the stipend remained unpaid and other debts quickly accumulated and by 1912 the Parish was part of the Brotherhood area. Most of the clergy stayed only two or three years, but in 1918 the Reverend Edward Woolley, who had been ordained in Tasmania, came to the Parish in search of a drier climate for his sick wife. In 1920 the foundation stone of a new War Memorial Church was laid but the building was not commenced until 1925 with only a small portion of the design being completed. Woolley was constantly arguing with the parishioners. In 1933 he was found drowned in a stock tank behind the Rectory after which the Parish was again ministered to by the Brotherhood.[2]

Woolley had long nurtured "a vision of a Society of women to meet the needs of the Bush",[3] as a result of which permission was sought from Bishop Long to purchase a House from which May Bechervaise and her two colleagues, Elsie F. Roast (Sister Elizabeth), and F.M. Nixon (Sister Ruth) could begin their work to the women and children of the bush districts of the west. Bishop Long was not consulted or informed about the Sisters' work in Nyngan until Woolley had already made arrangements with May Bechervaise for the opening of the school which was to form the basis of their work in the parish. Without committing himself to the

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2 An Outpost of the Church of England, Philip Crawford.

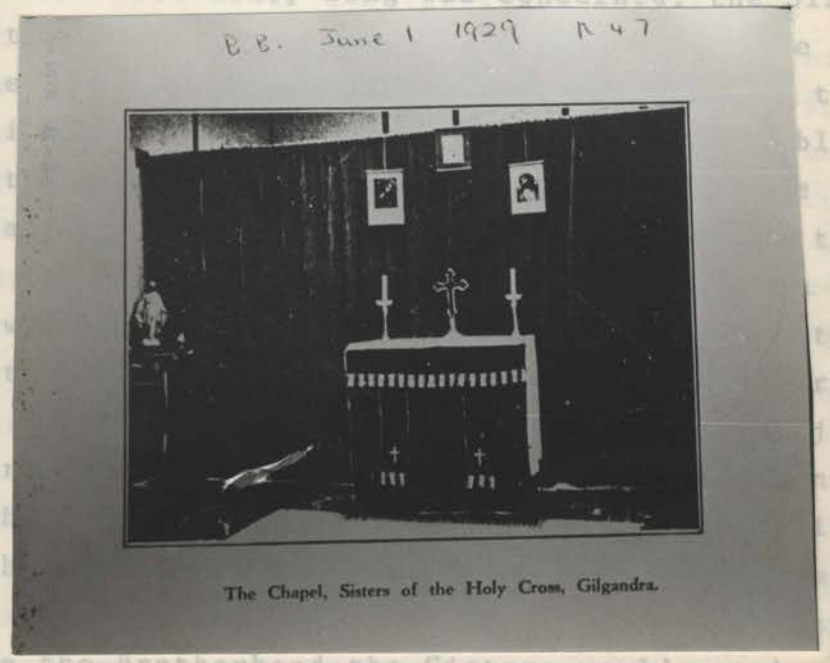
3 Monica to Long, 23 February 1922.



Front, Sisters' House, Gilgandra.

Verandah of Sisters' House, Gilgandra.

Front View of Sisters' House, Gilgandra.



The Chapel, Sisters of the Holy Cross House, Gilgandra.

acceptance of the Sisterhood proposal as a whole, Bishop Long indicated to May Becharvaise that the House in Gilgandra was held in trust by the Diocese on behalf of the Sisters of the Church, and he gave permission for a House to be purchased in Nyngan on similar terms. By November 1922 he had decided that May should be professed as Mother Monica.

So far as Bishop Long was concerned, the Sisters were to continue the work of the Sisters of the Church in the Diocese, and he considered them to have the relationship with the Diocese that he had established with the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd. The draft regulations emphasised the renewal of vows and the short tenure of the position of Superior as was the case with the Brotherhood. Monica made her initial vows to obey the Constitution and Rule of the Order for a period of three years which marked the major difference between it and monastic orders within the Church of England where life profession was envisaged. For the Community this meant that "in most respects ...we are breaking away from traditional regulations".[4] Unlike the Brotherhood the Sisters would not be able to have sole charge of a parish. Almost from the establishment of the Community in the Diocese, the recurring problem of a group in the Diocese which owed allegiance to a non-Diocesan hierarchy became apparent. This was compounded by the personality clashes between Woolley and Monica which caused the eventual removal of the Community from Nyngan. The Sisters, unlike the Brotherhood, were dependant on the goodwill of the Rector and the parish which funded them, and Woolley and his wife passed through peculiar psychological problems caused by

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[4] Monica to Long, 29 October 1922.

Mrs Woolley's illness.[5] On 1 December 1927 Woolley relieved the Sisters of all parochial duties,[6] and forbade them the use of the Chapel in the House as " any such services will be considered schismatic and any parishioner attending them will be treated as schismatic".[7] Bishop Long drafted the Sisters' reply that the Order would obey Woolley's demand that no parochial work be carried out by them in Nyngan but that their institutional duties were directed by the Bishop, and that he had given permission for the use of the Oratory as a Chapel for services "of spiritual comfort and well being of the members of the Commuity and all residents within the Institution",[8] as well as the performance of the sacraments by Wylde as Chaplain to the Community.[9] Following Crotty's discipline against Woolley in 1929 the Sisters' House became the only Diocesan point of contact with the parish of Nyngan.[10]

The Rule was quite specific in the duties of the Order and with its organisation on a more formal basis, the Sisters began to extend their work and in 1925 two sisters were invited to Coonamble.

With Wylde's appointment as Chaplain in 1928, Monica requested that the Community become an extra-parochial institution. This was agreed to by Long only if Wylde was regarded as Chaplain to the whole Order

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5 Mrs Woolley to Monica, 6 March 1927; Mrs Woolley died on 1 April 1928, letter of Woolley to Sisters 5 April 1928.

6 Woolley to Monica, 1 December 1927.

7 ibid.

8 Monica to Woolley, 5 December 1927.

9 Long to Monica, 29 November 1927; Wylde to Woolley, 31 May 1928.

10 Wylde to Monica, 19 November 1928; Crotty to Wylde 13 June 1929.

and not just those Sisters living at Nyngan.[11] By 1929 the Community at Nyngan had taken up residence in Gilgandra where Wylde was Rector.[12] Two of the Sisters were then sent to run St. Christopher's Childrens' Home in Young in the Diocese of Goulburn.[13]

With the recommendation of Father Matthews of Christ Church St. Laurence in Sydney, Janet Miller "who desires someday to become a Postulant of this Sisterhood"[14] was to be rehabilitated at St. Hilda's Hostel after stealing money from her employers in Sydney. However, Monica and Janet were soon infatuated with one another, and this caused divisions amongst the Sisters during the years following Janet's profession. For Wylde, the situation was one of pastoral significance due mainly to his desire to maintain the life of the Community and his rigid ideas about the sacredness of vows.[15] The emphasis Wylde placed on the sacramental nature of the Church made him view with horror the notion that "her Profession was a mockery if not a sacrilege as she was professed under an assumed name after a mockery of Confession and the telling of still more lies".[16] Before he submitted his report to Crotty, Wylde tendered his resignation as Chaplain to the Community, asked that the Visitor be acquainted with the facts, and "acting under the second Rubric before the Communion Service (1662 P.Bk) I am forbidding this young woman who calls herself Janet Miller 'to come to the Lord's Table' until such time as she has truly repented and amended, and in accordance

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11 Long to Monica, 29 November 1927.

12 Church News, Vol.18, No.4, April 1929, p.6.

13 Monica to Crotty, 11 July 1928; Crotty to Monica, 13 July 1928.

14 Monica to Crotty, 10 January 1929.

15 Wylde to Monica 7 June 1932; Wylde to Principal of B.G.S., 10 May 1932; Wylde to Crotty 7 June 1932.

16 Wylde to Crotty, 30 April, 1932.

with the Third Rubric I am notifying you as Ordinary & Bishop".[17] Crotty had given Wylde responsibility for the Order and was quite content to allow him to handle the matter in any way he saw fit,[18] limiting himself to advice as to what often happened in cases of this kind. Wylde sought the advice of others outside the Diocese of Bathurst who had experience with religious orders of this kind.[19] The consensus was that it was to be hoped that Janet Miller would seek release from her vows and resume secular life. Wylde felt a continued obligation to her and to the Community as a whole.[20] Crotty, however, was quite determined that the Community must leave the Diocese, and was unconcerned about its future as an Order[21] and about the individual Sisters.[22] His main concern was that his authority as Bishop remained intact, and so the rehearsal of his opinion in a letter, with a statement of his decision, constituted the measure of his responsibility.[23] Wylde took each pastoral situation individually and tried to assist the parties to a solution where harmony could be restored. At the same time he was decisive when this was necessary but he exerted every part of his forceful personality to achieve a compliance with his expectations and decision,

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17 Wylde to Crotty, 30 April 1932.

18 Crotty to Wylde, 13 May 1932.

19 Wylde to Halse, Bishop of Riverina, 9 November 1932. Bishop Feetham; Bishop Gilbert White; Reverend H.C. Cradock of St. Peter's Memorial Home

20 ibid; Wylde continued to attempt to find a place for Janet Miller despite her vacillations.

21 Crotty to Wylde, 13 May 1932; Crotty to Wylde, dated

22 ibid. Sat.

23 See Crotty's ban on Woolley.

without resorting in the early stages of the dispute to "the language and method of formal episcopal rebuke",[24] as favoured by Crotty to enforce his authority.

Wylde was not always as accurate a judge of character as he prided himself on being. He believed that Monica had been the unwitting victim of a stronger personality[25] and led Crotty to hold this view also.[26] He reversed his attitude towards Monica and he came to believe that she "is terribly double faced & you will be wise to have nothing to do with her".[27]

The solution seemed to be a complete restructuring of the Order with the Diocesan as Visitor and the Sisterhood as a Diocesan institution along the lines of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd,[28] but Monica resisted any attempt to hand the government of the Community to the Diocese,[29] and determined to move to another Diocese.[30]

Although the removal of the Sisters of the Servants of the Holy Cross from the Diocese marked the end of the work of female religious Orders in the Diocese of Bathurst, Wylde continued to envisage a place for a Sisterhood in the parishes of the west or in the Homes which he commenced for children. Immediately after the Sisters of the Servants of the Holy Cross left the Diocese he contacted the Superiors of religious orders

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24 Crotty to Wylde, 5 November 1932.
25 Wylde to Principal of B.G.S.,10 May 1932.
26 Crotty to Wylde, 13 May 1932.
27 Wylde to Halse, 9 November 1932; Wylde to Crotty 14 November 1932.
28 Wylde to Crotty, 17 August 1932.
29 Monica to Crotty, 7 November 1932.
30 Wylde to Crotty, 14 November 1932. The Order moved to Broken Hill in the Diocese of Riverina.

and friends in England who might be able to persuade Communities to establish a House in the Diocese.[31] As late as the 1950's Wylde hoped to attract the Society of the Sacred Advent to work at St. Michael's Home but his efforts in this regard were fruitless.

For Wylde the experience with the Sisters of the Servants of the Holy Cross had important consequences. The relationship between the Community, the individual parish and the Diocese pointed to the kinds of difficulties which might have arisen with the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd without the security and accountability offered by Long's Ordinance. In neither case were life vows professed and there was always a problem with the recruitment of suitable personnel as well as the training of those who joined the Community. The Diocese had established no procedures for involvement regarding the acceptance and training of postulants in the Sisters of the Holy Cross. Even when Wylde was Visitor, an attempt to impose some Diocesan supervision on the Order, he had no power to veto the acceptance of a recruit. This meant that the Mother Superior exerted great power over the Chapter of the Order and it was her judgement which determined those candidates who would be admitted. By contrast Wylde's experience as a former Brotherhood Principal meant that the Diocesan hierarchy had an intimate knowledge of the management of the Brotherhood and meant also that the Bishop's nominee would be appointed Principal. The personal relationship between the Diocesan and the Principal was vital to the integration of Brotherhood and Diocese. Long had pioneered a system of accountability of the Brotherhood to the Diocese with his 1923 Ordinance

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31 Cradock to Wylde, 12 January 1933; ibid, 20 January 1933; see also "Sisterhood" file in Diocesan Archives, 1957-1958 correspondence.



Sister Eleanor, S.S.H.C.

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32 Wylde's treatment of Dean Holmes, Chapter 4b above.

33 Private letters shown to author by Mrs E. Collet, formerly Sister Eleanor, S.S.H.C.

which also made the Diocese responsible for the Brotherhood through Synod. None of this occurred with Sisters of the Servants of the Holy Cross. As an extra-Diocesan organisation the Community owed no allegiance to the Diocese which in turn had no control over the actions of the Order.

The controversy with the Sisters of the Servants of the Holy Cross gave Wylde his first use of episcopal authority. Wylde had witnessed Crotty issue an admonition against the Rector of Nyngan and, despite its consequences, Wylde did not hesitate to use that same instrument when his own episcoal authority was challenged.[32] Wylde attempted to deal sensitively with the pastoral problems within the Sisterhood and with the individuals but his judgement of the characters of the principal participants was defective.[33] This did not deter him from relying on his own judgement on other occasions. At the same time he had no tolerance with the pettiness he saw in the complaints of some clergy and laypeople. His involvement in the personal problems of those in the Diocese led to the loyalty and affection of both clergy and laypeople during Wylde's episcopate. However he would not compromise his beliefs or his strong views on liturgical and pastoral matters. He strove to achieve reconciliation and unanimity between the parties to an ecclesiastical dispute within the limitations imposed by his forceful and uncomprising personality.

The difficulties which arose between the Sisters of the Servants of the Holy Cross and the Diocese of Bathurst were contained within the Diocese. There

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32 Wylde's treatment of Dean Holmes, Chapter 4b above.

33 Private letters shown to author by Mrs E. Collet, formerly Sister Eleanor, S.S.H.C.

were no dominant laypeople willing to challenge the Diocesan authority on behalf of the Sisters. As well the work of the Sisters was confined to the west of the Diocese of Bathurst and this remoteness from the major centres kept them isolated from the vocal and powerful city laymen. Those who had dealings with the Sisters soon came to realise the peculiarities of the character of the Superior. Despite the stern measures applied by Crotty and Wylde the saga of the Sisters of the Servants of the Holy Cross remained a local issue.

The case of the Sisters of the Servants of the Holy Cross within the Diocese of Bathurst brought together four strands which were of considerable importance to the Diocese during Wylde's episcopate. Wylde's handling of the situation was an important learning experience for him in the exercise of episcopal authority. The containment of the issues involving the Sisters showed that Wylde's forceful personality could resolve disputes provided that his authority remained unchallenged. Wylde's willingness to accept men and women whom he believed would understand the Bishop's authority and give him loyalty on the basis of that understanding led him to induct clergy who were unsuited to the work in a country Diocese. The relationship between the Sisters and the Diocese of Bathurst pointed out the potential dangers which could arise with the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd but which had been forestalled by Bishop Long and which never threatened the Diocese during Wylde's episcopate. Wylde was assisted in this by his intimate knowledge of the members of the Brotherhood and his understanding of its structures.

These four strands were to be separated at various

times during Wylde's episcopate and appear again most vividly during the 'Red Book' dispute.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST

THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

The main object of this little book is to help our people to take their part more easily and more fully as they come to worship in the one Service which our Lord appointed. The order of the Communion Service herein is authorised for use, provided that copies of this book are made available for the worshippers, and that the permission of the Bishop of the Diocese has been obtained.

At the end of the book are to be found services for The Private Baptism of Infants, The Communion of the Sick with the Reserved Sacrament, The Administration of Holy Unction, together with a Form of Private Confession. It is hoped that they, too, will be helpful to priests as well as to people.

ARNOLD LOMAS BATHURST.

Advent, 1942.

SUGGESTED PREPARATORY PRAYERS.

O Christ, the King of Ages, though we cannot see thee in thy glory, yet we believe that thou art coming in thy service according to thy word ; open our eyes that we may see ; open our ears that we may hear ; and touch our hearts that we may feel the splendour of thy presence. Amen.

Lord, come to me that thou mayest cleanse me ;
Lord, come to me that thou mayest heal me ;
Lord, come to me that thou mayest strengthen me ;
Lord, come to me that thou mayest use me ;
And grant that, having received thee, I may not forget thee, nor run away from thee into carelessness or sin, but may continue thine for to-morrow and the next day and for ever. Amen.

As watchmen look for the morning, so do we look for thee, O Christ. Come with the dawning day, and make thyself known to us in the breaking of the Bread, for thou art our God for ever. Amen.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

When you come into Church, kneel down and say :—

✠ *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.*

Then tell God what you have come to do :

O God, our heavenly Father, we have now come into thy presence to assist, with all thy holy Church, in offering to thee the holy sacrifice of the Body and Blood of thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ :
To the praise and glory of thy Divine Majesty ;
In remembrance of his death and passion ;
In thanksgiving for all thy blessings bestowed upon thy whole Church, and on us, unworthy though we be.
Especially we offer this holy Sacrifice to obtain the blessings we desire of thee for those for whom we ought to pray ; for our fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters ; for those we love ; for the sick and anxious ; for the tempted and the fallen ; for our own souls' needs ; and for the faithful departed.
Bless the priest who will celebrate this holy mystery. Accept our worship. Bless all who are offering this holy sacrifice wherever they may be. Receive our prayers for all thy holy Church, in heaven, in paradise, and on earth. Convert all sinners ; heal the anguish of the world, and grant us thy peace.

O God, accept all our prayers throughout this holy service for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

If a hymn is sung when the priest comes in, stand ; otherwise remain kneeling.

THE PREPARATION.

The Priest, standing at the steps of the Altar, says with the servers the following preparation. If a hymn is not sung, follow the words and apply them to yourself.

✠ *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.*

I will go unto the altar of God :
Even unto the God of my joy and gladness.

Give sentence with me, O God, and defend my cause against the ungodly people : O deliver me from the deceitful and wicked man.

For thou art the God of my strength, why hast thou put me from thee : and why go I so heavily, while the enemy oppresseth me ?

O send out thy light and thy truth, that they may lead me : and bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy dwelling.

And that I may go unto the altar of God, even unto the God of my joy and gladness : and upon the harp will I give thanks unto thee, O God, my God.

Why art thou so heavy, O my soul : and why art thou so disquieted within me ?

O put thy trust in God : for I will yet give him thanks, which is the help of my countenance, and my God.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son : and to the Holy Ghost :

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

I will go unto the altar of God :

Even unto the God of my joy and gladness.

✠ *Our help is in the name of the Lord ;*

Who hath made heaven and earth.

I confess to God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, before the whole company of heaven, and you, my brethren, that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word, and deed, through my fault, my own fault, my own most grievous fault ; wherefore I pray God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to have mercy upon me, and you, brethren, to pray to the Lord our God for me.

May Almighty God have mercy upon thee, forgive thee all thy sins, and bring thee to everlasting life. Amen.

I confess to God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, before the whole company of heaven, and you, my father, that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word, and deed, through my fault, my own fault, my own most grievous fault ; wherefore I pray God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to have mercy upon me, and you, father, to pray to the Lord our God for me.

Almighty God have mercy upon you, forgive you all your sins, and bring you to everlasting life. Amen.

✠ *May the Almighty and Merciful Lord grant unto us pardon, absolution, and remission of all our sins. Amen.*

Wilt thou not turn again and quicken us ;

That thy people may rejoice in thee ?

O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us ;

And grant us thy salvation.

O Lord, hear our prayer ;

And let our cry come unto thee.

The Lord be with you ;

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

OUR FATHER, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name ; Thy kingdom come ; Thy will be done ; In earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil. Amen.

ALMIGHTY GOD, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid: Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy name; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Here may be read a verse from Holy Scripture, called the INTROIT. Then shall be said or sung:

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.

THE GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.

(On Sundays and Holy Days, this hymn may be said or sung before the Blessing.)

GLORY be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only-begotten Son Jesu Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high ✢ in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

The Lord be with you:

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

Listen while the Priest says

THE COLLECTS.

(One, two or three prayers.)

Then follows—

THE EPISTLE.

After the Epistle has been read, all stand, and a Hymn may be sung while the Priest reads a passage from Holy Scripture, called the GRADUAL.

The Lord be with you:

And with thy spirit.

After the Gospel is announced is said or sung:

✠ Glory be to thee, O Lord.

THE HOLY GOSPEL.

After the Gospel is said or sung:

Praise be to thee, O Christ.

THE CREED.

(The Creed is not said on ordinary week-days.)

I BELIEVE in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible:

And in one Lord JESUS Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, By whom all things were made: Who for us men, and for our salvation came down from heaven,

(Here kneel, in honour of Our Lord's taking human nature.)

AND WAS INCARNATE BY THE HOLY GHOST OF THE VIRGIN MARY, AND WAS MADE MAN,

(Here rise.)

And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, And the third day he rose again according to

the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: Whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord, The giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe One Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, And the ✠ life of the world to come. Amen.

The notices may be given out and a sermon preached. Then all stand while the Priest goes to the Altar for—

THE OFFERTORY.

The Lord be with you:
And with thy spirit.

LET your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

(Or some other verse of Scripture.)

Then a Hymn may be sung while the Alms and Oblations are offered, after which, kneel, and say privately:—

Most merciful God, look graciously upon the gifts now lying before thee, and send down thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, that he may make this bread the Body of the Lord, and this wine the Blood of the Lord. Amen.

THE INTERCESSION.

The Priest says—

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

ALMIGHTY and ever-living God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers, and supplications, and to give thanks, for all men: We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty;

1. FOR UNITY AND LOVE IN THE CHURCH.

Beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord : And grant, that all they that do confess thy holy name may agree in the truth of thy holy Word, and live in unity and godly love.

2. FOR THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

We beseech thee also to lead all nations in the way of righteousness and peace ; and so to direct all kings and rulers, that under them thy people may be godly and quietly governed.

3. FOR ALL IN AUTHORITY IN THE EMPIRE.

And grant unto thy servant (N.) our King, and to all that are put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion, and virtue.

4. FOR THE CLERGY.

Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, especially to thy servant (N.) our bishop, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy Holy Sacraments :

5. FOR MISSIONS AND PLACES OF EDUCATION.

Guide and prosper, we pray thee, those who are labouring for the spread of thy Gospel among the nations, and enlighten with thy Spirit all places of education and learning ; that the whole world may be filled with the knowledge of thy truth.

6. FOR ALL GOD'S PEOPLE.

And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace ; and specially to this congregation here present ; that, with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear, and receive thy holy Word ; truly serving thee in holi-

ness and righteousness all the days of their life.

7. FOR THE SICK AND DISTRESSED.

And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them, who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity.

8. FOR THE FAITHFUL DEPARTED.

And we commend to thy gracious keeping, O Lord, all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear, beseeching thee to grant them everlasting light and peace.

9. IN THANKSGIVING FOR GOD'S SAINTS.

And here we give thee most high praise and hearty thanks for all thy Saints, who have been the chosen vessels of thy grace, and lights of the world in their several generations; and we pray, that rejoicing in

their fellowship, and following their good examples, we may be partakers with them of thy heavenly kingdom.

Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate; who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.

PREPARATION FOR COMMUNION.

Then the Priest turns to the people and says—

YE that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways; Draw near with faith, and take this Holy Sacrament to your comfort; and make your humble confession to Almighty God, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

THE GENERAL CONFESSION.

ALMIGHTY God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, Judge of all men: We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, Which we, from time to time, most grievously have committed, By thought, word, and deed, Against thy Divine Majesty, Provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, And are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; The remembrance of them is grievous unto us; The burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, Have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; For thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, Forgive us all that is past; And grant that we may ever hereafter Serve and please thee In newness of life, To the honour and glory of thy name; Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Priest gives—

THE ABSOLUTION.

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him: Have mercy upon you; ✠ pardon and deliver you from all your sins; confirm and strengthen you in all goodness; and bring you to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Priest say:—

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him.

COME unto me all that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.

So God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

Hear also what Saint Paul saith.

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.

Hear also what Saint John saith.

If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins.

(Where it is the custom, the people may join with the priest in saying the Prayer of Humble Access.)

WE do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table. But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy: Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the Flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink

his Blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his Body, and our souls washed through his most precious Blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. Amen.

Here begins the most solemn part of the Service.

THE PREFACE.

The Lord be with you:

And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

It is meet and right so to do.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord Holy Father Almighty Everlasting God.

(On Festivals a Proper Preface is used.)

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name ; evermore praising thee, and saying,

(Here a bell may be rung.)

THE SANCTUS AND BENEDICTUS.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most High. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the Highest.

THE CONSECRATION.

when the bread and wine become the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of the Holy Ghost. This prayer is said in a low voice, to express the silence of Christ at his passion, and to show the reverence and awe which priest and people ought to feel at such a time.

ALL glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son

Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption ; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole word ; and did institute, and in his Holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again.

(The bell rings once to prepare us for our Lord's coming.)

Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee ; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood :

Who, in the same night that he was betrayed, took Bread; and, when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, THIS IS MY BODY WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU; Do this in remembrance of me.

(The bell rings three times to call us to adoration.)

Likewise after supper he took the Cup; and, when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; FOR THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS; Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

(The bell rings three times to call us to adoration.) Bow your head and say silently to our Lord, present upon his altar throne :—

Jesus, my Lord, I thee adore;
O make me love thee more and more.

THE OBLATION.

(If the priest says the Oblation—prayer of offering—silently, silently make your own offering of yourself, your praises and your prayers to God in remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross for you and everyone.)

Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant that, by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion.

And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto thee: humbly beseeching thee, that all we, who are partakers of this Holy Communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction.

And although we be unworthy, through

our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences;

Through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

The Priest continues:

As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,

The people join with the priest and say:—

OUR Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done; In earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. Amen.

The peace of the Lord be always with you;

And with thy spirit.

Here, after a pause is said or sung

THE AGNUS DEI.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world; have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world; have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world; grant us thy peace.

THE COMMUNION.

Before Communion say this prayer silently:

We, thy servants, O Lord, bow down to thee, before thy holy altar, waiting for the rich mercies which are from thee. Send down upon us, O Lord, thy grace and benediction, and hallow our souls and bodies, that we may be worthy partakers of thy holy mysteries, unto forgiveness of sins and eternal life.

For thou, O God, with thine only-begotten Son and thy most Holy Spirit, art to be worshipped and glorified, now and ever. Amen.

When the bell rings, if you are receiving the Holy Communion, leave your seat, make your reverence to the Blessed Sacrament, and say silently as you go to the altar :—

Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof, but speak the word only and thy servant shall be healed.

On leaving the altar, say silently :—

Thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift.

On returning to your seat, kneel and say silently :—

O my God, I am not my own but thine.
Take me for thine own.
and make me in all things to do thy holy will.
O my God, I give myself to thee,
for joy or for sorrow, for sickness or for health,
for life or for death, for time and for eternity ;
Make me and keep me thine own, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

(For other prayers which may be said silently here, specially when there are many who are receiving the Holy Communion, see pages 31 and 32, and use some of the communion hymns in your Hymn Book.)

THE THANKSGIVING.

The Lord be with you :
And with thy spirit.
Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us ; and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people ; and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son.

And we most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

THE GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.

(If this hymn has not already been said or sung, it will be said or sung here, except on ordinary week-days.)

GLORY be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty. O Lord, the only-begotten Son Jesu

Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high ✝ in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Kneel down for

THE PEACE.

THE peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his son Jesus Christ our Lord:

THE BLESSING.

AND the blessing of God Almighty, the ✠Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you and remain with you always. Amen.

A hymn may be sung while the priest reads the opening words of S. John's Gospel. Stand to join in the singing of the hymn or to follow the reading of S. John 1, 1-14.

IN the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. He was not that light,

but was sent to bear witness of that light. That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made made by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth.

Thanks be to God.

When the priest has returned to the vestry, remain kneeling and say privately :—

O God, who in this wonderful Sacrament hast left unto us a memorial of thy passion : Grant us, we

beseech thee, so to venerate the sacred mysteries of thy Body and Blood, that we may ever perceive within ourselves the fruits of thy redemption ; who livest and reignest, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.

I thank thee, loving Jesus, for having this day allowed me to take part in this holy mystery. Forgive my inattention and wandering thoughts, and help me to lead a good life in this world, that I may at last see thee face to face with thy saints in heaven. Amen.

O Lord Christ, in whose presence we have knelt to-day, make such a difference in our lives that men may take knowledge of us that we have been with thee. Grant that we who have worshipped thee here may one day see thee face to face, where thou livest and reignest, for ever. Amen.

Grant, O Lord

that the hands which have received thee may never do what is wrong ;
that the lips which thou hast sanctified may never utter anything displeasing to thee ;
that the heart wherein thou hast entered may continue in that holy fellowship,
for with thee is happiness and life for evermore. Amen.

COMMUNION OF THE SICK.
(with the Reserved Sacrament)

On arrival at the house the priest says :—

"Peace be to this house and to all who dwell in it."

When all is suitably arranged, he says :—

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; and The Lord's Prayer.

Then turning to the sick person, he says :—

Draw near with faith and take this Holy Sacrament to your comfort, and make your humble confession to Almighty God.

He then kneels and leads THE CONFESSION. (*Page 16.*)

Standing, he gives THE ABSOLUTION *and says* THE COMFORTABLE WORDS.

He then kneels again to say THE PRAYER OF HUMBLE ACCESS.

After which he takes up the Holy Sacrament, saying :

Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.

After a pause he says :

Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof, but speak the word only and my soul shall be healed.

He then communicates the sick person in Both Kinds, or in One, as occasion shall serve, with the usual words of administration in full.

After Communion he says THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING, *with one or more prayers from the Service of the Visitation of the Sick, and concludes with* THE PEACE *and* THE BLESSING.

A FORM OF CONFESSION.

The penitent goes into the church, and (when the priest is ready) goes to the place where Confessions are heard, and, kneeling, says :—

"Bless me, father, for I have sinned.

The priest then says :—

The Lord be with thy heart and lips that thou mayest humbly and faithfully confess thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then the penitent confesses as follows :—

I confess to God the Father Almighty, to his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, to God the Holy Ghost, and to thee, my father, before the whole company of heaven, that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word, and deed, through my fault, through my own fault, through my own most grievous fault.

Specially I confess that (since my last confession) I have . . . .

Here follows the particular Confession, after which the penitent says :—

For these and all my other sins which I cannot now remember, I am heartily sorry, firmly purpose amendment, and humbly ask pardon of God, and penance, advice and absolution of thee, my father ; therefore I pray God the Father Almighty,

his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and God the Holy Ghost, to have mercy upon me, and thee, father, to pray to the Lord our God for me. Amen.

The priest then gives such advice as is necessary, and the penance is given and accepted.

Then the priest says :—

Almighty God, have mercy upon thee, forgive thee thy sins, and bring thee to everlasting life. Amen.

Then, raising his right hand towards the penitent, he says :—

The almighty and merciful Lord grant thee absolution and remission of all thy sins. Amen.

Then he gives absolution, saying :—

Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences ; and by his authority committed unto me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

He ends with :—

The Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ supply all the defects of this thy confession, give thee strength in every good work, grace to overcome all thy temptations, and perseverance until thou reach the land of everlasting life. Amen

PRIVATE BAPTISM OF INFANTS.

Children must not be baptized at home or privately except in case of sickness or other necessity.

When such necessity does arise the Parish Priest should be sent for, or, in his absence, a Deacon or communicant of the Church of England.

If death seems approaching, the child should in no case be permitted to die unbaptized. In such extremity any man or woman standing by may baptize the child, in which case he *will use the form following :—*

Receiving the Christian name from the parents, or someone standing by, he *shall pour water upon the head of the child and say :—*

N, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

All present shall then say the Lord's Prayer :—

Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread ; and forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us ; and lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil. Amen.

As soon as possible a report of the Baptism must be made to the Parish Priest.

A child so baptized is sufficiently and validly baptized ; should the child live, it must be brought to the church to be received by the priest with the proper form of service provided in the Prayer Book.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENT OF HOLY UNCTION.

On arrival at the house, the priest shall say :

"Peace be to this house and to all who dwell in it."

When he comes to the sick person who desires to receive the Holy Anointing and has received Absolution either immediately before or not long before the time of the administration of the Sacrament of Holy Unction, the priest shall say :

✠ In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

The Lord be with you ;

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us,

Christ, have mercy upon us,

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Then shall priests and people say, kneeling :—

PSALM 23.

The Lord is my shepherd : therefore can I lack nothing.

He shall feed me in a green pasture : and lead me forth beside the waters of comfort.

He shall convert my soul : and bring me forth in the paths of righteousness, for his name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil : for thou art with me ; thy rod and thy staff comfort me.

Thou shalt prepare a table before me against them that trouble me : thou hast anointed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full.

But thy loving-kindness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life : and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.

GLORIA.

Then shall the priest stand and say—

Our Lord Jesus Christ said : "They shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover."

And the blessed Evangelist, S. Mark, tells us : "They anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them."

Further in the Epistle of S. James we read : "Is any among you sick ? Let him call for the elders of the Church ; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord ; and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he hath committed sins it shall be forgiven."

Then the priest shall say :—

Let us now pray in silence for a few moments, that in this sacred anointing may be felt the power of Jesus, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

Let us pray.

Our Father, ... deliver us from evil. Amen.

Then, while the people remain kneeling, the priest shall stand and say :—

Our Lord Jesus Christ be near thee to defend thee, within thee to refresh thee, around thee to preserve thee, before thee to guide thee, behind thee to justify thee, above thee to bless thee, who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Spirit, ever one God. *Amen.*

Then the priest, dipping his thumb in the holy oil, shall anoint the sick person on the forehead, in the form of a cross, saying :

N., I anoint thee with holy oil in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed, so may God the Holy Ghost, who is the giver of all health, restore in thee perfect health of body, mind and spirit; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost one God world without end. Amen.

Then shall the priest remove the oil from the forehead of the sick person with a piece of cottonwool, or cloth, which shall afterwards be burnt.

Then shall he say, and the people with him:

Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done; In earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, The power, and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

Then shall the priest bless the sick person:

Unto God's gracious mercy and protection we commit thee. The Lord bless thee and keep thee. The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee. The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace, now and evermore. *Amen.*

D. S. Ford, Printers, 44-50 Reservoir St., Sydney.

Chapter 5

The 'Red Book' Case

From the time of Bishop Long's episcopate the Year Books of the Diocese of Bathurst contained a statement which relates to the 1897 Lambeth Conference where the opinion had been expressed that there could be no "alteration or irregularity in the use by the Clergy of the Prayer Book Services as they stand without the explicit approval of the Diocesan, with whom rests 'Jus Liturgicum' in all such questions".[1] It was this belief in the Bishop's right to determine the liturgy to be used in his Diocese that brought about the most important and far-reaching controversy in Wylde's episcopate.

The 'Red Book' Case, as it came to be called, began with the introduction of the service manual compiled by Wylde. On 2 November 1943 various complainants from the Diocese of Bathurst instructed the Solicitors Allen Allen & Hemsley to require the withdrawal of the Bishop's authority for the use of the Book and to require the Rector of Canowindra to discontinue its use in that parish. On 24 November, Wylde's solicitors, Russell C. Roxburgh & Co., indicated that the Bishop had withdrawn his authority for the Book's use in the parish and that the Rector would comply with this. Not until 5 April 1944 was an Information preferred against Wylde in the Equity division of the Supreme Court of New South Wales which showed that the complainants objected to certain liturgical and ceremonial practices used by Wylde and written into the manual. After evidence had been taken on commission in England the initial charge of heresy was withdrawn but the suet proceeded on a charge of breach of trusts under the New

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1 Year Books of Diocese of Bathurst, 1911-1958.

South Wales Church of England Property Trust Act (1917-1923). In 1948 the Court of Equity ruled in favour of the complainants but on appeal the High Court was evenly divided with the result that the appeal was dismissed. However the High Court limited the Equity injunction to twenty churches in the Diocese of Bathurst where the breach had been proved and the legal proceedings were concluded.[2]

The 'Red Book' was not a devotional manual of the kind so popular in the 1930's.[3] The 'Red Book' was a service book designed to be used in the parishes of the Diocese. It contained a revision of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer Order of Holy Communion as well as various other services and private preparatory prayers.[4]

Almost from the beginning of Wylde's association with the Diocese of Bathurst he had been conscious of Bishop Long's desires to reform the services in the Book of Common Prayer.[5] At the 1927 Synod a motion welcomed the 1928 Revised Prayer Book and was passed unanimously despite the British Parliament's failure to pass the necessary legislation which would have enabled its official adoption throughout the Church. Wylde was contemptuous of this failure and expressed his intention to use the 1928 Book.[6]

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2 See documents in tin trunk labelled 'Red Book' in Diocesan Registry.

3 cf. Rich, J. opinion expressed in his judgement.

4 See copy of the "Holy Eucharist", appendix A.

5 Presidential Address to Synod, Year Book, 1943, p.42.

6 Wylde to mother, 21 September 1927; Wylde to father, 11 January; ibid, 22 January 1929.

Wylde saw his own revision of the Holy Communion service as consistent with the reform movement in England as well as consistent with similar revisions elsewhere in the Australian Church. He also believed his revision to be the continuation and natural extension of Long's earlier revisions of the confirmation, induction and foundation stone services used in the Diocese.[7]

Wylde indicated his interest in the revision of the Holy Communion service at his first Clergy Conference which was held following his enthronement in 1937. To Wylde worship was a matter of the teaching of the congregation by the clergy and of their example. He had practised this in his own priestly ministry.[8] He indicated his concern at variation in the worship at services of Holy Communion between parishes of the Diocese and by 1941 continually exhorted the clergy to assist the people of the parishes to worship with greater understanding and knowledge of the service.[9] In 1942 the Clergy Conference was preceded by a celebration of the 1549 Prayer Book Communion Service as Wylde sought to return to a more "pure" form of the rite.[10] This signalled the alterations he was to make in the manual he was preparing for use in the Diocese. The clergy at the Conference "requested"[11] Wylde to compile a book but he maintained that there would be no compulsion on any priest to use it.[12] Despite this

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7 Presidential Address, op.cit. Church News, Vol.11, No 8. October 1922, p.2.
8 Presidential Address, op.cit.
9 Year Book, op.cit., 1941.
10 Handwritten notes in ledger entitled "Holy Communion Service in other parts of the Anglican Communion", in Diocesan Archives, 'Red Book' box.
11 ibid.
12 ibid.

assurance, in 1943 in an effort to impose some uniformity of service usage throughout the Diocese the Clergy Conference was told that

> Any priest here who was instituted (and inducted) by Bishop Long or Bishop Crotty to the Cure which he now holds has my permission to use forms of Service licensed by either of those Bishops & to perform any rite which either sanctioned. Those who have been Instituted by me or my Commissary to the Cures which they now hold have no such permission; they may only use forms of Services licensed by me.[13]

It was at this point that Wylde as Diocesan

> authorised the use of the Communion Service as in the 'Red Book' but with no additions, omissions or alterations except such as are mentioned in its "rubrics". Those who do not care to use the 'Red Book' will use 1662 but I do not give you authority to omit, add or alter anything in 1662 except under the same two provisions as are contained on the inside front cover of the 'Red Book'.[14]

Wylde had a two-fold purpose in issuing the 'Red Book'. It was part of his strategy to attract young people to the Church. He particularly encouraged its use with confirmation candidates in the belief that it made the service more easily understandable to young people and involved them in worship. Wylde also intended the 'Red Book' to assist the congregation to join in the service. Wylde was intent on removing the lack of involvement of the congregation in the Church of England as well as the suspicion that the celebrant indulged in strange practices at the altar where the people could neither see nor hear nor take part in the service[15]. To

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13 ibid.
14 ibid.
15 Notes for Canowindra talk, Diocesan Archives, 'Red Book' box.

this end he maintained that the use of the sanctus gong was part of the English Church heritage.[16] Wylde was insistent that he was not attempting to make alterations to the Book of Common Prayer[17] but contended that there were already widespread significant deviations from and additions to the Book of Common Prayer. Wylde pointed to the proliferation of devotional books and other aids to worship and maintained that it was his role as Bishop to guide the clergy to those which would be most helpful.[18]

The 'Red Book' was similar in content to the manual published shortly before by Bishop Halse of Riverina.[19] It followed the 1928 Revised Prayer Book closely with reference to the Prayer Book of 1549. Wylde compiled his Book only after consultation with clergy from outside the Diocese of Bathurst.[20] He received much assistance from Farnham Maynard of St. Peter's Eastern Hill in Melbourne, John Hope of Christ Church St. Laurence in Sydney, and Charles Copp of the Community of the Ascension. The text of the Book was submitted to many critics before publication and was no attempt on the part of Wylde at innovation.[21] Wylde himself pointed out that the Dioceses of Sydney, Armidale, and

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16 Ledger, op.cit.

17 Notes for Canowindra talk, 5 December 1943, reprinted in booklet, "Correspondence in connection with All Saints' Church, Canowindra," N.D. Diocesan Archives.

18 ibid.

19 The 'Brown Book'.

20 Presidential Address, op.cit.

21 Archdeacon J.R. Norman of Rockhampton and Canon E.H. Strong of Auckland, N.Z. were others to whom Wylde submitted the manuscript; Teale to author, 10 July, 1980.

Riverina, as well as Bathurst under Long, had provided various services "authorised for ue" by the Diocesan.[22] However in the Diocese of Bathurst the 'Red Book' was seen by both clergy and laypeople as the Bishop's Book. Wylde supervised the distribution and fostered interest in using the Book in various parishes as he visited them. Wylde's personality was such that it was natural for him to dominate Diocesan and parish life and in a Diocese with a tradition of opposition to the Bishop[23] especially in the more closely settled parts Wylde's domination was bound to produce some disaffection. The 'Red Book' was the catalyst for this disaffection to surface as the Bishop appeared to impose his will on the parishes of the Diocese.

Copies of the 'Red Book' were bought in parishes throughout the Diocese from January 1943 until the end of 1945. However its purchase was by no means unanimous in the Diocese and of 45 parishes only 19 purchased copies.[24] None of the three Archdeacons bought parish copies. One Archdeaconry was vacant and the fifth Archdeacon was the Principal of the Brotherhood, the parishes of which, with the exception of Brewarrina, ordered copies of the Book. Of the four Diocesan Canons, two did not purchase copies for congregational use and a third was Vice-Principal of the Brotherhood. Stephen Ball of Kelso who had assisted Wylde in the compilation of the Book did not have copies for the use of his congregation and many former brothers in

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22 Brown Book (Riverina), Blue Book (Canberra Goulburn), manuals in North Queensland and Rockhampton; Wylde's collection of "authorised" services in Diocesan Archives, 'Red Book' box.

23 Teale, By Hook or By Crook, op.cit.

24 List maintained by Wylde, Diocesan Archives, 'Red Book' box.

Diocesan parishes did not have the Book available for congregational use. Within the Diocese there were nearly 4000 copies sold to the 19 parishes and copies were also purchased by chaplains in the armed forces as well as by other interested clergy.[25]

The parish of Canowindra is on the Central Tablelands of New South Wales in the most fertile grazing land in the Diocese of Bathurst. The parish had been established in 1897 as a Mission District until 1911. Over the next thirty years the Parish had only three Rectors and in 1942 John Stanley Richards was elected. Richards had been ordained priest in the Diocese of Ballarat in 1923, and after a succession of charges in the more remote Mallee area of that Diocese had come to the Diocese of Bathurst as Rector of Rylstone in 1929. The parish of Canowindra when Richards came to it in 1943 consisted of the parish church, All Saints, and seven centres. With little formal academic education and an authoritarian ritualistic approach, Richards was ill-suited to a conservative, ritually middle of the road parish.

In addition to the conservatism engendered by the continuity of lengthy incumbencies some of the laymen had been involved in the parish affairs over many years. E.J. Archer had been a Churchwarden since 1920 as well as a member of the Board of Presentation, as had L.P. Biddulph who had served, although not continuously, since 1915. W.B. Farley had been a Synod representative along with Archer for many years but Farley had recently died and had been replaced on Synod by R.C. Robson.[26]

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25 ibid; ledger, op.cit.

26 Teale, "The 'Red Book'", Journal of Religious History 1983, p.85.

On 25 January 1943 Richards wrote to Wylde and enclosed 2 pounds 1 shilling and 8 pence as payment for 100 copies of "The Holy Eucharist". A further order for 60 copies was placed by Richards on 2 November.[27] The decision to purchase the Book for the parish had been taken at the Vestry meeting on 17 December 1942 at which only three of the twelve members attended. However their decision had been ratified at the February 1943 meeting attended by six vestrymen including two of the churchwardens and W.E.T. Frost who had served as lay representative to Synod and who was one of the members of the Board of Presentation along with E.A. Sharpe and Archer.[28] Richards did not use the Book until Whitsunday, 13 June 1943, following the confirmation and it was not until 20 June that Sharpe and Frost were present at a celebration of Holy Communion using the 'Red Book' order.[29] These men held a meeting with other townspeople who were complaining about Richards' use of the Book. At a parish meeting on 23 June, Richards complained about this meeting to which he had not been invited as chairman. He refused to discontinue the use of the Book until the Bishop instructed him to do so, but suggested a compromise whereby the Book of Common Prayer would be used once a month.[30] The main complaint of the disaffected parishioners was not the liturgy itself but the rubrics and liturgical directions contained in the Book. On receiving the complaint Wylde instructed Richards to arrange a parish meeting for 19 July which he would address.[31] Sharpe had been in communication with Canon

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27 Bishop's correspondence, Diocesan Archives, 'Red Book' Box.
28 Year Book, op.cit. 1943.
29 Richards to Wylde, 25 June 1943.
30 Richards to Wylde, 25 June 1943.
31 Wylde to Richards.

T.C. Hammond the Principal of Moore Theological College in Sydney and Wylde even suspected that Hammond might appear at this parish meeting.[32] By his own account Wylde's address to that meeting was not at all conciliatory. He explained the 'Red Book' service and his reasons for compiling it and authorising the Book, but refused to withdraw his permission for its use at Canowindra.[33] Frost gave vent to his animosity towards Wylde by "gesticulating & giving the salute Heil Hitler"[34] When Wylde arrived in Canowindra that day he had taken a copy of the Diocesan Lawbook to Sharpe[35] but there was no attempt to discuss the issues or to mediate privately on the grievances. The day after the meeting seven of the Canowindra vestrymen, led by Sharpe and Frost, resigned "prompted to do this on account of our opposition to the use in the Church of the Manual issued by the Bishop of the Diocese".[36] After this action the issues of the 'Red Book' moved away from the parish arena although the controversy within the parish was still the major focus for the townspeople of Canowindra. The publicity of the Case caused increased attendances at services and at meetings of parish organisations.[37] Later there was even a move at Vestry level to assure the Bishop of the loyalty of the parish and to seek his approval to restore the use of the 'Red Book' in the parish.[38]

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33 Ledger, op.cit.
34 ibid, pp.45-51.
35 ibid, p.51.
36 ibid, p.45; Diary 19 July 1943.
Vestrymen to Richards, 'Red Book' box, Diocesan Archives.
37 Richards to Wylde, 9 August 1943.
38 Richards to Wylde, 21 April, 1944.

The relators in the 'Red Book' Case represented eight of the forty-five parishes in the Diocese of Bathurst. Canowindra, Millthorpe, Blayney, Molong and Eugowra were small rural parishes which offered the same stipend, were similar in character and formed a circle around Orange which itself was evangelical in worship and conservative in outlook. As well as the four relators from the parish of Orange the others from major towns in the Diocese came from the Cathedral and Orange East. Nine of the twenty-three relators were farmers, two were agents, five were professional men, and the remainder were involved in commercial activity.[39] Fifteen of them were involved in parish or Diocesan affairs as Synodsmen,[40] Churchwardens,[41] Vestrymen,[42] or members of the Board of Presentation for their parish.[43] Their motives for involvement in the prosecution of Wylde were mixed. They represented a body of feeling in the Diocese which resented the authoritarian manner of Wylde and his unwillingness to compromise his sacramental and liturgical beliefs to accommodate their no less rigidly dogmatic

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39 Biddulph, Wren, Kingham, Oldham, Carroll, Lyons, Betts, Oldham, Boreham; Worboys, Hill; Sharpe, Frost, Priestly, Hole, W.M. Betts; Ashelford, Howlett, Rowley, Patterson, Shaw, Machin, Mackie.

40 cf. Teale, Journal of Religious History, op.cit.

41 Sharpe, T.H. Oldham, Mackie, Hill. Sharpe and Oldham served only in 1941 and 1942. Hole had been a Synodsman in 1936-1938. Year Books, op.cit.

42 Kingham, T. H. Oldham, Shaw, Machin, all in 1942. Hole had been Holmes' Warden at the Cathedral, Year Books, op.cit.

43 Sharpe (Secretary), Ashelford, Howlett (Secretary), Rowling (Treasurer), Worboys (Treasurer), Shaw (Treasurer), all in 1942. Year Book, op.cit. Sharpe, Frost, Biddulph, Worboys, Kingham, Shaw Carroll, Betts, all in 1942. cf. Teale, op.cit. p.78.

conservative ideas. They knew how they wanted their worship conducted but they were unable to articulate their attitudes in theological terms and so resorted to denigration and the emotional accusation of "Romanisation". They were used to organising and running their parishes and clergy in the way which suited them. This was a feature of the eastern part of the Diocese and an attitude with which Wylde was unfamiliar. His experience from his service in the west had been that the laypeople expected the clergy to organise and run all parish affairs and did not seek to be involved in the decision making.

Some of the relators had clashed personally with Wylde and the events surrounding the 'Red Book' provided them with the opportunity to air their personal differences with the Bishop. This was the situation in the case of the Bathurst relators. Howlett and Rowling were the Secretary and Treasurer of the parish in 1942, Ashelford was a member of the Vestry, and Hole had been Dean Holmes' Warden. Holmes retired from the Cathedral parish early in 1942 partly because of his poor relationship with Wylde and some sections of the Cathedral congregation. At the Annual Meeting in 1943 none of these men were re-elected to the Vestry and five of the nine new members had been petitioners against Holmes.[44] Hole had also been a member of the first Bishopric Election panel which had been dissolved by Wylde in 1936.[45] These relators were all evangelical in worship as was Holmes who had been their mentor and they did not hold the same view as Wylde on the authority of the Bishop in his Diocese.

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44 Year Book, op.cit., 1943.

45 See Below, Chapter 3.

Some of the relators were involved in the Case without actively seeking to be joined to the prosecution of Wylde through the Court. Because they were known to dislike Wylde's authoritarianism the initial complainants sought their assistance.[46] These men were conservative with a natural resistance to change and were evangelical in their worship.[47]

The patriotism engendered by War meant that the Case was an emotional issue in the 1940's Church because of the inflammatory challenge to authority figures such as the Bishop of the Diocese. The men involved were in positions of leadership in their communities with conservative, nationalistic views. However it was precisely their inability to play an active role in the War which made the complainants vigorous in their perceived duty of protecting their communities from internal threat. To them Wylde's 'Red Book' attempted to introduce practices associated with the Roman Catholic faith at a time when their country was at War with the nation most closely identified with this faith. To the reactionary, nationalistic farmers and small businessmen Wylde's attempt to regulate the use of Catholic practices and his imposition of one mode of worship on the whole Diocese was construed as part of the threat that foreigners posed to Australian life. It therefore became their duty to fight against what they

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46 Conversation with C. Kingham of Millthorpe, 1982, who maintained that he spent the next years trying to disassociate himself from the Case. Some of the original relators came to vacant parishes around Orange to build support for their opposition to Wylde and Kingham became involved in this way.

47 According to Kingham, T.H. Oldham was more Presbyterian than Anglican.

perceived as Wylde's authoritarianism very much as "the boys" were fighting against totalitarian regimes outside Australia on their behalf.

The Information dated 5 April 1944 which was preferred against Wylde indicated that the complainants objected to certain practices in use by Wylde as well as his authorisation of the 'Red Book' contrary to the "law and use of the Church of England". There were various practices complained of and which the complainants sought to restrain Wylde from using "during his administration of the Sacrament of Holy Communion in the said Diocese". These practices were detailed as "the ceremony of making the sign of the cross" during the absolution and benediction, and the "ringing during the administration of the said Sacrament of a sanctus bell" both of which ceremonies were declared by the complainants to be "unlawful according to the law of the Church of England". The further complaint was that "The said Red Book also contains certain matters, namely a prayer known as "the epiklesis" and a rubric on page 20 thereof which are in direct conflict with the doctrines of the Church of England as expressed (inter alia) in the 28th Article of the Articles of Religion".[48] This latter charge was what convinced Wylde to take issue with the charges brought in the secular court.[49]

Wylde's defence rested on the point that there was a specific procedure to be followed by those who had complaints against the use of unlawful ritual by

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48 Information, cited in Hammond, The 'Red Book' Case, p.3.

49 Wylde to Maynard, 3 March 1948.

an incumbent within the Church of England. That procedure involved representation to the Bishop who "has an unfettered discretion in the exercise of the aforesaid veto and if he exercises it no appeal or mandamus lies".[50] As well Wylde claimed that he had the right to authorise deviations from and additions to the Book of Common Prayer of 1662 in accordance with the resolution of the "Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury being the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury in England" following the refusal of the House of Commons to give parliamentary sanction to the Revised Prayer Book of 1928. Wylde denied that the 'Red Book' contained "a prayer known as "The Epiklesis"" and denied any conflict with the 28th Article of Religion and after evidence was heard on commission in England from various ecclesiastical lawyers and liturgists, this charge was withdrawn from the Information.[51] He maintained that "the Supreme Court of New South Wales in Equity has no ecclesiastical jurisdiction"[52]. Wylde denied that the 'Red Book' prescribed the use of the sign of the cross and further pointed out that the customs of ringing the sanctus bell and making the sign of the cross over the people had been used in many churches of the Church of England over a long period of time. He further denied that they were "illegal ceremonies according to the law of the Church of England in New South Wales".[53] At the same time he maintained that

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50 Statement of Defence, cited in Hammond, op.cit.
51 ibid, p.216f.
52 ibid, para. 13.
53 ibid.

he was an Evangelical Catholic and indicated that in his view the doctrine of the Real Presence did not mark the difference between the Anglo-Catholic and the non Anglo-Catholic schools of theological thought.[54]

The Case was vigorously prosecuted by the Principal of Moore Theological College in Sydney, Canon Thomas Chatterton Hammond.[55] Hammond had been ordained by the Archbishop of Dublin in 1903 and 1905. From 1919 until 1936 he had been Superintendent of the Irish Church Mission.[56] He had brought with him to Australia the religious prejudices of Ireland[57] and was an ardent member of the Loyal Orange Institute in which he became Grand Master of New South Wales.[58] Hammond was virulent in his articulation of the conservative evangelical position within the Diocese of Sydney. He became the leader of a group of clergy and laymen who took upon themselves the task of guarding and proclaiming the evangelical stand.[59] It was Hammond's view that the Prayer Book of 1662 was part of the Statute Law and that the Bishop had only such authority as the laws of Parliament allowed. To Hammond these laws had been enacted in the Diocesan Synod and were legally enforceable in the secular court. This premise was to be tested in the Diocese

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54 Transcript of evidence, Hammond, op.cit. p.80.

55 Teale, Journal of Religious History, op.cit., pp.79ff; Hammond's papers are not extant.

56 ibid, p.79.

57 Sydney Morning Herald, 8 October 1947, cited by Teale, ibid, p.79.

58 Notes of address reported in Church Record (1982?) by Reverend Carl Hammond.

59 Harold Minton Taylor of the solicitors Allen Allen & Hemsley who instructed against Wylde; R.C.Teece, K.C. previously chancellor of the Diocese of Bathurst under Crotty, who led in the relators' Case; Reverend D.B. Knox, Vice-Principal of Moore Reverend J.R.L. Johnstone; Canon Langford-Smith./College

of Sydney with Hammond's attempt to introduce the 1949 Ordinance which sought to restrict the power of the Archbishop in matters relating to vestments and liturgy.[60] This was a move aimed at John Hope and the worship of Christ Church St. Laurence and in part the prosecution of the 'Red Book' was designed to bring legal sanction to these later efforts to curb the ritualism at Christ Church. With this in mind the conservative clergy allied themselves with the conservative lawyers and laymen of the Sydney Synod to maintain their supreme position of power in Diocesan affairs.[61] Archbishop Mowll was viewed by these men as indecisive.

Personally Mowll had been profoundly hurt by the criticism of the 1938 Memorialists.[62] His rejection for the Primacy which for the first time in the history of the Australian Church went outside the Diocese of Sydney, weighed heavily with him and the Diocese as a whole which began to be defensive of the evangelical position. Wylde had spoken strongly against the automatic election of the Archbishop of Sydney as Primate unless the Bishops of Australia had the final say.[63] So far as Mowll's involvement in the 'Red Book' Case was concerned his efforts were confined to a letter to Wylde in which he urged Wylde to withdraw the Book.[64] At the conclusion of the Case Mowll contributed to the financial appeal to assist pay the

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60 L.C.Rodd, John Hope, p.173; Teale, op.cit.p.88.

61 Church Association; Church of England Evangelical Trust.

62 Teale, op.cit.p.87 citing Loane, op.cit., pp.144-145.

63 Notes for speech to Bishops, 22 November,/ 1947, Diocesan Archives, 'Red Book' box.

64 Mowll to Wylde, 16 June 1944, referred to in Hammond, op.cit., p.79; p.180.

costs of Wylde [65] and he and Wylde remained on cordial terms.[66]

The Case was finally heard in 1947 and the judgement delivered by Mr Justice Roper, Chief Judge in Equity, on 17 February 1948. Roper gave specific directions with regard to the liturgical points raised by the relators and in particular on the differences between the doctrines of the Real Presence and Receptionism.[67] He found that the usage of the Church of England provided the only legal usage for the Church in New South Wales.[68] Therefore the 'Red Book' service was contrary to the rules of the Church of England in New South Wales [69] and on this basis Roper issued an order which restrained the use of the liturgical signs as well as the Book complained of by the relators.[70]

Before the judgement had been delivered Wylde had considered the course to be taken in the event of the suit against him succeeding. He consulted those whose opinion he had relied upon from the beginning and sought their advice as to the advisability of an appeal.[71] It seemed anomolous to Wylde to reject the

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65 Wylde's list, Diocesan Archives, 'Red Book' box.

66 Wylde wrote to Mowll on Mrs Mowll's death; Mowll visited the Diocese of Bathurst both officially and unofficially; Wylde stayed with the Mowll's sometimes when in Sydney, and was asked to take part in services at St. Andrew's Cathedral; Mowll chaired Brotherhood Campaign Meetings in Sydney.

67 Judgment, cited in Hammond, op.cit.,p.216.

68 ibid, p.222.

69 ibid, p.223.

70 ibid, p.224.

71 Maynard to Wylde, 19 January 1948.

Court's jurisdiction to hear the Case in the first place and then to appeal to a higher court against an unfavourable decision.[72] Maynard's advice was to appeal and if necessary to resist the judgement if unfavourable once again. Bishops Batty and Wand sought the opinion of the Archbishop of Canterbury.[73] The decision was made to appeal to the High Court and Wylde decided to continue with the ritual signs which he was accustomed to use pending the outcome of the appeal.[74] During this period Wylde maintained that he had come close to those who had been persecuted for their faith and this was a sentiment echoed throughout the Diocese of Bathurst.[75]

In December 1948 the High Court delivered its judgement in which Justices Dixon and Rich allowed Wylde's appeal and Chief Justice Latham and Justice Williams dismissed it but restricted the Equity decision to twenty churches within the Diocese of Bathurst.[76] Rich in particular was critical of the motives behind the initiation of the suit.[77] Williams also expressed his disquiet at such a prosecution. Although in accordance

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72 ibid, 2 March 1948.

73 Canterbury's advice was to "think of others", 20 October 1948; Bishop of Oxford, 2 March 1946; on question of withdrawal, see Bishop of London, 30 October 1945, all in Diocesan Archives, 'Red Book' box.

74 Wylde to Maynard, 3 March 1948; Wylde's circular letter to clergy; Church Record, 1945.

75 Wylde to Maynard, ibid; ibid, 29 November 1948; ibid, 25 March 1949; ibid, 28 April 1949; Mrs Mills to Wylde, 3 November 1952, reporting Collins at Wylde's Jubilee.

76 Hammond, op.cit., p.260f.

77 ibid, p.237; Maynard to Wylde, 28 April 1949.

with the rules of the High Court the appeal was dismissed when the judges were evenly divided, their judgements appeared to vindicate the stand that Wylde had taken. Maynard's advice was not to pursue the matter to higher courts but Wylde's inclination was to achieve a more definite conclusion.[78]

It was decided to bring the issues of the Case before a wider church public. Maynard proposed the writing of a series of articles in the Church Standard in which the historical and liturgical principles involved in the Case would be set out. As well Maynard's editorial in the Australian Church Quarterly was widely circulated within the Diocese of Bathurst. On the basis of these articles and the High Court decision it became the common opinion that there would have been no opposition to the 'Red Book' if Wylde had not authorised it.[79] However other manuals issued elsewhere prior to the issue of the 'Red Book' carried an authorisation by the Diocesan.

Wylde had been concerned about the financial expenses incurred in the defence of the Case and had indicated that he would borrow against his insurance policies to pay for the High Court appeal if that became necessary.[80] Maynard proposed a financial appeal to cover the costs of the defence but he was unwilling to organise this appeal himself. Although Wylde

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78 Wylde to Maynard, 4 May 1949; Rich to Maynard.

79 Letters from various clergy to author as well as personal conversations, particularly with Canon J.S. Richards.

80 Wylde to Maynard, 3 March 1948; Maynard to Wylde, 14 May 1948; Wylde to Maynard, 24 March 1949; Maynard to Wylde, 19 June 1949; Wylde to Maynard 8 July 1949.

referred to the "Catholic laymen"[81] who were instrumental in raising the costs, Maynard did not want it to appear that support for Wylde had been promoted as part of a Catholic/Evangelical dispute. Despite this the Case came to be celebrated as a test of strength between the two parties in the Church. The English Church Union paid the costs of the English evidence heard on commission,[82] and subscribers to the defence appeal came from all over Australia.[83]

Nationally the Case "emphasised the need for the Church in Australia to obtain full power to enforce its own discipline and order its own law of worship".[84] The introduction of a Constitution for the Australian Church had been periodicaly raised by various bishops. Bishop Long had taken the leading part in the drafting of a constitution during the 1920's which greatly influenced Wylde's thought on this subject. The autonomy and influence of the individual Diocese was at stake in the 'Red Book' Case and the need for a constitution to resolve such questions as canvassed in the Case was reinforced. The Diocese of Sydney had always been hostile to a constitution which might limit its powers and influence particularly with the introduction of an appellate tribunal.[85] The 'Red Book' Case

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81 Wylde to Elton, 19 June 1949; relators' funds were organised by clergy from the Diocese of Sydney, see circular letter of Shelley, Chatswood, and list of signatories; also Christ Church Gladesville; D. Begbie, St. Anne's Ryde, all in 'Red Book' box, Diocese of Bathurst Archives.

82 List of contributors, 'Red Book' box, Diocese of Bathurst Archives.

83 ibid.

84 Batty, Australian Church Quarterly, clipping in Diocese of Bathurst Archives.

85 Teale, Journal, op.cit.

was the catalyst to further delay that constitution with the delay being blamed on the Catholic section of the Church represented by Wylde rather than on those who had instigated the Case against him.[86] Farnham Maynard was concerned about the effect of the Case on the constitution movement.[87] He realised however that the chance existed to turn the events and judgement to some positive advantage.[88] With the control of the appellate tribunal at stake the Diocese of Sydney was mistrustful of a national Church movement which might limit its influence and power over the other Dioceses. However the issue of the right of the national church to order its affairs independently of the secular authorities was brought to a head by the 'Red Book' Case.[89] Bishop Batty of Newcastle was one of the leading advocates of the constitution at this time and saw the delay caused by the Case as a positive thing. For him the division in the judgement of the High Court meant that ecclesiastical cases would never again be tried in a secular Court.[90] So his view was that the 'Red Book' Case assisted the cause for the adoption of a constitution because it hastened the necessity for a church tribunal to arbitrate on such matters. The Case made the other Dioceses in Australia realise the implications for

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86 Allen Allen & Hemsley to Russell C. Roxburgh & Co, 21 December 1943; see also correspondence for fundraising for prosecution, e.g. Shelly, op.cit. Diocese of Bathurst Archives.

87 Maynard to Wylde, 19 May 1948.

88 Maynard to Wylde, 29 November 1949.

89 Australian Church Record, 26 February 1948; p.6; 16 December 1948, pp.22ff; Church Standard, 19 March 1948; Church Gazette, January-February 1948.

90 Batty, op.cit.; see also The Bush Brother, Vol.XVI, 1920, p.177; ibid, Vol.XVIII, 1922, p.78, pp.290, on "Legal Nexus".

themselves if the Diocese of Sydney had been legally entitled to dictate the ecclesiastical and episcopal affairs of the Diocese of Bathurst.

The 'Red Book' Case brought to a head the tension between the Diocese of Sydney and the Diocese of Bathurst. There had always been tensions between the country Dioceses in New South Wales and the metropolitan See due to the settlement of money at the creation of the country Dioceses in the nineteenth century. This exacerbated the churchmanship divisions which had existed beneath the surface between Sydney and Bathurst since the time of Bishop Camidge's appointment.[91] The Diocese of Sydney had been uneasy at the election of a former Principal of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd to North Queensland, and the rejection of Holmes for the bishopric of Bathurst in 1936 was a major blow to the growth of the evangelicalism in New South Wales. In 1936 the Diocese of Sydney appeared to many of its clergy and prominent laymen to be the final bastion of the truth of the reformation faith as another Bush Brother took his place on the bench of Bishops ahead of an evangelical. Bathurst was one of the more important country Dioceses in New South Wales and Wylde's election followed by his introduction of the 'Red Book' was seen as the final separation between the two Dioceses.

In the Diocese of Riverina the uniformity of churchmanship combined with that Diocese's relative isolation did not allow of the degree of disaffection required to make a liturgical action against the Bishop.

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91 Teale, Journal, op.cit., p.85; evidence of A.N.H. Sambrook, Hammond, op.cit., p.19f.

For the extreme evangelicals the opportunity to demonstrate that they were still supreme in the affairs of the oldest and most powerful Diocese in the Australian Church came with the introduction of the 'Red Book'. Their failure to decisively win their attempt to order the affairs of another Diocese was followed by a desperate bid to maintain the evangelical principles within the Diocese of Sydney itself with Hammond's 1949 Vestments Ordinance.

To all outward appearances the Diocese of Bathurst continued much as it had before the eruption of the controversy. Four years had elapsed between the initial meetings in Canowindra and the judgement in the High Court. Many of the clergy in the Diocese were content to use the 'Red Book' for public devotion in their parishes. Wylde advised those who wished to use such a book to purchase copies of 'Adoremus', a green covered booklet in exactly the same form as the 'Red Book'.[92] It contained an introduction dated 1946 written by the Archbishop of Brisbane which welcomed the book to be readily purchased from Church Stores in Sydney.[93]

For Wylde personally the result of the Case was irrelevant. He was aged 67 at the conclusion of the proceedings. The process whereby the Diocese was turned inward had already begun independently of the 'Red Book' Case. This came about partly because of the difficult staffing problems caused during the War when the Diocese depended more and more on its own

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92 'Adoremus', p.4; p.23.

93 Halse had authorised his 'Brown Book'.

resources and on short term arrangements. Wylde's natural inclination was to turn to the Brotherhoods working in the Church to provide the needed manpower. As well Wylde's ten year episcopate had served to isolate the Diocese of Bathurst from the other Dioceses in New South Wales, a contributing factor being Wylde's lack of experience with other parts of the Australian Church. Wylde himself was isolated from his fellow Bishops with the exception of Bishop Batty of Newcastle who had given evidence on his behalf in the prosecution. Wylde's increasing personal isolation was also due to his age. Other Bishops with whom he shared a common liturgical background such as the new Bishop of Riverina were Wylde's juniors and sought his advice rather than his friendship. Wylde attended few of the Bishops' meetings or other inter-Diocesan meetings and after 1951 sent Biship Collins as the Diocesan episcopal representative. Wylde himself preferred to stay within the borders of the Diocese carrying out the pastoral ministry in the parishes which he saw as his primary responsibility. He had gathered into the Diocese a group of clergy loyal to himself. Many of these men had been ordained by him and served their entire ministry in the Diocese with the exception of war service. Those who had come to the Diocese more recently had often been attracted because of the prosecution and revered Wylde as a martyr for the Catholic cause.[94] Wylde's stated aim of regularising the worship practice throughout the Diocese of Bathurst had been accomplished albeit in a manner never envisaged by Wylde himself.[95]

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94 This was particularly true of the younger clergy accepted during the 1950's.

95 Wylde's handwritten notes on folder "Elizabethan and Charles the Second Acts for Uniformity", Diocese of Bathurst Archives.

Many of the results of the 'Red Book' prosecution were beyond Wylde's interest and understanding. In a real sense he was caught up in the events of the Case and the results were irrelevant to him and to the Diocese of Bathurst.

Chapter 6

Wylde's Legacy to the Diocese

During the period 1935 to 1958 the Church underwent a dramatic change in Australian society. This had to do with external forces which altered society's view of itself. The Depression began the process of change in the Church which culminated after the Second World War. People in the country areas of Australia began to be disillusioned with their style of life with its isolation and physical hardships, with its lack of the amenities which were taken for granted in the cities, with the distances to be travelled and with the poor economic return for primary produce. There were less opportunities for employment than before. The commonly accepted ways of providing recreation of fifty years before were being rejected by the younger generation. There was a greater questioning of authority and its inherent right to make decisions. The motor car brought greater mobility and travel gave a greater exposure to outside influences and an increasing reliance on resources outside the country community.

Arnold Lomas Wylde came to the country Diocese of Bathurst with romantic Catholic ideals of service. He had left St. Simon Zealotes in the missionary area of London's East End because his ideals became increasingly difficult to reconcile with the practice which daily confronted him in his ministry in that parish. Service with one of the brotherhoods overseas based on community discipline and a worship which grew out of the sacramental principles of the Anglo-Catholic movement seemed to afford the best chance of accommodating these ideals. When the opportunity was presented

to serve with the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd in the Diocese of Bathurst, Wylde accepted that call. He romanticised the Australian bush and the struggling small farmers and workers he came across in the course of his early ministry in the west but as the popular concept of the Church began to alter in these areas his ideals of missionary service began to be less relevant. His ministry was based on pastoral considerations, on strict discipline, and on loyalty and obedience at a time when those attributes were becoming outmoded in society. By the time Wylde died his ethos had not kept pace with the challenging circumstances of the day and his lengthy episcopate had had the effect of stultifying the Diocese of Bathurst. The Diocese as a whole had become very parochial and had little involvement with the wider Australian Church.[1]

The type of clergy whom Wylde attracted to the Diocese reinforced this trend. Wylde's emphasis on the pastoral ministry meant that most of the clergy were not outstanding or academic but hardworking, pastorally oriented men in the mould of Wylde himself. He maintained a great loyalty to those whom he trusted and gathered around himself a nucleus of former Brotherhood clergy who understood his emphases. Wylde had little patience with academic pursuits on the part of the clergy and gave grudging permission for clergy to pursue further studies.[2] Yet this was a period of

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1 Discussions with Ian S. Moore, Diocesan Chairman of Committees, 1981.

2 Barry Marshall constantly had to account for his continuing study at Oxford when Wylde preferred him to return to work in the Brotherhood, see correspondence, Diocese of Bathurst Archives.

increasing education and literacy in the general population. Wylde was primarily a bishop devoted to the bush and an uncomplicated lifestyle in a period and in a Diocese when that type of ministry was becoming less applicable. There can be little doubt that without Wylde's involvement and encouragement the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd would not have continued to minister in the Diocese or to have had such an influence over Diocesan affairs and there is a real sense in which the Brotherhood type of ministry retarded the growth of the western parishes. After Wylde's death the Diocese under the Synodical Presidency of Brotherhood Principal Archdeacon L.C.S. Walker, deliberately chose a successor who would maintain the pastoral foundation laid by Wylde in preference to the statesmanship brought by Bishop Long or the intellectualism of Bishop Crotty.

A tendency to look inwards was gradually built up in the Diocese of Bathurst during Wylde's episcopate by lack of initiative from within, coupled with the threat of external persecution. In conjunction with this there was a lack of unity between the parishes related partly to the geographical isolation and the distances which separated them and partly to the style of ministry imposed by Wylde where the major consideration was given to the parochial unit rather than the Diocese as a whole.[3] The Church in the Diocese of Bathurst became less equipped to deal with the challenging circumstances that were better confronted by Bishop Batty and Bishop Burgmann in the country Dioceses of Newcastle and Canberra Goulburn.

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3 Moore, op.cit.

The 'Red Book' Case forced both Wylde and the Diocese of Bathurst into a prominence which neither sought and which neither would have assumed for themselves. Wylde was not an innovator and on the stage of the Australian Church both he and the Diocese of Bathurst were minor players caught up in the larger drama being fought within the Diocese of Sydney for control of that Diocese, and by a section of the Diocese of Sydney for pre-eminence in the Australian Church. Wylde however had a directness of approach and an unwillingness to tolerate the inadequacies of others and would not countenance opposition. As a defender of what he believed to be the uniqueness of the Anglican position, he was determined not to allow its truths as he understood them be eroded. Wylde was an advocate of ritual worship and the importance of the sacraments but with the rejection of his attempt to impose a measure of uniformity on the Diocese of Bathurst the gradual introversion of the Diocese with regard to the rest of the Australian Church became more pronounced and even an object of pride within the Diocese. In addition this rebuff to Wylde's one conscious effort at Diocesan unity meant that the parishes became more isolated from each other as individual differences came to be increasingly accepted as the standard.

Arnold Lomas Wylde's long episcopate set the pattern for the Church in the Diocese of Bathurst for many years. His style of worship, his emphasis on pastoral ministry, his reliance on the Brotherhood and its clergy, his involvement with young people, his love of the outback and simplicity of manner have all

been emulated and continued throughout the Diocese.[4] These were all attributes which Wylde learnt during his early ministry in England and which were reinforced by his period as Coadjutor to Bishop Long. For Arnold Lomas Wylde the Diocese of Bathurst was his life and his family, and the Diocese as a whole and the individual parishioners in it responded accordingly and revered him as their Father in God.

4 Alan Morse to author, 20 May 1981.

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