USE OF THESES

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THE EPISCOPATE OF E.H. HURGMANN

TO 1947

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By

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SUMMARY

Bishop and diocese are not separable from each other. Goulburn's first bishop, Mesac Thomas, set a standard of dynamic leadership and pastoral care that became a pattern for the future. The physical features and the manner of life of the people were limiting factors, determining much of what bishops and clergy could and could not do. By 1934, church life and organisation had been following the same fixed pattern for many years, but the region as a whole was beginning to change. Disastrous events in the closing years of Bishop Radford's episcopate had left the diocese in an unstable condition.

Chapter I

The Synod of Goulburn in 1934 was looking for a new kind of bishop, or at least somebody who would have a new kind of approach to the problems facing the diocese. Ernest Henry Burgmann was not a self-evident choice as Bishop of Goulburn; his personal background seemed wrong for the leader of a rural institution, and he was only nominated at the last minute. Nevertheless his election occurred with surprising ease.

Chapter II

The city of Goulburn was symbolic of the old order that was passing. The pattern of parish life in this district was firmly set; it had served its purpose well in earlier years, but was now tending to break down. Goulburn itself no longer held the dominant position in church affairs, and some changes were bound to occur. But it was not clear what should be done, and fresh leadership was needed to regroup the diocese and perhaps change the traditional position of Goulburn.

Chapter III

Burgmann soon made himself familiar with conditions throughout the Diocese. He reckoned the greatest need was for more positive leadership and informed teaching in the parishes, and instituted a campaign to raise the standard of the clergy. Ordinands were better-trained, and the whole body of clergy was given opportunity for in-service training. Along with this went a long-range policy of getting churchpeople generally to consider the relationship of Christian faith to the whole of life, and to break down parochial barriers. The diocese was called upon to work as a team in such matters as providing a Children's Home. The outbreak of war in 1939 inhibited much of what was being done, but by this time the pessimistic outlook found a few years earlier, had quite disappeared.

Chapter IV

Burgmann's own particular interests lay in relating Christianity to the needs of the community, and its bearing on pressing social problems. While
living at Morpeth he had many opportunities to express this concern. As Bishop of Goulburn, occasions for carrying on this work were much fewer. His interest in such matters was a positive result of his Christian beliefs, not simply humanistic. Therefore he tried to continue his attack on social problems, and found a way to do so through the Legion of Christian Youth. He founded a diocesan youth organisation with the same object in mind. Again, the outbreak of war curtailed these activities, even more seriously than the general work of the diocese.

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The war, however, brought into fresh prominence a question that was bound to arise sooner or later, the question of Canberra, the relation of the rest of the diocese to parishioners there, the relation of the bishop to Canberra and the position of Goulburn. Burgmann decided he should live in Canberra, and so meet the difficulties that had caused great trouble to his predecessor, Radford, when he had tried to make the A.C.T. a separate diocese with its own bishop and a National Cathedral. Burgmann wanted a coadjutor-bishop to live in Goulburn. His ideas were accepted easily enough, but he came to grief over his choice for an assistant bishop. This caused a few years' delay in fulfilling his plans. Nevertheless, in 1947 he moved to Canberra, although there was no second bishop until 1949.

Chapter VI ................................................................. p. 143

In the post-war years, the Diocese, now named Canberra and Goulburn, was able to settle down to a period of fairly steady expansion.

Chapter VII (Epilogue) ................................................. p. 178

E.H. Burgmann had given effective leadership, and had proposed and carried out solutions to most of the serious problems confronting the Diocese of Goulburn at a crucial time in its history.

Chapter VIII ............................................................ p. 183
PRINCIPAL SOURCES

Unpublished material:

Letters and copies of letters; manuscript and typescript documents, sermons, addresses, talks, notes of addresses; diaries, ledgers, reports of meetings; unpublished reminiscences.

Located at:

1. Bishop Burgmann's residence.
2. "Records Room" (loft above stable) at Old Bishopsthorpe, Goulburn.
4. Diocesan Registry office, Goulburn.
7. All Saints' Rectory, Berridale, N.S.W.

Official records and reports:


Minutes of the Bishop in Council of the Diocese of Goulburn, (Note: the Bishop-in-Council, or Diocesan Council, is the standing committee of the Diocesan Synod).

Report of the (....) General Synod of the Church of England in Australia and Tasmania, (year ....).

Report of the (....) Synod of the Diocese of Goulburn, .... Session, (year ....).

Presidential Address to the .... Session of the .... Synod of the Diocese of Goulburn, ....

Abbreviation used in footnotes:

Private papers.

Old Bishopsthorpe.

S. Mark's.

Registry.

Acts and Proceedings.

D.G. Minutes.

General Synod report, (year ....).

Synod report, (year ....).

Synod Address, (year ....).
Report of the Proceedings of the Church Society of the Diocese of Goulburn, (year ....).

Newspapers and periodicals:

The Southern Churchman, Goulburn
The Newcastle Morning Herald
The Sydney Morning Herald
The Sun, Sydney
The Daily Telegraph, Sydney
The Labor Daily, Sydney
Goulburn Evening (Penny) Post
The Church Standard, Sydney
St. Mark's Review, Canberra

Other Published material:

Published works of E.H. Burgmann:

Factors in the Making of the Christian Religion
The Opportunity of the Church of England
Justice for All and The Case for the Unemployed
The Regeneration of Civilization, Moorhouse Lectures, November 1942.
The Faith of an Anglican.
The Education of an Australian.
Anglican Belief and Practice.

Other books:

R.T. Wyatt; The History of Goulburn, N.S.W., Goulburn, 1941.
J.T.R. Border; The Founding of the Sea of Goulburn, Canberra, 1956.
A.P. Elkin; The History of the Diocese of Newcastle, Newcastle, 1957.
H.L. White, ed; Canberra, A Nation's Capital. Canberra 1954.
P. Watson; A Brief History of Canberra. Canberra, 1927.

Abbreviation used in footnotes:

Diocese of Goulburn
History of Goulburn
Diocese of Newcastle
Frederic Barker
History of Canberra
F.W. Robinson: Canberra's First Hundred Years and After. Sydney 1927.
L.F. Fitzhardinge: St. John's Church and Canberra. Canberra, 1941.

Abbreviations used for names appearing frequently in footnotes:

R.T.W. Ransome T. Wyatt (Registrar of the Diocese of Goulburn).
C.S.R. Charles Shearer Robertson (Rector and Archdeacon of Canberra).
F.de W.B. Francis de Witt Batty (Bishop of Newcastle).
A.J.D. Allan J. Dalziel (Secretary of the Legion of Christian Youth).

Convention concerning certain words:

The word 'church' is employed with an initial capital letter (Church) when meaning the Church of England in particular. Otherwise it means the Christian Church in general.
Similarly, 'Bishop' and 'Diocese' with initial capitals refer respectively to the Bishop, and Diocese, of Goulburn.
BISHOP BURGMANN

By The REV. BEND CANON G. A. M. NELL, Th.Schol.

Among my collection of photos is one of a young, virile man, with blue eyes and a mass of blond curls. It is that of the Rev. F. H. Burgmann, warden of St. John's College, Armidale, as I knew him when I entered the college over forty years ago.

The students' song went...

"We live in a building of deal board and cracks,
But are thankful we have not to live like the blacks."

That was perhaps an exaggeration but the college lacked many of the amenities of life: of an adequate staff and an adequate library. But that which was lacking was more than made up by the calibre of its hard-working warden.

He had been brought up in a hard school. His Greek had been learned as he cut down trees. He had driven a bullock team without the aid of the florid language which is normally associated with bullock driving. He had a passion for Truth...to discover the Truth, to test the Truth, to live the Truth and to proclaim the Truth. He endeavoured to instil into his students that same passion. He did not expect us to accept unques tioned the facts that he taught. He wanted us to think and tried to give us a "pain in the mind." His quest for the Truth had brought him to certain strongly held convictions, but he always respected the right of others to have contrary convictions. Students who disagreed with him or with expressions of opinion in their text books received no rebuke, provided that they could lucidly give the reasons for their disagreement, and showed that they were genuinely thinking.

He was a wonderful teacher. He had the gift of explaining the most obscure subjects in simple words. He made the Bible come alive for us. Never will we forget his Old Testament lectures, and never will we forget his talks on St. John's Gospel given each Sunday morning.

It was after one of those talks that a group of us agreed that when ever the opportunity presented itself we should endeavour to have him elected a bishop. What a bishop he would make!

The opportunity came to those of us who worked in the Diocese of Cooma. We have no doubt that he was elected under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Humbly speaking, however, it was the enthusiasm of his old students that swayed the Synod.

"A young, virile man, with blue eyes and a mass of blond curls."
Chapter I.

Introduction.
'If a man seeketh the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work'. The more prosaic New English Bible renders: 'To aspire to leadership is an honourable ambition'.

The office of a bishop as known to nineteenth century English churchmen was far removed from the *primus inter pares* of early Christianity, who presided at the eucharist and officiated as chairman at synods of clergy. He had become the actual ruler and master of a piece of territory, a diocese, and the bishop can hardly be considered apart from his diocese. To fill such an office was a good work indeed.

When the episcopal office was translated to the Antipodes, the bishop was not necessarily reduced in stature because he was no longer an officer of the Established Church, for in effect he might be more absolute in his control than any old-world bishop who must keep one eye on Canterbury and the other on Westminster. The colonial bishop might still play his part in national affairs or in matters not directly related to his diocese; but in practice bishops were too busy to find much time for doing so. Burgmann was one who used his episcopal office in such external affairs; few others were doing so with such effect.

Ernest Henry Burgmann, the fifth Bishop of Goulburn, may be in some respects compared with the first, Mesiac Thomas. They each held office for a similar period, twenty-six and twenty-seven years respectively; each time was a crucial one for the diocese. Thomas, in 1864, had to contend with the problems of establishing a new institution; Burgmann, in 1934, had to rally a demoralised diocese and find a way to deal with the question of Canberra. There are other
points of comparison and contrast between Burgmann and some of his predecessors, having a bearing on Burgmann's own episcopate. The separate dioceses of the Anglican Church in Australia have tended to be so isolated from each other, that a bishop's predecessors in office and the traditions inherited from them, have probably more influence on him than have his contemporaries in other dioceses.

Thomas brought to his work tremendous energy; ability to organise both the human and material resources available, to great advantage; a personality that commanded co-operation or at least non-resistance; and sufficient determination, and faith in the work he was doing, to enable him to guide and superintend the firm establishment of the Church of England undaunted by the difficulties of a strange and unpromising environment. He came to an area ministered sparsely by a handful of isolated clergy. In under twenty years the whole region had been covered with a system of parishes, involving the creation of twenty-three new parochial areas; the clergy had increased fourfold; there was commensurate increase in the number of churches, parsonages and school buildings; a system of church government and finance had been set up. Burgmann therefore inherited a tradition of sound administration.

In one or two directions progress may have been too rapid. His zeal to see the whole countryside covered with formally constituted parishes led to the disappearance of itinerating clergy whose ministry in very sparsely populated areas was sometimes more effective because more adaptable to circumstances; the record of pioneer priests in southern districts, such as E.G. Price and Robert Cartwright before the creation of the diocese, had demonstrated the possibilities of this kind of ministry; and other dioceses developed the idea into the 'bush
brotherhoods', with good effect.

Goulburn Diocese began then with a firm tradition of the exercise of episcopal authority, powerful, personal and dramatic. Bishops subsequent to Thomas overlaid the original highly coloured picture with more mellow tones; calmer and better balanced, as a rule less forceful, yet still in the same tradition of positive, sometimes autocratic, episcopal rulership. William Chalmers, the second bishop, by contrast with Thomas, seems urbane and perhaps rather negative. Christopher Barlow, the diocese's only bachelor bishop, was a fairly colourful figure by comparison with Chalmers, but not having the commanding personality of a Thomas, and lacking also the robust health and mental vigour required, he found the going difficult. But he had qualities of understanding and humanity somewhat lacking in his predecessors. He was considered approachable and not marked by the aloofness characteristic of most English bishops. Burgmann felt himself spiritually akin to Mesac Thomas among his predecessors, but in this matter of being accessible to people generally and having understanding of them, he had much more in common with Christopher Barlow.

Burgmann's immediate predecessor was Lewis Bostock Radford (1915-1933), and the predominant memory of him was of a man defeated and broken by events; his passionate concern for an adequate approach to the problem of Canberra had led him to take steps that ended in disaster. If churchmen had memories long enough, they may have recalled that Thomas' closing years were clouded by quarrels concerning the use of Goulburn Cathedral, and Barlow's by a failure of personal relationships. If therefore the fifth Bishop of Goulburn inherited a tradition of episcopal decisiveness, he also had adequate warning of the personal dangers confronting any bishop whose decisions involved him in extra-
ordinary activities.

Of great interest to a new bishop was the physical nature of the area, and the general characteristics of the people inhabiting it. The countryside provides more contrasts than is general in Australian dioceses. A large proportion of the region is mountainous, with tablelands and undulating slopes; in the east is narrow coastal plain, and the western portion of the diocese includes a comparatively small part of the inland plains of New South Wales. Occupations in 1934 were partly determined by these factors: on the coast, dairying and timber-getting with some fishing; in the west, the diocese entered the wheat belt; but by far the greatest part was given to sheep-grazing. The well-drained, moderately well-watered uplands, with an average rainfall of some fifteen to twenty-five inches annually, and the generally cool climate, provided ideal conditions for this purpose. There was also a good deal of cattle-grazing in the more rugged districts, particularly in the Monaro. Three-quarters of the area was given to grazing pursuits.

The rugged nature of the terrain militated against ease of communication and the formation of large towns; this in turn tended to discourage any interest in cultural pursuits. Life on the whole was far from easy; opportunities for advanced education were poor and the demand for it was not high except among the comparatively wealthy whose children received their secondary education at a private boarding-school in Sydney or one of the few large towns. Most children left school at fourteen years of age to seek employment, or work on the family farm.

Most people expected to spend the whole of their lives in one small locality, with visits once a month, or less frequently, to the nearby township.
for provisions and entertainment, and perhaps with an annual trip to a large
town or to Sydney. It was still not uncommon before 1939 to find families whose
members had never travelled more than a few miles from their home, had never seen
a railway station or even a moderate-sized town, had no radio and received no
newspaper except the local twice-weekly sheet, and whose social occasions were
provided by dances and scratch race-meetings, invariably called sports' days.
In smaller communities, often not even possessing a public-house, the only public
buildings would be the weatherboard one-teacher school, the public hall (a shed
made of corrugated iron), and the church.

Since the majority of rural dwellers were Anglicans, most bush churches
were identified as Church of England. By 1934, since previous bishops, Radford
in particular, had striven to achieve dignified standards of worship, there were
few buildings, however small, that were not furnished with traditional ornaments
and appointments. The smallest country church was recognizably Anglican, after
the pattern of the gothic revival, complete with gloom and cumbersome furniture.

The general pattern in 1934 was that most parishes had several places
of worship, but only one priest; he lived normally in the largest town or village
in the parish, but parochial boundaries in very few instances coincided with the
natural confines of localities. More often than not, the rector would find
himself ministering to several communities, quite distinct from each other.
Local loyalties were very strong. It was counted to Burgmann for righteousness
that he visited, not only every parish, but almost every community within each
parish, within a year or so of his installation as bishop.
This general pattern was complicated by the growing tendency for people to look away from their own immediate locality towards the nearest larger town as a centre for some activities. Thus, there were local loyalties tending to fragment parish life; there were also wider loyalties beginning to develop, with little relation to parish boundaries.

Under these conditions, there was often little that a parish priest could do other than provide the necessary ministrations, and do his best to offer pastoral care when it was needed by individuals and families. He had little incentive to try and arouse the interest of parishioners in affairs beyond their own immediate concerns, or to relate their professed Christian faith to the life of the nation or the world at large. In many parishes, some of them having as many as a dozen centres, the rector only saw even the best of his flock once each month - the ideal of worship every Sunday was realisable only in towns.

When Burgaann assumed office, he was bound to consider the questions arising from these general conditions under which people lived - conditions which were beginning to change.

The education and ability of the clergy were fundamental matters. He had to examine possible ways of improving the standards of both the existing body of priests and those to be added by recruitment. Also, methods had to be found and opportunities provided to enable and encourage churchpeople generally to understand the Christian faith and its relevance to twentieth century problems.

The bishop was confronted with the equally urgent need to make people see the church as something more than the local congregation. Everything affecting the nation's life was theoretically the concern of every Christian;
Burgmann had a particular interest in the application of Christian principles to social problems. When he became a bishop he was given a wider opportunity to get these principles applied in some measure, provided he was not tied down too much by the demands of his own diocese.

As one who was regarded as a 'radical', Burgmann might have expected to ignore his diocese and spend his time promoting his heterodox beliefs. He would not accept the designation of radical except in its basic meaning of one who goes to the root of the matter. And at no time did he follow his own particular interests at the expense of the diocese.

Apart from his own particular interest in the wider application of certain principles, Burgmann had the general problem of overcoming the fragmentation of the diocese, of integrating isolated congregations and priests into the life of the whole. This could not begin until the bishop himself knew his diocese thoroughly.

He had to become aware, not only of the existing conditions, but of any particular questions likely to arise as developments in the region took place. One such problem was Canberra. Although not many people were living in the Capital Territory, it was a significant place. Already it had proved disastrous to one bishop, and Burgmann had to find a way of avoiding Radford’s plight, without neglecting the question of Canberra’s relation to the diocese and to the Church. An associated question was whether, as Radford had proposed, a bishop should live in Canberra, and whether therefore the diocese ought to have an additional bishop.

Not all of this was immediately self-evident in 1934.
condition of church affairs in many parishes was most urgent. The need for better-fitted clergy and better-informed laity was perhaps the most serious question for long-range consideration, a need that would become more acute as Canberra, with its comparatively cosmopolitan population, became an important part of the diocese. A great deal of the interest of the first few years of E.H. Burgmann's episcopate lies in examining the lines he laid down for dealing with these problems.
Chapter II.

The early career of Ernest Henry Burgmann, and

his election to the See of Goulburn.
Bishops of the Anglican Province of New South Wales, Bishops' Conference, 1934.

L. to R., back row: Bishops Moyes (Armidale), Crotty (Bathurst), Kirkby (Coadjutor of Sydney). Front row: Bishops Ashton (Grafton), Burgmann (Goulburn), the Archbishop of Sydney and Metropolitan the Most Rev. Dr. Mowll, Bishop de Witt Batty (Newcastle) and Bishop Halse (Riverina).
In common with other pioneer bishops, Mesac Thomas in bringing the benefits of Anglicanism to colonial Australia, attempted to transplant as many of the customs and institutions as could be made to adapt themselves to conditions at Goulburn. Some of these institutions, such as the parochial system, were so much a part of traditional church order that they were forced to fit, however square the peg and round the hole. In time, many modifications were found necessary - or else the custom, such as the pew-renting system and the centralised control of church finance, fell into disuse. The disappearance of the first of these two was generally welcomed; in the second instance, the result was a mixture of blessings: it led to greater local lay responsibility, but less independence for the parish priest.

The episcopacy itself was one institution that of necessity underwent considerable modification. The outward forms and traditional ceremonies surrounding it were unaltered, but its functions were varied in several ways. The process took a long time. The Church was slow in bringing its most venerable institution to the colony; almost half a century passed from the first settlement to the consecration of Broughton as Lord Bishop of Australia, in 1836.

Further developments were not rapid; by 1863 there were still only seven dioceses for the whole country (1); Goulburn became the eighth, and although the colony was three-quarters of a century old, Mesac Thomas had to function, like his fellow bishops, as a pioneer of episcopacy in Australia. Prestige and authority were still accorded bishops in nineteenth-century Britain,

1. Diocese of Australia, 1836 (renamed Sydney 1847); Tasmania 1842; Melbourne, Adelaide and Newcastle, 1847; Perth 1857, Brisbane 1859.
but conditions in Australia soon required that they be less men of affairs and public figures, and become pastors and administrators to a much greater extent. Broughton had tried to maintain the full authority and privileges belonging to the Established Church and to himself as its representative, but had been compelled to change his ground. (1).

Successive bishops, coming from England, were equally reluctant to vary their customs; but after the trials of Colenso, Bishop of Natal, in 1865 and 1866 had made it clear that the Letters and Patent appointing colonial bishops up to that time, had no legal standing (2), it became necessary for the bishops to concern themselves with questions of church government and administration. They were uncertain about such questions as the relation of a bishop to his diocese, to the local legislature, and to the Church of England. Remote as some of these matters now seem, they were long the subject of close study by bishops and committees. (3).

What emerged from all this was the modern diocesan legislature, the synod, familiar to Australian Anglicans. Synodical government is no new thing in the church, but in some respects the Australian version that evolved is unique: particularly in the legislative power possessed by the diocesan synod, and in the extent of lay representation. (4). The synod of each diocese is in effect supreme within the diocese, and in most matters cannot be overruled by other bodies, the provincial synods or the Australian General Synod; legislation of these bodies must be accepted by the diocesan synod to be effective there.

2. H.A. Giles, *Constitutional History of the Australian Church*, p.73.
3. Ibid, pp 75 ff; R. Border, *Church and State in Australia*, pp 166 ff.
As affecting bishops, two important differences emerged in the Church of England in Australia compared with practice in England. First, the bishop came to depend on his diocese, both for his election to office (in England a formality only, the nominee of the crown being automatically elected), and for his continued effectiveness in it. He became not only responsible for his diocese, but in no small measure responsible to it. (1) From this came an unavoidable increase in the importance of the diocesan unit as such, of diocesan institutions, and particularly of the synod. Hence in any account of the episcopate of an Australian bishop, the diocese, and particularly its synod, must appear as one of the principal characters in the story. This meant, inter alia, that much greater power rested, at least technically, in the hands of the laity. Laymen form at least two-thirds of the membership of each Australian Synod.

In the second place, certain personal qualities of a bishop become more desirable. His readiness to get out among the people, to make long journeys and use ingenuity to overcome the difficulties of distance and terrain, would be certain to be noticed and remembered. The adventures of Jesse Thomas and his collapsible coach, like the many travels of Broughton and Barker (2), became renowned; in more recent times, Bishop Barlow was famed for pioneering use of the motor-car on Goulburn's primitive roads (3).

So the personal character of the Bishop, and the physical features of his diocese, were of greater concern to each other in Australia than in England; the bishop became bound more closely to his See; he consequently had less

2. Wyatt, Diocese of Goulburn, p.47; J. Cowper, Frederic Barker, chs. III & IV.
3. The Southern Churchman, November 1908.
opportunity to pursue his studies or engage in such other extra-diocesan affairs as might interest him.

When the Diocese of Goulburn was preparing to elect its bishop in 1934, the Australian Church was still very conscious of the unresolved problems, of the relationship, legal and other, between bishop, church and state. Bishops had been accustomed to exercising their functions as much as possible after the manner of their English counterparts; most were English by birth and education; and this had been particularly true in Goulburn. (1). Early in his career there, Bishop Burgmann was told, perhaps not altogether with approval, by the Vicar-general, Joseph Pike, that he was 'pioneering a new kind of bishop'. (2). So, almost a century after Broughton, the Anglican Church in Australia was still pioneering with its bishops. In Goulburn Diocese, Thomas had demonstrated that episcopacy was adaptable; but the kind of bishop needed was still being slowly determined.

Goulburn was not alone in acquiring a new bishop about this time; the early 'thirties saw several Australian dioceses, particularly in New South Wales, replace their respective leaders. In 1931, Francis de Witt Batty succeeded to the See of Newcastle, vacant since the death of Bishop Long in 1930; soon after, J.C. Moyes replaced W.P. Wentworth Shields at Armidale, and in 1934, shortly before Goulburn's election, H.W.K. Mowll followed J.C. Wright as Archbishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of the province. Grafton and Bathurst each appointed new leaders soon afterwards. (3).

1. A partial exception was Christopher Barlow, third Bishop of Goulburn (1901-1915) (see previous chapter), who came to Queensland as a fairly young man and was ordained there; he became Bishop of North Queensland. His background was therefore less English than was the case with other Bishops of Goulburn.
2. Personal reminiscence of Bishop Burgmann.
3. Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney, years 1930 to 1936 inclusive.
It is noteworthy that these changes in leadership tended to isolate the various dioceses of the ecclesiastical Province of New South Wales from each other. For the new leaders of three dioceses in particular – Sydney, Goulburn and Bathurst – were each representative of three somewhat divergent schools of thought in the Church of England: the evangelical, liberal and anglo-catholic viewpoints respectively. Such divergent attitudes of the bishops accentuated existing inter-diocesan differences, making agreement on such matters as a Constitution for the Church of England in Australia harder to reach. (1).

These new faces on the episcopal bench did not mean any great increase in the expression of a peculiarly Australian point of view there. Only two of the new men, Moyes and Burgmann, were Australian-born; in Newcastle, whose former bishop had been Australian, the new man was of English birth and outlook. (2). Burgmann might have seemed an obvious choice as next Bishop of Newcastle in 1930, for the three previous occupants of the See had all been of Australian birth. John Francis Stretch, Assistant Bishop of Brisbane in 1895 and Bishop of Newcastle from 1906, was the first Australian-born Anglican bishop; Stretch's successor in 1919, Reginald Stephen, and G.M. Long who followed in 1928, were also Australians. (3). Burgmann, then Warden of S. John's College, was one of two nominees receiving strong support in the Synod of 1930. He was favoured by the clergy, but was regarded as too radical by the laymen. The choice was left to the Diocesan Council, who appointed an outside party, F. de Witt Petty. (4).

1. For a brief account of how partisan feeling affected plans for the Constitution, see Giles, op.cit. pp 183 ff. Agreement was not reached till 1962.
2. A.P. Elkin, The Diocese of Newcastle, p.676.
3. Ibid. p.622 ff, p.671.
4. Elkin, op.cit. p.676.
The predominance of rural interests in Newcastle Synod (1) made Burgmann an unlikely choice. Newcastle's Australian-born bishops had each been proven, orthodox churchmen, already bishops elsewhere, each the product of Trinity College, Melbourne. Batty, although an Englishman, fitted this pattern better than Burgmann (2).

It is easy to see why Burgmann failed to become seventh Bishop of Newcastle; how he became fifth Bishop of Goulburn four years later is harder to understand.

Ernest Henry Burgmann was born at Lansdowne on the Manning River in 1885. His father was engaged in various farming pursuits, and his home and upbringing were fairly typical of any Australian rural home eighty years ago, except that the level of education in the home was higher than normal. From his father and grandfather he acquired an interest in political and economic affairs, and especially in the formation of the Australian Labour movement and the Russian Revolution (3).

His formal education took place at the small school at Koppin Yarrat, with a period of one year also at Cleveland Street, Sydney. He hated the city school, and was glad to return to his father's farm in 1900. He spent a few years in a logging business in partnership with a cousin; the lonely bush life aided the development of his independence of spirit and his capacity for contemplative thinking (4).

1. See Elkin, p.625. About 70% of the diocese's Anglicans lived in 24 town and city parishes; the other 30% lived in 34 rural parishes. Since each parish had the same number of lay Synod representatives, the rural vote dominated the lay vote in Synod.
2. Elkin, p.71.
4. Ibid.
One effect of following isolated pursuits was a reluctance throughout
his life to work as a member of a group or team; he preferred to play a lone
hand. Another result was his distaste for city life. (1).

Burgmann's decision to seek ordination was not sudden, for he
developed an interest in the church fairly early in life. But his ecclesiastical
career did have a somewhat unusual beginning. While still engaged in bush work,
he obtained his diploma in theology (Th. B.) without tuition. Then in 1907,
having been accepted as a candidate for Orders by the Bishop of Newcastle,
J.P. Stretch, he returned to school to study for matriculation, a feat
accomplished in twelve months. (2). He received an unexpected scholarship at
S. Paul's College, and proceeded to Sydney University.

In 1914, having graduated and become Rector of Gundry, he became M. A.
with a thesis entitled *The Hebraic and Hellenic Elements in Christianity*. But
his thoughts did not dwell long in the realms of philosophy; while at Gundry, he
conducted a brief experiment in clergy training at the behest of Bishop Stretch.
The experiment itself was short-lived, but from it Burgmann gained an interest
in the training of clergy. (3). From Gundry, he went to England for wider
experience; he returned to Australia to be Rector of Wyong (1916-17) and a
travelling secretary for the Australian Board of Missions (1918).

It was then, at thirty-three years of age, that Burgmann was
offered the post of Principal of S. John's Theological College, Armidale. He
was hardly ready for it, but was probably the best man available, and was
certainly capable of rising to the occasion. His previous experience had shown

2. Ibid., ch. 11.
hin something of the need for a proper scheme of training, and the inadequacy of piecemeal in-service efforts such as that at Sandy. His journey to England had brought home to him the wide gulf between conditions there and those in Australia, so that the Australian Church must develop its own ideas about training priests for local conditions. But he was not equipped to deal with the problems peculiar to the inmates of academic institutions. He became conscious of this in his early years at S. John's; it was necessary to be able to assist students morally and psychologically as well as academically. From this period came Burgmann's interest in depth-psychology, an interest focussed before long in the writings of Freud, at a time when such an interest on the part of a clergyman was highly suspect.

S. John's was at this time a small college, originally intended to train clergy for the Diocese of Armidale which owned and controlled it. Since there was no other college for Clergy in N.S.W. except Moore College in Sydney, which trained men for that diocese almost exclusively, and because the bishops were becoming increasingly anxious that postulants should have more adequate training, S. John's soon became seriously overcrowded. (1). Living conditions were very inadequate. Armidale could not provide the means for extending the college, and felt less responsible, as by 1920 most students were from other dioceses. The Warden therefore set about changing the college's original footing, and in 1922 it became an inter-diocesan institution. But this did not solve the problem; Southern dioceses were unwilling to spend money in far-away Armidale, and nobody yet foresaw a university there. Burgmann tried another

1. Ibid.
line; by dint of much correspondence he persuaded those concerned, chiefly the bishops of the Province, that the college should be located at a central site. (1). This took some time to achieve, but in 1926 the college was opened on its new site at Morpeth. (2).

Burgmann was convinced that theological education in Australia, and particularly in New South Wales, was not only taking place in isolated conditions physically, but was also isolated from current trends in education and thinking. His first idea had been to have the college in Sydney, in association with the University; and although this proved impracticable, since Sydney already had one college and did not encourage any more, the association of college with university as an ideal, was not forgotten.

The immediate aim of St. John's in providing an alternative source of theological training was not simply to meet the practical needs of certain Anglican dioceses, but also to give a type of training midway in outlook between the extremes represented by Moore College, Sydney, and S. Francis', Manildah, Brisbane. Burgmann believed that 'What the writings and spirit of S. John the Evangelist did in the world of Greek thought in the early centuries ... so also S. John's College should do in Australia ... the Catholic Matthew and the Evangelical Luke ... were not sufficient in themselves ... neither is the Catholic and Evangelical sufficient to-day.' (3).

1. Elkin, p.588. Elkin's account of the college is most unsatisfactory, giving no hint of the struggle involved.
2. The bishops were persuaded to look on the project as their own idea. It was the first time they had been persuaded to work together for a theological college. Previous efforts were confined to one diocese or another working in isolation.
3. Letter in diocesan files, Goulburn. It has no date or address, but was almost certainly written to the Bishop of Newcastle in 1934.
This aim of avoiding extremes sprang from his conviction that each extreme was out of touch with contemporary Australian thought. S. John's, by contrast, was to keep abreast of modern liberal thought, and not a little of Greek thought too. It was indeed the Greek ideal of education of the whole man that the Warden rather naively sought to symbolise in the principal building of his college, which was to have three storeys, the ground floor a gymnasium, the next a library, and finally a chapel. Students were to gain practical training in the manual arts and to participate in a course of physical training; they were to be encouraged to combine their theological training with studies in the liberal arts, as far as possible at university standard, and with this in mind Burgmann began to seek support for his ideal of A University College in the Country.

This was the title Burgmann chose for his leading article in the first issue of The Morpeth Review. It was the first of a number of attempts to persuade the Church and interested individuals that some venture in education covering a much wider field than theology (while still incorporating it fully) ought to be undertaken. Morpeth, he asserted boldly, was the place for the experiment. In the event nothing came of it immediately beyond the theological college, but the idea persisted and began to bear fruit years later at Canberra. Meanwhile, at least the Review had been established. (1).

It was written and published by the staff of S. John's with some outside contributions. As well as making known Burgmann's aims for the College, it reached a small reading public beyond that normally found by a theological paper, particularly in Australia where such journals have been rare. The Review

1. For its first issue only, Michaelmas 1927, it bore the name, A Review of Life and Work. (S. Mark's).
was not a theological publication in any narrow sense. Contributors, who were specialists in their own field, discussed a wide range of social, political, cultural, economic and scientific themes, as well as religious topics: possibly the journal tended to defeat its object by being too diverse. One issue, taken at random, (1), has these articles: The Cure of Souls (by the Warden), On Seeing Life (Rev. Dr Kenneth Henderson), The Automobile (F.R. Nauldon), Government (Dr F.J. Mclntire), The Meaning of Money and Prices (Dr R. Ronald Walker), The Letters of Baron von Hugel (T.J. Durrad), The Value of Anthropology (Rev. Dr A.P. Elkin), Church Architecture (Louis R. Williams). Controversial subjects were treated from more than one side; Communism, for instance, was discussed by a Communist (J.R. Mitton) in The Case for Communism (2), and by the Warden in The Christian Attitude to Russian Communism, largely an examination of Berdyaev (3); there were other papers on related themes.

Whatever its faults, chiefly too much diversity of subject-matter, the Review kept the standard of its articles high, and might have won its way to a permanent place among the more thoughtful Australian periodicals had it been maintained. But it survived for only one issue (April 1934) after Burgmann's call to Goulburn, and the opportunity it gave the Church was lost for the time being. Not unexpectedly, its distinctive quality was not always appreciated by those for whom the Review was published. S. Saviour's Cathedral Chapter, Goulburn, recorded a typical comment at its meeting on 22nd October 1929:

1. June, 1929.
Moved by Archbishop Bryant, seconded Canon Robertson - "That while appreciating gratefully the freshness and variety of the Morpeth Review, this Chapter would desire to see a larger place found ... for theological, devotional and biblical contributions ...". (1). The Chapter did not altogether share the aims of the future Bishop of Goulburn.

Goulburn was typical of the Church. It was not clear to them that a proper forum for debating current issues was essential to any society not wishing to become concerned with its own internal affairs alone. The Church in Australia was not aware of this simple need by the nineteen-thirties - this is shown by the failure of the Review, even allowing for the possibility that the journal reflected too much of the personality of its founder. It had certainly demonstrated his initiative.

S. John's College Press also produced a number of tracts and pamphlets, which the Warden regarded as a very useful teaching medium. As with the Review, the range of subjects was wide, the titles including Understanding the Australian Aborigine (V.I. Elkin), Revolutionary Communist (G.V. Tortus), Is There a God? (R.C. Lee), and God in Human History (W.H. Burgmann). (2). Their publication also ceased in 1934, when Burgmann left Morpeth.

Among the smaller pamphlets issued by S. John's College Press was one by the Warden called The Case for the Unemployed. (3). Burgmann had never

1. Minutes of S. Saviour's Cathedral Chapter, Goulburn, 22 October 1929. (Registry). The Chapter was looked on as an advisory body in matters spiritual for the Bishop of Goulburn. Bishop Burgmann discontinued its meetings in 1934, preferring to rely on the Diocesan Council for advice.
been unemployed, but was quite qualified to state the case for those who were, and his involvement in the problem of unemployment was part of the reputation that went before him to Goulburn.

The future Bishop had acquired an early interest in the Australian Labour movement from his father. His concern found practical expression in his efforts to extend the educational opportunities of the working man. For many years he was active in the Workers' Educational Association, and when the College moved to Morpeth his services as a public lecturer were more widely used. In this way he became familiar with the life of those employed on the coalfields and in the heavy industries of Newcastle. The miseries these people endured in the years after 1929 turned Barraud into a crusader on their behalf, and as such he seems to have been accepted without any of the suspicion that generally attaches to churchmen (and others) who try to identify themselves with the causes of underprivileged groups.

An opportunity for action came in June 1932, with the event known as the Clara Street Eviction Case, or the Tighe's Hill Affair. (1) Several citizens were charged with interfering with the course of justice when they resisted police efforts to carry out the eviction of a tenant family; the eviction took place under circumstances that aroused much hostile feeling in the city. When a number of the defendants were put on trial in Newcastle, the jury refused to convict them, and the police authorities realised that it would be impossible to get any jury in Newcastle to convict the remaining defendants.

1. See contemporary Newcastle press reports. An account of the affair is in preparation by a daughter of one of the principals. (Private papers).
The Tighe's Hill affair gained Burgmann some renown, but already throughout this period he was becoming generally known as a speaker on topics related to the question of unemployment. The general drift of his lecturing can be discerned from a few examples. In May 1932 he told the Mayfield-Jeratbah branch of the Unemployed Workers' Movement that 'we need no destructive violence, but we need persistent ... statements ... made by the best spokesmen ...'. (1). A month later he urged Stockton A.L.F. branch to apply the methods of science to economic affairs, and to avoid class war. (2). Contemporary capitalism was 'a limping, nervous, fearful old miser' and must be radically changed, he informed Newcastle Soc H, and other church groups were confronted with similar statements. (3). The need for a fundamentally changed attitude to property was impressed on the Merewether Methodist Brotherhood (4) and the Conference of the Australian Student Christian Movement (5). He told the congregation in St. John's Cathedral, Brisbane, that the day of competitive individualism was past. (6).

The common inspiration of these topics was the pressing problem of unemployment, its causes and those of poverty generally. The Morpeth Review was also pressed into service, and an article on 'The Fight against Poverty' (7) received acclaim in a leading article in the Newcastle Morning Herald of 22nd October 1932. The editor differed with Burgmann in politics but was

1. Newcastle Morning Herald, 10 May 1932.
2. N.M. Herald, 16 June 1932.
3. N.M. Herald, 13 July 1932.
4. N.M. Herald, 22 August 1932.
5. Sydney Morning Herald, 14 January 1933.
7. October 1932.
The venue of the trial was then changed to Singleton, ostensibly to ensure an impartial jury, but in fact (it was believed) to make conviction certain. A jury of countrymen would surely be unsympathetic to anything but the strict letter of the law in a matter outside their own sphere. Feeling ran high. A public meeting in Newcastle Town Hall on 3th November protested in the strongest terms. (1). Burgmann had participated in the public discussion of the affair, and was called on to address the public meeting on the proper working of the jury system. He was not one to miss such an opportunity, and the address, on the theme that '... the case belongs to the Newcastle people and the Newcastle atmosphere ...', aroused great enthusiasm. (2). The address was printed in leaflet form and distributed throughout the Singleton district. The jury there also refused to convict any of the defendants, and rightly or not, the Warden's pamphlet received much of the credit.

Burgmann's participation in this affair helped both to crystallise his own convictions about the wisdom of churchmen taking active part in controversial incidents when the occasion arose, and showed those who were associated with him that he was prepared to take such action and to do so effectively. Whether or not his participation made any difference to the outcome, it was a definite stage in his own development, and also in the development of his reputation.

1. Newcastle Morning Herald, 9 November 1932.
2. Ibid. It was strongly commended by Mr Justice H.V. Evatt, in a letter to Burgmann, 17 August 1933. (Private papers).
'impressed by the article and by the burning zeal for humanity which it expresses' and offered to print virtually anything he cared to write concerning Christianity and capitalism. He accepted with alacrity. (1).

The Herald, indeed, had been consistently generous with its space in reporting Burgmann's public lectures (2) as well as printing in full the text of his addresses to W.E.A. classes. For the W.E.A. too became a channel for the propagation of his views. In January 1933 Burgmann presented their classes with a series of lectures on "The Bourgeoisie", which concluded with the statement that 'The unemployed, the insecure, the reduced salariat, the professional classes ... are awakening to the essential injustice of the existing order. (3).

By mid-1933 Burgmann was stating his conviction of the need of impending great changes in the private enterprise system. Unless it found some way of absorbing the labour surplus it would be superseded - '... the State would learn its job by degrees, and end as a Co-operative Commonwealth.' (4).

However, the situation called for immediate action, and so Burgmann and others launched the 'Double the Dole' campaign. The conservative Synod of Newcastle was persuaded to take sides in a political controversy, and carried a resolution for the doubling of food relief for the unemployed. (5). The arguments were set out in a pamphlet, (6), which argued, 'Our greatest danger is

1. N.M. Herald, 22 October 1932, and 26 October 1932.
2. e.g. to Carrington branch of the Australian Labour Party, 7 November 1932 (advocating the methods of British Socialists); to Waratah Unemployed Workers, 13 November 1932 (contrasting bourgeois and proletarian outlooks) and 12 December 1932 ('The Cost of a New World'). (Dates given are those of their publication in N.M. Herald).
3. N.M. Herald, 21, 23 and 24 January, 1933.
4. N.M. Herald, 28 June 1933. Address to a men's meeting at the Waratah Presbyterian Church.
5. Newcastle Sun, 29 May 1933.
that fatalistic mood in which we inwardly decide that nothing can be done. Something can be done. The dole can be doubled. This will bring life and hope to thousands." Letters were written to the press (1), meetings were called (2), and the urgent need for practical steps towards rehabilitating the distressed and depressed was insisted on. Eventually a reluctant government granted a measure of relief, for which this campaign was to some extent responsible. It is not quite clear how much of the activity, or even of the idea, originated with Burgmann; it is possible that his being a churchman focussed attention on him; but it is certain that he was willing to be closely identified with such causes as one of their leaders.

There was, perhaps, nothing particularly radical about Burgmann's ideas or even his practical suggestions, except in relation to the usual ideas expressed by church leaders at the time. If he favoured revolution, it was the gradual type favoured by the British socialists, rather than crisis-revolution; he opposed destructive violence and advocated reliance on reasoning and persuasion; he opposed class warfare. But the fact that he associated with trades-union leaders, and that his dealings with the unemployed were not confined to providing them with second-hand clothing, was sufficient to convince most church people that he was flirting with bolshevism.

Burgmann's activities on behalf of the unemployed had been sufficiently persistent and publicised to make certain that Coulburn would know something about them when the synod discussed his appointment. Less, however, would be known about his work as a lecturer to classes organised by the 'Workers' Educational Association, from 1920 to 1934.

1. e.g. to N.W. Herald, 2 June 1933.
2. e.g. at Cardiff (N.W. Herald, 1 November 1933).
The subjects he chose to present to them reveal some of his continuing interests. As well as the sociological topics already mentioned, and religious themes, he showed particular interest in psychology, especially Freudian psychology, at a time when such study was highly suspect among churchmen. When he was a student at Sydney University, psychology was taught only as a branch of philosophy, and Freud was not studied at all. After going to Armidale, the future bishop read all that he could of the writings of the new prophet, and when the opportunity came, he set out what he had learned.

To the W.E.A. Summer School at Newport, at Christmas 1924, he gave four lectures on 'the Psychology of the Family and Religion.' (1) The material is mostly unadulterated Freud, and to-day it seems almost commonplace. 'Regulation of the emotional life of the family', he said, is far more important than family teaching and ideals; he explains the libido; the mother is the primary source of a child's sensual satisfaction; 'we are Ego-libido in relation, inter-relation and conflict'; he spoke of repressed desires in the unconscious, and their strength, especially the desire for the mother, and jealousy of the father. Later he proceeded to expound the idea of the primal father, and such developments as totemism.

The lecture is significant. Not only was it most unusual for a churchman to be more than superficially aware of Sigmund Freud in 1924, it was really quite uncommon to find any public lectures being given on depth psychology, and on Freud there were probably none at all. This in turn accounts for the almost complete lack of any attempt to criticise or evaluate the

1. Burgmann's lecture notes (unpublished), St. Mark's Library, Canberra. The next paragraph is based mainly on the first of these four lectures.
material that he presented. Freud's own theories, or Ernest Jones' (1) interpretations, are presented as information to be received, rather than hypotheses to be criticised. The only criticism Burgmann offered was an implied one, when in the closing stages he related religion to depth psychology and pointed out that science, including psychology, 'cannot bring us to God'.

It is at least refreshing to find a churchman who was willing to present such a topic objectively in 1924, and to do so without being on the defensive or finding a danger to religion in Freudianism. It would be unjust to Burgmann to say that he did not see the possible dangers to traditional christian teaching about, e.g., original sin, if Freudian teaching were to be popularised. He was more concerned that the church should not err towards obscurantism, and believed that at this time the need was for clear exposition rather than critical examination. Furthermore, he had already found psychanalysis to be of practical use in pastoral matters. (2).

It was not academic curiosity that aroused his interest in Freudianism, but a desire to explore new methods of practising Christian pastoral care for those needing it. The same trait became a feature of his work


2. Among Burgmann's students at Armidale in 1919-1920 were ex-servicemen whose wartime experiences had led to, or had helped to foster, abnormal behaviour, including homosexuality. College living conditions further encouraged these abnormalities, and thearden was deeply perturbed because normal counselling, advice and exhortation failed to solve the problem. He turned to depth-psychology as a possible aid in dealing with such difficulties. This is his own private explanation (in 1965) for his interest in Freud. Subsequently he experimented with Freudian-style psychoanalysis and has privately claimed considerable success with several individuals, before professional, trained psychoanalysts had begun using these methods in Australia.
as a college warden. Particularly was this so, after his marriage in
1920 to Nina Crouchurst. Mr and Mrs Burgmann worked together for the College,
contriving not only to make it an academic institution, but also to provide a
healthy and cheerful atmosphere where callow theological students might begin
to achieve a well-balanced outlook. To counteract paternalism, they encouraged
independent behaviour.

While there was nothing odd about the Diocese of Goulburn's
considering the warden of the college as a possible bishop - Redford had been
Warden of St. Paul's, Sydney - it was not to be expected that Goulburn would
take a second look at a man whose politics were so suspect and whose thoughts
were running in such strange directions.

Ernest Henry Burgmann did not indeed appear a very likely choice as
Bishop of Goulburn. He had no link with the diocese; he had only visited it
once officially, as a speaker at the Oxford Movement centenary celebrations at
Wagga in November 1933. Other candidates such as Coyes, Riley and Crotty were
much more widely known in the diocese; such publicity as Burgmann had received
would not have enhanced him in the eyes of the grazing community; and the only
men who knew him well were the ex-students of St. John's College, mostly junior
clergy without wide influence. (1).

While there may have been some growing dissatisfaction (although it
was seldom expressed) with the type of person usually in the past chosen to be
Bishop of Goulburn, there was no particular fondness for the kind of leader
represented by Burgmann, a contrast with former bishops in birth, education and

1. Goulburn Post on the day Synod met (26 February 1934) said Crotty was the
favoured candidate. Burgmann was not mentioned.
general outlook. That he was an Australian was barely mentioned; two other nominees were also Australian by birth. More mention was made of his interest in social questions. His public reputation was that of a social reformer, concerned in the issues of the day and in particular in unemployment and the conditions that caused it. He was known to have left-wing political sympathies and to be inclined to question traditional views about the nature of the Bible and the church.

His reputation for being a liberal if not a radical in both politics and theology was more likely to arouse opposition than to gain support for him, except perhaps among the younger clergy. His election is said to have been a surprise, or unexpected. The synod that assembled at Goulburn in February 1954 under the presidency of the Administrator, Archbishop Joseph Pike, was not of a revolutionary cast. Leadership was expected to come, as in the past, from among the fifty-nine clerical members (1), probably from the older men, though clergy were far outnumbered by laity. More than one hundred and thirty laity were summoned and nearly all attended, and in contrast to Newcastle, the composition of the Synod was quite typical of the Diocese of Goulburn in 1954. Half the laity, sixty-six in fact, were graziers or farmers of some description, and twenty-one kept stores or ran other small businesses; there were a dozen assorted public servants, a dozen lawyers or members of other learned professions, three members of parliament, and representatives of a variety of other occupations. (2).

1. Two others were absent. Eight of those present were priests of the Community of the Ascension, who took no part in the voting.
Sixteen of the younger clergy, i.e. the bulk of the younger men, but fewer than one-third of the total number of clergy, were ex-students of S. John's who had come under the Warden's influence. In retrospect, this seemed to Joseph Pike and others the decisive factor. Pike recalled, '... when the election of the new bishop was proceeding ... youth made itself felt. One by one the youngsters spoke, eloquently and with conviction, until the older folk found themselves being carried with them to approve the man they named.' (1).

This is the myth, but it seems to have little foundation. Certainly, several ex-students of S. John's spoke on Burgmann's behalf when his name was proposed, but there is no evidence at all for a rising tide of youthful enthusiasm sweeping aside all objections.

In his opening address, Archdeacon Pike drew attention to the anomaly that only 878 persons had participated in the election of synodsmen out of 30,000 eligible to vote. (2). This figure is much inflated; the diocese numbered only 10,000 communicant members at the time (3), but even so, only a very small proportion of church people was participating in the church's affairs.

Pike himself seems to have aimed at discrediting the institution of Synod, but despite the way it was elected, it was quite representative of the region, in its composition. (4). Some contemporaries anticipated that the synod would be divided between High-church and Low-church factions, but nothing of the kind

1. S.C. March 1934.
2. S.C. March 1934. Pike overlooked the fact that the Synod in its composition was quite fairly representative of the character of the diocese.
occurred. A newspaper reported a meeting of lay synodmen to discuss possible candidates, before synod proceedings began; but it reached no conclusions, and laymen did not in fact play a leading part in the debate. (1).

Burgmann's name was the last to appear on the list of nominees. The five proposals earlier might seem to have given ample opportunity to the voters. Two, Moyes and Horace Grotty, were already bishops (2); two others, D'Arcy Collins and C.L. Riley, were archdeacons of known worth who later became bishops (3); the fifth was Archdeacon Pike himself.

Burgmann was very nearly not nominated at all. His nominator, D.E.K. Blanche, hesitated to put Burgmann's name forward because he felt he could not adequately present the case for his candidate. He only did so at the last moment when it appeared no candidate had any large body of support, and that nobody else was going to propose Burgmann's name. (4).

Nobody else, indeed, even knew he was to be proposed (5) and there was no 'lobbying' or any pressure-groups, for Burgmann or anyone else. (6).

The only suggestion - a very remote one - of any possible intrigue was in a complaint from the parish of Albany about members of the Community of the Ascension being allowed to vote. (7). But there was no effective 'party' following any individual.

1. Julliburn Evening Percy Post (G.P.E.P.), 27 February 1934. The meeting was called by laymen from North Julliburn, an evangelical parish, urging support for J.C. Moyes. Few synodmen attended. Moyes received little support. (Reminiscences of Archdeacon J.T. Harris).
2. Bishops of Armidale and Bathurst, respectively.
3. Co-adjutor of Bathurst and Bishop of Tweed, respectively.
4. D.E.K. Blanche, The Election of W.H. Burgmann (unpublished); also letters in his possession. Much that follows is from these. (Papers in my possession).
5. Except the Registrar, J.R. Wyatt, in whom Blanche confided his intention. Wyatt urged him not to do so.
6. Except for the abortive laymen's meeting.
7. J.C., March 1934.
Synod was not deadlocked, for no vote had been taken, and after Burgmann's name was discussed there seems to have been little doubt of the outcome. Eight clergy spoke on his behalf, together with about five laymen. Of the clergy, only three had studied under Burgmann, and they were not particularly young, but may have seemed so to Pike, an elderly man. (1)

Although not young, most of those who spoke could not be called men with any weight of authority. Only one, J.J. West, Archdeacon of Wagga Wagga, was a dignitary; most of the synod's acknowledged leaders had already indicated their support for other candidates, chiefly for Crotty or Riley. The Diocesan Registrar, R.T. Wyatt, probably the most influential of the laymen, had privately declared his strong opposition to Burgmann, his opinion being that Burgmann was 'a straight Red, an enemy of the Church'. (2)

So there was no organised Burgmann party, nor lack of other suitable candidates, nor 'prestige' support for him, nor even an upsurge of youthful emotion, to account for an election that was complete within an hour and a half from the time of his nomination. One helpful circumstance was the equal amount of support for Riley and Crotty, who thus cancelled each other, but the decisive influence may have been the content of the speeches supporting the Warden of St. John's. Speakers emphasised Burgmann's ability to relate religion to the issues of the day, his flexibility, his sympathy with the common man, his knowledge of social issues and industrial matters, and particularly his success as a teacher.

Whatever it was that impressed the synod, the vote for Burgmann was quite decisive. To explain it, Pike, who had not personally favoured him, wrote

1. Blanche, as before; also letters in Diocesan files. (S. Mark's).
2. Blanche, as before.
of 'the Presence and Power of the Holy Spirit', and Manche says that when
the nomination was made 'electricity broke forth' — whatever that may mean.
There is fairly general testimony to a sense in the assembly of being moved
by the same impulse, but perhaps this is simply being wise after the event.
Yet without such impulse it is not easy to see why the conservative Synod of
Sodbury should choose a bishop who was looked on as a radical in politics,
economics and theology.

When Synod assembled, Archdeacon Pike had not expected to be able
to come to a decision; 'leadership seemed paralysed', he wrote later. (1). His
opening address aimed at preparing the way for appointing a select committee
to seek a bishop: 'The apostles were made apostles by the Lord Himself,' he
said, 'so that the Church ... was given from above and not merely organised
from below ...' (2). He believed the churchmen comprising Synod were too
poorly-equipped, mentally and spiritually, to make a right choice. A similar
pessimistic note was heard in the sermon at the opening service, preached by
Canon Hirst, the Vice-Dean: '... the Church to-day is poorer than she was and
her safe and snug position is gone ...' (3).

But attitudes changed afterwards. A synod, or at least this one, was
no longer an institution to be discredited; its decisions might be 'given from
above', and in Pike's estimation this had happened. 'There seemed moments when
one almost saw that Presence,' he wrote eagerly, adding, 'Nobody doubted for a
moment that the right conclusion had been reached.' (4). He had expected
division and indecision, and found unity and unanimity. His comment that it

2. S.C., March 1934.
3. Ibid.
was a 'synod of reconciliation' is as hard to justify as are his remarks that youth prevailed (1), but both judgments reflect the Administrator's changed mood, and that in turn reflects the altered tone of Synod, (2).

The Synod has been considered at some length to emphasise two observations. First there was the rather surprising lack of pre-synod organisation, or even of any attempt within synod itself, to bring forward a particular individual as the representative of a class or group. In contrast to similar appointments in England and often in Australia also, the decision came from within the assembly. Second, the unanimity of the convention shows the readiness of the Diocese at that particular time to accept and follow its leader, in the hope of better days ahead. There was no attempt to criticise the person chosen or analyse his strengths and weaknesses (3), except by those who spoke in his favour; but instead there was a willingness to accept him at the valuation given by his proponents. Perhaps the difficult years they had come through helps to account for this.

Burgmann's election marks fairly clearly the end of one stage in the history of the Diocese of Goulburn, a stage marked by the decline of Goulburn as an ecclesiastical centre, and the beginning of another, leading to the eventual centring of diocesan life at Canberra. It is at such times that men's actions cannot always be explained by their motives or accepted beliefs. Burgmann's election would seem to be an event of this kind, when the outcome cannot fairly be predicted from a study of the knowable factors. There is no doubt that Burgmann was the man Goulburn needed, but there is little likelihood that anyone thought he had any chance.

1. Ibid
2. See letters of congratulation to Burgmann, St. Mark's Library, Canberra. They all reflect this same mood.
3. S.C., May 1934. One layman commented on his lack of military service, another on his being 'Red', but these were only minor concerns.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

Population trends before 1934

Population of the diocese in 1934 numbered (Anglicans) 75,290 (1), fairly evenly distributed over the 32,780 square miles of its area, for there were no large concentrations of people. Only 3,785 lived in the A.C.T.. About twice that number of Anglicans lived in Goulburn (2), and considerably more lived in Wagga and Albury, than in Canberra (3). The principal concentrations, such as they were, occurred therefore in the extreme north, and in the southwest, of the diocese - districts distant from each other with little to draw them together. This made any real diocesan unity difficult to achieve while Goulburn remained the see city.

The rate of population growth of the diocese had slowed down during the twentieth century. In the first few years of its life, the total population of the region had increased from 61,301 (in 1864) to 94,909 (in 1871), an increase of 54%, but it took a further forty years for the population to grow in the same proportion again, to 144,329 or 52% greater (in 1911). The Anglican population growth rate was at first slower than the general rate - from 28,740 in 1864 to 39,659 in 1871 (38% increase), but thereafter it increased at

1. Figures based on 1933 census, compiled by the diocesan registrar for the Church Assembly Year Book (England), and presented (annually) as an Appendix to the Registrar's Annual Report. Other information from this Appendix is used in this and following paragraphs, where not otherwise indicated. (Registry).
2. Figures for A.C.T. from Canberra Parish Notes, June 1934 (from 1933 census). Figures for Goulburn Parishes (i.e. Goulburn town and some surrounding countryside) from Registrar's estimates: 7,250 Anglicans.
3. Registrar's estimate, Parish of Wagga: 5,000 Anglicans; Parish of Albury, 4,000 Anglicans.
about the same rate as the general population, reaching 62,112 in 1911, about 56% greater; and from 1911 to 1933 the Anglican rate of increase was maintained. (1).

It is not easy to evaluate the meaning of these pieces of information in the only way they have value for this study, as evidence for the strength and impact of the Anglican Church in relation to the total community. In 1864 Anglicans formed 47% of the community; by 1871 the proportion fell significantly to 42%; thereafter, there was if anything a slight increase (43% in 1911 after the separation of Riverina). Since the proportion of Anglicans in Riverina in 1911 was only 34%, the apparent decline in relation to the total population in the first few years may have been chiefly in the Riverina area. But it may also have been due to the influx of gold-diggers, of whom relatively few may have professed Anglicanism. The largest town in the diocese in 1871 was Araluen, greater in population even than Goulburn; yet of its 5,301 people only 1653 claimed Anglican Church membership. (2).

Another possibility is that there was a general drift from Anglicanism during the 1860's - chiefly among newcomers to the diocese, or because relatively few new settlers were Anglicans - but that this drift was halted as

1. In considering these figures, allowance must be made for the separation of the Diocese of Riverina (in 1884) which had a total of 95,066 people in 1911, but only 32,169 of these were Anglicans. Unfortunately the figures for 1884 are not known. The figures are from (i) Church Society reports for 1871, 1873, 1884 etc. (ii) Abstracts from census information, 1911. All at Old Bishopthorpe.
the Anglican Church in the area became firmly grounded. This conclusion would be very debatable however, since there is no evidence that Anglicanism was losing ground before 1864, when it numbered nearly half the community.
Chapter III.

The relation of Goulburn to the rest of the Diocese, and its decline as a centre of ecclesiastical affairs.
S. Saviour's Children's Home, Goulburn, in 1936.

Cathedral Church of S. Saviour, Goulburn. Completed in 1884.
The entry in Burgmann's pocket diary for Monday 26th February 1934 records that he was 'Elected Bp of Goulburn by Goulburn Synod'. (1). The following days were spent answering letters and telegrams of congratulation and making plans, amid the normal round of college life. On 5th March, the Rector of Bega called (2); from March 7th to 9th, the Burgmanns were in Sydney enrolling their son Victor at the University, and visiting Bishop H.W.K. Mowll, Archbishop-elect of Sydney (3); on the 10th, Father James Benson of the Community of the Ascension, Goulburn, came for morning tea, and Archdeacon Pike arrived to spend the weekend. (4).

Benson and Pike were able to give their bishop-elect some first-hand information, not only about the diocese but in particular about Goulburn itself. He knew little about the town that was to be home for himself and his family from now on. In January he had been in Canberra for the summer school of the Australian Student Christian Movement, and in October 1933 he had visited Wagga for the Oxford Movement centenary; but he did not know Goulburn.

Several months passed before the Burgmanns could take up residence there. The bishop-elect himself spent a few days, 2nd to 6th April, staying with the Community of the Ascension and interviewing the Registrar. On 4th May, he was enthroned in the cathedral. There were visits to Newcastle

1. Burgmann's personal diary, 1934. (Private papers). Only a few of these diaries have been preserved.
2. Ibid. The Rector of Bega was the Rev. Rouse Upjohn.
3. Ibid. Mowll had been Bishop of Western China. He was installed at St. Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, on March 13.
4. Ibid. The Community existed in Goulburn from 1920 to 1943, living in and renovating the burnt-out Old Bishopthorpe. It was encouraged by Bishop Radford but was not a diocesan institution. (Florence Stacy, Religious Communities of the Church of England in Australia and New Zealand, 1929).
and Sydney; interviews with bishops and with the Premier (1); another trip to Goulburn to unpack furniture and prepare the house; and at length on 29th May, the household — including four of the five children — became complete. The new bishop’s companion that day from Morpeth to Goulburn was the Rev. Kenneth Clements, on his way to Hay. (2) Exactly twenty-seven years later, Clements made a similar journey from Grafton, to succeed Burgmann — but to Canberra this time, not Goulburn.

Bishop Burgmann had the capacity to be at ease with men of all sorts and conditions; he very soon became a popular figure in the Goulburn community, even among those who could not overlook his leaning towards socialism. Yet it is doubtful whether he was really at home in Goulburn town. Those who, in later years, created the legend of the Bushman Bishop, suggested that his first love was for rugged frontier life. But this needs modifying somewhat.

He was reared, it is true, on a farm. But he did not care for farm life because of the unchanging routine; he left home as a young man for this reason, although his father wished him to stay. He loved the bush, enjoying the solitude while hewing timber (3); but his nature required stimulation and he was most at home in the exchange of ideas, among students or on the platform. Long before he thought of moving his official home to Canberra, he was drawn there, away from the steady pace of life in Goulburn. Canberra’s star was rising; Goulburn had seen little change in church affairs. Burgmann felt drawn towards the younger city, and ill at ease in the sedate ecclesiastical

1. S.C. July 1934; diary entries, as before.
2. Diary entry, as before.
3. See The Education of an Australian, chapter 1.
atmosphere of Goulburn; he saw, or believed he saw, reasons for a break with
the tradition of focussing the life of the diocese in the original See City.

For Goulburn, Canberra's rise was to mean all that was involved in a
retreat from first to second place. The provincial city that had been the seat
of Australia's senior country bishopric for eighty-three years was to become a
place where the Bishop resided only for short periods when matters of diocesan
administration required it; even the co-adjutor bishop (when one existed)
sometimes was to live in Canberra or Wagga instead of Goulburn. The very name
of the diocese was changed (1); threat of removal to Canberra hung over the
Diocesan Registry and other administrative machinery; only the Cathedral looked
like being secure from the claims of the new city.

The story of Goulburn's struggle with Canberra might therefore be
treated as a tale of two cities marked by a contest for supremacy; it is however
a contest so unequal as to hardly warrant the name, for the provincial city was
already long past its ecclesiastical heyday before the national capital claimed
its position in the life of the Church. Canberra was not an urgent problem in
1934; the problem was the Church's inertia in general - and nowhere was this to
be seen more obviously than in Goulburn.

The city of Goulburn is the oldest cathedral town in inland Australia.
The Roman Catholic and Anglican dioceses were each established about the same
time, and the respective cathedrals were begun within two years of each other.
(2). This had become possible because of the development of the region for
pastoral purposes which began soon after Macquarie's expedition to Lake George

1. It became 'Canberra and Goulburn' in 1951.
2. Wyatt, History of Goulburn, pp. 9, 14; p. 394 ff.
in 1820.

The hinterland to the southward seems to have been mostly taken up in the 'thirties and 'forties, while the hill country to the north began to be developed a little later on. Goulburn was gazetted a "town" in 1833, and allotments were surveyed for veteran soldiers (1); it soon became a garrison town with the establishment of the garrison and penal centre at nearby Towrang, (2). It remained chiefly a pastoral centre until the 'seventies, when, following the arrival of the railway in 1869, commercial interests and minor secondary industries began to concentrate there.

The town's more rapid growth from then on is reflected in the census figures, for its population rose from 4,473 in 1871 to 10,926 in 1891. (3). No town in the south approached Goulburn in size or commercial importance during the nineteenth century, except Araluen for a brief period at the height of the gold-rush there. (4). Even in 1965 the surviving nineteenth-century buildings gave it an architectural character very different from more modern rivals such as Wagga Wagga and Albury.

It is of some significance that the Diocese of Goulburn had been established when Goulburn was simply a pastoral centre, before commercial and industrial development occurred. Not only size but better communication with other parts of southern New South Wales made it the accepted centre for a very widespread region, before it attained commercial importance. The earliest road to the southern districts passed further to the east, through Bungonia where a

2. Wyatt, op.cit., p.65.
3. Chairman Society report, 1872, pp 81, 82. (Old Bishopthorpe).
4. Ibid.
township was planned; but after the settlement of Goulburn came about because of the richer pastures around it, Bungonia's growth was arrested. Instead, from Goulburn roads radiated to the South Coast, the Monaro (Maneroo), the south-west and westward. Goulburn thus became linked with districts otherwise isolated from each other. Its position was strengthened by the advent of the railway, for Goulburn was made the junction for the two principal lines, one going south to the Monaro, the other south-west to Wagga, Albury and eventually Melbourne. People could more easily meet in Goulburn than in any other town; the bishop and other diocesan officials could travel more conveniently from there.

To the first Bishop of Goulburn fell the task of setting up the parochial organisation of his new diocese; when he arrived in 1864 there seem to have been nominally fifteen parishes in existence, with up to fifteen clergy and an uncertain number of churches variously estimated as from nine to about twenty-five. (1). Bishop Thomas worked with immense energy and ability; for many years new parishes were formed at the rate of one or two each year; during his term of office twenty-three were added to those already existing without reckoning those formed in the area detached from Goulburn in 1885 to form the Diocese of Riverina. (2). By this time the Goulburn region had assumed the ecclesiastical structure and character it has held ever since.

Outwardly at least, the Church's achievements in and around the town of Goulburn between 1864 and 1885 were not unimpressive. The cathedral was

1. See Wyatt, Diocese of Goulburn, pp. 29, 50. The number varies partly because of uncertainty in defining what constituted a church; e.g. Bishop Thomas disliked calling any wooden building a 'church'.
2. Wyatt, op.cit. The number is not mentioned anywhere; it has been reached by studying Wyatt's parochial histories (pp. 175 ff) and his chart on p.174.
dedicated (1884). It supported three parishes; no other town of comparable size in Australia in the nineteenth century had more than two separate permanent Anglican parishes. The country districts geographically and economically linked to Goulburn were covered by six further parishes. A total of ten or twelve priests formed the complement of clergy – one in each rural parish, the rest in the town, with the Cathedral normally having a staff of three. The Bishop lived in dignified isolation at Bishopthorpe, two miles out of town (until the house was gutted by fire in 1914). (1). He was expected to fulfil a distinct pastoral and social function in Goulburn, visiting the great families in and around the town, at Springfield and Spring Valley, Imeralochy and Inverary Park, Tirrama, Taradale and Somerton: rare indeed is the home bearing a new-world name. (2). The custom persisted until Bishop Burgmann came.

From about 1890, in common with other rural districts, the economic condition of the region seems to have stagnated for some twenty years; Goulburn's population even fell slightly between 1891 and 1911. The period was not, however, one of stagnation for the Church; although such activity as went on was not very remarkable, from about 1897 to the war there was a good deal of steady development. Some twenty-one new churches were dedicated in and around Goulburn in these years, and much the same was happening in other parts of the diocese. This seems to have been the result of normal parish consolidation rather than expansion, since nearly all of these new churches were in small country centres.

2. An exception is 'Bullamalita', one of the oldest properties in the Goulburn district. It is shown on a map on 1831, with the anglicised (?) spelling, 'Bulla Melita'.
and often were to replace worn-out buildings; no new parishes were formed, and the number of clergy in the region remained unchanged. (1).

The effect of these years was to produce in the minds of people an impression of the stability of life; conditions appeared to have settled into a pattern that could easily be regarded as permanent. Apparently even the great European war did little to upset this expectation; it was left to the Great Depression to shake confidence in the rural establishment.

For the Church, this time was not only one giving an impression of permanence to life; it served also to fix the pattern of the church organisation and manner of existence. The work of covering the countryside with parochial districts on the ancient pattern being now largely complete, it was felt, particularly in Goulburn, that further upheaval was unlikely and undesirable, and the chief work ahead was to consolidate. Even the building of new churches in the more remote districts fell off markedly during this and subsequent periods; in the whole Goulburn region only eleven new churches were built in the half-century after 1914, and some of these were to replace older structures; (2); nearly as many fell into disuse through redundancy.

The falling-off in construction of churches is only one guide to the condition of the region, and might be the result of the supply of church buildings having reached saturation-point. But in a number of other ways the activity of the Church in the Goulburn region seems depressed or stagnant in the few decades after 1914 when compared with the more positive attempts at

2. Ibid. See also The Disturber, Jeffreys and Buckle, 1960. (Booklet commemorating Burgmann's jubilee). Pages not numbered.
progressive action in the years from 1897 to 1914. For example, from 1905 until the Bishopthorpe fire in 1912, Bishop Barlow set up and carried on in Goulburn two institutions, Bishop's College for theological students and Bishopthorpe High School for senior girls. Each was of considerable value while it lasted; the fire, and Barlow's failing health, put an end to them, and interest seemed to have waned by the time Radford came. The only comparable attempt in later years was the founding of S. Saviour's Girls' Home in 1929, and even its closure was only averted by making it a diocesan, rather than a local, responsibility, by means of a special appeal. (1).

Not only did the constructing of buildings flag and the forming of institutions fail, but in their general activities the Goulburn churches were content to maintain their existence unchanged from year to year, with no searching-out of fresh methods to relate the churches to the rest of the community - or even searching of soul to discover reasons for their dryness. Goulburn's churches were not exceptional in these respects - the paralysis was probably Australia-wide.

This slowing-down of the activity of the Goulburn district's parishes may in part be explained as a by-product of a great war and a great depression, all within one generation. These events hastened processes already in evidence before 1914, whose effect was to change Goulburn's relationship with its immediate hinterland and with the whole region. These were: the greater concentration of people in towns, as communications improved and the populace became more mobile; the more rapid economic development of other country

1. See Wyatt, op.cit., pp.123 ff, for an account of diocesan institutions before 1935. Subsequent events are discussed in the next chapter. (pp.98,99)
districts compared with Goulburn; and the advent of Canberra. These developments all had a restrictive effect on Anglican church life in Goulburn.

When Bishop Thomas arrived in Goulburn, it was a modest town of some four thousand inhabitants; but this may give a false impression of the importance of the district. In 1871, when the town had 4,453 people, the surrounding countryside had a population of 9,251; even if this number was somewhat swollen by including gold-diggers in one or two small fields, there were yet many more, permanent dwellers in the countryside than in town. (1). Forty years later, the proportions had changed somewhat, but the rural population was still considerably greater - approximately 10,000 in Goulburn, 12,000 in the hinterland. (2).

Population became more noticeably concentrated in the Goulburn city area, with comparative depopulation of the countryside, after the 1914-1918 war. By 1933 the city’s population had increased from 10,000 (in 1911) to almost 15,000; by 1954 it exceeded 19,000. (3). And whereas in 1911 the countryside around the town had the greater proportion of the region’s population, in the course of the next few decades this was quite reversed: by 1954 the hinterland’s population was only about half that of the urban area. (4).

1. Church Society report, 1872, pp.81,82. (From census, 1871). (Old Bishopthorpe).
2. From an unpublished report, prepared for, or by, Bishop Barlow, based on census figures of 1911. (Old Bishopthorpe).
4. For this and following three pages, see:
This trend was fostered by the increasing mechanisation of farms which meant that where two or three station-hands, and their families, once lived on a farm, only one was now employed. Properties produced more, and their employees were better paid - but fewer people lived on the land. Better communications encouraged the land-holders themselves to live away from their properties, in Goulburn or Sydney; and the trend was made more pronounced by the amalgamation of farms or the absorption of smaller ones by larger. Goulburn acquired light industries such as manufacturing of shoes and textiles, and became a wool-brokering centre. Shopping and entertainment facilities encouraged more people to live in, or retire to, the town instead of remaining in their own villages or homesteads. This was a common trend throughout New South Wales. (1).

During this period of changing social conditions, the Anglican church structure in the Goulburn area remained virtually unaltered, and in 1965, as in 1911 (and 1885), there were six rural parishes and three urban ones, with even fewer city clergy than in former years. There was no centralising of organisation to adapt the Church's structure and functioning to the closer concentrating of the region's activity in the town, nor was there any significant development of parochial life or institutions in Goulburn; the only signs of life were minor developments such as the building of small suburban churches. The only important new project was St. Saviour's Children's Home.

The Anglican Church in Goulburn therefore found itself depending on a structure set up seventy years earlier, without even superficial modification to meet the changes wrought by a mild social and economic revolution in the region.

In studying this situation, an interesting fact emerged: the proportion of rural dwellers who are Anglican, in Goulburn's country districts, was, in 1962 very high, about 70%; in the city itself the proportion was only about 35%. It is not yet possible to explain satisfactorily why only half as many people claim allegiance to the Anglican Church in Goulburn as in the adjacent countryside, and it is not clear therefore whether the rigid parochial framework is itself a principal cause of this condition. Certainly the high proportions of Anglicans in country districts has discouraged any modification of parochial structure. Any attempt to concentrate clergy in the towns at the expense of rural districts is met with entrenched opposition. (1).

Whatever the reasons for Goulburn's inertia, by the time of Bishop Burgmann's election, the city was no longer the scene of vigorous and expanding activity that had once made it a worthy cathedral town; the rest of the diocese could no longer look to it for leadership in coping with the particular problems facing the Church in 1934. While there may be no simple explanation for the disparity between Anglican influence in the country and that in the city, the extent of the difference was clear evidence of the Church's failure in Goulburn to adjust itself to changing circumstances. It was unable to resist a trend away from its ranks, or at least it was slow in setting out to

1. See article in *S. Mark's Review*, November 1962, as before.
gain the allegiance of newcomers. The setting-up of railway and motor workshops and other industries had largely altered the character of Goulburn's population, but the Church had not attracted workers in these industries to its doors; the Cathedral Council consisted in 1934, as in former years, entirely of graziers and businessmen or members of the learned professions. (1). Goulburn did little to demonstrate the initiative to be expected in the See City of even a small diocese.

The dwindling ability of Goulburn to show leadership in Church affairs was compounded by the increasing importance of other parts of the diocese, While Goulburn's economic development to 1934 was not unimpressive, it suffered somewhat in comparison with the more rapid expansion of other cities. This was a fairly new development; not until well into the twentieth century did any serious rival appear to dispute Goulburn's status as principal town in southern New South Wales. When Bishop Barker looked for a likely See City for the new southern diocese in 1861, Goulburn was the only possible choice; and when, twenty years later, the Bishop of Goulburn was seeking to separate the south-west portion of his domain to form the Diocese of Riverina, neither Wagga Wagga nor Albury had yet emerged as a centre of sufficient influence to be made the headquarters of it, and both towns remained in Goulburn Diocese. (2).

The census of 1911 showed Wagga and Albury emerging as towns of some consequence; they were the only ones south of Goulburn to have more than four thousand people. (3). They were assuming ecclesiastical leadership of

1. Article, as before, in St. Mark's Review, November 1962.
2. Wyatt, Diocese of Goulburn, pp 166 ff.
3. Goulburn, 10,187; Wagga, 7,446; Albury, 5,862. No other towns in the region had more than 4,000 people, and only four (Young, Junee, Temora and Cootamundra) above 3,000. (Bishop Barlow's report on 1911 census, Old Bishopsthorpe).
the eastern Riverina, south-western slopes and upper Murray; a southern and western region of the diocese was emerging, somewhat different in character from the earlier-settled Goulburn and Monaro regions: there were relatively fewer large properties or rural villages each complete with its own "squire".

By 1934 these towns rivalled Goulburn in economic importance; this was to be expected as the eastern Riverina passed through the stage experienced by Goulburn forty years earlier. (1). But there were no new dioceses to lead; these towns had to find their place alongside Goulburn within the existing diocese. This had to mean some lessening of the influence of Goulburn in the Church.

Till this time, the supremacy of Goulburn was symbolised by having permanently stationed there almost all the senior dignitaries. The Bishop, the Dean of the Cathedral, and the senior Archdeacon lived there; so did such officials as the Registrar and the Organising Secretary (or Diocesan Commissioner, the chief fund-raiser for diocesan institutions). (2). Except for a short period, 1892-1894, when W.H. Pownall, although Dean of Goulburn, held office as Rector of Wagga and lived there (3), only one or two senior dignitaries lived outside Goulburn, the junior Archdeacon or Archdeacons. Since the office was first created in 1869, one archdeacon always lived at Goulburn, but others at a variety of towns. Not until 1931 did it become customary to locate an archdeacon permanently at Wagga; at Canberra, from 1935, and at Albury from 1947. (4).

1. Atlas of Australian Resources, as before. Between 1933 and 1947, Albury and Wagga increased in population at about twice Goulburn's rate; after 1947, the rate of increase was about the same in each town.

2. Bishop Thomas, with characteristic enterprise, had built up groups of contributors, from all ranks of the stratified society of his day, and made them members of the Church Society. The Organising Secretary was the priest responsible for the successful functioning of the Society — and after its collapse in later years, he was personally responsible for raising the Society's funds.

3. An example of pluralism in a mild form, almost unique in the diocese. It aroused resentment in Wagga, causing Pownall's resignation from there.

Goulburn's prescovatives hindered the development of Wagga-Wagga or Albury as places of leadership in the Church until almost the end of Bishop Bedford's rule, but by then there were signs that some changes were to come.

The year 1933 was reckoned the centenary of the Catholic Revival in the Church of England, which had first broken forth as the protest movement called Tractarianism. Although T.J. Broughton, the contemporary Australian bishop, seems to have been strongly influenced by some of the more sober aspects of the movement, it had little observable effect on church outlook in New South Wales as a whole until the twentieth century largely because of the influence of his evangelical successor, Bishop Parker. (1). So determinedly did Parker do his work that the Oxford Movement never made headway in Sydney, but the rest of the Province was more responsive to it. (2). It was not surprising therefore that various country centres rather than Sydney became rallying points to observe the Movement's centenary in New South Wales.

Wagga came into some prominence as the venue for a large congress marking the occasion, support being drawn from the neighbouring dioceses of Riverina, Bathurst and Wagga-Wagga, as well as from the home diocese. (3). This move may be seen as one to promote Wagga's leadership in a twofold way: as a logical centre for church action in the Marrambidgee-Murray region, transcending diocesan boundaries which are largely artificial elsewhere (4); and as a centre for developing the Catholic tradition of churchmanship.

2. In N.S.W., Tractarianism made more rapid progress in the towns and districts that were later settled, i.e. chiefly inland places, most of them in the dioceses of Bathurst and Riverina.
3. E.G., September to December issues, 1933. (St. Mark's).
4. Diocesan boundaries have been artificially drawn in southern N.S.W., with little regard to natural boundaries; e.g. Albury, Corowa and Wodonga are in separate dioceses (Goulburn, Wagga-Wagga and Riverina respectively) although belonging to the same Upper Murray district.
This tradition was emphasized both by the occasion, the centenary of the Oxford Movement, and by the character of the celebrations, replete with colourful processions and pageants, massed choirs and a High Mass in best Anglo-Catholic tradition. (1). That all this could take place in an Australian inland town in 1933, and apparently without any significant degree of opposition or protest, was partly a tribute to the influence of Wagga's rector, S.J. West, a colourful but rather unpopular figure, and was aided also by the more Catholic emphasis in church life and worship in many newer inland parishes. Wangaratta was already reckoned the 'High Church' diocese of Victoria; Bathurst was accorded similar status in New South Wales; Riverina, with Reginald Nalse as bishop, was following the same path; while Bishop Radford had not hindered some similar developments in the southern and western parts of the Goulburn Diocese where Protestant feeling was less entrenched than in the older districts.

Wagga thus by its size and location became a rallying point, and incidentally demonstrated that it should no longer be considered simply as one of the ordinary parishes under Goulburn's protection. Radford supported the Congress and, with Bishop Nalse, shared the presidency, but was too ill to do much; he was not among the four bishops who attended and delivered addresses. One speaker was Burgmann, the Warden of St. John's, Morpeth, but nobody yet was thinking of him as next Bishop of Goulburn; rather they were noticing Bishops Crotty and Moyes, each of whom was considered a likely candidate (both were in fact later nominated).

This occasion was perhaps the nearest Wagga came to being a rival to Goulburn. There seems to have been no definite desire ever to break away from

Goulburn, although the matter was raised for a number of years by individuals in synod. In 1912, C. Hardy complained of "diocesan selfishness" in delaying progress in the western part of the diocese, and proposed that nine western parishes be detached from Goulburn (1); whether they were to become part of Riverina, or form a new diocese, is not clear. He evidently secured the support of his Rector, for the _Murrumbidgee Church News_ printed an article by G.A. Carver, Rector of Wagga, entitled, "Wanted - A Real Riverina Diocese." The article was noticed in the diocesan journal, _The Southern Churchman_, which made the interesting comment that "... when the Federal Capital comes to be built the ecclesiastical map will have to be very greatly altered", and therefore any present proposals for changes were premature. (2). Even in 1914, then, the proposed Federal Capital was a matter for speculation in the diocese, and it was thought that structural changes must come.

Wagga's men continued to air the Riverina boundary question (3), and in 1921 the Bishop (Radford) in his address to synod (4), referred to the matter briefly, linking it with the Riverina New State Movement. But the question of diocesan boundary revision never seems to have aroused much enthusiasm. The agitation came only from Wagga Wagga itself; there was no support from the rest of the region.

The western districts had one complaint of substance, that the Synod of the Diocese was over-weighted with Goulburn men, and outlying areas were

1. _S.C._, September and October, 1912.
2. _S.D._, October 1914. (I cannot locate a copy of the "Murrumbidgee Church News").
4. Address to sixteenth synod of Goulburn, second session, December 1921, (Old Bishopthorpe).
In 1918 it was pointed out that there were only six men from the whole western region at the current synod (1). Of course many more were entitled to come, but, because of the long distances to be travelled, it had become customary for Goulburn churchmen to "represent" distant parishes, with their consent, at synod. The complaint disappeared as communications became easier. Bishop Terence at one time proposed holding one session of synod at Wagga, but this never eventuated. For most synodmen, Wagga was even more remote than Goulburn.

Wagga was hardly providing a serious challenge to Goulburn's leadership, but its increasing importance and Goulburn's decline meant that the cathedral city no longer had a monopoly of the canonry. It was in the process of conceding some of its dignities (and dignitaries) to other centres, and could have conceded more. Bathurst, for example, for a while considered placing a coadjutor bishop at Wagga; and Bishop Burgmann almost succeeded in doing this in 1943, when he proposed that Trichononas West should be a coadjutor bishop, and continue to live at Wagga. But in 1951, future developments were not in evidence.

By 1934, it was evident that other parts of the Diocese of Goulburn were becoming less willing than formerly to permit the cathedral city to remain unchallenged as before; it was also evident that Goulburn was no longer capable of providing stimulating leadership, not because the city itself was stagnant or decaying, for it was indeed a thriving town, but because the Anglican Church had not responded to the stimulus of Goulburn's altered ways and source of life, and had lost its impetus; there was little prospect that it would ever regain its former health.

But neither of those factors, or their combined force, is sufficient to account for the accomplishments of Colburn's assumption of diocesan leadership, and Colburn's establishing of that leadership. The diocese grew in violent fashion. Because it happened so slowly, it would be easy to trace the logic of events, the inevitable outcome of social, political and economic factors which determined that Colburn's ecclesiastical star should set and Colburn's should rise. These factors played their part, but the picture is quite false without consideration of another factor, the personal one.

The Diocese of Colburn came into existence, not because of any carefully prepared policy of the Church, or of its leader Bishop Baker, nor because of a rising tide of public demand for a new diocese; it was about primarily because of the personal faith and personal force of a small group of Anglican laymen, in particular the Rappeller brothers. (2). The continued existence and prosperity of the Diocese depended on many factors, but initially it was very much dependent on the conviction, tenacity and other personal qualities of Bishop Isaac Thomas; it was due to his work with the material in hand in an unformed diocese, and particularly in Colburn, that future progress, at first very doubtful, became fairly well assured.

The first third of the twentieth century saw Colburn Diocese progressing rather slowly but fairly evenly, without any real need for a consuming personality; nor did any such person, layman, priest or bishop, come to fight for any long period. However, the critical problem raised by the

1. R. Loader, *The Founding of the Sea of Colburn*, makes clear the extent of the influence of specific individuals in shaping the character of the diocese at its foundation. There were few ecclesiastical precedents to follow, and no formulated policy.
economic depression and the creation of Canberra, both called for clear and stimulating leadership and conditioned the Diocese to accept and follow it.

The particular kind of leadership given (or needed) during the formative period of the Diocese, was in some measure to be called for again, in a period of re-formation. It is unlikely that those who elected Langham in 1924 were more than vaguely aware that changes were needed, but they were generally hopeful that he might be the one to give the leadership required. Men of the Goulburn District pledged their support as readily as one. They certainly did not anticipate that in thirteen years' time their Bishop would be living in Canberra and that two questions — the ecclesiastical future of Canberra and the relationship of Goulburn to the Diocese — would be largely resolved by one act, for better or worse.
Chapter IV.

The urgent needs and problems of the Diocese after 1934, and the Bishop's attempts to deal with them.
When he was elected to the See of Goulburn, F.H. Burgmann had no particular knowledge of the internal needs of the diocese before 1934, but he had decided opinions as to what general policy Christians ought to adopt at that time, and what the consequences of failure to do so might be. A short while before his election he had written: 'If (the Church of England in Australia) has within her the power and wisdom .... to bear faithful witness to truth and social righteousness she will win her own soul and help to save the nation .... Her temptation will be to flee within her own walls and find refuge in traditional forms of life and thought and worship.' (1).

Such seeking of refuge was exemplified in the Diocese of Goulburn as much as anywhere else, and in his attempts to solve Goulburn's internal problems, or at least the most pressing ones, Burgmann was continually tempted to fall back within the 'walls' of 'traditional forms'; it is interesting to try and see how far he was able to keep before him the ideal of bearing witness to truth and social righteousness, and how far involvement in domestic issues curtailed his activities in bearing such witness outside diocesan affairs.

In the popular mind at the time it was 'social righteousness' rather than 'truth' that was looked on as the special object of Burgmann's concern and emphasis. His reputation, arising from his active association with radical working-class politics, may be quite clearly discerned in many of the letters of congratulation received by him after his election. H.V. Swatt congratulated the Church on electing Burgmann, 'although knowing of your fearlessly expressed views on social and political matters .... were regarded with expressed or implied disapproval by those occupying the higher positions in the Church.' (2)

2. H.V. Swatt to R.H.R., March 1934 (Date uncertain). (Personal files).
was F.E. Maynard - '... when the revolution comes it may be quite useful to have a Bolshevik Bishop.' (1). Similarly A. Clint - 'to think we now have a rebel Bishop' (2) - and J.A. McCallum - 'It is magnificent to think that a red-blooded radical can reach the seat of power in the Church even today.' (3). Many similar opinions were expressed. (4).

There was some disagreement as to whether Burgmann's becoming a bishop, especially of Goulburn, was the most desirable thing for him and his particular work. Some agreed with G.E. Hulley that 'Burgmann will bring to the Board of Bishops a point of view that will be almost new ... He will ... exercise a strong and good influence in the political life of Australia from Canberra.' (5). Others were more cautious: Bishop Stephen, for example, while agreeing that the Church 'was in need of your peculiar gifts and your view of life', nevertheless considered that 'Goulburn is not the ideal Diocese for you but the inclusion of Canberra may give you great opportunities' (6); J.H.A. Chauvel was more definite that 'You are taking on a pretty tough job, a very provincial and snob diocese, plus the snobbery of Canberra.' (7).

3. J.A. McCallum to E.H.B., 5 March 1934 (Personal files). McCallum was the future Labour Senator.
4. e.g. L.F. Keller (educationist), Louis R. Williams (architect), W.A. Dowe (advocate of Henry George's policies), Stockton A.L.P. branch, the Rev. D. Stewart of the W.E.A., the Mayfield-Waratah branch of the Unemployed Workers' Movement, expressed similar opinions.
5. In a letter to C. Rothero; quoted by Rothero in a letter to E.H.B., 7 March 1939. Hulley was later Dean of Sale (Victoria). (Personal files).
7. J.H.A. Chauvel to E.H.B., 27 February 1934 (Personal files). Chauvel was Rector of Broken Hill.
The expressed opinions of clergy from within the Diocese of Goulburn largely coincided with the remarks of G.F. Pyke, Rector of Temora: 'We are all indeed thrilled at your coming ... I do wish we had a cleaner and sweeter air for you to work in.' (1).

It is perhaps only an academic question whether E.H. Burgmann might have been better able to serve the particular ends nearest to his own outlook if he had declined the invitation to Goulburn, in hope of something better: there was no guarantee that something better would turn up, and he could hardly refuse Goulburn in view of the manner and circumstances of its being offered. Yet Goulburn at best was not to be compared with (for example) Newcastle as a vantage point to serve the cause of 'social righteousness'; furthermore, in 1934, Goulburn's condition was such as to leave its bishop little energy beyond that needed for its rehabilitation.

Burgmann himself indicated that he considered the Church looked to the Diocese of Newcastle to give a lead in dealing with industrial problems, when replying to the congratulations of the Synod of that diocese on his election to Goulburn. (2). On the other hand, at least one observer believed that Goulburn was looking for a leader with clear social views, that Burgmann gained support because he frequently 'met, conversed and exchanged opinions with men of what were regarded as extreme (political) views ... such men respected him', and that '... the economic side of Dr Burgmann's activities entered .. largely into the decision ...'. (3). Yet even if this were true, for such a leader to use his position at Goulburn to influence the Church's national outlook would be far from easy.

2. N.M.H., 18 April 1934, report of Newcastle Synod.
3. G.E.P.P., 27 February 1934, Leading Article. (But see discussion of the election in previous chapter). (pp 40 ff.)
It is not evident that 'social righteousness', or at least the church's attitude to economic and political matters, were uppermost in many minds when reflecting on the Bishop-elect of Goulburn. The theme did not appear in the consecration of the bishop in Newcastle Cathedral (1) on the Feast of St. Philip and James, (May 1st), where the preacher, Horace Crotty, Bishop of Bathurst, spoke of the present-day need for the 'liberal', the 'prophet' and the 'iconoclast' (2); it did appear briefly in the rather pompous sermon of Bishopatty at the enthronement of the new bishop in S. Saviour's Cathedral three days later, when the preacher referred to Burgmann's 'profoundly significant conviction' that the 'baffling social and economic riddles of our day have got to be solved ...'. (3)

The new bishop's own first sermon in his cathedral was devoted to a more fundamental theme than social justice as such, namely the Christian conviction that underlies such matters, concerning the Church's relation to national life: 'Her mission is not a sectarian, but a national one .... She must feel that the making of the Australian nation is her special task ... She must ever sensitise the nation's conscience ... she must have a freedom, a tolerance, a charity that will raise her above the denominational mind .... It is to make her the patient and responsible servant of all ....' (4)

The sermon was worthy of the occasion, and still reads well. It was delivered on the evening of the enthronement, which took place during the Jubilee celebrations of the cathedral. (5). The sermon contrasted rather strangely with

1. Consecrations of bishops normally take place in the metropolitan cathedral of the province. An exception was made for Burgmann, a thoughtful act by the Archbishop of Sydney, to enable the bishop-elect's aged parents to attend.
2. S.C., June 1934.
5. The 50th anniversary of the consecration of S. Saviour's, celebrated from 28th April to 6th May. (S.C. June 1934).
the mood of these celebrations, whose high point was a pageant play, To the Glory of God, with its climax a scene portraying the leading characters of the Tractarian movement. The whole festival was designed to set forth the glories of the English Church, (1), with special emphasis on the Catholic Revival; there was little to turn the mind to twentieth-century Australia as viewed by Burgmann; the celebrations were rather a gesture from a regime that was now passing away.

It was Burgmann's concern for true knowledge that caused Crotty to class him as a prophet and iconoclast. As the relationship between church and nation underlay any concern with social issues, so the search for knowledge and quest for truth underlay the liberalism in theology which marked Burgmann in some minds as radical as his political beliefs did in others. (2).

Weeks before his consecration, the bishop-elect was introduced to the organisation of his future diocese by the activity of Ransome Wyatt, the Registrar, (3), who forwarded various documents and statistics for Burgmann to study, and from time to time kept him supplied with further information and questions. All this was done with diligence and cheerfulness, concealing the fact that the Registrar did not at this time approve of the new leader at all. 'You will have at your disposal one of the best little offices in the Australian Church,' he wrote (4), and the boast was not without foundation, chiefly because of Wyatt himself.

1. S.C., June 1934.
2. See art. in C.S., 4 April 1934, 'The Task of Religion Today', by F.K.B.
3. i.e. director of diocesan administration.
4. R.T.W. to F.K.B., 28 February 1934. (All such correspondence is in the Old Bishopthorpe Files, Goulburn).
Ransome Wyatt had been registrar of the diocese since 1914, although absent on military service for some of that time. His work was very much more than a career; he had immersed himself in the Diocese of Goulburn as an institution, and had amassed a tremendous fund of information about the Diocese and also about the City of Goulburn, resulting in two large books, *The History of the Diocese of Goulburn* (1935) and *The History of Goulburn* (1943), as well as lesser works about the histories of individual parishes. One result of all this was that Wyatt himself became an 'institution' of the diocese; he virtually made himself indispensable for the understanding of some of its internal mysteries.

His period of office had coincided with Radford's, and his sympathies lay with that bishop's methods and ideals. He was one of few who understood, or believed he understood, Burgmann's predecessor; he earnestly hoped for his vindication, for Radford to be proved as right as Wyatt believed him to be. He was accordingly suspicious of Burgmann, and it is no small tribute to both men that the Registrar was able to serve him with full loyalty after a very short time. This was well, for Wyatt wielded considerable influence in diocesan committees.

He had an almost superstitious belief in the value and truth of statistics (his own variety), but was uncritical in his understanding and acceptance of them. He was no respecter of clerical persons; his comments on the clergy, in his daily notes to Burgmann during the bishop's frequent absences from home, were often pungent. He had great knowledge of the minutiae of diocesan affairs, but rather less of the wider matters of church and state.

Whatever his own views on church and state, and theology, the new bishop's most pressing duty was to bring his office to bear as widely as possible and as quickly as possible throughout his territory, and to acquaint himself with it. This could only be done by touring it, and Wyatt wrote to Burgmann suggesting
that he plan his tours before his arrival in Goulburn, and so be ready to begin without delay. (1). Burgmann agreed; he would not be able to take up residence till June, would spend the first two Sundays in Goulburn and Canberra respectively, and then 'spread outward'. (2).

Wyatt was anxious to ensure that the new bishop should be about the practical affairs of his work as soon as possible, and to the Registrar as to others this meant travelling the length and breadth of the Diocese. Like his predecessors, Bishop Radford during the greater part of his episcopate had travelled regularly to the distant corners, but the closing years of his administration had been affected by his journeys far and wide (beyond the diocese) on behalf of Canberra, his anxiety about it, and his eventual breakdown and resignation. The most pressing need now was to draw the parishes together again into something like unity and to put new heart into them.

Burgmann's episcopal tours can be followed in detail from his daily correspondence with the Registrar whenever he was away from Goulburn. (3). His first month was occupied with affairs in Goulburn, and with visits to the adjacent parishes and to Canberra. His first tour away from home began on 30th June, and even brief visits to remote outposts may be traced from the Bishop's habit of telling the Registrar in each note where he expected to be in the next day or two. (4). They corresponded daily.

2. Bishop-elect to Registrar, 21 March 1934.
3. The Registrar daily (often twice daily) sent the Bishop a precis of his correspondence, and a report of other matters; the Bishop's replies were written on these reports, and returned; most were diligently filed. This practice unfortunately became less frequent as use of the telephone became more common. (All such letters are at Old Bishorthorne).
4. Official record of a visit is kept only when an official episcopal act is performed - confirmation, consecration of a church or burial ground, etc.
The tour had no unusual features, except perhaps its thoroughness. The route taken was through Braidwood to the south coast, thence to the Monaro and back to Goulburn; countryside with few towns and little evidence of prosperity. The Bishop went not only to the towns but to the smallest and least accessible settlements, taking time to meet, and worship with, the congregations in such remote places as Kameruka, Bibbenluke and Gegedzerick. (1). It seems that he was expected to do this because stimulation was everywhere needed; but his readiness suggests more than mere desire to conform to the pattern of episcopal tradition. He was at home when among the people in a way that Radford rarely was.

There were few observations about individual parishes. Pambula was adjudged 'the weakest parish I have seen .... There seems to be nobody in the place to carry a parish soul.' Wyatt, typically, thought the rector might be the trouble, but the Bishop (also typically) doubted this. (2).

During this tour, Bishop Burgmann had been welcomed at about thirty-six churches, and about one-fifth of the diocese had been covered; the places he visited ranged from moderate-sized towns to remote and scattered settlements. Perhaps more useful was the experience he gained through getting in touch with the most isolated and backward portion of his diocese: the south coast parishes were renowned for being poverty-stricken and backward in communications, education facilities and other amenities, even before the years of depression took their toll.

1. The parishes visited were (1-3 July), Braidwood, with Araluen and other outposts; (4-5), Moruya with Bateman's Bay etc.; (6-7), Bodalla-Harooma; (8-10), Cobargo with Bermagui etc.; (11-12), Candelo district; (13), Pambula, Eden, etc.; (14-16), Bega; (17-20), Bombala and district; Delegate; (23,25), Cooma and district; (24-27), Berridale with Jindabyne, Dalgety, etc.; Maminy (Bishop's diary).

Rural Deaneries, 1934:
Boundaries shown are approximate only - not precisely defined.

1. COULBURN RURAL DEANERY
2. MONARO
3. SOUTH COAST
4. YOUNG
5. SOUTH-WEST

DIOCESE OF COULBURN

Clergy Stations - 1864, 15 posts (no defined areas)
- 1884, 19 new districts - total 34 (3 in Coulburn) (1880)

- 1934, 11 new parishes; 3 closed; total 42 (3 in Coulburn)

[ ] No longer a separate district by 1934
( ) Name changed.

Railways - 35 miles

DIOCESE OF BATHURST 1869.

DIOCESE OF RIVERINA 1884
Part of Goulburn 1864-1884
1864 - no clergy stations
1884-7 changed

[Map of Diocese of Bathurst and Riverina, showing rural deaneries, clergy stations, and boundary divisions.]

[Diocese of Bathurst 1869]
One fruit of this tour was Burgmann's first newspaper controversy since becoming a bishop. He was appalled by the squalor of the dairy farms on the south coast, and spoke out against the insanitary conditions and the lack of basic home requirements. Surely the Government could do something to bring electricity to rural communities. (1). Evidently some critics had been waiting for him, and his comments were soon judged as foolish. The Bishop would turn young people away from rural industry, when the fact was that 'never was life on the land more attractive than it is to-day.' (2). The Bishop was 'out of touch' with the true pioneer spirit, for 'you can ... rise to (life's) greatest heights, in a bark hut.' (3). Even the Moderator in History and Political Science of Trinity College, Dublin, was moved to criticism. (4).

Burgmann was quite at home now: this was like the Morpeth days. '... either we are going to make general the use of the devices of modern civilisation or we are going to condemn great masses of people to misery, poverty and unemployment,' he wrote. (5). Here, it seemed, was a battle he might carry on, like the battles in Newcastle. But it was not so. No organisation was pressing the claims of the dairymen of Bemboka and Cobargo; there was nobody to take up the cry.

1. S.C. July and August 1934.
2. S.M.Herald (editorial), 2 August 1934.
3. 'Peter Snodgrass' in The Liri, 10 August 1934.
5. S.C. October 1934.
The diocese at this time was divided very loosely into five administrative regions, the rural deaneries. Two such, the Monaro and the South Coast (which were the two smallest) had been covered by this visitation. At periods during the remainder of 1934, Burgmann visited the other two rural deaneries more distant from Goulburn (Young and The South-West), and in between the longer tours he travelled to Canberra and the places nearer the See City. (1).

As far back as 1908 the diocese had taken pride in Bishop Barlow's extensive episcopal tours by motor-car. (2). A glimpse of the poverty of the diocese in 1934 is seen in that no means of transport was provided for Burgmann, and his stipend did not allow of his providing himself with a car. Longer journeys were made by rail, where possible; for shorter trips, the bishop relied on the clergy whose parishes he was visiting.

Yet, the Bishop penetrated to every portion of his extensive diocese within six months of his taking up residence in Goulburn. It is difficult to estimate the precise value of this accomplishment. Probably it should not be too lightly dismissed as simply the most obvious procedure at the time, for diocesan administration, finance, staffing and questions of future policy were all craving the Bishop's attention; it was characteristic that these should be made to wait until Burgmann knew something of his see at first hand, (3) and he readily

1. The longer tours were: 16 August to 8 September, to Yass and the Rural Deanery of Young (western most portion of the diocese); 22nd September to 9 October, Albury, Wagga and the western portion of the R.D. of Albury; 25 October to 7 November, Tumut and remainder of Albury R.D.

2. Barlow pioneered the use of the motor for episcopal purposes in Goulburn Diocese, and was possibly the first country bishop to use one extensively. See The Southern Churchman, 1908 numbers. (S. Mark's).

3. The suggestion that this be done, came first from Wyett - see pp. 74, 75.
accepted Wyatt’s suggestion.

Certainly any new Bishop of Soulburn in 1934 would have been expected to do something like this. It gave the Bishop and church people a unique opportunity to become acquainted, and it was bound to bring home to Burgmann, perhaps without his realising, the large demands that were to be made on his resources.

Yet precisely because Bishop Burgmann believed intensely that his personal interest in ‘social righteousness’ must be the concern of the Church, he was bound to set about bringing the subject before the eyes of the diocese. The task could not be delegated for no one had shown readiness to take it up before he came; it must not be postponed, for to do so would be to lose the advantage.

Burgmann’s elevation to the episcopal bench meant some enlargement of his audience, numerically, but perhaps some narrowing of the field: some would following his career for a while from outside the diocese, but henceforward he could only hope for a constantly attentive audience in the small segment of the Australian community he now served. It was not perhaps a very promising one; to arouse it would be a distinct achievement.

Anglican leaders at this time were only making occasional sallies into the field of social questions. Here and there a particular individual, such as R.B.S. Hammond in Sydney (1) or G.K. Tucker in Melbourne (2) was struggling to organise action to meet a fraction of the most pressing needs; but it is difficult to find any but the most tentative and diffident views being expressed in any official statements. A synod, or more probably a bishop in his charge to his

2. Founder of the Brotherhood of S. Laurence, chiefly for social work in the Diocese of Melbourne.
synod, might express alarm at the continuance of unemployment - but there the matter ends. (1). Action, whether by exerting pressure or arousing public feeling or publishing specific complaints or simply by making a study of a particular question, was almost unknown: the action of the Synod of Newcastle in the matter of unemployment relief, stands virtually on its own.

Social teaching generally in the Anglican Church was arid, at least in Australia. It is possible to trace the influence of a few outstanding men - particularly William Temple, and P.T. Kirk of the Industrial Christian Fellowship (2) - on a few Australians such as J.B. Moyes, W.C. Coublon and others who found their way on to the Social Questions Committee of General Synod. But two conclusions are generally true: there was no considerable body of informed, vocal opinion within the Church; and any comment or activity invariably came from bishops.

This was especially true in Goulburn, where social tensions were not inclined to appear in the councils of the diocese. There were no considerable centres of unemployment; poor housing abounded in rural districts, but it was accepted as part of the pioneering way of life (3), as was the lack of such amenities as electric power and sewerage; those who suffered from these conditions and the lack of educational and cultural opportunities were not likely to have any spokesmen in Synod, whose members were those who could secure freedom from work

1. e.g. Bishop Cecil Wilson in his charge to the Synod of the Diocese of Bunbury, 3 September 1934, gave two paragraphs of a 5,000-word address to the need of applying the teaching of the Gospels to the problem of unemployment. Archbishop Gerald Donaldson of Brisbane decried the hesitation of the Trades & Labour Council to associate itself with the Church's efforts to 'solve' unemployment (by discussion) (Address to Synod, 11 June 1929). These are typical, where the matter gets mentioned at all. (Copies of addresses at S. Mark's, Canberra).


3. The Bishop's remarks about this (3, C. August 1934) gave rise to widespread controversy.
to attend, and pay their own way. Any attention to the problems would have to be by the bishop himself.

Burgmann quickly set about doing so. He did not have far to look for a suitable instrument to convey his ideas generally throughout the diocese. The *Southern Churchman*, under the management of R.T. Wyatt, was enjoying a period of expansion; its circulation, at 4,000 copies monthly, was greater than that of any other Anglican journal in Australia, although almost entirely within the diocese. Its popularity resulted from the enthusiasm of the Registrar in promoting it, and in the nature of the contents: an abnormally large proportion of space was given to news items from individual parishes; many lines were devoted to local notes and individual priests' views on sundry points of dogma. Therefore parishioners could expect to find news of their own parishes, if nothing else, to read.

Such a journal had little attraction for the more thoughtful churchmen, even though its round-up of diocesan events (and Wyatt's never-ending statistics) was well done. Its chief interest to the new bishop was that it found its way into more than three thousand homes in the diocese. Traditionally the leading article was in the form of a letter from the bishop. Burgmann immediately had the format of this changed, setting it up in larger, clear type. Bishop Radford's custom had been to treat of several matters in informal and rather cursory fashion each month; Burgmann made each letter a statement on one specific topic only.

The most marked change, however, was in the subject-matter. It is not easy to compare Radford and Burgmann because of the difference in method, but during the eighteen years of Radford's leadership it is hardly possible to find a dozen references to Christian teaching as applied to social and economic issues, and very little more concerning international problems. The detachment seems to
be studied. He unbent a little in the financial crisis of 1929. Christians must be more thoughtful and faithful, and 'Labour must rise from mere employee to partnership in the world's work' (1); but even this unexceptionable statement was not followed up; by 1931 the bishop was referring coldly to political and economic comments of other churchmen: 'There may be doubt in some minds how far a bishop or synod should go in speaking of political issues .... I have contented myself in these pages with an appeal to citizens to live more simply and more seriously as the best contribution .... to the welfare of our country.' (2). The new Bishop of Armidale, J.S. Yeates, was probably in Radford's mind as one who had foolhardily spoken on political issues.

An analysis of the editorial subjects discussed by Bishop Burgmann in the years 1934-1943, provides an interesting contrast. During these years, about one-third of his editorial writing is devoted to pastoral and devotional topics, and to theological and biblical teaching, some of it quite interesting; but almost the same proportion is given to current international affairs, and this forms probably the most stimulating series of articles. There are occasional discussions of education, national affairs and problems, and questions of church life and organisation. The proportion of articles devoted to economic and social questions is surprisingly small, about one-seventh of the whole, but nearly all of them appeared in the years 1934 to 1937, when these issues were more urgent.

The ecclesiastical viewpoint is rarely obtruded even on biblical topics. The standard of judgment and quality of treatment is unexpectedly consistent, in view of the wide range of particular subjects discussed. How wide this range is, can only be appreciated by considering in closer detail particular topics presented.

1. S.G. September 1929.
2. S.G. May 1931.
For example, during 1935 there were articles concerning church organisation in Australia and the position of the Primate (April); the visit to Goulburn by F.K. Berry (1) and Toshiko Kagawa (2) (June); book reviews; the rights of married women in obtaining employment (December), and the value of summer schools on the N.E.A. pattern, in creating an enlightened public opinion (February). Most space is given to international affairs - the weakness of the Treaty of Versailles as an instrument of peace (May), the folly of permitting world-wide poverty and injustice (November), and a forceful comment on the rise of the coloured nations, with particular reference to the League of Nations' failure to deal properly with the Italian threat to Abyssinia (September).

All of this is a far cry from solving the world's problems in Radford's style by appealing to citizens to 'live more simply and more seriously'. (3).

The matters discussed in this list are fairly typical of those treated in subsequent years, particularly in the proportion of the articles given to current international affairs (May, July, November and September). (4). Burgmann had been an ardent and active supporter of the League of Nations, and was now concerned about its future; his treatment of this topic is typical of his editorial writing at its best. 'If the League fails to prevent a strong member falling on a weak member and devouring it, it is difficult to see how it can survive,' he wrote with reference to the threatened invasion of Abyssinia. (5).

1. English theologian and writer.
3. The contrast is not perhaps quite fair to Bishop Radford, who was faced with the task of giving leadership to his diocese concerning international affairs and the economic depression, when comparatively old and worn out by the effects of that depression on his own best-loved project, the Canberra Cathedral. But the contrast is there.
4. Throughout these years, at least one in every four leading articles was on this theme.
5. S.C., September 1935.
A few months later, after the invasion took place almost unchallenged by positive opposition he was convinced that the League was a failure, beyond any real hope of revival. 'The League, which was our hope, has been shown to have been an instrument by means of which the various nations have pursued their national policies. It seemed to be thought that by pooling our national selfishness we might somehow rise above nationalism ... we desired great moral results without moral effort.' (1).

In this way, the Bishop was evidently trying to turn the thoughts of the ordinary churchmen who read their diocesan magazine, to matters of more than local concern; and at the same time to form a body of opinion in one small segment of the Church that might in time become vocal. It is likely that he had Canberra constantly in mind. It is not possible to gauge the success of this venture in moulding public opinion, but it is interesting that the attempt should be made, and in particular that it should have been thought worthwhile to comment extensively on international affairs.

The Southern Churchman as a teaching medium was supplemented in later years by the publication of small booklets, reminiscent of the Morpeth tracts, and by the Anglican Review which also owed its inspiration to Morpeth (the Morpeth Review). The pamphlets were directed in particular towards the members of the Young Anglican societies, and were first published in 1938; only eight were prepared before the outbreak of war and subsequent rationing of paper prevented the series being continued. Four were handbooks for use by the Young Anglican Movement; the other four were The Beginning and the End of Things, (by the Bishop), Gambling, Its Nature and Effects, (D.A. Garnsey), What is the Gospel, 1.

1. S.C., July 1936. See also 'Why the League has Collapsed,' (Art. by E.H.B.) Daily Telegraph, 12 May 1936.
(the Bishop) and Into All the World (The World Mission of the Christian Church) (D.A. Garnsey). (1). The Anglican Review did not begin to appear until after the war.

The rather meagre nature of the published fare made available in the diocese, and the fact that it took so long to appear, was symptomatic of a number of things, including lack of finance, but more especially poverty of another kind. The literary and intellectual capacities of a small country diocese were taxed to the limit to produce any kind of literature, even if there had been many minds fit to receive it. To raise the intellectual level, especially of the clergy, was a task that could not long be delayed.

In 1934, only two of the Diocese of Goulburn's fifty-two clergy possessed a university degree of any kind; two others had a theological diploma (Th.Schol.) of standard comparable to a university degree; twenty-four possessed the modest Th.L. diploma, while twenty-one had no academic attainments whatever. (2). Although theological diplomas had been readily available to Australian clergy since the establishment of the Australian College of Theology in 1891, country bishops had not been able to insist on even the Th.L. as a minimum requirement until St. John's College became available to students from other dioceses besides Armidale, about 1920. Most of those with diplomas were therefore younger men. However, the cause of the intellectual poverty of Goulburn's rural clergy in the early years of this century probably lies deeper than mere lack of opportunity, for numbers of clergy had, over the years, obtained their status by private study together with whatever coaching they might obtain, either before or

1. All published in 1938 or 1939 by the Bp. of Goulburn. Now at S. Mark's.
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after ordination. There was at all times a core of anti-intellectualism which was suspicious of book-learning and the modernism believed to accompany it; besides this, and probably more general, was the feeling that the duties of the sacred priesthood, especially in the country, were not of a kind likely to be assisted by formal study of New Testament Greek or Church History.

Bishop Radford, himself no mean scholar, had achieved a little towards overcoming this inertia and opposition; most of his postulants (who were not numerous) were if possible sent to St. John's, and by 1934 there were fewer clergy in the diocese without any academic status at all; but there were also fewer with University degrees. The rise in the intellectual standing of the clergy was so gradual as to be almost imperceptible.

This improvement was not swift or widespread enough to meet conditions in the mid-30's. More than this was needed. Even in the remote country districts, the clergy could no longer assume in 1934 that the general standard of education of those they ministered to would be as rudimentary as it unquestionably had been a generation earlier. (1). Most clergy in Goulburn Diocese, while capable of instructing and catechising in the Christian faith, could not effectively cultivate those parishioners who might have more than an elementary education.

In the larger towns, which were growing in importance both absolutely and in

1. In the rural Windellama-Tarago region south of Goulburn and typical of the longer-settled parts of the diocese, education was provided, c.1900, by fourteen one-teacher schools (full-time, part-time or subsidised) giving basic instruction to most, but not to all, to Qualifying Certificate (Q.C.) standard. Only the comparatively wealthy had access to secondary education. In 1963, only two one-teacher schools remained, most children attended instead the district Central School; secondary education was available there or in Goulburn to all but a handful of the most isolated children. This change was far from complete in 1934, but had begun; in particular, secondary education was much less rare. However, even as late as 1947, fully one-fourth of the parochial clergy of the Diocese of Goulburn ministered in parishes where it was impossible for children living at home to attend a school providing a secondary education other than that obtainable from the Blackfriars Correspondence School.
relation to the rural districts, opportunity for secondary education was becoming the rule; and there was the prospect of having in Canberra in a few years, a comparatively large number of relatively well-educated people. Bishop Radford had been quick to see the need for secondary schools in Canberra, and had founded the two Grammar Schools. But the provision of better-fitted clergy remained to be attended to.

These were going to be needed more urgently as secondary education became more accessible and particularly as Canberra began to function. But to provide such clergy was not an easy step in 1934. The difficulties were threefold - to find the qualified men, induce them to come, and to make room for them. The last of these was sufficient to hinder progress at first; for there were no vacant places in the diocese.

This does not mean the diocese was adequately staffed. Parishes simply could not afford to provide more clergy. There were, indeed, slightly fewer clergy than ten years earlier (1), and since this was true of most dioceses, there was available in Australia a number of unemployed priests seeking work from any bishop who would listen. Bishops were unhappily familiar with the pathetically courteous letter asking consideration for any position, however temporary. (2). And yet men of ability and education were in short supply, and wise bishops were always on the look-out for such men, and ready to create positions for them where possible.

1. Appendix, numbers and qualifications of clergy.
2. Numbers of such letters are still (1963) in the files, Old Bishopsthorpe, Goulburn. A conservative estimate would be that the Bishop of Goulburn c. 1934-36 received at least a dozen such letters each year.
Consequently, as a general rule Bishop Burgmann did not seek increased diocesan staff, even though many of the clergy in 1934 were near retirement and the diocesan strength declined slightly that year. 'If we can get through this year', he wrote early in 1935, 'we shall have all the men we can place.' (1). Students in training would meet the general needs, without accepting any of those outsiders seeking positions.

A change in attitude may be detected eighteen month's later in the Bishop's reply when the Rector of Young was pressing for the appointment of an assistant curate there. Nothing could be done because no man was available, or at least 'no man worth having'. (2). By this time Burgmann was convinced that good men were scarce, whatever the general employment position, and that it would be short-sighted simply to rely on those coming forward. Men of the right kind had to be sought out. (3).

He had indeed been doing this tentatively from the first. As early as July 1934, he sought the services of a young Newcastle man (4), and others soon were being approached. Men of above-normal qualifications were sought out, for Canberra in particular: it 'is one of the great strategic points in the Commonwealth. The Church needs the strongest and wisest men she can find for such a position ...', Burgmann wrote to the man he particularly wanted. (5). However,

However he, among others (1), did not share the Bishop's vision of Canberra's possibilities sufficiently to give up his current post and go there. It was not easy to get such men for a small rural diocese, even with Canberra as bait.

This, then, was the general situation: the educational qualifications of the diocesan clergy were pitifully poor, university-trained men being almost non-existent; priests of the right type were hard to find, and the diocese presented few attractions to them; the need for such men was becoming acute, particularly in Canberra. No ready-made solution was at hand. All that the Bishop could do was to press for the best possible training to be given to the students selected as ordinands, and to raise standards as circumstances allowed.

It is hardly possible to assess such an intangible matter as the quality of a particular band of priests. If academic status is any guide to intellectual quality, there was a significant improvement in this during the first ten years of Burgmann's episcopate. By 1943, slightly more than one-third of the diocesan complement of clergy possessed a university degree or its equivalent: more than half the incoming men were so equipped. Virtually all newcomers possessed some academic qualification; the proportion of diocesan clergy without any, declined from two-fifths in 1934 to one-fourth in 1943. (2)

The achievement is the more remarkable when year-by-year particulars are examined. It was not until 1936 that some diocesan students began doing university courses as normal procedure (3); the effects of the Bishop's

1. e.g. E.E. Kugel'man, later a dignitary in North Queensland. E.H.B. to R.T.W., 5 January 1937.
2. For more detailed figures, see Appendix to this chapter.
programme were not felt till 1937, when clergy of university-graduate standard numbered eight, compared to five the previous year; by 1939, there were nine; by 1941, fifteen; by 1943, twenty-two. In seven years, graduates had multiplied fourfold and had become a weighty proportion of the staff of the diocese.

The improved standard of training received by ordinands is one indication of a general improvement in the quality of the younger clergy; other advances are harder to assess. Improvement of this kind was to be expected as the economic position of the diocese became easier: other country dioceses in New South Wales underwent similar changes in academic status of clergy, but not to anything like the same extent.

These changes in the diocese promised well, but at the time did little more. Any hope of an immediate visible effect was crushed by the outbreak of war in 1939, with the enlistment of clergy as chaplains, among other effects.

The improvements mentioned so far, the use of literature and the better education of priests, might be dismissed as a display of intellectualism, and this judgment would have some foundation if there had been nothing more. To come to grips with the more widespread and profound needs of the people of the diocese required far-ranging activities of a different kind.

For years, no attempt had been made to extend the vision of churchmen generally beyond local and parochial affairs. Even the election of a bishop had not aroused many people sufficiently to participate. Archdeacon Pike blamed the institution of Synod for this, but if revealed rather the general malaise of the diocese.
One important cause was the Anglican Church's poverty of nationwide organisations, or influences of any kind calculated to make churchmen aware of their belonging to a nationwide - let alone supranational - fellowship. Such groups as did exist often served to divide rather than unite, by bringing together only those who shared one particular insular ideal of churchmanship: such were the Australian Church Union, The Anglican Churchmen's League, and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. Other bodies of a more general character, such as the Church of England Women's Society, or the Mothers' Union, or guilds to promote interest in foreign missions or social welfare, were not widely distributed. The influence of these organisations in the Diocese of Goulburn was negligible.

This diocese had made one attempt of its own to supply the want of effective fellowships by founding, in 1919, the Goulburn Diocesan Churchwomen's Union (the C.U.).\(^1\) This body aimed at promoting certain particular aspects of church life, one of which was 'co-ordination'.\(^2\) Presumably relating the efforts of individual groups to a general pattern. 'Co-ordination' was not carried very far. In 1928, when the number of branches of the C.U. had reached twenty-eight, a controlling executive was formed\(^3\), but matters rested there. Extra-parochial activities were not fostered.

However, the C.U. was at least doing something for women; nothing at all was done for young people, or for men, or for parishes or congregations generally, that might foster awareness of the church universal. There were no

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1. Founded by Mrs Badford, wife of the bishop. At first the aim was simply to give a common name and purpose to the women's guilds and societies existing in some parishes, usually independent of each other and functioning purely for parochial purposes.


3. Ibid.
occasions for meeting in conference, or studying problems under common
direction, or making a combined assault on social evils or widespread
ignorance. (1).

Why did Burgmann not call on such nation-wide church bodies as did
exist, to extend their activities to Goulburn? He held them in very low esteem.
In 1937 the Bishop of Wagaratta, who was national president of the Church of
England Men's Society (C.E.M.S.), wrote seeking co-operation in advancing the
case of C.E.M.S. in Goulburn and elsewhere. Burgmann's reply left no room
for doubt about C.E.M.S.'s chances of gaining his support. 'The C.E.M.S. so
often falls into the hands of the super-respectable, highly-conservative, wholly
ineffective laymen that I have come to despair of it as a fighting organisation.
... It has never led a reform movement ... and could be calculated to throw
cold water on any youthful enthusiasm for a better world. It is an Anglican
version of Rotary only more so ...' (2).

The Bishop was in no mood to try and revitalise such bodies from
within. He regarded them as dead and therefore, better buried. But some means
of drawing together the people of the diocese and giving them, and particularly
the clergy, understanding of and enthusiasm for the causes that he believed
important, must be found. Only in this way would the trend to parish-centred
churchmanship be defeated.

1. This is not to deny that, in a general way, the Anglican Church maintains
an 'awareness of the church universal' through its use of Holy Scripture,
its adherence to the traditional form of the ministry, and in particular
through its liturgical forms of worship. But in Goulburn Diocese in 1934
there was only this general maintenance of tradition; there were no
particular activities giving point and emphasis to the general implications
of Anglican worship.
2. W.H.B. to J.S. Hart, Bishop of Wagaratta, 17 March 1937; in reply to a
To Bishop Burgmann, this matter was an urgent one, and the move to defeat parochialism had to begin with the clergy themselves. Better standards of education would in time help to remedy matters, but some form of in-service training was required to arouse the body of existing clergy and maintain the interest of those added from time to time. However obvious a step this might seem to be, it had never been attempted before. This is probably another sign of the anti-academic bias.

The new Bishop's interest in academic training of clergy was known. The Chapter of the Rural Deanery of Young wasted little time in requesting him "to consider the advisability of having synods of clergy" (1); and support came from the Monaro Rural Deanery. (2). An opportunity to do something was at hand, for the Registrar had proposed that the session of the diocesan synod due in February 1935 be postponed because the administration fund was overdrafted. (3). Burgmann therefore proposed that this gap be filled by calling a clerical conference.

In summoning the conference, the Bishop called for suggestions concerning the agenda; the wisdom of this was doubtful, but the Bishop was still feeling his way. The replies, as well as showing enthusiasm for the proposed conference, indicate nothing more clearly than the malaise afflicting the

1. D. Blanche, chapter clerk, to Burgmann, 29 June 1934. (Old Bishopphorpe).
2. A.W. Harris, chapter clerk, to Burgmann, 4 September 1934. (Old Bishopphorpe).
diocese, for the suggested topics for consideration were almost all related to some aspect or other of its internal needs. (1).

The Registrar was still suspicious of the new Bishop's novel schemes. He had a field day with the topics suggested by the clergy. After listing them under headings such as 'Questions for Synod primarily and not for Clerical Conference' and 'Questions for Bishop only', he requested, concerning the topics that he believed the clergy should not talk about, 'If these items are to go on the agenda, may I furnish you with a memorandum giving the action of the Synod or the Diocesan Council on each ... It is obvious from the content that the proposers have no knowledge of what the diocese has done, refused to do or is contemplating in these matters.' (2). Paternalism dies equally hard in church and state.

An unhealthy introversion was not allowed to dominate the agenda completely. Although a large proportion of time was allotted to diocesan organisation, church finance, property and records, and other such questions (3), the general theme set by the Bishop in his charge to the clergy was that 'We must not only hold the lines in which we are placed ourselves, but we must keep in touch with other parts of the Church's front ...' (4), and the first item for discussion was 'Missions', followed by 'Future of Children's Homes in the diocese' (5). A beginning was being made in turning the thoughts of priests to 'truth and social righteousness'.

1. Common suggestions included: Methods of church finance; marriage regulations; value of rural deaneries; in-service training of clergy; parochial administration. Many suggestions were good enough in themselves, but as a whole they were concerned with internal problems. (Old Bishophorpe).
3. Conference agenda (Old Bishophorpe). Dates of the conference were 19-21 February 1935.
The idea of a regular conference was sufficiently acceptable for it to become annual. The next was summoned to take place in Canberra in September 1935, this time with the more specific aim of 'relating the Gospel to present human needs' (1), and thereafter conferences took place annually until suspended in 1940 for the duration of the war. "What Synod means for the business and ecclesiastical side of our work I hope Canberra will speedily come to mean for the religious and intellectual' (2), was the Bishop's intention. The conferences were to be taken seriously, as seriously as was Synod. From 1935 onward, a specific topic was taken as the theme each year, and clergy were expected to read preparatory material from the diocesan library (3). For example, in 1937 the general subject was 'Education for Christian Living', and the reading list included basic texts in educational psychology. (4).

From the beginning, some of the better-qualified younger priests were asked to present papers at the conferences. It is possible that such a procedure might have aroused the jealousies of older men in a diocese where seniority had traditionally been the first qualification required in those to be given any responsibility. But there is no evidence of any ill-feeling; almost the whole body of clergy, young and old, enrolled each year for successive conferences, and brief though the period was (usually three days), it soon became a significant rallying-point, presenting as it did to the clergy not only matter for thought and discussion but also an opportunity to share in preparing the diocesan programme of activities.

2. Bishop to clergy, 21 June 1937. (Old Bishopthorpe).
3. The library, originally created by Bishop Thomas, had fallen into disorganisation and disuse. It was reorganised in 1934, and eventually became the nucleus of St. Mark's Library, Canberra.
What the diocesan clergy conferences were designed to do for the clergy, the Young Anglican organisation was intended to accomplish for the young laymen and women of the Church. Conferences and rallies brought together the future lay leaders of the parishes to consider the wider implications of Christian faith. It was much easier to make ready progress with the clergy, who were few in number and had a professional interest in meeting together, than with a large body of laypeople; and since the youth organisation was not set up until 1938, it is not surprising that comparatively little was achieved before the outbreak of war. (1). But the groundwork was done, ready for the time of reconstruction after the war.

In these matters - raising the intellectual level of the clergy, getting them to discuss together the questions of faith and work confronting the church, drawing the attention of lay people to the same problems - Burgmann was revealing his concern for 'truth' rather than 'social righteousness'. He believed that awareness of the one would arouse concern for the other. There were comparatively few possible fields of action within the diocese for working out theories of social justice.

One such avenue did present itself very early in Burgmann's episcopate. A by-product of economic troubles was the acute distress experienced by the poor when abnormal problems came their way, in the form of the death of one or both parents, a long period of unemployment, or the break-up of the home for any reason. Children were the greatest sufferers, and two parishes in Goulburn Diocese tried during the 'thirties to establish homes for needy children.

1. The Young Anglican movement is further discussed in the following chapters, pp. 136–139.
By 1934, each of these homes, S. Christopher's at Young and
S. Saviour's at Goulburn, was proving too great a burden for the parish
concerned to carry. It seemed they would have to close. Young's institution
did close, and the children were taken to Goulburn; the closure of the second
home seemed inevitable, and the position was desperate.

The project was too large for one parish to maintain, however much
support it might receive from other parishes. It was a matter for the whole
team, and Burgmann set out to convince the diocese of this. First he tried to
persuade the Diocesan Council that they, representing all parishes, must accept
responsibility for the home. They agreed with some misgivings, rather than
allow the distress that would follow if the place should close: they would take
over the Goulburn Children's Home as a Diocesan institution from the beginning
of 1935. (1).

This did not solve the greatest problem: the Goulburn home was
pitifully inadequate to meet the demands being made on it now and to be
expected; its staff were few; it was quite uneconomic; its future was quite
unpredictable while it depended on uncertain donations from parishes and
individuals. So the bishop announced plans for extending the home (when its
very existence was in doubt) and for appealing for funds, to extend and endow
the institution - at a time when parishes could not raise enough money to keep
themselves out of debt, (2).

This was the kind of occasion that E.H. Burgmann could rise to; he
set about arousing the people of the diocese generally to accept the idea that

1. S.C., October 1934.
2. Ibid.
here was a need transcending parochial boundaries. 'For a couple of years I preached about the need for the Children's Home from one end of the diocese to the other ... It was in working together for this ... that we began to grow together as a diocese.' (1). This was Burgmann's memory of the effort made and the success achieved, recalled twenty-five years later. It may be coloured by the glow common to all past achievements viewed in after years, but it remains true that the creation of St. Saviour's Home inspired a legend of diocesan teamwork and achievement against great odds.

More than episcopal enthusiasm was called for. The Sisters of the Holy Name, who had taken over the management of St. Saviour's in 1933 from the Sisters of the Holy Cross (2), said they would have to relinquish the work if it could not be financially and generally strengthened. Burgmann assured them the Home would be enlarged and properly supported; a new Constitution for the Home was adopted by the newly-appointed Committee, giving the Sisters greater freedom in their management of affairs (3), and the Diocesan Organising Secretary, Canon P.D. Festt, was charged with campaigning for funds. (4). It is a little uncertain, therefore, who was chiefly responsible for the campaign, Bishop or Canon.

Money was very slow in arriving: Burgmann had promised the Sisters to solve the problem in twelve months, but eighteen months later the outcome was still in doubt. The situation was saved by the gift, in May 1936, of a large house in Goulburn for use as a more adequate Home. (5). Next year the Bishop was still urging the needs of the Home, but its establishment was assured. (6).

1. Synod sermon, St. Saviour's Cathedral, 6 November 1930, (5 Mark's)
2. Wyatt, Goulburn Diocesan, p.137.
3. Copy at Old Bishopphoree: date 23 February 1935.
4. 1st April 1935. 5. 1st June 1936. 6. 1st April 1937.
So the legend of achievement, a legend with some substance, was created; and more valuable than it was the creation of a sense of diocesan unity reminiscent of the best days of Besso Thomas and lost during the absence of the previous ten years or so. Other diocesan institutions were created or strengthened during the years that followed, and the renewed effort required each time helped to maintain the team-spirit; but St. Cuthbert's held a special place in diocesan feelings.

In later years, the Children's Home was further extended on several occasions, culminating in the erection — with the aid of another gift house-of-a farm house for boys, 'Rangerick', near Tamworth, in 1957. The two Grammar Schools in Canberra ceased to be private schools with Church backing, and became diocesan institutions. Bungurry became of a Youth Training Centre, planning that it should be at Wagga, but this dream never materialised. (1)

He also envisaged a teaching and research institution in association with the National University, an idea having its origin in the days when he hoped Morpeth College might become part of a country university college (2); this became a reality in part, with the creation of St. Mark's Collegiate Library at Canberra in 1957.

The accomplishments of Bishop Bungurry, and of the diocese under his leadership, during the earlier years of his episcopate, beginning while the great depression was still holding the land in its grip and continuing under the shadow of wartime, can be summed up in a few words. He visited all sorts

1. See Chapter VI, The scheme was linked with the appointment of Wagga's rector as a coadjutor bishop, and faltered when that idea was rejected.
of people in all corners of the diocese. A new standard of education was set before the clergy; the whole body of the clergy was called upon to reexamine the study and understanding of their faith and its social implications; and church people generally were encouraged to do the same, particularly younger people.

An attempt was made to confront the whole diocese with the issues of the times—particularly the international problems. The Bishop fostered a spirit of diocesan unity, in getting all parishes to work together to create and sustain necessary diocesan institutions.
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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV


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Th.Schol.: Scholar in Theology - diploma awarded by the Australian College of Theology, approximately equivalent to Bachelor's degree in Divinity.

Th.I.: Licentiate in Theology - not equivalent to a university degree.

Note - 1. Total number of clergy active remained stationary throughout until c.1942. The number in 1945 is swollen somewhat because a few elderly priests remained in service while younger men served as chaplains to the armed forces (twelve in all). Those old men who would otherwise have retired were mostly non-graduates, i.e. the graduate proportion to the total would have been even higher than it was, but for the war.

2. After 1945, the total number of clergy declined; as chaplains returned from active service, older men retired, and there were at first no students in training to replace them. The number active in the Diocese remained steady, including the number of graduates, until after 1950. Thus, the effective total of clergy remained static (at about 50) for about 30 years, to 1950; only then did the number ordained or coming from other dioceses begin to exceed the number retiring or leaving.

Information chiefly from the Directory of the Diocese, a table of data published prior to each Synod; supplemented from Synod and Bishop-in-Council records. (Old Bishopscorps; Registry).
Chapter V.

Burgmann the spiritual leader; his attempts to deal with social evils, and his difficulties in doing so while fulfilling his diocesan duties.
I would say that the church has no clearly defined or vigorously presented outlook. She is generally vague, indefinite, superficial, and sentimental. With few exceptions there is no strong leadership and the more capable and keen clergy are too overworked to be effective. . . . . the church is busy saving itself, maintaining itself, and whipping itself into sufficient activity to pay its way and do a bit for missions and a few charities. . . . . just where the Church is making social justice a live issue it would be difficult to say . . . . I believe that the Church has a large opportunity but I am not very hopeful of that opportunity being seized in time . . . . (1).

These words might have been written by someone suffering from a sense of failure or cynically doubting the wisdom of trying at all; neither of these descriptions fitted F.K. Burgmann when he wrote in 1938 in response to a request for an estimate of the Church's impact on social problems in Australia. He was himself more quickly moved to action when confronted with such problems than any other group, and his expressions of concern at the church's endeavours in this field were not prompted by any desire to belittle his fellow-churchmen. They came from genuine anger aroused by the church's apparent inability to be moved by, or even to see, evils that blighted thousands of lives.

There is no lack of evidence that Burgmann was as strongly impelled to arouse consciences and stir feelings about social injustice as other men in other times were moved to rally volunteers to rally forth to Greenland's icy

mountains. At Morpeth, he had been no mere academic; at Goulburn he would not be just another ecclesiastic. His concern was an abiding one; and equally constant was his dissatisfaction with the leadership of Australia's Christians, particularly Anglicans with their general ineffectiveness, and their particular and culpable negligence in dealing with social evils.

His own personality required that he should find particular instances of the evil, and deal with them as each affair demanded. He produced no blueprints and designed no grand strategy. Others might be the overall planning; he would rather carry out the assault. Within his See, this restlessness was manifested in his determination to be visiting places and seeing people rather than presiding over committees. It was a policy that paid off within the diocese, rallying very suffering parishes.

This quality of his mind led to one difficulty. He was determined to do all he could to make up some of the church's failure to lead the fight for 'social justice'. Had he been first a theorist, it would have mattered little had he been in Goulburn or Newcastle. But his own longing was to be on the spot. Morpeth sufficed; Goulburn did not. A romantic strain in his character caused him to seek particular evils to assail; but those that seemed to him worst of all, the horrors of unemployment and slum-dwelling and the injustice done to children brought up in squalid conditions, were not a serious problem in Goulburn. To attend to them meant leaving aside for a time the demands of the diocese. A conflict of loyalties developed, and since the diocese had first claim, Burgmann was compelled after a while to take a less active part in leading those Christians who fought social problems.

His endeavours towards social reform were what made him known to many who otherwise would not have heard of him; newspaper reports in particular
called attention to Burgmann the crusader on behalf of the down-trodden and
the underprivileged. Then his activities of this kind grew fewer, he was
therefore reckoned as having turned aside from his real work – becoming a
bishop had perhaps spoilt him. But Burgmann was first of all a churchman, a
convincing Christian who was thoroughly at home with Anglicanism however
impatient he might become with his Church because of its torpid state. He was
concerned above all to propagate Christianity as he apprehended it; all other
activities, including social reform, were undertaken because they were part of
the Gospel. It is impossible to understand him or have a true estimate of
anything he did, unless this is realised. Before considering his attempts to
solve social problems, it is necessary to see what kind of a Christian he was.

If Burgmann was considered, at the time of his appointment, to be
radical in his political beliefs, there were also those who doubted the
orthodoxy of his churchmanship and his theology. Label terms such as
'modernist' and even 'rationalist' could be, and were, applied to him; more
seriously he was reckoned to be a 'liberal' churchman and theologian. As warden
of a theological college, he could not be seriously harmed by such a reputation –
possibly the reverse – but when he became a bishop, the question of his
relative orthodoxy became more critical.

Burgmann partly in self-defence tended to emphasise his central
position in matters of churchmanship and assert the theory of a distinctive
Anglican position, and as a corollary to minimise the place of precise or
dogmatic theological formulations. These tendencies qualified him, at least
tentatively, to be called a latitudinarian or 'broad-churchman', a term carrying
overtones of vagueness and willingness to comprehend as many points of view as possible provided none of them is carried too far; of accommodating conflicting points of view because not holding strongly to particular views of one's own.

Burgmann did not repudiate the title of broad-churchman, accepting it in preference to other labels in common use (such as High- or Low-churchman); and he encouraged this kind of outlook generally in the diocese; but it is far from satisfactory when applied to his personally because of its implication of indifference. He was certainly anxious to throw the Church's net as wide as possible, and had no qualms about including in it such a controversial figure as R.W. Barnes (1); but his own theological opinions, when formed, were firmly held, and he was certainly not indifferent to such matters. (2).

It is more profitable to examine his statements on theological issues and his attitude to theology generally than to place him in the spectrum of churchmanship. Shortly after his election to Goulburn was announced, he was

1. Barnes was Bishop of Birmingham, and became notorious for his provocative statements in refutation of such doctrines as the Virgin Birth and the physical resurrection of Christ. Wyatt asked Burgmann his opinion of Barnes' continuing to hold office in the Church of England. Burgmann replied, '.... Barnes is safely within the Church's fold.' R.E.W. to W.F. to R.T.W., 18 January 1938. R.W. to R.T.W., 21 January 1938.

2. If he is to be labelled, the more accurate term would be 'liberal evangelical', an expression not easy to define: it has been used alike for men of relative orthodoxy such as C.W. Raven (theologian; lateCanon of Liverpool Cathedral), and those as extreme as Barnes. Men of this outlook had considerable influence on Burgmann. He has admitted to me his affinity with this attitude.
invited to contribute his views on "The Lack of Religion Today" for the national Anglican weekly journal, The Church Standard. (1). For a theological professor, about to become a bishop, the resulting statement was unambitious, even unrepresentative; he had nothing more to say than that "In the tragic legend of the world that science has been thought and felt to be the enemy of religion.....that to profess religion is to obfuscate; so far as the relentless search for knowledge is concerned." (2). The chief point of interest lies in his comment about theological statements, particularly formulated statements of belief: "All theologies are scandalously unconvincing" (3) he wrote, and this in itself was not particularly controversial, theology being secondary to the experience to which it is based on; but the dying-elect went on to apply this principle fully and completely to statements of belief, including the traditional creeds. "Matters that are regarded as questions of the faith, are not expected to suggest revising the Creed, except in the re-definition of terms."

Regan did not reveal this during his time (1954), but in later statements he fostered the idea that Anglicanism was a species of more than a religion of theology. In public, he maintained that the discussion on the formulation of doctrine is off little concern to the ordinary Anglican church, or is the maintaining of exist rules of ecclesiastical discipline. Yet this did not mean that he was unconcerned personally.
To escape the teaching of Wergan and his ideas on religious education, similarity, in his natural Danish background, he attempted, in the practice of, his theology courses, to escape, as much as possible, the teaching of Wergan. The difficulties in this study and teachings, that Wergan had differed from him strongly, in many aspects, such as Wergan's recognition that Wergan's ideas on the classroom were better with questioning and where, sometimes, quite often presented lively discussion. He might well have been the one to initiate serious independent theological writing in Australia, for he was one of the few who had succeeded in developing an independent outlook. (3)

One of his efforts, to this end, was making the interest in religious ethics and his original approach to the Abide (3) has a set of ideas, delivered originally to the seminar school at the Australian Board of Missions in 1927. The ideas are presented with freedom, almost the slogans that frequently with Abide, they consisted of many schools of religion. This perhaps sounds virtually unique, but the suggestion thrown out by it was never followed up with any substantial amount of more thorough-going kind.

But even this brief booklet comes to show that Wergan had the potential to develop a perspective, almost spiritual, type of mind. He examined some of the psychological roots of Western-Christian religious thought and attempted to probe the human soul to find some of the factors, a mask to mankind's religious

1. Bishop Petti acknowledged this, rather tersely, in the sermon published at Wergan's enthronement, 26 June 1926.
response. He might have pursued this line much further, but never did so.

He expressed himself more fully when engaged in controversy; an
example of this is seen in some correspondence between him and Bishop Betty in
1937. Betty had contended in his address to Newcasle Synod that year, that
in troublous times one could find a safe haven by returning to and holding
fast by the traditional, or Catholic, faith, without alteration or innovation.
That is, theological statements could not and must reach a stage where they are no
longer revisable.

This was quite opposed to Puseyism's belief that such statements,
however carefully made, were always 'secretly and revisable.' He wrote to
Betty setting forward and elaborating this idea: 'By its very nature theology
is doomed to inadequacy. It must always lag behind religious experience,' he
wrote; '.... is Catholicism as safe intellectually as it pretends to be?....
the more modern approach ... has saved thousands of students from infidelity...'
(1).

Newcastle replied at length: '.... What I did contrast was the
definiteness of the historic Christian Gospel as embodied in the Creeds with
the indefiniteness and fluidity of what is generally called Modernism ...
which allows that almost any view of the Person of Christ is compatible with
the profession of Christianity.' His essential point was: 'Jesus Christ ....
is not an upward thrust from the created world, but a downward thrust from the
Eternal ....' (2). Betty, like Pike at the electing of synod of 1934, believed
all truth must be "given from above". (3).

3. Above, ch.II, Joseph Pike's address to Goulburn Synod. (p. 42).
Burgmann was moved by this to do what Batty intended - to state his view of the nature of theology. "As general science is only a partial interpretation of general experience and is partial by its very nature, so also, for me, is theology," he wrote (1); "Formulated thought on anything (and here I include the Creed) is a provisional weapon only in the service of personal life." He concluded this essay in theological relativism with the comment, 'I am anti-Pope, anti-Luther, anti-Calvin. I feel that Francis should be made the patron Saint of Anglicanism.' (2).

This is a fair summing-up of Burgmann's attitude to theological inquiry. Theology can never be an "exact science"; even the most carefully-worded summaries of supposedly fundamental and unalterable beliefs are in some degree the product of the climate of thought of the particular age or situation that produced them. Batty stands for normal Anglican thinking in 1937; Burgmann represents a revolt from the traditional Augustinian theology, a revolt that was becoming much more effective by 1960. Burgmann did not attempt to lead or participate actively in, any movement to popularise the revolt. He knew instinctively that he would make no headway with his ideas in Australia in 1937. But nothing of this was very astonishing or radical even in 1937. It is indicative of the very conservative, even reactionary, outlook of the Australian

1. E.H.B. to F. de C.E., 24 June 1937 (Old Bishopsthorpe). He added the rather naive comment: "If there are such things as historical facts they cannot change, but they must be established by historical research."
2. E.H.B. to F. de C.E., 24 June 1937. When reminded of this last sentence in 1963, Burgmann was surprised and considered it an exaggeration of his real views at the time.

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Anglican church, and possibly other churches in Australia, that the few comments he ventured to make continued to earn him the name of a too-daring thinker. Batty certainly reckoned he was. 'You transpose' he wrote accusingly, 'the central doctrine of our faith ... that in the person of Jesus of Nazareth God became man. But you seem to suggest that in Him man became God ... (1)' 'Your doctrine' he went on, 'would seem to imply the doctrine of human perfectibility, which is ... the fundamental heresy.' (2)

The fight was now getting a little warm; a charge of heresy had been made. Burgmann replied at some length; his statement returned to Newcastle the accusation of heresy (although he did not use the word) declaring him to have a 'semi-theistic idea of God' who from time to time 'breaks in' on humanity 'at odd moments in a world otherwise neglected.' Further, he said, 'I might be guilty of many heresies but "the doctrine of human perfectibility" is not one of them.' (3)

The controversy apparently ended at this point. Had Burgmann made public his charge that the church was 'vague, indefinite, superficial and sentimental' there were many who would have said that this was true of his own theological attitude. From this discussion it is clear that his beliefs were only indefinite in the sense that he allowed for the possibility of fresh discernments and refused to admit the finality of any formulations of the truth.

1. Burgmann had written to Batty, 24 June 1937, a letter containing words that might be so interpreted: 'In Jesus of Nazareth man arrived at the fulfilment of human destiny and realised man's full status as Son of the Eternal God.' Batty quoted those words against Burgmann in his reply.
2. F. de W. S. to H.H.R. 29 July 1937 (Old Bishopthorpe).
3. H.H.R. to F. de W.S. 1 August 1937. (Old Bishopthorpe).
This did not mean such statements were unimportant; Burgmann himself had drawn attention to the Church's need of a 'clearly defined or vigorously presented' point of view, and believed a firmly-stated liberalism might fill such a need.

The opposite conclusion, that clear definition was undesirable, might easily have been drawn by the reader of a pamphlet produced in 1943 for the edification of the laymen of the Diocese. The Faith of an Anglican was written by the bishop to meet requests for a simple exposition of the Anglican position such as might be given to the younger people whose interest in the Church was growing. 'It is characteristic of Anglicans that they feel their faith rather than think it out in words,' he wrote. (1). It is certainly true of this booklet that it speaks of the churchman's feelings and behaviour rather than expounding his 'faith', despite its title. Only one of the eleven short chapters is devoted to 'What an Anglican Believes', and it discusses - quite admirably - attitude to belief rather than its content. (2). But in other respects the book is a well-written and convincing description of the best to be found in the Anglican traditions of life and worship and the continuing value and validity of those traditions when transplanted to Australian soil. Its failure to set forth Anglican beliefs coherently may be largely due to the author's reluctance to discuss such matters in public; it is also an illustration of his innate tendency to avoid being specific.

The use of the term 'Anglican' in the title was not accidental, for Burgmann was the exponent of a distinctive, if difficult to define, Anglicanism, 1. The Faith of an Anglican, p.7.
2. Ibid., pp.7-11.
and this became the theme of much that he was saying about this time, early in
the middle period of his episcopacy. The Church of England was, in essence,
neither the offspring of the Roman Church nor the product of the Protestant
Reformers, but the lineal descendant of 'the ancient Celtic Church' (1),
re-organised by Rome and greatly modified by Geneva, inter alia, but retaining
its ancient British soul. This concept of an English Church formally distinct
from the other great Christian traditions underlay not only his theorising about
the Church but his practical expression of it in diocesan organisation.

In all this Burgmann might seem to have become tensey orthodox, and
very considered his having become a bishop the cause. It is true that he re-
trained from expressing his views so openly as in the Morpeth days. But his
essential attitude had not changed; his apparent vagueness in churchmanship and
his unwillingness to foster theological debate were the outcome of his
conviction, unchanged to the end of his ministry, that the divisions between
denominations and within the Anglican Church, the points debated at length by
theologians, had become devoid of reality. He was willing to express this
belief strongly enough in private. 'Traditional Christianity has ceased to be
the vital force in human culture and nothing has taken its place .... The
Christian Church has nothing to say .... It cannot see that its traditional
theology is rapidly becoming as mythological as the gods of Homer were to ...
Hiero.' This was his summing-up of the Church to a meeting of Bishops in a
paper on Inter-communion and Reunion (2), on of priests and theologians.

1. Ibid., p.9. "The Anglican tradition springs from the remote past of the
British people .... The Roman Spirit tried hard to possess the British
soul, but did not succeed. It left a useful heritage .... but the spirit
of Anglicanism is rooted in the ancient Celtic Church."

2. The Relation of Inter-communion to the Process of Reunion,_camised,
presented to a Bishop's meeting, Sydney, 1938 or 1939. (Private Papers).
generally he asserted, 'Their theory is barren and imprisons their God so that their God is dead.... Where the Spirit of Christ is there is the Church, and the Spirit of Christ is a life and not an institution.' (1). Then his anti-institutionalism is understood, it explains much of his opposition to theological definition and his apparent carelessness about burning questions of churchmanship and inter-denominational debate.

He had no great difficulty in keeping up the distinction between Anglicans and others without causing inter-denominational tension, chiefly because his own inclination was to keep the peace in such matters at almost too much cost. He was in greater difficulty when dealing with matters of his own Church who offended other Christians or caused arguments within the Anglican fold. The Bishop's society to much no personal offense made him refrain from taking sides even when it might have been well justified, as in dealing with Robertson in Conberapa or Pyke of Temora. (2). But where members of other churches were involved, he never upheld Anglicanism in such fashion as to cause controversy. He was in continuous touch with Protestants in the Legion of Christian Youth and the International Peace Campaign - seldom with Anglicans. It is significant of his outlook that he was always ready for the fray when an issue in matter of 'social justice' was to be fought, but in

1. Ibid.
2. The affair of Robertson is discussed in the next chapter. G.F. Pyke in 1934 (Rector of Temora) wished the Bishop to sanction devotional practices of an irregular nature. Although the Church's Discipline and Burgmann's own inclinations were opposed to granting the request, Burgmann wrote many letters seeking advice from other bishops. Eventually he conceded a little to Pyke, who, given an inch, predictably took much more. (File at Old Bishopshorpe).
disputes of theology and churchmanship he avoided battle and had to be cornered before he would fight.

When Burgmann accepted the See of Goulburn, there is no evidence that he had thought out the implications of his new position for his continued participation in those social and political activities that had occupied much of his time and thought hitherto. From 1934 onward organisers of peace conventions and slum-clearance campaigns were eager for him to appear on their platforms: the name of an Anglican Bishop still looked impressive at the head of a list of sponsors, and might convince the wavering, that their cause was respectable. For this reason the new bishop had to be more cautious than before about the nature of the occasion requiring his patronage. From now on his words and acts acquired some kind of 'official' character: a bishop cannot avoid being regarded as a representative of the Church, however much he might try to speak only as a private individual - which Burgmann never did.

But more restrictive than all this, was Burgmann's new relationship to an institution, the Diocese of Goulburn. Nowhere is the doctrine that a bishop is married to his See applied more rigorously than in an Australian country diocese, and in Goulburn par excellence. As the sheer physical demands of diocesan work bore upon him, Burgmann was compelled to shelve other responsibilities; while any hopes of linking his diocesan activities with his work for 'social righteousness' proved beyond possibility of realisation. This is the tragedy of his career.

One of the difficulties of his new position was soon made clear. In December 1934 the editor of the official publication of the Movement Against
War and Fascism (1), in heavily criticising Burgmann for the 'liberalism and rationalism' of an article he wrote for the journal (2), drew attention to the Bishop's refusal to 'allow his name to be used in calling the Melbourne Congress'. (3). 'In April 1933' he went on, 'before he became Bishop, he was willing to sit on our National Committee. I should hate to think that the change in his status determined the change in his attitude.' (4)

Rawling, the editor, was not of course remotely concerned with understanding Burgmann's real beliefs and motives - neither in 1934 nor in 1961 when he referred to this incident after his own change of attitude (5) - even had he been capable of doing so. He was interested only in what use might be made of him, and this included the advantages gained from publicly annihilating him. Burgmann had been frank to the point of triviality in his relations with left-wing crusaders. He now had to learn subtlety.

In thus drawing attention to the new kind of criticism his position exposed him to, Rawling showed Burgmann that he must think out his position more carefully. He had ever been ready to crusade against particular instances of injustice or harshness; this had been a simpler matter for the Warden of St. John's than for the Bishop of Goulburn. In the Clare St. Brecon Case in

1. Henceforward M.A.W.E.
3. Ibid. p.179 - 'The All-Australian Congress Against War', 10 and 12 November 1934.
5. 'Recollections in Tranquility', in Quadrant, September 1961, pp.31-2. Rawling had meanwhile ceased to be a communist.
June 1932, he had worked in association with party-affiliated individuals and groups. It had not mattered to him then if he were to some extent a tool of those individuals or groups, or of the parties they represented. He could hardly fail to appear to be such a tool, at least to them. It is probably true, as he has claimed (1), that he had no illusions about the use being made by the Communist Party of such 'front' organisations as the Unemployed Workers' Movement (U.W.M) and the U.W.W. He was active in these movements, and ever ready to speak against the ideas within them that he opposed. In particular, he consistently spoke against violent revolution and class warfare, maintaining the need for 'a mental revolution to enable us to believe in the possibility of building a just society by peaceful methods'. (2). How could not one by the 'way of persuasion', not the 'way of war'. (3). 'We went no destructive violence, but ... persistent and clearly articulated statements of a case ...' (4).

It is quite likely that the advocates of class warfare were able to ignore such unpalatable teaching by one of their associates while he was a mere priest, but when he became a Bishop he was too influential and might even change the nature of the organisation. So his unpalatable teaching had to be challenged. Bergan's refusal to allow his name to be used in calling the Melbourne Congress against the spread of the Insect, and his article in

1. In a letter to me, 11 October 1939, and in conversation.
2. Address on 'Ten and Twenty', to an official meeting of Clergy; 2 November 1936. In printed form to the 'New Pointing Tern': 'Clergy' issue.
4. 'The', 'Getting Some Into Life', 10 May 1932.
Nar: What For? the opportunity, for an attack on him (1), and thereafter the relationship could never be the same. When asked in February 1936 to address a Peace gathering (2) organised by the M.A.W.F. he replied, 'I shall go on doing what I can for peace and against fascism, but since Mr Rawlings made it perfectly clear to me that your movement would not go further and resist the emergence of civil i.e. class war, I feel that it would be simply confusing the issue for us to pretend that we are in agreement ...' (3)

Burgmann's name and position were too useful to let the breach become final. Rawling has described how, about June 1936, he engineered Burgmann into signing a letter inviting support for an International Peace Campaign Committee the campaign was required by international Communist policy at that time, (4). It would have been prudent not to sign the letter - but it would have needed miraculous powers to have perceived this. Rawling omits to mention that Burgmann did not remain closely associated with the Campaign for long; he tendered his resignation as President of the N.S.W. Committee on 12th October (on the grounds of inability to attend their meetings.

More remarkable than his gullibility in the affair is the Communists' persistence in seeking an Anglican Bishop as nominal head of the campaign, in spite of the manoeuvres necessary in procuring his consent. It would not have

2. He still addressed such meetings, nevertheless - e.g. at Randwick in September the same year (1936), on 'The Price of Peace'. N.M.H. 14 September 1936.
5. E.H.B. to the N.S.W. Committee of the International Peace Council (sic), 12 October 1936. (St. Mark's).
been difficult to find a willing Democrat or a left-of-centre politician but
Burgmann at this time appears ready to attract favourable attention to a re-est.
the Communist Party in New South Wales in 1936.
then he resigned from the Committee, he was probably aware of the
extent of Communist influence behind its activities, but his action seemed
sufficient enough: the 'political minded' belonging to such organisations could not
run for parliament. Rawlings (1) has said that Burgmann 'had long flitted around the
fringes of communist organisations', but the truth is quite opposite: Burgmann
was interested only in the useful work they might be doing (in his opinion),
and then only when he could take an active part. The great difficulty now was
that his ability to participate in affairs outside Coombabah was severely
limited. He persisted where possible, convinced that the Church must speak out
clearly on such issues.

Only in one other direction did Burgmann co-operate closely with
members of the Communist Party, in the matter of fostering better relations with
the Soviet Union, and this was only from 1941 onward. In 1937 he was asked to
lend his name in support of 'The First Australian Congress of Peace and
Friendship with Soviet Russia' (2), but there is no record of his reply. It
was not until the German invasion of Russia (22 June 1941) that those who were
concerned to advocate Friendship with Russia had occasion to seek general
public support.

A 'Congress for Friendship and Aid to the Soviet Union' was arranged
for 30th and 31st August 1941 at the Sydney Town Hall. Burgmann was asked to

2. The only record of this is in an inquiry concerning the credentials of the
Congress, from Bishop Nyes, revealing that he also had been asked to
support it. J.J. Nyes to E.W.B., 21 April 1937. (St. Vincen's).
be a chairman. He could not attend because of diocesan business, but sent a
message to be read to the gathering, and composed a prayer for the occasion.
Canon A.H. Garmsey (1) who represented him, wrote, '... I duly read the prayer
(before a silent and respectful audience) and your message, which was received
with a round of very hearty applause ...' (2). The message itself, on the
theme that the strengthening of Anglo-Russian friendship could make the peace
secure was innocuous enough; his whole part in this and subsequent proceedings
seems very naive, and it is not easy to explain his readiness to champion the
cause of Friendship with Russia. It bore no relation to the diocese of Cothurn
nor to his interest in social questions.

The only explanation seems to be that Garmsey truly believed Anglo-
Russian friendship a matter of great value to the whole world, and therefore
anything that might help to foster it was worth doing. He declared that the
future security of the world was greatly dependent on this partnership; the
signing of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty in May 1942 was 'one of the great events of
this century' and he took pains to say so publicly. (3). Furthermore, Anglo-
Russian partnership could help build a better economic order, and so the Treaty
was a chief corner-stone in the social building that is to be ...'. (4). He
addressed meetings on the subject, wrote about it in the diocesan paper, and
became eloquent on the virtues of Anglo-Soviet co-operation. '... it is our
part to win the spiritual war', he told the gathering that celebrated the first

1. Then Warden of S. Paul's College, University of Sydney.
3. In a broadcast for the Australian Broadcasting Commission, 26 May 1943.
    (Copy at S. Park's Library).
4. Ibid.
anniversary of the signing of the Treaty (1) '... we should be Meeting Back at it ... The sword forms of the citadel, liberty can be used to bolster up interests that could once again plunge this world into large-scale and defeat our people to foster in the shams ...'. Shams were still on his mind.

While 'in belief in the basic value and significance of Anglo-
Russian co-operation and particularly of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of 1942 was une-
unquestioned, ...' so was absent right justified the belief that bishops were
invents abroad when they enter the political arena, his comments I must led
the effect of drawing the attention of other bishops of their responsibility
to consider social issues. Anglican bishops as a rule avoided any risk of being
thought politically childish by saying nothing whatever about such questions
except to come faithfully to the defence of the established order.

However the annual meeting of 400 bishops held at York I think in
November 1941 was moved to accept the resolutions, one expressing appreciation
of Russian resistance to the common foe, the other calling for the Sunday
nearest to 1st May to be annually observed as "All Workers' Sunday". (2). It
is likely that the resolution was accepted simply to please Bargeman and Keynes;
although Southam duly observed the day (3), it was not generally kept, and
never seemed likely to become an annual observance.

The Anglican and Roman Catholic Archbishops of Sydney were not in line with the opinions of most churchmen when they issued a joint statement

1. At the Sydney Town Hall, 26 May 1943. (Circular published to advertise
supposedly defining Christian principles for the reconstruction of society at the war's end. The statement condemned, like fascism, fascism and communism (1). Byrnes hastened to repudiate the plan he alleged was implied against the Soviet. "... If the archbishops mean the communism that is associated with the Soviet Union, as fascism is with Germany .... then, surely, they should have expressed themselves clearly. Is their statement unclear, condemnation of the Soviet Union is implied ..." He also criticized the archbishops' vague suggestion of 'the way of co-operation' as an alternative to other forms of political or economic organization. (2). He had drawn attention to the fact that now he took exception to a statement about it.

Protests such as this, along with his public association with the friendship with Russia, campaign with, fighting with, the movement against war and fascism and similar Peace movements, have done over the years the image of Byrnes the Leftist. This was the image cultivated from time to time by the press. (3). Yet it is at least doubtful whether such an impression was ever widely current throughout his own forces except in the most possible way. A number of individuals would have agreed with the conservative grimace who exclaimed, "Byrnes! He's a bloody communist. I never set under him." (4). But even among those-fewers, supposed to be the most conservative group in Southern Illinois, there never seem to have been serious complaints about

2. R.S. 29 June 1943.
3. R.S. 27 September 1943, a double-page feature article by Robert McInerney, "Byrnes: Left, Why in Middle?"
The Bishop's utterances on political and economic matters, (1), frequently buttressed by his personal authority, have not been able to elicit much comment, or to show any great resentment at Bourke's use of his public position to promote his views. The extent of people's ignorance about his own public statements or activities is very remarkable. These national and moral views were not always correct, but he had no lack of particular instances that may have given rise to that reputation.

He was regarded as being unusually independent in his outlook for a bishop (2), but his fair-mindedness was evident and his opponents respected him. Because of this (3), some observed that he was always ready for a fight, but lost no friends on this account (4); he did not always seem to understand the ways of graziers, but appeared willing to learn. (5). All agreed that he was approachable at any time and by any person, and only one or two considered his outlook such a hindrance that they may have limited their participation in the Church's activities on the Bishop's account. (6).

By 1914, when Bourke had been in office for ten years (half of the period being in wartime), the general opinion of the majority of rank-and-file churchgoing laymen in the greater part of the Diocese of Goulburn seems to have been that the Bishop was an effective leader, an efficient administrator.

1. I have questioned a number, about 40 in all, of politically conservative Anglican laymen, chiefly graziers of the Goulburn and Monaro districts, who held leading positions in their local communities, and in most instances were active churchmen, many having been synodmen during Bourke's episcopate.
2. Goulburn district grazier, local Liberal Party branch president.
3. Western Riverina grazier and shire-councillor.
4. Monaro businessman and Alderman, and others.
6. A retired medical practitioner, Goulburn District. (Even the Indian Army general remained an active churchman, apart from refusing to associate with Bourke).
and sympathetic pastor, whose wisdom in utterance was sometimes to be doubted and whose occasional ventures into politics were to be deplored, but whose aims in such matters were quite excusable because of his ability to apply his mind to the solution of problems facing the Diocese. Most people felt that, taking due allowance for the interference caused by the continuation of the war and the effort required on that account and the absence of many men, including priests, in the armed forces, the Diocese was not in bad shape. Compared with ten years' earlier, its organisation was more adroit, its clergy better trained and younger, its finances much steadier, its lay people better informed, its young people given some organisation and leadership, and its Bishop personally liked and trusted, and known in the most remote parishes. There was general optimism about the future. The defeat of the Bishop's plan for the appointment of a coadjutor-bishop and the delay in his plans for Canberra, did not upset anybody very much except Burgmann himself. There was some dissatisfaction in Goulburn and some concern about the undeniable fact that the Diocese still had many backward parishes and areas where vigorous church life was unknown; churchmen thought there was still much to be done but were still convinced of the happier state of the diocese.

Yet it was not entirely the picture that Burgmann wished to paint. However simple and undeveloped his declarations may at times have been, there can be no doubt that he set great value on stimulating the community to face social issues and be active in dealing with social problems. To 'fight against injustice and oppression' (1) was the first objective he set before those he

1. From the Charter of the Young Anglican Association. (1930).
most wished to influence, the youth of the diocese. His pastoral letters to people throughout the diocese, appearing month by month in the diocesan Journal (1), dealt with questions of social justice, national and international affairs, economic and educational questions, far more often then with theological, devotional or ecclesiastical matters. But any active part Burgsmann might have played in raising the social conscience of people, had been steadily diminishing as the ever-decreasing diocese absorbed his energies, and what he had been able to do had not been closely related to his work as a bishop. Burgsmann the fighter against injustice and 'Forest Henry by Divine Providence Bishop of Goulburn' (2), increasingly tended to be different people.

Nothing demonstrates more clearly the dichotomy in Burgsmann's activities, and in himself, than the strange affair of the League of Christian Youth (3), an organization formed in 1936 by the amalgamation of two small societies in Sydney, the Combined Churches' Debating Federation and the Christian Youth Committee for Peace. In spite of their names, they were not communist frontals and do not seem to have received much attention from the Communist Party. The most prominent and active member of each group was I.J. Delisi, who for upwards of two years had been corresponding with Burgsmann about the churches' attitudes and activities towards social problems, in particular to the question of the abolition of slums, which interested Delisi personally.

Burgsmann had interested himself in the two groups, and had occasionally spoken to their gatherings. In the course of a long letter, Delisi wrote, 'a

1. The Southern Churchman.
2. Opening words of official proclamats (ordination certificate, memory of clergy, churches, etc.)
3. (Source: Holman, J.A.)
have an idea growing up amongst our committee of the Debating Federation of creating a Legion of Christian Youth (in fact we've been thinking about it since your Lordship addressed our gathering last March on the "Opportunity and Responsibility of Youth") with some peculiar hope of Christianizing the A.L.P....' (1). The 'peculiar hope' never took shape as a pre-Santamaria Industrial Group Movement, but developed on very different lines.

Since early in 1935 Burgmann had been a patron of the Debating Federation; in his encouragement of their activities, he had fostered their interest in practical social reforms with particular emphasis on slum clearance. Why this problem was selected for attention is not very clear (2); possibly he was encouraging them in a field they had already begun to examine. He urged them to undertake a project dealing with a particular problem and work for its resolution, rather than merely discuss it. At his suggestion, Federation members had investigated conditions in some of the sub-standard residential areas of Sydney, and had arranged a private inspection of some of them by Lady Hore-Ruthven, wife of the State Governor (3), who described the conditions she saw as "tragic in the extreme" and promised to use her influence to further the Federation's cause. (4). Members were still in the midst of this project when the Federation and the Committee for Peace amalgamated; slum clearance then became a leading purpose of the L.C.Y..

The Legion was duly formed at a meeting in Sydney on 28th May 1936, with the Bishop of Goulburn as its first President. (5). He spoke about 'the

2. It can only be inferred from Dalziel's letters to E.H.B. Burgmann's to Dalziel are not extant.
4. Lady Hore-Ruthven (later Gowrie) was personally much interested. Ibid.
5. From the circular advertising the meeting.
vital problems to which we must set our hands'. (1). There was no mention of any political goal ("Christianising the A.L.P."); the proposed aim became 'to present a united witness on national and international affairs according to the principles of our common faith.' (2).

Determination to see practical results in dealing with social evils, especially poor housing, became the common cause that kept Legion members working together. When Dalziel, who became the secretary and key member, spoke of 'Christianising the A.L.P.' his object may have been to enlist Burgmann's more definite identification with the movement, but it is more probable that he hoped to introduce into Australian politics the aim of producing a Christian social order. For Dalziel, Christianity was equated with the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, with schemes for social welfare and peace, national and international, and for moral improvement (3); and the band who gathered round his held these ideals also. Burgmann agreed in principle with their avoiding discussion of theological topics and commended the Legion's lack of a doctrinal basis, even of the simple kind he later gave to the Young Anglicans. (4).

Some of the Legion's foundation members, as Robson, inclined towards pacifism and made prevention of war their goal; some, as Matthews, were particularly concerned with problems of youthful delinquency. All alike were ready to work towards practical solutions of visible social problems; they were

1. Ibid. (The actual address has not been preserved).
2. Ibid.
willing to listen to a leader who would give inspiration, and direct their energies without being too directly involved in their activities. Such a leader was Burgmann. Nothing pleased him better than a group who would listen to him with reverent attention and give prominence to his pronouncements; yet with all this, the group truly needed his leadership, genuinely drew strength from him, and scored some actual achievements, giving him much of the credit.

They were in Sydney, he in Goulburn. They earnestly wished otherwise. Could the Church be moved to release your Lordship from the duties of the Goulburn Diocese... to promote application of the Christian gospel to social issues? (1). It is likely that things were better as they stood, at least for the L.C.Y. While Burgmann was only seen from time to time, he had for them a mildly legendary quality. There was an occasional suggestion of hero-worship in their attitude. Dalsiel's question, meanwhile, served to emphasise that Burgmann was already in 1936 finding his activities in one sphere, Goulburn Diocese, quite unrelated to those in the familiar and much-loved territory of agitation for social reform.

The only common factor was Burgmann's episcopal office. He was being listened to more attentively now in quarters hitherto reluctant; he was invited to speak at the Anglican Convention at Kurrajong in May 1935, and pulled no punches: Capitalism and War was the subject, and capitalism was no longer to be tolerated(2); he was a witness before the Commission on the Cost of

1. A.J. Dalsiel to E.H.B., 3 March 1936. Bishop Radford had made a similar proposal when seeking the creation of a Diocese of Canberra: the Bishop of Canberra was to be released from most diocesan duties, not for social agitation but for 'General Staff work'. (Private papers).
2. D.T. 3 May 1935. 'If capitalism inevitably means the threat of war and continued poverty for a large section of the people, then capitalism can no longer be tolerated by the Christian conscience'.
Living. (1). His name appeared with growing frequency in the national daily press - often through the efforts of the LCY. (2). His being a bishop helped to make these things possible, but it had nothing to do with the Diocese of Goulburn.

The Legion set down its aim: 'To build a Christian social and international order and, for that purpose, to unite the forces of youth and to enlighten and direct public opinion.' (3). The more particular interests of the members emerged when the various parts or 'Sections' were organised and named. Sections which proved more active and enduring were those concerned with Slum Clearance (chairman, D.A. Simpson), Unemployment (J.J. Kain), Juvenile Crime and Delinquency (K. Matthews), and Peace (A.O. Robson). (4). These all thrived; one section, devoted to Personal Religious Living, struggled on; others, concerned with such matters as Public Speaking and Community Service, soon disappeared.

It was the Slum Clearance Section, the object of Burgmann's and Dalziel's special attention and affection, that had the most marked success. Dalziel somehow, probably through the Governor's influence, had become a member of the State Government's Committee of Inquiry into housing conditions in Sydney. (5). While this Committee was deliberating (6), he and his

2. The Legion's publicity-seeking resulted in its receiving at least 120 press notices in Sydney dailies from 1935 to 1937 alone, mentioning Burgmann's name. (There were many others.) (A.J. Dalziel's collection).
6. Dalziel complained he was 'the only "lay" member of the committee', and that the LCY had no influence in the community, but 'we can make a glorious nuisance of ourselves'. A.J.D. to E.H.B., 2 January 1936 (Private papers). The committee consisted chiefly of parliamentarians and public servants.
colleagues in the Slum Clearance Section spared no effort to draw public attention to Sydney's worst housing areas; an illustrated brochure was prepared and distributed, reporters and photographers were taken on tours of investigation, articles were written for the secular and church press (1), and Burgaam made numerous pronouncements all of which seemed to get plenty of space in the Sydney and Newcastle papers. (2). By the time the Committee was ready to draft its report (3), slum clearance had become a minor cause celebre, and Dalziel's remarks about it and about the subsequent legislation sound a little like an exercise in name-dropping: "The slum clearance bill is now in the hands of the parliamentary draftsmen, and is to be brought down during November. We had a yarn with the Governor-General (4) last Sunday morning. He mentioned that the King had talked with the Premier (5) on the subject .... This .... accounts for the conversion of "Tubby" Stevens and his excessive zeal in the cause of housing reform ...." (6).

(7)

The passing of the Housing Reform Act did not mean the end of the campaign. L.C.Y. members redoubled their efforts. They wrote more articles for the papers (8), planned a film of Sydney's slums (9) and continued their

1. One article, 'Sydney Slums and Smug Suburbia', in C.S. (March 1936), gave rise to rather high feeling.
2. I have counted 44 references in these newspapers to Burgaam's statements on slum clearance alone, 1935-1937.
3. It was presented to the Government early in November. Sun, 5 November 1936.
4. Gowrie - formerly Sir Alexander Hore-Ruthven, Governor of N.S.W.
5. B.S.B. Stevens (United Australian Party).
7. When the Act was passed, the Premier asked the League to write to the Press supporting the Bill. (This was done). 'Evidently Mr Stevens thinks a word from us is worthwhile'. A.J.D. to E.H.B. 7 December 1936. (Date obliterated). (Private papers).
9. A.J.D. to E.H.B. 3 March 1937. Uncertain whether the film was ever made.
investigations. Burgmann made more pronouncements: 'A Housing Act is not enough. We must have the houses. Executive action can be delayed in all sorts of ways.' (1). The Government was given no chance to back down. When the Premier spoke of his difficulties in finding the money for clearing slums, (2) Burgmann challenged him: 'Evidently we are to believe that a thing that is both economically and socially sound is unattainable because some force, far removed from the realities of life, has decreed that it cannot be financed.' He added that the Church should come into the arena: it was her duty to 'see that the authorities do their duty ... without undue delay...'. (3).

The Church had not been doing its duty, said the League. A letter was written to the Herald, criticising in particular the Diocese of Sydney and appealing to the Church to 'clean up slum properties'. (4). A spate of letters followed; Burgmann was criticised for being unkind to the Church (5), and commended for his fearlessness (6); the Legion was commended because it had 'taken upon itself to awaken the Church'. (7). The campaign culminated again in the Church Standard with a Good Friday leading article attacking 'the apathetic attitude of the Church to slum conditions'. (8).

1. In a message to the LCY, quoted in C.S., 18 December 1936.
2. S.M.H. 2 March 1937.
3. Labor Daily, 8 March 1937.
4. D.A. Simpson, Convener of the LCY Slum Clearance Section, in S.M.H., 18 March 1937.
5. Sun, 21 March 1937.
7. Ibid.
The outcome of the Committee of Inquiry's report and the Housing Act, was a slum-clearance and re-housing settlement scheme at Brakineville, and when it was founded on 16th March, 1938 (1), Burgsann and Dalziel were official guests representing the Legion. The Bishop attended although busy with arrangements for the 75th Anniversary Celebrations of the founding of the Diocese (2); several episcopal visitors were already on their way to Goulburn. But this day was a memorable one for the L.C.Y. which felt that some self-congratulation was in order; they had exercised influence beyond their expected capacity and had been a material factor in getting the housing programme moving.

The L.C.Y. was enjoying its best days. Its fame had gone far, and new branches were being formed in other capital cities and in Newcastle and some country towns, such as Bathurst and Orange. The Legion had no general plan to start country branches; the committee had enough to do without breaking too much new ground. Such expansion only occurred where interested persons asked for a group to be formed in their town; usually a minister made the request. (3).

Some of the Goulburn clergy might have been interested in L.C.Y. activities, but the Bishop had plans for an organisation of younger churchmen of the diocese and saw no room for two independent groups, although he did for a while consider how they might be associated directly with each other. It is doubtful whether the Legion would have achieved much in country districts,

1. L.C.Y. Bulletin No. 17 (April 1938) - St. Mark's,
2. S.C. March 1938. Celebrations were March 19 to 26.
3. e.g. the Rev. A.J. Hingley, Methodist minister at Bathurst, who was chiefly responsible for the branch there. L.C.Y. Bulletin No. 10, April-May 1937, (St. Mark's).
dependent as it was on strong lay leadership and being strictly interdenominational in character. In the country, leadership depended more heavily on the clergy, and denominational backing would have been necessary. Burgmann saw that a group without such backing had little chance to prosper, and began planning an Anglican body in its place.

By 1939, when his scheme for a diocesan youth fellowship was materialising, his association with the L.C.Y. was slowly becoming less direct, and his part in it somewhat indistinct. There were by then branches in all states except the West; activities in states other than New South Wales did not have the socio-political character of the mother branch's interests. South Australia's group, the largest outside Sydney, had no Peace, Slum Clearance, or Unemployment sections, which were the most active ones in N.S.W. and those of most interest to the President. In true dissenting tradition the Adelaide group concentrated on its Temperance, Anti-Gambling and Juvenile Delinquency Sections. (1). But even in Sydney the emphasis was moving away from Slum Clearance and Unemployment towards a study of international affairs. War was in the air.

The convener of the Peace section was A.O. Robson, a scientist and pacifist. In September 1939, with Germany poised for the invasion of Poland, he published a sermon he had recently preached, He That is Without Sin, (2), likening Hitler to the Woman Taken in Adultery (S. John vii. 53ff), to be pitied and pardoned. He sent a copy to Burgmann, who was no pacifist: 'Pacifism' he replied, 'seems to me too negative a policy ...' Granted that both sides are

2. E.H.B. private papers.
sinners, which of the sinners if victorious will give the better opportunity to those who truly desire to build a better world order? (1).

The Legion was taking a direction not congenial to its president, and this hastened the withdrawal of his interest - an interest that was always under a strain because of his first responsibility to his diocese. It had served the purpose of an instrument for expressing in practical fashion his concern for the alleviation of social distress and for bringing his understanding of the Christian faith to bear on social needs. The practice begun at Morpeth of being in the forefront of agitation for dealing with particular social ills, did not die when Burgmann became a bishop, but it became necessary to seek out the opportunity for maintaining his association with those who dealt with such ills. The L.C.Y. provided just such an opportunity. Burgmann did not create it, although it is unlikely that it would have taken the particular form it did had he not interested himself in the Debating Federation. It became a useful means of saying and doing something about real problems endemic in pre-1939 Sydney and other parts of Australia; as conditions changed, its purpose, and Burgmann’s interest in it, dwindled.

The Legion was in difficulties soon after the outbreak of war in 1939; by December it was appealing for funds to be able to continue printing its Bulletin (2), which subsequently appeared much less frequently; expansion of activities ceased. After 1940 little was heard from the leading members, in the daily press or at church meetings. It appears to have disintegrated quite rapidly.

2. L.C.Y. Bulletin No. 25, December 1940. (Old Bishopthorpe). This is the last issue I can trace.
Some of the non-pacifist members joined the armed forces, including Dooley and Matthews, conveners respectively of the Unemployment and Child Welfare sections, which thereupon folded up. The Bulletin ceased publication; the members dispersed, no doubt expecting to be able to resume where they left off in a year or two when, as they fully expected, war should cease. No attempt was made to revive the Legion of Christian Youth when the cease-fire came at last in 1946.

Burgmann had been enjoying himself in the role of Socrates, the guide (to his opponents, the corrupter) of youth and also the gadfly to rouse the state from its torpor. This is what he believed the Church should be doing - but in this instance the church itself first needed awakening. This was true generally of churches in Australia, it was particularly true of Anglicans, and a fortiori of Anglicans in Sydney. If Goulburn had done nothing else for him, it had made him a bishop and so had given him a position of sufficient prestige to ensure an audience, at least amongst the young. The Bishop had begun well in seeing this and using the opportunity. He was doing his best to alter the conditions that gave rise to his own accusation of the Church's vagueness, superficiality and lack of interest in social issues. But it was all rather remote from the needs of the Diocese of Goulburn, or at least from what the people there believed their needs to be. Most of them were not ready yet to think about the church's part in social teaching. There was hope, however, for the young people.

From early in his episcopate Burgmann was making tentative proposals for some kind of youth society within the diocese which could deal with, or in some way relate young people to, what can be called, very loosely, social questions. The aim was not defined much more clearly than that. Such an
organisation might show how to bring Christian principles to bear on the community's needs; it might transcend local feelings and unite the young people, particularly those who were 'growing restless and wanting to see injustices rectified'. (1) A diocesan youth society, the bishop said in 1935, 'breaking away from parochialism, could be an organisation wherein all youth is banded together for the purpose of service to the poor and neglected children of the diocese ....' (2) 'Youth can make the Christian revolution by sacrifice and devotion', he told a Y.M.C.A. rally in Sydney the same year, urging them to organise themselves to uphold 'social justice'. (3).

Until the end of 1937, he was still feeling his way. However, to the Synod that met in November that year he was more definite: 'I ... suggest that we form an Anglican Association .... pledging its members to fight against all injustice and oppression, all lies and dishonesty, all slackness and ignorance, and all that spoils the goodness and beauty of life .......' (4). These words were incorporated in the 'Charter', or credo, of the Young Anglican Association, and recited at all meetings. (5). Thus the first aim of the Y.A.A. was to 'fight against injustice and oppression' and the underlying assumption was the essential

4. Presidential Address ... to the First Session of the Twenty-First Synod of the Diocese of Goulburn, 22nd and 23rd November, 1937. (St. Mark's).
5. WE SERVE THE LORD CHRIST. We give ourselves to the Cause of Christ and His Church, and in His service we shall fight against injustice and oppression, lies and dishonesty, slackness and ignorance, and all that spoils the goodness and beauty of life. We shall seek strength and inspiration for this work, in the Teachings and Sacraments of the Church, in Prayer and Meditation, in Study and Thought. In the Faith of Christ we shall build a better world. (Original form of the Charter).
'goodness and beauty of life', and the bishop hoped that it would 'help to organise the energy, devotion, and ability of our youth ...' (1). Nobody seems to have wished to alter either the aim or the assumption, both typical of the bishop's fairly liberal theology. People were ready for action at last.

Plans were now afoot, but other action was still slow in coming. While the Legion of Christian Youth was a thriving society the Y.A.A. remained only an idea, the reason being that willing leaders and a nucleus of an organisation already existed for the first. Burgmann decided that a leader for his youth movement must be carefully selected and prepared, and a young English-born priest, F.W. Hill, from the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd in the Diocese of Bathurst, was asked to become the Youth Commissioner. He went to England early in 1938 to get experience in youth work there and to look for possible new ideas in such work.

A few Y.A.A. branches were formed during 1938, on the lines, at Hill's suggestion, of what he called 'Church Fellowship-style groups' (2); he reported the inauguration of a Youth Movement for the whole of the Church of England, and hoped Australia would soon follow suit. (3). The bishop urged the rapid development of the Y.A. Movement, saying rather enigmatically that a strong youth movement was needed because Australia would not 'escape the trials that have come to other nations.' (4). He announced that Hill would be set apart as Youth Commissioner sometime in 1939. (5). His anxiety to achieve something fairly

1. Presidential Address as before.
2. F.W. Hill to E.H.B. 3 May 1938 (Private papers).
5. Ibid.
rapidly may have stemmed from what was happening under Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin: 'Fascist and Communist youth give, and give lavishly.' (1).

The first large Y.A. rally occurred in Goulburn in December 1938 (2), and became a pattern for similar gatherings at central points throughout the diocese as the movement gathered momentum. Some clergy wrote to the bishop remarking on the good influence of the movement in their parishes (3), and even the Registrar agreed that young people were taking more interest in diocesan affairs, although he distrusted the movement, was doubtful about Hill, and in particular disapproved of public discussion of sex problems. (4).

Hill returned to the diocese in time to take up his appointment only briefly before enlisting as a chaplain, and the Y.A.A. became a wartime casualty, or partly so. It did not disintegrate as had the L.C.Y., but its development was completely arrested. Enough vitality remained for it to survive, and in those parishes where it had been strongly founded by 1939, useful work was done despite loss of leaders. 'The Y.A. has transformed this parish,' wrote Burgmann concerning Bega, '... the young folk seem to be carrying the main part of the work.' (5). Something like a folk-memory of enthusiasm and inspiration being kept alight during the dark wartime years remained in several country districts of the Diocese in 1964 and 1965 among former Y.A.A.

1. Youth Can Build a Better World, address by E.H.B., noted 'at Rockdale 31/7/35'. (Private papers).
3. e.g. R. Dranfield (Bungendore) 4 October 1938; similar letters from Adelong, Bega, Tumut.
members - together with a memory of the feeling, amounting as with L.C.Y. members almost to hero-worship, for E.H. Burgmann. (1). The movement regained its vigour in the post-war years, but the emphasis on social justice was not revived.

For, just as Burgmann's predecessor, L.B. Radford, had chosen the worst possible time to launch the Canberra Cathedral Fund, which crashed badly; so Burgmann set out to arouse the public and organise church people in support of causes that almost immediately ceased to be burning issues. Within the Diocese and beyond, by spoken and written messages he stirred up people generally and the young in particular, to study the needs of the unemployed, the underpaid and underprivileged - only to find that the absorbing issues raised by Fascism and Nazism largely replaced concern for people living in slums and on unemployment relief.

Burgmann had shown that the church might concern itself sometimes with the creation of a social conscience even though it had only just begun to deal with particular problems in anything like an effective fashion. By the time the war ended, to create a social conscience remained an urgent task, but the particular issues were tending to be of a different order. Questions of political and cultural freedom, of liberty of thought and expression, were more urgent than bread-and-butter needs. Burgmann occasionally raised his voice on these topics with good effect, as when he opposed an affirmative vote in the referendum on the suppression of Communism; but he no longer seemed able to make

1. Such memories are strong among former Y.A.A. members I have questioned from the Goulburn, Monaro, Tumut and Bega districts particularly.
such activity an integral part of his diocesan policy, nor to make a section of the church alive to the issues at stake and ready to organise itself for action.

Burgmann's voice was indeed heard during these years, speaking on a great variety of general topics, seeking to relate them to basic Christian teachings. He had much to say concerning national and international affairs, education and family life, as well as social and moral problems. Some of his statements were of greater interest to those outside the diocese than those within it; as a rule he was extremely well reported in the national press.

In 1942 he delivered the Moorhouse Lectures in S. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne, and elected to speak about the development of modern man and civilization, and the roles of church and state in modern society. (1). Much of his material was reminiscent of his W.E.A. lectures on Read in the 'twenties. The theme, that civilization cannot be successful until man himself is understood, was certainly one of Burgmann's own greatest concerns. He returned to it again when delivering the Ainslie lecture in 1948. (2). But relatively few within his diocese showed any interest in what he was saying. As in his attempts to deal with social problems, so in his presentation of sociological themes - the more he became involved in diocesan affairs, the fewer were the occasions for dealing with the questions his mind best understood.

1. The Moorhouse Lectures are delivered annually in memory of Bishop Moorhouse. The rather ponderous title of Burgmann's lectures was The Regeneration of Civilization (Melbourne 1942).
He received a wider public response to a comparatively unimportant lecture delivered at a teachers' conference in 1944, when he proposed that 'At about twelve .... all children should go to boarding school for four or five years ....'. (1). Newspapers throughout Australia received letters protesting against the bishop's suggestion which was seen as a threat to family life and stability. Burgmann still had the ability to arouse widespread interest, but seems to have lost the power to follow up his advantage.

The ideas continued to pour forth, evidently with the general hope that they would somehow get into the air - even, perhaps, the rarified atmosphere of Goulburn Diocese. There was one point in the diocese where he expected to be able to find a sympathetic audience and perhaps build something enduring. In Goulburn and the countryside, the bishop was popular but not always understood. In Canberra - particularly the new Canberra that was taking shape during the years of the war - was the nucleus of an unusual community, one of greater sophistication and broader general education than the diocese had known before. Canberra had been a problem to Radford and the church generally; Burgmann saw it as a place to give leadership, to church as well as nation, and turned more of his attention there. From Canberra, the clearly defined and vigorously presented outlook that he desired in the church, might yet develop.

1. Education for Citizenship, p.16, (Unpublished - private papers), delivered at Lismore, 24 August 1944.
Chapter VI.

The relation of Canberra with the Diocese.

Burgmann's decision to live in Canberra; difficulties in carrying out this proposal.
Few of Bishop Burgmann's more far-reaching proposals seem to have aroused much overt opposition. There seems to have been occasional resentment at the trend to put younger men in relatively senior positions or bring in new men for these posts from outside; the Rector of Canberra expressed some of this feeling in commenting on the Synod of 1939: 'Blanche...is dull and childish... Nell is farcical... The older men have stood down...but your younger men, some of us think, made Synod a joke.' (1). But such comments are few; most of Burgmann's reforms were accepted in the same spirit as Burgmann himself, as measures necessary for the progress of the Church and therefore to be firmly supported - or at worst as necessary evils to be suffered as much as possible in silence.

The question of the Church's relationship with its Canberra parishioners had given more trouble than enough to Burgmann's predecessor, and his own method of tackling the problem provides two instances of the reaction to contentious proposals. One was the proposed removal of the bishop's residence from Goulburn to Canberra; opposition to this was inexplicably slight. The second was the suggestion that a coadjutor bishop was needed so that the diocesan bishop (Burgmann) might give more attention to Canberra. This proposal was marked by the first significant attempt to organise opposition to Burgmann's plans.

Both these proposals were first made in 1942, when the state of affairs in Canberra, as in the diocese generally, was markedly different from earlier years. The idea that Canberra might soon affect the Diocese of Goulburn in any large measure seemed in 1934 to be quite unreal. If Burgmann hoped that his

1. C.S.R. to E.H.B. 18 October 1939 (St. Mark's)
appointment as a bishop would give him greater opportunities than before to influence the Australian public, it is unlikely that Canberra's happening to lie within the Diocese did much to strengthen that hope; it was not till later years that Burgmann was able to use his position in Canberra to give expression and effect to some of his ideas. Canberra also came in time to represent a potential source of vitality to a diocese that might otherwise have declined considerably in intellectual leadership and financial strength, if Goulburn's experience is any guide. At the time of Burgmann's election, Canberra, instead of being a potential solution to some of Goulburn's problems, was a cause of anxiety and perplexity. To see how this was so requires a study of some events in Canberra before Burgmann's time there, particularly during the closing years of the episcopate of his predecessor, Lewis Bostock Radford.

The earlier development of the Parish of Canberra in association with the growing Federal Capital had been smooth enough. When Canberra was chosen as the site of a city, it already had a sixty-three-year-old Anglican church, and had been an independent parish for fifty-eight years. This makes it the fifth-oldest in the diocese, but it was otherwise quite unremarkable; its population, now probably beginning to decline, cannot have numbered more than a thousand souls, largely Anglican, and the parish was so stable - or stagnant - that in all its years it had never given birth to a new charge or even required an assistant priest. (1). The parish church was in indifferent repair, although fairly substantial for a rural hamlet; one observer in 1926 described it as 'almost ruinous' although considerable sums had been spent on renovations. (2).

2. F.W. Robertson, Canberra's First Hundred Years and After, p.40.
Nevertheless, the fact that the Anglican Church had a priest and buildings already on the spot was of considerable value to it in the early years of the Federal Capital's growth. (1).

The Church had been unusually quick to recognise officially that this hitherto rather undistinguished locality might become very important. Before the site for the capital city had been chosen, General Synod had appointed a committee to watch the question (2), and at its meeting in 1910, less than two years after the selection of the site of the national capital (December 1908), Synod appointed a committee for 'securing sites at Canberra .... and erecting church buildings thereon.' (3).

Bishop Barlow was too ill to cope with the problems brought by an incipient capital city and a war to a diocese with problems enough of its own; the Canberra church sites' committee held no meetings (4), but when Barlow resigned and was replaced by Radford in 1915, the new bishop concerned himself straight away with Canberra; he urged the committee's convener, Archdeacon Spenser, to report how matters stood, to General Synod; Spenser did so, stating that through the influence of the Primate, the Bishop of Goulburn, and others, 'three sites at Canberra were set apart for the Church of England'. (5). This action was a little premature, for '... when Mr Griffin's plans for the city were considered it was found necessary to cancel these arrangements', for Griffin had not allocated space specifically for church buildings. (6).

2. General Synod report, 1905, p.20 (Old Bishopthorpe)
4. General Synod report, 1916, p.51 (Old Bishopthorpe)
5. Ibid. See also, Year Book of the Diocese of Goulburn, 1909, pp 28,36. (Registry)
6. Ibid. Also, Year Book, as above, 1916, p.61.
The committee still failed to meet; it presented no report to General Synod's meeting in 1921. Wartime had halted Canberra's growth, but in any case the committee was quite unwieldy; it even included all four Archbishops. (1). This, together with the fact that General Synod itself was little more than a consultative body, meeting only at five-yearly intervals, ought to have warned Bishop Radford that he might expect little positive help from this source. He did obtain the reconstituting of the committee in 1921, with himself as convener, and with the added instruction to 'consider and report upon the question of the ecclesiastical position' of the F.C.T. (2).

Nobody hitherto had bothered about the "ecclesiastical position" of Canberra, but Radford did not wish Goulburn to have to bear the full weight of the development of Canberra; nor even the ultimate responsibility, which he wanted the whole Australian Church to share. This was the keystone of his policy for Canberra: the nation's capital must not be dependent on a small country diocese. Normal procedure is that each diocese is responsible for any developments within its own territory. Radford's perfectly reasonable argument was that there should be exceptions to this, and Canberra was an obvious instance. He had little chance of getting his viewpoint accepted; such a change of policy was not considered by the Church at large until the Anglican Congress at Toronto in 1963. Radford does not seem to have realised how far ahead of the Church he was in this respect.

To make Canberra the responsibility of the Anglican Church at large, and take it out of Goulburn's care, at least in part, presented some problems; in particular, the question of how to get the Church to shoulder, in an

1. General Synod report, 1910, p.47
2. General Synod report, 1921, p.93 (Old Bishop Thorpe)
effective way and not merely "in principle", a burden with no immediate visible advantages; how in fact to persuade everyone-in-general that Canberra was their concern, and to get them to support, voluntarily and adequately, the Church's work in a city that was yet little more than a drawing and an idea - an idea, furthermore, that was still much debated. Also, if treated in this way, Canberra might become the concern of nobody in particular. (1).

Against this, was the opportunity to emphasise the character of Canberra as a national concern for church as well as state, and make Canberra a symbol of unity for a Church that was at times much divided. It would have been simpler to have left matters as they were; in choosing this line of action, L.R. Radford made a decision that required both courage and imagination. He also possessed enthusiasm for the task. He was perhaps less endowed with practical sense, insight into the best way to achieve his aim and avoid the obvious dangers. He did not seem able to infect others with his own enthusiasm. And nobody could have seen the reefs and shoals ahead.

The condition of affairs in Canberra in 1921 did not seem to require speedy action by the Church. There were only 2,500 people there, no more than in 1914 (2); work had been bogged down by differences of opinion between W.B. Griffin, departmental officials and successive governments, not to mention the war; in the financial years 1917-1920 a mere £8,744 was spent on "construction works". (3). Matters proceeded slowly, amid controversy, until the federal parliament decided in July 1923 that it should meet in Canberra for the first time in 1926.

The pace now quickened; by 1926 the population had doubled. This was the year of General Synod's next meeting; it heard two long reports by Radford,

1. The Parish of Canberra included a fairly large area of countryside, but insufficient to become an adequate 'diocese'.
2. 2,572 on 4th April, F. Watson, History of Canberra, p.196.
3. Fitzhardinge, op, cit., p.49.
4. Watson, op,cit., p.185.
on behalf of the committee appointed in 1921: one on sites, the other concerning Canberra's ecclesiastical position. '... it is commonly taken for granted,' stated this report, 'and with good reason, that there must someday be a Bishop or Archbishop of Canberra.' Two ways of achieving this were suggested: the F.C.T. might be made a separate diocese with the Primate for its bishop; or it might, as in Canada (Ottawa), be an ordinary diocese within the Province of New South Wales. (1).

Radford ignored the third possibility, that there might be an interim solution, such as the Bishop of Goulburn's going to live in Canberra until (if ever) it should be ready for separation. He believed, with reason, that such a move would thwart his contention that Canberra was not Goulburn's concern, but Australia's.

Synod had much to talk about, and did not debate the Canberra report for long. It reconstituted the committee, told it to study further the 'ecclesiastical position', and quite cheerfully authorised it 'to proceed with the erection of such Church Buildings on the Cathedral site as may be necessary in the immediate future'. (2). The immediate future was five years till Synod should meet again. The moral is, probably, that bodies with no money of their own should only accept large responsibilities if they are prepared to meet a little more often.

The Bishop interpreted broadly the instructions given his committee. Projects were undertaken fairly rapidly. June 1926 saw the foundation of a girls' school (an extension of S. Gabriel's, Sydney) by the Community of the

1. General Synod report, 1926, pp 125 ff (Old Bishopsthorpe)
2. Ibid., p.51.
Sisters of the Church at the Bishop's invitation. The Boys' Grammar School followed in January 1927, soon taking over the complement of the only other diocesan school, Manaro Grammar at Cooma. (1). Radford began soliciting funds for these projects, and was confident enough to arrange for the construction of permanent buildings for the boys before the agreed minimum amount was in hand, whereon the Grammar School's trustees resigned, leaving Radford to carry the weight alone. (2).

In March 1927, Radford outlined plans for a college of some kind in the university area; possibly a theological college; and he mentioned the idea of a 'cathedral, synod hall and chapter house', though these were 'not yet urgent'. (3). Urgent, however, the cathedral at least soon became, apparently, for next month the bishop proposed a Commissioner for a 'new cathedral fund' (4), and in May, reviewing the history of the Church in Canberra, he prophesied that 'Ultimately the Capital City will have a bishop of its own. The creation of a Diocese of Canberra rests with General Synod ...' but in Radford's scheme was no room for doubt of this. (5).

On 8th May, the selected cathedral site was dedicated by the Acting Primate, Archbishop C.L. Riley of Perth. Radford spoke, looking forward to 'a Cathedral which should be to Australia's Parliament what Westminster Abbey was to Whitehall ....', while Sir Littleton Groom pleaded for a cathedral which should be 'a home of sacred art and a shrine of national history.' (6).

1. S.C. March 1927. The name of the school is always spelt thus.
2. S.C. November 1928.
4. S.C. April 1927.
5. S.C. May 1927; special article on Canberra Church History (Radford).
In November, the Bishop proposed that St. Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, whose replacement was contemplated, should be moved to Canberra. (1).

Radford set about promoting his scheme. '... there was an idea abroad,' he told Brisbane Synod in July 1926, (the idea, of course, being his own), 'that somehow Canberra should be the primatial see ...' He visualised, at the least, 'Canberra as an ordinary bishopric with...plenty of time...for "general staff" work.' (2).

Radford must have suspected this was unlikely to happen yet. Six months later he proposed an interim step to his own Synod - the creation of a coadjutor bishop of Goulburn, to live in Canberra and to prosecute an appeal for a cathedral and hold 'a sort of apostolic office as the chief delegate of church organisations of nationwide range ...' (3). This was the first time Radford indicated the possibility of diocesan action, and then only as a temporary expedient. Synod gave him leave to take the necessary steps; the other bishops when consulted deprecated the appointment as an unnecessary complication of the question. (4). They seemed now to have been convinced that Canberra was the moral responsibility of the Church at large.

Goulburn Synod also gave twelve months' leave of absence to the diocesan organising secretary, C.S. Robertson, to prosecute the cathedral appeal. The Canberra Committee of General Synod had now definitely undertaken

2. S.C. July 1928.
this campaign, having set in motion an ambitious competition, with large
prizes, for the design of a cathedral and associated buildings (1).

Before the appeal could even properly begin, the financial
depression had arrived. General Synod, due in 1931, only met formally then
and postponed its meeting for twelve months. The next year, surveying the
immensely changed prospect from the bottom of the nation's economic trough,
it was no more sympathetic to the problems of Canberra and its cathedral than
might have been expected, and not particularly willing to accept any
responsibility for what was already done.

"... I asked the Conference of all the Bishops (preceding Synod)
what they thought of the Canberra problem. They expressed the view that the
Cathedral campaign should be suspended, and Goulburn diocese should deal with
Canberra as a diocesan problem. The Primate quoted this view in his charge
... I was bound to accept this view as the advice of the bishops ..." (2).

This was a far more severe blow than Radford in his innocence had
expected; he had prepared proposals for the creation of a Bishopric of
Canberra (3), but the bishops gave him short shrift. The Primate threw cold
water on the whole notion, even had times been favourable: 'I gravely doubt
whether a Bishop of Canberra would exercise any influence upon the Government

1. Won by Harold Crone, of Sydney, for a romanesque cathedral described as
   'in the Lombardic style', to cost (with associated buildings), £150,000.
   (Report of the General Synod Committee on Church Sites and Problems,
   duplicated, n.d., probably late 1929, reports deficit of £1740, signed by
   Radford. At St. Mark's). See also (i) critical art, in The Church
   Standard, 22 November 1929; (ii) Minutes, as above, 18 October 1929;
   (iii) Fitzhardinge, op.cit., p.54.
2. S.C., December 1932.
Main portion of proposed Canberra Cathedral.
(From Canberra Cathedral Competition poster, c. 1928)

Robertson's church -
S. John the Baptist,
Canberra.
of Australia.' (1). Synod, faced with the complete collapse of the appeal, was hostile. 'I explained the necessity for ... the Canberra Cathedral Competition and its resulting deficit and asked for a solution of the difficulty ... the debate got rather out of hand ....' (2).

Eventually Synod carried a resolution "regarding" the liability as one of the whole Church. The Bishop fought to the end, pleading for special episcopal supervision of Canberra; he was 'amazed at the thought that Canberra was an ordinary diocesan episcopal responsibility.' (3). All that the conference would agree to was a vague statement 'recognising' that the 'Church in Australia has a responsibility to assist in the ultimate development of the Church in Canberra', but considering the present time 'inopportune'. Help was offered to save the two schools, which were in serious financial trouble. (4).

Bishop Hadford never lost faith in Canberra. At this time, public opinion seems to have been running strongly against the capital. Radford contemplated founding a league of 'Friends of Canberra ... pledged to speak publicly and privately in its defence' and even to go on pilgrimage there. (5).

The pilgrimage of the fourth Bishop of Goulburn was nearly ended. Canberra's problems had been too much for him; in January 1933 his health broke down; sick leave and resignation followed. (6).

1. Ibid., p.49.
3. Ibid. See General Synod Report, 1932, pp 47 ff, 57, 60. His amazement was understandable; Synod had implicitly accepted responsibility for Canberra.
5. S.C. March 1931.
Canberra and its troubles received no mention when the choice of a new bishop was being discussed - they were a bad dream, to be forgotten. When E.H. Burgmann took up his appointment, the pattern was formed: Canberra must depend for years to come on what the diocese might do itself: to ask General Synod for help would be to court a rebuff.

The new bishop, faced with domestic issues within his diocese, attempted nothing of a particular kind for the Capital Territory. He acknowledged its coming importance: 'It is one of the great strategic points in the Commonwealth. The Church needs the strongest and wisest men she can find for such a position,' he wrote to C.H. Murray whom he tried to interest in coming to Canberra in 1935. (1). 'It is the point at which the Church needs to hold its own with the State ...'

But Burgmann saw neither opportunity nor great need for specific action. The development of Canberra had come to a halt; the city was growing little, if at all, and the diocese was seeking to fortify itself for troubles that it was ill prepared to meet, while the Anglican Church at large, with Radford gone, was content to let the matter slide. Old wounds must heal before a new effort could be made, even if the new bishop had had any proposals to put forward.

So Burgmann, at the time of his election, said very little about Canberra except to indicate that Radford's aims would probably not be followed: '... there is no need to talk about a Bishop for Canberra, nor even of building a cathedral,' he wrote, although he added that the territory would need more of the bishop's attention. (2). It is not quite clear whether he disliked

2. The Church Standard, 4 April 1934. (Article by Bishop-elect of Goulburn).
Radford's ideas or merely thought the timing unfortunate, but he certainly reckoned the aim of a separate Diocese of Canberra to be misguided. For the time being the only possible course was to develop Canberra as an integral part of the Diocese of Goulburn; and what began as the only expedient interim plan of action, developed into something more permanent. In 1934, and for some years after, he had no clearly formulated policy.

It is impossible now to say whether Bishop Radford's policy, that Canberra should be separated from Goulburn and made symbolic of the nationwide Anglican Church, might have had any chance of success, given fair conditions and wise examination of the difficulties involved. Radford had little to say about how he would deal with one difficulty that his proposal raised: how, under his scheme, were Canberra's basic spiritual needs to be supplied? This involved more than the provision of pastoral care and the normal ordinances of organised Christianity, or even the presence of a bishop and other visible symbols of the church so earnestly sought by Radford. Church members coming to Canberra would hope not only to find the church fulfilling the pastoral functions they were accustomed to, but also to find the local churches related in a definite way to the Church at large.

Radford's scheme was not worked out at this point; his proposal left unanswered such questions as, where was such a diocese to recruit its clergy? How were Canberra people to be related to normal diocesan youth, missionary or welfare activities? Radford, it seems, asked no questions of this kind - but it is much stranger that none of those to whom he put his ideas asked them either.

Bishop Burgmann had no alternative to treating Canberra, at least for the time being, as part of Goulburn Diocese, and it is unlikely that he ever wished to deal with it in any other way. The parochial work must go on, and be
given more attention; other problems were for the time being shelved, and the problem of Canberra assumed a different form: could the Federal Capital Territory be integrated successfully with a small country diocese, and could this be done without detracting from Canberra's national significance for the whole Church? And would there be any harmful effects on the rest of the diocese?

It was within the Parish of Canberra itself that immediate work had to be done. Radford in his later years, involved in the cathedral problem, had not concerned himself with developments within the parish. The rector until 1929 was F.G. Ward, who had been there since 1913; he was succeeded by C.S. Robertson, late commissioner for the cathedral campaign, in 1930. He entered upon the work of re-organising the parish and opening centres of worship in the new suburbs. (1).

Tangible results came slowly, for Canberra's own growth at this time was slow. It was not until 1938 that the initial step was taken to found a new parish on the south side of the Molonglo. The first portion of St. Paul's Church was dedicated in August 1939. But the war soon halted the projected parochial developments. (2).

The Rector was, at this time, drawing attention to the better state of affairs in his parish. Canberra's statistics of communicants were beginning to compare very favourably with other parishes of similar size. (3). But this did not mean that everything was proceeding smoothly according to plan.

3. i.e. other principal towns in the diocese. Canberra was still smaller than Goulburn, Wagga and Albury, and had fewer Anglicans, but the parish had more communicant members than any except Goulburn. D.C. Minutes, 27 February 1940, p.27ff.
Robertson was a forceful character with definite ideas about what the Church should be doing. He had been a keen supporter of Radford, and possibly the instigator of some of his plans - it was probably at his suggestion that an early move was made to establish Church schools in Canberra, for he believed that the Anglican Church should be emphatic in its teaching and independent of the state and of other churches. He fought hard to maintain this position, to keep the hard-pressed schools from disaster, and to resist any lowering of the Church's position, such as he believed took place in connection with the Duke of Gloucester's visit to Canberra in 1934. He drew the Bishop's attention to such matters and expected action. (1).

Burgmann seems to have had difficulty in dealing with Robertson, not only because their views clashed regarding the future of Canberra - here Burgmann was at a disadvantage because his own ideas about Canberra were hazy except that he disagreed with Radford - but also because he seems to have feared the possible damage that might be occasioned by the Rector's strong-headedness.

At the end of 1934, Robertson secured leave from his parish to resume the Canberra Appeal. The Bishop was not at all keen for him to reawaken the Cathedral scheme. He managed to channel his energies into rescuing the girls' school. (2). This was now such a liability to the controlling Order that they decided to withdraw. Burgmann despatched Robertson to Sydney to see if the school could be kept alive.

1. C.S.R. to E.H.B., 13 November 1934. (St. Mark's). '(The Committee) will not issue any invitation either to you or the R.C. bishop ... (The local clergy were there) only as representative citizens of Canberra ... Evidently the attitude is a studied one.'

2. C.S.R. to E.H.B., 13 November 1934. His quite substantial plans included making a film of Canberra. (These and the following letters are at St. Mark's Library).
'The Board met on Wednesday afternoon,' he wrote, 'and ... their answer was in the negative. And it was nearly a knock-out. However, I got up before the Final Count ...' Robertson at length negotiated a loan, in part a short-term second mortgage requiring repayment quickly. He would appeal for £5,000 at once, to 'try and save the school for an Australian Church which still looks upon Canberra as a Cinderella.' (1). By the end of November (1935) only £2,000 was in sight, but on 18th December he announced dramatically that the Bank would grant a new long-term loan, '... so that is the second school saved ...' (2). The first had been the Grammar School, stabilised by similar means but not yet truly 'saved'.

Burgmann recognised that Robertson, although a difficult person because of his volatile nature, was (partly for the same reason) a very useful man, and it was probably as much to please him as to honour Canberra that the Bishop made him Archdeacon of the Monaro in May 1935. (3). This did not cure him of his restlessness; he complained of the nature of his work (4) and hinted he would like a move, suggesting the post of Dean of Goulburn. (5).

In spite of Robertson's speculations, Goulburn did not become vacant then, and the Bishop was happier to leave him where he was anyway. The Archdeacon went on seeking a change, at North Sydney (6) and Bathurst (7) and

2. C.S.R. to E.H.B., 18 December 1935; also 22 May 1935.
5. Burgmann was thinking of staffing Goulburn by means of a Clergy House. Robertson would 'love to come to Goulburn and have a go at it for you.' (Ibid.)
Waverley, Sydney. (1). Put Burgmann discouraged all these attempts— for example, by telling Baker of North Sydney, with whom Robertson sought an exchange, that 'the Public Service mind would be a nightmare to you.' (2).

This comment only in part reflects Burgmann's real attitude to Canberra; but it certainly does reveal the manner that Burgmann used increasingly in his dealings with his clergy. Where a Radford or a Robertson would make their demands and expect compliance on principle, Burgmann used persuasion by stating the reason most likely to influence the particular individual. For example, at the outbreak of war, when the stability of the diocese was threatened by the numbers of clergy enlisting as chaplains, Robertson thought he should enlist too. Burgmann hastened to tell him that Canberra was such a strategic point that 'I could never consent to its being held in a critical period by a man of less standing than yourself.' Robertson stayed. (3).

Why then did Robertson seek so many opportunities to leave Canberra, when the Bishop clearly wanted him to stay? It is likely that he instinctively realised that their aims were not really identical. Burgmann, a true liberal, was ready and able to recognise and employ the genuine abilities and strength of character of a man like Robertson, but from the Archdeacon's point of view, the Bishop was unsatisfactory in two ways: he refused to push ahead with the cathedral scheme so dear to Robertson's heart, or even to promise that it would be resumed when times were better (4); this seemed something like a betrayal of

2. "You are a very sensitive person and need a larger air to flourish in than Canberra provides." E.H.B. to H.N. Baker, 30 July 1936.
4. e.g. E.H.B. to C.S.R., 21 October 1937; charge to Synod, 5 May 1936 - ".. it is premature to talk about a Cathedral". S.G. May 1936.
Radford; and, secondly, the Bishop was not always inclined to take his Archiepiscopal side in matters of dispute - and to him this seemed like weakness.

There are several examples of this kind of quarrel needing the Bishop's intervention. A minor one arose when the aged Vicar-General, Pike, 'interfered' in the arrangements of a funeral. (1). More serious was the breach with Edwards, headmaster of the Canberra Grammar School. The two men were of radically different outlook, and Burgmann regarded Edwards as, in his own way, just as valuable a man as Robertson. Edwards' own beliefs were much closer to those of Burgmann than were Robertson's - theologically he was rather more radical.

Disagreement came into the open when the rector's wrath was aroused by the headmaster's willingness to accept invitations to address non-Anglican congregations in Canberra 'without first obtaining my consent'. (2). He did not only object to the contravention of his rights as parish priest. He had already complained of Edwards' association with those he called "non-conformists"; this practice was most objectionable to one who could not 'bring himself to look upon Nonconformists as brother Christians'. (3). He now asked the Bishop to order Edwards to stop associating with them, at least in Canberra.

The Bishop appealed for calmness and restraint, saying 'it would be a disaster for the Anglican cause at Canberra if school and parish got at loggerheads (4), but he failed to effect any real reconciliation, and Robertson continued to pour scorn on Edwards' school, at least in private: '... it carries no prestige, and is looked upon as the citadel of snobocracy ...' (5).

1. C.S.R. to E.H.B., 21 January 1937. Pike was '... definitely contravening the rights of the Parish Priest.'
Burgmann fared no better when some Canberra parishioners wrote to him objecting to Robertson's proposed method of reservation of the sacrament for the communion of the sick, and one or two other practices regarded as 'high church'. (1). Robertson was genuinely convinced that what he proposed was the best possible spiritual aid for the sick and dying; Burgmann was equally genuine in not wishing to offend tender consciences. 'You have churchmen of every kind in Canberra,' he told the Archdeacon. 'Many good people are sensitive about these things.' (2). In the end, nobody was really satisfied; Robertson was allowed to proceed with his plans for the time being; one churchwarden resigned (3). But by now it was clear that the time was not far off when an open clash between bishop and priest might develop, and but for the outbreak of war Robertson would probably have found a more congenial place to work in.

It seems likely that these experiences with Robertson and Edwards, and others, convinced the Bishop that he could never expect Canberra to have the proper leadership and other conditions necessary for its development as the leading city and focal point of the Diocese of Goulburn unless and until he, as Bishop, could concentrate his own energies there in much greater degree. That is, if Canberra was ever going to become a large and important place in Burgmann's time. Before 1939, this was by no means certain. Of the four largest towns in the diocese, Canberra was the smallest and had fewest Anglicans. (4). Government departments seemed reluctant to be moved there from Melbourne or Sydney; there seemed to be no urgency at all about working out a policy, and there were so many more pressing matters demanding the Bishop's attention, towards restoring the

4. See D.C. Minutes, 31 December 1936, p.2296.
general health of the diocese as well as organising his campaigns against social
evils, that Canberra's needs and its future place in the diocese could not
receive, and did not need, much particular concern. This, together with
Burgmann's wish to remain aloof as far as possible from local conflicts, helps
to explain his apparent weakness and delay in coming to grips with Canberra.
Those who expected Burgmann to influence the nation through his association
with Canberra had to bide the time; those who equated liberal principles with
indefiniteness and indifference could cite Canberra as an instance.

The world-wide economic depression killed Radford's scheme for
Canberra; the world war enabled Burgmann to work out and try to implement his
own plans. Wartime brought a number of changes to Canberra and to the diocese;
not only temporary matters, such as shortages of clergy and postulants for the
priesthood caused by enlistments in the armed services (1), but in more far-
reaching ways. One of these was an acceleration in the trend towards smaller
population in the countryside: as labour became scarcer and more expensive,
pastoralists found ways to dispense with employees. (2). But for Canberra, the
more permanent side-effect of the war was the demand for more positive central
government; the city became capital indeed as well as in name, and its future
development was hastened and became assured.

Only one of Burgmann's own particular interests, that of education,
gave rise to any proposal by him in relation to Canberra in the pre-war years.

1. By 1941, about 12 clergy were full-time service chaplains - almost one-fourth
   of the diocesan complement at the time. Old men, due to retire, remained in
   service to keep posts filled, but progress was restricted.
2. This is discussed in Chapter III. - p. 58.
In November 1934 he wrote in the *Southern Churchman* that 'no centre of national government is properly equipped without a national university .... free from all outside dictation of any kind ...' (1). This remained something that the Bishop pressed for whenever the occasion seemed appropriate, and at the meeting of General Synod in 1937 he moved that the Church should urge the Federal Government 'to found a National University at Canberra, to be devoted primarily to historical, international and other cultural subjects, and to become .... the cultural centre of Australian life ....' (2). Since the proposal was in itself commendable and did not involve the Church in any effort or expense, it is quite startling to find that it was nearly defeated: Synod divided on the question, and in the House of Representatives (priests and laymen) the voting was, Ayes 74, Noes 72. The bishops voted Ayes 16, Noes 5. Speakers opposing the motion claimed it was 'loaded' politically and would embarrass the Government. But the underlying causes giving the opposition its unexpected strength were quite different: 'Canberra' was still an unpleasant word to many Synod members; the memory of the Cathedral fiasco had not faded. And, secondly, Burgmann himself was still regarded with some suspicion by his colleagues. Although the motion was carried, Burgmann did nothing to follow it up. He now saw more clearly the hopelessness of getting support from the Church at large for any projects in the F.C.T. He continued to advocate a national university, for advanced research and free from all political control or direction (3), but not until some time after the outbreak of war in 1939 did he try to get general Church backing for the idea.

1. It was not to be "a department of state or an instrument of politics", but free, liberal, national, and for advanced research.
3. e.g. in a sermon, dated only '1939', marked 'for broadcast 2GB', personal papers, file 'Sermons'.

When the war came, Burgmann returned to the subject of a university very strongly, insisting that it must not be delayed by the war, that a liberalising of the whole education system in Australia was now more urgent than ever and the national university must be its crown, that such an institution was desperately needed to prepare leaders of the nation for the post-war reconstruction period, and so forth. (1). At this time, early in 1940, it was generally believed that the war would soon be ended, but even after the fall of France when it became certain that the struggle would be greatly prolonged and the outcome most uncertain, Burgmann kept up his private campaign. (2).

The Bishop's insistence on the need for a truly national university in Canberra, being a largely personal campaign, was not likely to achieve very much except to convince churchmen that any general move for such an institution, whenever it came, ought to be supported. It is interesting to see that while he insisted that a university in Canberra should be a national affair and not just a local college, he had now decided that the Church in Canberra had to be entirely a local responsibility.

If he had not been certain about this before, he was convinced by the General Synod of 1937, by the attitude of its members to Canberra and even towards the proposal for a National University, that the church's work in the Federal Territory would be left undone if it remained for the national Church authorities to take action. Goulburn, Burgmann now knew, must accept the responsibility, not just as an interim solution, but completely and for many years if not for ever. If he realised, as he most probably did, that independent action by Goulburn of the kind he envisaged would make it more

1. S.G. editorials, March 1940 and April 1940.
2. e.g. in S.G. for September 1941.
difficult to obtain the support of the rest of the Church for Canberra, he nevertheless believed that there now remained no practical alternative. Radford's experience was sufficient proof of this. Other churches were treating Canberra as a national responsibility, but Anglicanism was still to suffer the effects of the diocesanism of Barker and Mesac Thomas. In deciding to act independently, Burgmann robbed the Church of its most obvious occasion for joint action by all dioceses; but it is difficult to see how he might have done anything else.

The question was not yet urgent, and did not begin to appear urgent until after the outbreak of war. The war years saw Canberra begin to assume some of its proper responsibilities as a capital city. (1). It was yet far from clear how rapidly and to what extent the process would proceed, but the bishop believed it could not be reversed nor greatly slowed up once it had gained momentum.

He decided therefore that Canberra was now of sufficient importance to warrant moving the official episcopal residence from Goulburn. His reasons for making this decision will appear sufficient or otherwise according to one's views about the purpose and value of bishops in relation to the general nature of the church's mission. From the viewpoint of Burgmann and of most Anglicans it was a serious decision to make, one that would have very considerable consequences for Anglicanism in Canberra. On any view it demonstrated a capacity for determined and effective leadership, and foresight.

1. Canberra - A Nation's Capital, ed. H.L. White, pp. 73 ff.
The Bishop gave only general reasons for proposing the move. The Church of England, he said, 'is incurably episcopal', and 'only a bishop can have first-hand experience of the mind of the bishops and .... represent the Church officially in relation to other institutions'. (1). Canberra is becoming rapidly more important and 'problems of reconstruction .... press upon us after the war,' and the city will become an important educational centre. (2). For these reasons it was necessary that the bishop within whose territory the F.C.T. happened to lie, should live there rather than try to do what was necessary in 'brief and intermittent visits'. (3).

Other statements about this time (1943) repeat these reasons without adding anything more explicit. One of Burgmann's critics has summed them up as a desire to be placed so as to be able to exert political 'influence' as distinct from 'pressure' (4) at the seat of government; and a desire to be better able to commend the Christian faith to 'modern educated man' as Canberra became a centre of learning. (5). The first of these could hardly be criticised, as Burgmann defined it ('the bishop in Canberra can win any moral influence that he has the ability to win, and he should have no more' (6)), but the second, commending the faith to modern man by influence at a seat of learning, carried overtones of early twentieth century liberalism no longer widely accepted in 1943. Even if accepted, it was not very clear how the move to Canberra made

2. Ibid. 3. Ibid.
4. The distinction is not very clear; the critic probably means that Burgmann wished to be in a position to make the Church's views known, but not to push them too hard.
5. H.P. Reynolds (Rector of Yass) to E.H.B., 1 May 1957. (In my possession). Reynolds is summing-up his criticisms of Burgmann's approach to the Canberra question, expressed over a number of years.
6. Synod address, as before, p.7.
much difference. This belief of Burgmann's came in for much criticism in later years; yet it was from this idea that the concept of an Anglican national college and library eventually grew. (1).

To these reasons should be added, the advantage of direct pastoral oversight of what would soon become the largest centre of population in the diocese; and the practical gain from living nearer the geographical centre of the region. Although so obvious as to be barely alluded to in 1943, in later years these were seen to be of increasing value.

To facilitate the move to Canberra and give himself time to work out his ideas there, Burgmann believed he needed an assistant, or 'co-adjutor', bishop. Burgmann arrived at his decision in mid-1942. Synod was not due until mid-1943; the previous Synod, due in 1941, had been cancelled because of petrol restrictions. (2). He decided not to wait for Synod, but to do as much as possible before it was due and simply ask it to validate his plans. He first approached the Parish of Wagga with the proposal that it should provide the funds, or a large part of them, to pay the stipend of a co-adjutor bishop. In return, Wagga was to be for part of his time the new bishop's headquarters; Wagga's importance in the Church would be enhanced. If it seems that Wagga's Parochial Council was rather easily pleased with such a vague promise, it should be noted that Wagga's rector, and perhaps the councillors also, were almost certainly aware that the Bishop intended to select the rector to be the new assistant bishop. (3). Wagga agreed, quite readily it seems.

1. The first stage of St. Mark's Collegiate Library, Canberra, was opened in 1957.
2. See D.C. minutes, 3 March 1942, p. 2829. Special authority had to be obtained to suspend the constitution of the diocese for the duration of the war, to enable this to be done.
3. S.C.C., January 1943. The choice of his assistant, once the appointment was agreed to, was entirely in the bishop's hands.
Burgmann then raised the two matters, of an episcopal residence in Canberra and of a coadjutor bishop, at the quarterly meeting of the Diocesan Council (1) on 8th December. Concerning the coadjutor, he added the point that he had in mind a Youth Training Centre to be established, probably at Wagga, with the new bishop as its director, inter alia; he was also to be responsible for seeking funds for the Centre and other diocesan needs. The Bishop evidently spoke persuasively and was able to enthrall the Council, for it readily authorised him 'to proceed to the appointment of a Bishop Coadjutor of Goulburn who shall also be ... diocesan Organising Secretary' (i.e. fund-raiser) *. (2). An amendment moved by a layman from Goulburn, that 'the matter be referred to Synod', failed to secure a seconder. (3). The Wagga Church Lands ordinance was amended to enable funds to be provided for the coadjutor's stipend, and the possibility of an episcopal residence in Canberra was to be investigated. An amendment of little consequence was accepted, to 'add the words "and Wagga Wagga" to the title of the Bishop Coadjutor of Goulburn if and when he is appointed.' (4).

It had all been too easy. By the time the Diocesan Council was appointed to meet again, some opposition was evident. It was now known, unofficially, that the Bishop's nominee as his coadjutor would be Archdeacon S.J. West, Rector of Wagga Wagga, and Council members had misgivings about him.

Stanley Johnson West had been Rector and Archdeacon of Wagga Wagga, the most populous and wealthy parish of the diocese, since 1928, when he was about forty years of age. He was Rector of Queanbeyan, another important parish, before

1. Minutes of D.C. 8 December 1942, p. 2868. The Diocesan Council is the standing committee of Synod; it carries out the functions of the governing body, subject to its approval, between Synod sessions.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Minutes as above, p. 2869.
this. He demonstrated his organising ability at the time of the celebrations marking the centenary of the Oxford Movement in 1933, when he had made Wagga the venue for a congress and series of demonstrations of unusual interest, drawing participants from several dioceses. He showed keen business sense in his handling of the affairs of the Parish of Wagga. It was natural that Burgmann should think of him for a possible assistant-bishop.

West was not popular, either among his fellow-priests or with his parishioners. He was sometimes domineering and always impatient of the views of others. His own views were rather definite, or at least expressed in an uncompromising manner, and since he employed Anglo-Catholic ceremonial, many lay people took offence, and he gave himself little chance to explain his beliefs.

None of this disqualified him as a bishop, but it made some think he was unfit. Others were perhaps moved by feelings of jealousy, because West had been given responsible offices when comparatively young: now he was to be given authority over them all. Since West cared little for the opinions of others, he had never bothered to explain himself to them or make peace with the envious ones. It is uncertain how much, in what followed, his opponents were moved by careful assessment of the Archdeacon's merits, and how much by sour dislike.

The Council met on 2nd March 1943; Synod was due in May. The decisions of the former meeting (in December) came under fire: such far-reaching decisions should not have been made without coming before Synod; organising finance was not fit work for a bishop; a move to Canberra must be fully and openly discussed - these and other objections were put forward. But the strongest protests came when Burgmann told the Council that he had decided S.J. West was to fill the position of coadjutor bishop. Technically, the appointment was the Bishop's prerogative, but members expressed doubts about West's fitness for the task, his scholarship and general ability, his personality - all came under fire. The Bishop was asked to
reconsider; he, for his part, stood firm and expressed the hope that the objections would have dissipated by Synod. (1). Even now, he does not seem to have gauged the strength of the opposition. The outcome was: first, at the request of the Parochial Council of Wagga Wagga, an ordinance was passed 'repealing the ordinance of 8/12/1942' regarding use of funds from Wagga, and second, that 'The questions of the provision of a house for the Bishop in Canberra and the proposal to appoint a Bishop Coadjutor were referred to Synod.' (2).

This did not mean simply that matters now stood as they did before 8th December. Opposition was armed and had ample time to organise. Burgmann had hoped that Synod would be asked to give its formal approval to something already worked out; instead, it was now to be asked to consider the two matters in full, and make its own decision about them. But by the time Synod met, the question had been openly discussed and debated, and feelings had been stirred up. There was little hope of calm and impartial consideration of the Bishop's proposals. Yet at no time did Burgmann seem to think that his scheme would not be accepted in full. He found it hard to believe that what was so clear to him might be seen differently by others. He was unaware of the feelings already aroused.

Synod met on 5th May, and debated the proposal for a residence in Canberra, and that for a coadjutor bishop, at considerable length, but apparently quite amicably. There were still those who believed that Canberra was the responsibility of the Church at large, and Synod, agreeing that this was

1. Background information comes largely from an unpublished eye-witness report of the 1942-43 D.C. and Synod meetings by Canon D.F.K. Blanche. His account does not agree in all particulars with the Minutes of the meetings, and has been used cautiously. (At St. Mark's).
theoretically correct, urged that the question be brought 'to the notice of the authorities concerned', but 'in the meantime, until the Church of England in Australia is raised to the responsibility and opportunity, asks the Diocesan Council to provide a residence in Canberra for the Bishop of the Diocese in order to make proper provision for the work of the Church in the national capital.' (1). The form of the motion seems to have satisfied those who wanted Canberra taken out of Goulburn's hands, but its effect was to provide that the Goulburn Diocesan bishop should live in Canberra at least some of his time; this could hardly fail to mean that he should make Canberra his home, with Goulburn seeing less and less of him; and thus was postponed indefinitely the day when General Synod, on behalf of the national Church, might do something about Canberra beyond the mere passing of resolutions. Burgess, and any other responsible members of Synod, had had plenty of time to think the matter over; they had decided they had no alternative.

Opposition to the move seems to have been surprisingly weak. Outside the diocese, there had been adverse reactions from a few who remembered Radford—for example, the Archbishop of Brisbane (2) 'hoped that it might be possible to locate the Primate at Canberra. He might be given a See including not much more than the city itself ... '; but there was comment the other way too, such as that from Bishop J.S. Hart of Wangaratta (3): 'The move to Canberra is a move in the right direction, and I hope that the conservatives will not impede the change ...'. Within Synod, opposition might have been expected from the Goulburn delegates, but these seem to have contented themselves with the thought that any move to Canberra

2. In a letter to G.E.R., 8 February 1943 (Old Bishopthorpe).
3. In a letter to G.E.R., 13 May 1943 (Old Bishopthorpe).
was for an interim period, until General Synod should take charge of it. Or possibly they believed that the real battle was yet to come. They did not become vocal until the Synod of 1944.

So far it had been fairly plain sailing. Synod now (6th May) accepted the principle of providing a coadjutor bishop. (1). Only one point was strongly debated: the Bishop, in his presidential address (2), had said that he could see no objection to the second bishop being also a fund-raiser; bishops had often done this sort of thing, including the first Bishop of Goulburn, Jesse Thomas, who had been very successful at it. However, several speakers still objected to this part of the proposal: a bishop who was known to be on the look-out for likely sources of revenue would be an unwelcome visitor in many parishes. (3).

Burgmann now publicly announced, what already was known, the name of his chosen coadjutor, S.J. West. He must have known that the choice was not a popular one; he could hardly have expected many expressions of approval. What he certainly did not expect was the vehement debate that followed. Synod could not tell the Bishop whom to appoint, but it could, and did, express its disapproval of the person chosen. Opposition had been organised, and West's critics had openly spoken against him before Synod met. The speakers, mostly clergy, included a number of those who were normally Burgmann's supporters, and strongly so. One who remained silent was Robertson of Canberra, who was in many ways a more logical choice for the position, and who might have been expected to oppose West on the ground of inexperience in a field in which he himself had some proficiency, that

1. Synod report, as before, second day. C.E.P. 6 May 1943.
3. Synod report, as before.
of fund-raising. But loyalty to the Bishop kept him from speaking. Not so with many others. West was declared not to be sufficiently able for the task, and it was more than hinted that Burgmann did not so much want West as Wagga's money. West remained in the synod hall throughout the proceedings. The resolution asking the bishop to reconsider his proposed appointment was carried by a majority of both clergy and laymen, voting separately. (1).

The immediate effect was to make impossible the appointment of West, and Burgmann was not prepared to propose anybody else. His disappointment was intense. When the Diocesan Council met in June, two items on the notice paper were dealt with very rapidly - the question of the Bishop's residence in Canberra was 'postponed until next meeting', while that of the Bishop Coadjutor was 'deleted from the agenda paper.' (2). A very severe blow had been dealt to his plans. There could be no coadjutor without funds from Wagga; there could be no Youth Training Centre without funds raised by the coadjutor; and it was doubtful whether it was worth proceeding with plans for taking up residence in Canberra, with no episcopal assistance to share the increasing burden of work.

Burgmann's defeat was certainly not inevitable. He had made the mistake of trying to present Synod with a fait accompli, by getting the Diocesan Council to approve the necessary measures beforehand. This involved making his plans public long before Synod took place, and gave ample time for opposition to be organised. However unpopular West might have been, it is most unlikely that a sufficiently strong spontaneous opposition would have developed in the assembly if the Bishop had waited until Synod met before announcing his choice. On the other hand, the news may have leaked out, with the same eventual result. In later years

1. Blanche, as before, and reminiscences of persons present.
people sometimes accused Burgmann of never fully showing his hand or confiding in his clergy. This was never generally true of him, but if he developed a little more cunning as he grew older, the experience of May 1943 undoubtedly helped this to happen.

It is impossible now to say whether, had the Bishop used different tactics and successfully obtained West's appointment, his might have been a successful appointment and the progress of the Diocese, and in particular of the Church in Canberra, advanced several years. However detestable the tactics of the opposition may appear, and more despicable their motives in some cases, it is quite possible that they were right in their assessment of West's potential as an assistant bishop. A few of those who opposed him were men of keen judgment.

Another effect of Burgmann's defeat was one which heightened the adverse consequences to Goulburn of the Bishop's removal to Canberra. He had to decide now whether to proceed with this move; he decided that it should still take place without waiting for an opportunity to appoint the second bishop. This meant Goulburn was to be left without a resident bishop. Synod was called again twelve months later, when Burgmann said that he was 'more than ever convinced that it (was) desirable for the Church to have a bishop in Canberra, and the only bishop who can go there officially is the bishop of the diocese ....'. (1) He proposed to give effect to the decision to obtain an episcopal residence in Canberra; but since there was to be, for an indefinite period, only one bishop, it would be pointless to have two episcopal residences. Next door to Bishopthorpe in Goulburn was St. Saviour's Children's Home, now looking for somewhere to expand. So the house could be sold to the Home, and the proceeds used to buy a house in Canberra. (2).

2. Presidential address, as before.
This was worse than Goulburn had feared. When two bishops had been envisaged, it had been assumed that one would always occupy the Goulburn residence; now there would be no chance of a bishop permanently in Goulburn, or even for long periods. Goulburn raised its voice in protest: 'Mr R.M. Johnson drew attention to the misgivings felt by many people that the removal of the Bishop to Canberra would involve ultimately the transfer of the See and its administration to Canberra.' Support came, surprisingly, from Canberra: the headmaster of the Grammar School, Canon Edwards, 'hoped that the headquarters of the Goulburn Diocese would never be moved to Canberra: that was not the solution of the problem of the ecclesiastical position of the Capital city.' (1).

Radford's ghost still walked.

The bill, to sell Bishopthorpe, was passed, with the amendment that a smaller residence should be provided in Goulburn 'as soon as possible.' (2).

Mr Johnson tried again, moving 'That this Synod, in facilitating the removal of the Bishop to Canberra .... assures the diocese that no removal of the administration centre of the See is contemplated either directly or indirectly.' (3). Nobody opposed this resolution; yet few things were now more certain than the eventual removal of the administrative centre of the diocese to Canberra.

Synod's resolution could not be put into effect for some time. A house was bought in Canberra in 1946, and occupied by the Burgmann family early in 1947.

From then until the appointment of K.J. Clements as first Coadjutor Bishop of Goulburn - without bloodshed - on St. Peter's Day 1949, Goulburn city had its first taste of being a city without an Anglican bishop, while Canberra became the home of its first bishop of any kind. The Roman Catholic Church followed the Anglican

1. Synod report, as for presidential address, second day: S.C. June 1944.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
lead in 1948. S.J. West remained as Rector and Archdeacon of Wagga till 1953; he died in 1954. C.S. Robertson left Canberra, soon after Burgmann went there to live, to become Chairman of the Australian Board of Missions.

Burgmann had achieved his ambition to represent the Christian cause in Canberra, and the move was finally accomplished with inexplicably little opposition from Goulburn. Whether apathy, or resignation to the inevitable, or genuine acceptance of the verdict that Canberra must take pride of place for the Church's sake, or what combination of these reasons, caused opposition to remain unaroused, it would be hard to say.
Chapter VII.

Some developments during the remaining years of Burgmann's episcopate, 1947-60.
The Right Reverend E. H. Burgmann, Bishop of Canberra and Goulburn, who celebrates the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration on May 1, 1959.
When the Burgmann family moved to their new home in Mugga Way, Canberra, in 1947, the comparatively turbulent part of E.H. Burgmann's episcopate had ended. The diocese was on an even keel and remained that way; a period of fairly steady expansion lay ahead.

Increased activity was soon to be needed. Much ground had been lost because of the enforced inactivity of the war years; in particular, the Bishop had to begin again the process of renewing the team of clergy. When K.J. Clements became co-adjutor bishop in 1949, the diocese was well supplied with bishops, but the number of priests on a per capita basis was lower than it had been since 1870.

The thin trickle of ordinands during the war and immediate post-war years had not been sufficient even to replace those reaching the age to retire, and old men were carrying on past their time of useful service. It was not until after 1950 that a new harvest of young clergy began to complete their training. In the next ten years, more than thirty men were ordained; retirements were comparatively few, and by 1960 there were about 50% more clergy in service than ten years earlier. The standard of training received, however, was not quite as high as during the earlier burst of ordinations between 1937 and 1939.

It was the prosperity of the early 1950's, occasioned by high prices for wool, that enabled the number of men in training for the priesthood to be increased quite considerably. The same prosperity, affecting the rural areas, hindered any improvement in the pattern of parochial organisation. Several
small country parishes with dwindling populations had been content to become attached temporarily to adjoining parishes while clergy were in short supply during the war and post-war years. They now found themselves well able to support their own priests, and demanded to have them. The country districts were therefore more fully staffed with ministers when they were more urgently required in the larger towns.

However, most districts were fairly fully staffed by 1955, and from then till 1960, six new parishes were erected, four of them in Canberra. The capital city was growing quite rapidly by this time, and became increasingly the centre of diocesan affairs, although the Registry remained at Goulburn and Synod continued to meet there.

One of Burgmann's goals began to be fulfilled when St. Mark's Library was opened in 1957. He had hopes of its becoming an Anglican college linked to the National University but independent of both diocese and city. In the same year, the opening of a new Boys' Home at Tumbarumba signified a continuing interest in social service.

Diocesan activities were expanding at a satisfying rate, and Burgmann settled down to be a model, respected diocesan bishop. In his earlier years he might have been displeased to think this should happen. He could still speak out when occasion arose, although such occasions became fewer. He was one of a handful of Christian leaders who actively opposed the banning of the Communist Party in 1950 - the same year that the Diocese gained a more modern aspect by changing its name to Canberra and Goulburn. Again, a few years later, the
Bishop opposed strong feeling in his own diocese and elsewhere when he decided to accept an offer from the Federal Government for aid to the Church's schools in the A.C.T.

Never again, however, was he able to lead a group such as the L.C.Y. or the pre-war Young Anglicans in assaulting the entrenched positions of those who had vested interest in maintaining the status quo in church or state at a time when change was needed. This is not to say he would not again have helped to organise such an assault had a state of affairs arisen that seemed to him to demand strong action.
Chapter VIII.

Conclusion.
'Oh, Burgie was a bushman,
He knew a thing or two,
Could drive a team of bullocks
And cook a wallaby stew.'

(Refrain of 'The Bishop and the Bullocky', by Gloria Fowler, in Singabout, Spring 1956)

The most persistent ingredient in the legend that grew up around the figure of Burgmann was that of the Bushman Bishop. Other recurring themes were the Fighting Bishop, the Unconventional Bishop, the Inspirer of Youth, the Red (or Radical) Bishop. Only some of these had much foundation in fact, but it says something about him that he gave rise to such a legend. It crystallised during his term of office as bishop, although relating in part to his earlier career; but it refers principally to the earlier years of his episcopate, c. 1934-1939. Some critics suggest that he deliberately fostered the legend, or some of it. This may be true in part.

The legend-makers, particularly when developing the Bushman, the Fighting and the Radical themes, were unconsciously suggesting that Burgmann belonged in spirit to an earlier generation, perhaps that of Lawson and Tom Collins, and was at home with the questions affecting a predominantly pastoral society, with its emphasis on individuality and independence. Some of Burgmann's writings tend to confirm this suggestion, (especially The Education of an Australian in its autobiographical parts), but it is only part of the picture.

Some of his most constructive work, accomplished early in his episcopate, tends to reflect this aspect of his character. Weakened leadership, an aging body of clergy, financial problems and breakdown of diocesan
organisation and communications had reduced the Diocese of Goulburn by 1934 to a state of near-collapse. Within a very short period Burgmann was able to generate a spirit of optimism, to engender loyalty to himself among all sections of the church, to halt the process of disintegration and stabilise the diocesan organisation. He did this through his own personal command of his resources.

The conditions that made this result possible were less of Burgmann's own creation. From the day of his election there was readiness, born perhaps of desperation, to support whatever measures the new leader might propose. A reputation for being unorthodox was therefore no hindrance at this time. The only ingredient in the Burgmann legend to have developed yet concerned his alleged bolshevism. Even this proved to be no stumbling-block to his acceptance and any suspicion that remained was quickly dispelled by his willingness to penetrate to the remotest corners of the diocese and make himself at home in humble places. So the story of the Bushman Bishop grew.

This accomplishment, however, must not be under-estimated. Even though the Diocese of Goulburn was in a fairly desperate condition and therefore more likely to accept any vigorous leadership, the bishop's task was such as to call forth all his resources of personality and spirit. He soon proved that he could make himself at home in a pastoral society and understand its troubles; but the fundamental problem, the demoralisation of a whole institution, was such as might be met in any sort of society. The changed spirit and outlook, of the clergy in particular, in a few months, is the best indication of the quality of Burgmann's early effectiveness in his office.

Burgmann was not a thorough-going reformer, and he worked along entirely traditional lines. In this period of flux, before the Diocese of
Goulburn settled down to relatively stable existence again, the bishop might have been able to foster fresh thought about the church's purpose in society, particularly the society of provincial towns and cities where its influence was rapidly waning. Burgmann had ideas about this but his efforts to propagate them were piecemeal. Along with this might have gone an attempt to pioneer new forms of church organisation, particularly parochial organisation. The church's adherence to traditional structures had been largely responsible for the disintegration and fragmentation of its life in the early nineteen-thirties. Some reconstruction was called for, but Burgmann attempted none and seems to have had no ideas on the subject.

It is probably too much to expect, however, that Burgmann should have thought about experimenting with a complete re-organisation of the church's usual methods. His hands were already full.

A second chance to relate the church's structures more positively to social conditions came during the period of critical shortage of clergy in the second world war. Again nothing was done.

The achievements of the earliest part of Burgmann's episcopate were largely in the nature of a rescue-operation, and theoretically might have been accomplished, at least in part, by any vigorous leader. The bishop was under heavy pressure to make the existing machinery work and to breathe new life into a demoralised institution.

Yet in the midst of doing this, he set in motion a policy which was distinctively his own. The first plank in this concerned the clergy. In 1934 they were, in general, poorly trained, and limited in outlook. There were few
younger men. By 1939 the diocese had a higher proportion of university-trained men than any Australian diocese, and by means chiefly of annual conferences and similar in-service training, some attempt was being made to see that priests' thinking was kept abreast of current writing.

Through the clergy, and through the diocesan publications and conferences of church people where this was possible, the attempt was made to begin the work of educating the people. Concerning even basic Christian concepts ignorance was vast but not invincible, and poor though the resources of the diocese were, by 1939 there were clear signs that the church was beginning to awaken.

Burgmann's contribution to the Christian education of clergy and laity was his most positive one during this period, and probably the most significant advance made during the whole of his episcopate. The diocese had been in a condition of intellectual starvation and paralysis of will-power; within a few years it possessed a nucleus of vigorous and well-equipped clergy whose influence at all levels of church life was being felt. Even the outbreak of war in 1939, although it slowed down almost to a standstill the bishop's programme of replacing the clergy with younger, better-trained men, could not inhibit the effect of those already at work.

One of Burgmann's own burning passions was to apply Christian principles to social, political and economic affairs. He wrote, taught and preached on these themes more than on any others. A main point of policy was to organise the church to think and act on such matters, in which he rightly believed it had hitherto signally failed. A problem was that the Goulburn
Diocese was not a very suitable sphere to organise action of this kind. The bishop played a part, sometimes a leading part, in several extra-diocesan campaigns, for the clearing of slums, the relief of poverty and unemployment, and the provision of better facilities for education at all levels. He found himself increasingly compelled to withdraw from these activities because of the needs of his diocese. It was some time before he could find a way to arouse concern within the diocese for understanding these questions that affected himself very deeply.

When he did move, it was to form a youth organisation which he evidently hoped would be an instrument for social reform. Outbreak of hostilities restricted the progress of the Young Anglican movement until after 1945, when expansion was resumed. It played an important part in parish life in the post-war years, but not on social questions. Burgmann's particular concern had been for the alleviation of the more glaring evils of poverty, injustice and lack of education and opportunity, and unemployment, that marked the 1930s. He was not ready to direct his attention to the rather different injustices and poverty of thought and life endemic in post-war society, and so lost the opportunity to provide the organisation and leadership that might well have been given from Canberra. Again, the internal demands of the diocese for post-war re-organisation allowed him little time to consider wider issues.

One interesting development took place in diocesan organisation, not so much the result of any policy as an attempt to meet a particular situation. In 1943 Burgmann proposed that he should live in Canberra instead of Goulburn, leaving a coadjutor-bishop in the older city. He came to grief over his choice
of an assistant — the only time he was successfully opposed in a major matter — and had to postpone his move to Canberra till 1947. By doing this he solved with one stroke a quasi-legal problem that had bedevilled the Anglican Church, and particularly the former Bishop of Goulburn, Radford, for years: the question of how to deal with the A.O.T.

Ernest Henry Burgmann was a man of action who was at the same time capable of getting to the root of a problem and seeing how to surmount it. He was also able to discern clearly in advance the future needs of any organisation he served, and to plan accordingly. Combined with his ability to inspire men and get them to give of their best, his qualities were such as to enable him to become a leader of unusual power. The Diocese of Goulburn’s need for such a person in 1934 was critical. He met its need fully. The large demands made on his powers left him unable to do all he wished in guiding Christian thinking in Australia, particularly about social problems. But the new vitality given the Diocese, at a time when it was facing the needs of Canberra, was a sufficient justification for the earlier phase of Burgmann’s episcopate.