

Bishop Walter Baddeley, 1894-1960: Soldier, Priest and Missionary.

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Synopsis of Thesis

The dissertation consists of an introduction and five biographical chapters, which follow Baddeley's career from subaltern in 1914 to diocesan bishop in 1954. The chapters correspond with four distinct periods in Baddeley's life: the First World War 1914-19 (Chapter 1), Melanesia, 1932-47 (Chapter 2), the suffragan bishopric of Whitby, 1947-54 (Chapter 3), and the diocesan bishopric of Blackburn 1954-60 (Chapters 4 and 5). Because his career possessed unusual diversity Baddeley illuminates several neglected aspects of Anglican history.

Baddeley was an active participant within theatres of combat during both world wars and for this reason is unique among the bishops of his generation. His record as an infantry officer in the Great War (he was awarded the D.S.O, M.C., and Bar) distinguished him as an exceptionally brave individual. After the war Baddeley was a successful priest in demanding urban parishes in the north of England.

The years 1932-47 were spent as a missionary bishop of Melanesia. When the Japanese invaded his diocese in January 1942, he went 'underground' for nine months, evading capture. The Americans started to wrest the Islands from Japanese control in August 1942 with the battle of Guadalcanal. Inevitably during the hostilities numerous allied aircrews bailed out over the sea, or in the bush behind the Japanese lines. Baddeley assisted in rescuing these crews before the Japanese could get to them. In 1943, after the United States Forces had liberated the Islands, the Americans acknowledged Baddeley with an honorary doctorate from Columbia and the Congressional Medal of Freedom.

From 1947-60 Baddeley served, first as suffragan of Whitby, 1947-54, then, as diocesan of Blackburn from 1954 until his death, age 65, in 1960. A recurring theme of the dissertation concerns the subject of changing clerical identity. Baddeley gives

important insight into these changes because the key points of transition in his career occurred at times when the institutional church was undergoing radical change.

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Abbreviations

BLO	Bodleian Library Oxford
CEMS	Church of England Men's Society
DD	Doctor of Divinity
DSO	Distinguished Service Order
FP	Fisher Papers
GB	Garbett Papers
LRO	Lancashire Records Office
LP	Lang Papers
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
MMS	Melanesian Mission Society
MC	Military Cross
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
STD	Doctor of Sacred Theology
TNA	the National Archive
WO	War Office
YML	York Minster Library

Introduction

A crematorium chapel on the Fylde coast of Lancashire is not the obvious place to begin a study of a man whose most distinguished accomplishments were achieved on the Western Front and in the South Pacific. The consecration stone of Lytham crematorium, ‘dedicated by the Lord Bishop of Blackburn, the Right Reverend Walter H. Baddeley, D.S.O., M.C., D.D., S.T.D.’, briefly conveys a significant amount of biographical information about the bishop who dedicated the building in March 1958.

The two medals — the DSO and MC (and bar) — and the two degrees — the DD and the STD — signpost the route of his career from subaltern in 1914 to diocesan bishop in 1954. They denote three periods in his career: the First World War, 1914-19 (the DSO and MC); Melanesia, 1932-47 (the STD); and the diocesan bishopric of Blackburn 1954-60 (the DD). These three phases in turn supply the focus of the five chapters of this dissertation.

The distinctions indicate why Baddeley is worthy of academic study. An active participant within theatres of combat during both world wars, Baddeley is unique amongst the bishops of his generation. Nonetheless, outside specialist studies of the Melanesian Mission, his name is seldom listed in the indices of the many books written about the Anglican Church in the twentieth century. The reasons for this omission can easily be explained. Leaving aside his distinguished war record, Baddeley was a relatively obscure cleric who attained ‘middling’ episcopal office.

This dissertation is a fusion of two types of writing. A series of biographical chapters, narrating Baddeley’s career, are used to illuminate wider issues of Anglican history during his lifetime. Accordingly, it engages with two types of literature: material about Baddeley himself and studies of wider church history. Although

biographical material predominates in the dissertation, institutional analysis constitutes at least a quarter of what will follow. The Melanesian years of Baddeley's career, 1933-47, have already been chronicled in two studies of the history of the Melanesian Mission.¹ Since these are not biographical they do not deal with Baddeley's career before 1933 or after 1947.² Geoffrey Williams' *History of the diocese of Blackburn* (1993) includes a chapter on the Baddeley years, 1954-60, but says little about Baddeley's career prior to 1954.³ John Peart-Binns in his 2007 biography of Gordon Fallows provides a short vignette of Baddeley.⁴ The most thorough biographical account currently available takes the form an article by Bryan Lamb and Peter Heald in the *Blackburn Cathedral Newsletter*.⁵ Heald and Lamb's research was initially prompted by their interest in Baddeley's wartime activities.

The wartime experiences of 1914-18 and 1942 are the most remarkable aspects of Baddeley's career. He, and others, later employed this war record to define his public image. His decorated record as an infantry officer in the Great War marked him out as an exceptionally brave individual. Surprisingly, the STD, as much as the military medals, came in recognition of distinguished war service.

The honorary award of an STD from Columbia, New York, can be seen as an unusual distinction for someone of his status to receive. It also seems slightly incongruous to have received a theology degree for war service. An 'ivy league'

¹ C.E. Fox, *Lord of the Southern Isles: The Story of the Melanesian Mission* (London, 1958); David Hillard, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission 1849-1942* (Queensland, 1978).

² See also Michael Lawrence, 'Walter H Baddeley, Bishop of Melanesia 1932-47: Missionary, Misfit or God's Man?' (unpublished essay presented for the Church History Course of the Auckland Consortium for Theological Education, Oct. 1995, St John's College Library, Auckland), which is a specialist study of Baddeley's Melanesian episcopate, but again is not concerned with his career on either side of the Melanesian years.

³ Geoffrey A. Williams, *Viewed from the Water Tank: A History of the diocese of Blackburn* (Preston, 1993), pp. 181-205.

⁴ John S. Peart-Binns, *Gordon Fallows of Sheffield* (Co. Durham, 2007), pp. 51-69.

⁵ Bryan Lamb and Peter Heald, *The Right Reverend Action Man* (Blackburn Cathedral Newsletter summer, autumn 2004).

university would usually confer such a distinction on an eminent theologian or occupant of a senior bishopric who, almost automatically, receives some degree of international recognition.⁶ However, Baddeley received the doctorate in November 1944, three years prior to becoming suffragan bishop of Whitby, and ten years before he became diocesan bishop of Blackburn. Baddeley spent the years 1932-47 in the South Pacific as a missionary bishop. In 1942-3 he came to the notice of the Americans during the Japanese occupation of the Solomon Islands. In 1993 G.A. Williams remarked of this period that ‘Walter Hubert Baddeley will undoubtedly have his place in history as one of the heroes of the Second World War’.⁷ Williams’ assessment is an exaggeration because Baddeley is not generally remembered as a hero. Nevertheless, his bravery and achievement were real enough.

Following the invasion, Baddeley went ‘underground’ for nine months, evading capture. The Solomon Islands were the furthest point south of Japanese expansion in the Pacific. Hence the Islands were practically the last invaded by the Japanese and the first liberated by the allies. The Americans started to wrest the Islands from Japanese control in August 1942 with the Battle of Guadalcanal. During the hostilities numerous allied aircrews bailed out over the sea or in the bush. Baddeley assisted in rescuing these crews before the Japanese could get to them. In 1944, after the United States Forces had liberated the Islands, the Americans acknowledged Baddeley’s efforts. *Time Magazine* for 4 December 1944 included the following:

Columbia University last week gave an Anglican bishop from the South Seas an honorary degree (Doctor of Sacred Theology) for ‘outstanding service in the task of winning this war’. The bishop was Melanesia’s Walter Hubert Baddeley... To get around his thousand- island see, he sailed some 23,000

⁶ Archbishop Fisher received an honorary LLD from Columbia in 1946.

miles a year in his 300-ton ship, The Southern Cross... Bishop Baddeley's war service has been to keep his natives loyal to Britain and the U.S.

Military officials, grateful for the way the islanders have helped beat the Jap and rescued many a U.S. serviceman, give full marks to the Anglican Church's 96 years of work in the islands. When the Japanese invaded Florida Island, the bishop and his charges took to the jungle and lived 'like rabbits' until the Japanese had been routed. New Yorkers had never seen the tall blue-eyed Bishop before last week. But many a U.S. serviceman in the Solomon Islands counts him as a friend. As soon as the Japanese had been driven from Florida Island, the bishop returned, [and] opened a new episcopal palace — a leaf hut built on the ruined foundations of the mission warehouse. There he kept open house for the servicemen: the No. 1 refreshment, prepared by the Bishop in person: fresh-fruit salad.⁸

In addition to the honorary doctorate from Columbia, Baddeley received the United States Medal of Freedom (with Palm) awarded 'to honour those soldiers and civilians whose actions in foreign countries advanced the national security of the United States or its allies'.⁹

Whilst Baddeley's time behind Japanese lines was relatively short, his achievements must not be underestimated. He was fifty years old and the conditions were austere and dangerous.

Although Baddeley was awarded the honorary STD from Columbia in November 1944, he had to wait a further ten years for a Lambeth DD. The circumstances

⁷ Williams, *History of the diocese of Blackburn*, p. 179.

⁸ Time Magazine Archive, www.timemagazine.com, Religion: *South Sea Bishop*, Mon.4th Dec. 1944. Website accessed 22 Dec. 2008.

⁹ A personal letter from the Information Resource Center, American Embassy, London, to Peter G. Heald, Ely, Cambridgeshire, 18 June 2004: Peter Heald provided me with a copy of the letter.

surrounding Baddeley's receipt of an honorary Lambeth DD seem routine by comparison. Nonetheless, the award signposts Baddeley's graduation from the suffragan bishopric of Whitby, 1947-54, to an English diocesan see.

Getting a DD was in no way a claim to theological distinction for Baddeley. He was not particularly academic and for Baddeley the degree constituted an academic 'fig leaf'. In 1961 Geoffrey Fisher's successor, Michael Ramsey, abolished the practice of automatically awarding English diocesan bishops Lambeth doctorates: Baddeley was among the last cohort of diocesans to receive the award. Because the DD custom was a legacy of an earlier perception of episcopacy, when scholastic accomplishment was regarded as an integral part of a bishop's identity, it can be suggested that Ramsey's dropping of the convention is an indication that the traditional image of the English diocesan episcopate was undergoing a transition. The custom suggested that in addition to the primary role of being a 'father in God', the bishop's vocation was also to be a scholar. Continuously, beginning in the Early Church, the primary purpose of all bishops was as 'pastor parvorum'. However, views concerning what might be other necessary attributes have changed. During the second half of the twentieth century, it became increasingly apparent that the qualities possessed by a good manager, a good administrator and a good communicator were as relevant as a claim to academic distinction. One theme explored in this dissertation is how Baddeley's career helps illuminate the changing role and functions of the Anglican episcopate. It will be argued that an influential element driving this change was the culture of managerialism gaining increasing purchase within the Church of England during the period under discussion.

Whilst there is an aspect of 'boy done well' about Baddeley's career, Baddeley does not easily fit into any convenient stereotype. He was neither a classical clerical

grantee from a privileged background, nor an impoverished scholar who escaped from the slums through academic ability and influential patrons. Although Trevor Beeson in his *The Bishops* (2002) does not mention Baddeley, the thirteen categories of Church of England bishops Beeson adopts can provide a context to Baddeley's career: aristocrats and courtiers, headmasters, scholars, statesmen, prophets, pastors, controversialists, church reformers, social reformers, missionaries, evangelists, odd men out, and pioneers.¹⁰ Of these the three most applicable to Baddeley are 'pastor', 'odd man out' and 'missionary'.

From the beginning of Baddeley's career there were characteristics of the man that marked him out to others as an inspirational pastor. The official papers surrounding his appointment to Blackburn in 1954 also reveal him to be an 'odd man out', translated to Blackburn because by the standards of the time his appointment to any other diocese appeared problematic. Of Baddeley the 'missionary' it seems his involvement with overseas mission was first triggered by an invitation he received in 1931, but rejected, to become an assistant bishop in the diocese of Melanesia.

I

The consideration of Baddeley's career offered here employs a considerable body of primary source material, some of which was previously ignored, most of which was hitherto unavailable to researchers.

Eric Kemp in introducing his *Life of Kenneth Kirk* discusses the rule of thumb that a biography should not be attempted until fifty years after the death of the subject, the reason being that it may take this period of time for important documents to enter the

¹⁰ Trevor Beeson, *The Bishops* (London, 2002).

public realm.¹¹ Kemp himself did not wait fifty years. However, as will be explained, the half-century delay proved an important advantage when attempting work on Baddeley. Research in the Borthwick Institute and Lambeth Palace Library had yielded little information surrounding Baddeley's appointment to Blackburn. While the official files for the appointments contemporary to Baddeley's 1954 translation to Blackburn (such as Gloucester, St Edmundsbury and Ipswich, Sodor and Man, and Chester) have long been open to the public at the National Archives, mysteriously, the file 'Bishopric of Blackburn 1941-60' remained closed. A visit to Kew in 2005 and inquiries to the Cabinet Office established that the appointment papers for the bishopric of Blackburn 1941-60 were withheld on grounds of confidentiality surrounding crown appointments. There seemed little prospect of getting access to the file. Nevertheless, an appeal was made in August 2005 and after a lengthy process of review the file was released in May 2008. Access to these documents proved vital. The file contains approximately 200 pages of official correspondence about the appointments of three bishops to the diocese of Blackburn: Askwith in 1941, Baddeley in 1954 and Claxton in 1960. The opinions of the prime ministerial appointments secretaries, the archbishops of Canterbury and York and other interested parties are included with assessments of the strengths and weakness of the candidates considered and the shortlists of names submitted to 10 Downing Street. Whilst discussion of the Blackburn file is an important part of what will follow, other themes are also explored.

A recurring theme in the dissertation is the subject of changing clerical identity. For example, Baddeley was ordained when the Church of England — and, significantly,

¹¹ Eric W Kemp, *The Life and Letters of Kenneth Escot Kirk, Bishop of Oxford 1937-54* (London, 1959), introduction.

the clerical profession working within it — was undergoing reform, the necessity of which had been highlighted by the First World War. Baddeley will be used as a lens through which to focus on two important aspects of this institutional change: first, the impact of clerical ‘professionalisation’ on the Church of England, and, secondly, its eventual replacement by a culture of ‘managerialism’. Before entering this broader discussion, we shall establish the extent to which the clergy during the period of Baddeley’s career, 1920-60, can usefully be described as a ‘profession’.

II

The extent to which the nineteenth-century clergy adopted the characteristics of a profession is the subject of academic debate.¹² Certainly, in Victorian and Edwardian society the ideal of the ‘professional man’ symbolised qualities such as specialist expertise, integrity, competence, and some degree of official regulation by a

¹² See e.g. Kenneth A. Thompson, *Bureaucracy and Church Reform* (Oxford, 1970); Brian Heeney, *A Different Kind of Gentleman* (Hamden, CN, 1976); R. Towler and A. Coxon, *The Fate of the Anglican Clergy* (London, 1979); Anthony Russell, *The Clerical Profession* (London, 1980); Alan Haig, *The Victorian Clergy* (London, 1984); P. J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain* (London, 1995); David Dowland, *Nineteenth Century Anglican Theological Training* (Oxford,

professional organisation (such as the Law Society, founded 1825, the British Medical Council, 1832, or the Bar Council, 1894). Inevitably, certain aspects of the culture of professionalism strongly influenced the way the clergy perceived themselves and were perceived by the society they served.

The founding of theological colleges for professional training and ‘other characteristics of professionalization such as: expulsion procedures; retirement arrangements; professional organizations, professional journals’¹³ are cited by some as evidence of the nineteenth-century ‘professionalization’ of the clergy. However, whether they amount to ‘professionalization’ is open to question. The Faith and Order Advisory Group report, *The Ministry and Mission of the Whole Church* of 2007 noted that the argument has been challenged because:

The concept of professionalization was rarely used during the nineteenth century and that changes that are characterized as evidence of professionalization were not modelled on developments in other professions but inspired by a desire to be faithful to biblical principles and/or a desire to emulate the practice of the Early Church or the Church of The Middle Ages.¹⁴

It may be argued that the term ‘profession’ applied to the ordained ministry provides a useful catchall phrase, but is by no means a definitive description; moreover, ordination represented a ‘sacred vocation’ rather than a ‘profession’. While these assertions have some force either side of the period 1919-1960, definition of the clergy in terms common to the secular professions was more pronounced during this

1997); Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England circa 1800-1870* (Oxford, 1999).

¹³ Faith and Order Advisory Group report, *Ministry and Mission of the Whole Church* (London, 2007), p. 36.

¹⁴ Ibid.

period itself than it was either before or since. With the development and classification of the professions that occurred in the nineteenth century, there were distinct aspects of the rising culture of professionalism that appeared highly desirable for the clergy to adopt. This culture fitted well with the new institutional expression of Anglicanism that emerged from the Great War.

From the 1830s the Church of England underwent both structural reform and rationalization of its administration. However, the introduction of formal mechanisms for the recruitment, training and deployment of personnel was another matter. By 1914, comparison with the Civil Service, Army and Navy shows the Church of England to have been relatively late in embracing a culture of professionalism and meritocracy. The First World War and its aftermath changed this because the war acted as a catalyst to those forces working to reform the Church's central administration and executive structures. In the postwar period these structures helped transform the concept of clerical professionalism from an internalised, personal ethic into a corporate identity. Before the war, the ethos of clerical professional identity had run ahead of the institutional structures and legal framework needed to underpin it. After the war, formal structures emerged to enforce the ethos and the two became more integrated. But before developing this point we need to establish the characteristics that defined the clergy as a profession.

To enter the clergy, as in other professions, candidates underwent a formal process of selection. Following initial acceptance, a period of training was undertaken to master a core of professional knowledge, usually in a residential institution, and after passing the required examinations a period of supervised practical training was begun. While serving a curacy was *de facto* waged employment, the training aspect, particularly the probationary period spent in the diaconate, could be compared to a

trainee solicitor taking articles, a barrister serving a pupillage, or a trainee accountant, engineer or surveyor working before becoming chartered. Once these requirements were fulfilled the candidate was deemed to be competent and responsible to begin professional practice: not without regulation but with a degree of autonomy and independence befitting the qualifications and training successfully undertaken.

Baddeley's early post-war clerical career conformed closely with the aforementioned pattern of professionalisation. His compulsory attendance at a theological college was followed by a training curacy that resulted in Baddeley being given the freehold of the parish of St John, South Bank.

The professional in all professions received payment for the services offered and practiced without being monitored or supervised to the same degree as an apprentice or trainee. Within the church it was the existence of the freehold system that enabled the parson to operate as an autonomous professional while working not only under the requirements of statute but also within the regulatory legal framework of Canon Law. Above all else it was the freehold that marked the clergy out as a profession. Because the freehold incumbent was not employed by the state or church, but was technically self-employed, receiving income from parish endowments, Easter offerings and surplice/stole 'fees' rather than wages from an employer, this made strong parallels with other professions such as the law. From 1919 until the early 1960s the parish clergy of the Church of England operated under this model of professionalism. The freehold and the level of autonomy it afforded preserved this framework of professional activity, and clerical professionalism became the dominant culture of the institutional church. The clergy perceived themselves, and were, in turn, perceived both by the Church at an institutional level and by the wider society, to constitute a 'profession'. While scholars have traditionally shown

diffidence in making too close a comparison between the clergy and the other professions, the period circa 1919-60 thus not only invites but also demands such comparison.

Why should the early 1960s be regarded as constituting an end of an era in this respect? By this date some elements within the church were beginning to question the wisdom of maintaining the parson's freehold. In 1964 the Paul report on *The Deployment and Payment of the Clergy* recommended the replacement of the parson's freehold with leasehold. The *Paul Report* is significant because at an official institutional level the Church of England publicly questioned the benefit of persisting with the freehold system.

III

During Baddeley's lifetime the culture of management within the Church was in its infancy. Baddeley's experience helps to illustrate its development because he was involved in middle management precisely at a time when it was on the verge of significant expansion. For seven years at Whitby Baddeley was a pioneer of the specialist suffragan model and when he became a diocesan, with two suffragans of his own, he introduced the model to Blackburn. Because Baddeley's career illustrates the emergence of proto-managerialism within the church he needs to be considered in the light of the many existing general accounts of the twentieth-century history of

the Church of England.¹⁵ Within the latter category, Kenneth A Thompson's *Bureaucracy and Church Reform* (1970) is notable for simultaneously addressing the two related subjects of the clerical profession and the institutional history of the Church of England. It was written at a landmark moment when the General Assembly was abolished and replaced by the General Synod. Thompson argued that the years 1919-69 represented a distinct phase in the history of institutional change within the Church of England. He identified the origins of the era in the formation and development of the Church Assembly¹⁶ derived from the Church of England Assembly Powers Act (or Enabling Act) of 1919.¹⁷ The Assembly was to prepare ecclesiastical measures before they were presented to Parliament as it did with the Parish Church Councils Measure of 1921. Through its Central Board of Finance, the Assembly also came to exercise great influence on the financial affairs of the Church of England.¹⁸

Thompson noted the clergy's initial suspicion that the Church Assembly 'would develop a bureaucratic organization which would rob them of their remaining independence and professional identity'.¹⁹ Within ten years of the Enabling Act these fears were fuelling political action. In 1929, the year in which Baddeley was elected as proctor in convocation for York diocese, dissent from the Church Assembly was shown in the elections to the convocations. The so-called '1929 Group', led by such

¹⁵ Andrew Chandler, *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century: The Church Commissioners and the Politics of Reform 1948-98* (Woodbridge, 2006); Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920-90* (London, 1991); Roger Lloyd, *The Church of England 1900-65* (London, 1966); E. R. Norman, *Church and Society in England 1700-1970* (Oxford, 1976); Paul A. Welsby, *A History of the Church of England* (Oxford, 1987).

¹⁶ Kenneth A. Thompson, *Bureaucracy and Church Reform* (Oxford, 1970), p. xiii.

¹⁷ *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1990), p. 457.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 288-9.

¹⁹ Thompson, *Bureaucracy and Church Reform*, p. 242.

as F. A. Fosbrooke,²⁰ consisted of clerical representatives within the Assembly elected in order to register the grave dissatisfaction widely felt concerning the treatment of the parish clergy in the early Assembly legislation. Suspicion of the centralising motives of the Church Assembly continued, and in 1938 the Parochial Clergy Association (PCA) was founded by Edward G. Courtman for ‘upholding the ministry of the parish priest, to foster independence of the clergy, to see that all clergymen are provided with adequate legal defence, and that all retired clergymen are provided with adequate housing and a pension granted according to inflation’.²¹ Thompson describes the PCA as the nearest thing to a trade union or professional association of the clergy, keeping up a constant criticism of the Church Assembly.²² Thompson also cites the continued prominence of the clerical Convocations of Canterbury and York as one of the main bulwarks that protected the autonomy of parish clergy from the Assembly’s drive towards increasing centralisation. If Thompson’s argument that it was an objective in the formation the Church Assembly to transfer power away from the parishes is mainly conjecture, the suspicions raised by the effects of centralisation are clear. In 1954 John Moorman, the man who in the same year nearly prevented Baddeley’s appointment to Blackburn, expressed concerns of increased centralization with Church House, Westminster, becoming ‘the ecclesiastical Whitehall’ and the danger ‘that much of the life of the Church is now controlled by boards and committees composed mainly of those living in or near London’.²³

²⁰ Fosbrooke was a talented graduate of Clare College, Cambridge, who later became archdeacon of Blackburn, 1936, and archdeacon of Lancaster, 1936-50.

²¹ *Church of England Year Book* (Oxford, 1982), p. 390.

²² Thompson, *Bureaucracy and Church Reform*, p. 210.

²³ John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Church of England* (London, 1954), p. 418.

Despite Moorman's worst fears, Thompson concluded that the Church Assembly had failed in transferring power away from the parish clergy to a centralised church bureaucracy; it was ultimately unable to 'bestow unequivocal authority on its administrators and their activities' because of lack of support from the parish clergy 'who failed to provide the essential link in communicating information about the Assembly to the parochial level so as to develop an informed and sympathetic support for that body'.²⁴

Through its reflection on the changing dynamics of the clerical profession during Baddeley's career this dissertation further illuminates and sometimes challenges aspects of Thompson's argument. The rough coincidence of the chronology identified in the previous section of this introduction for changes in professional identity and that Thompson highlights for bureaucratisation certainly reflects the Great War's simultaneous impact upon the institutional church and clerical profession.²⁵ But this dissertation rejects Thompson's claim that the bureaucratic *raison d'être* of the Church Assembly was to rob the parish clergy of their remaining independence and professional identity. It is questionable whether one can accurately speak of the Assembly in terms of a unified institution possessing a long-term plan. Even if such a plan was the original intention in the formation of the Assembly, its constitution did not allow this to happen. It could in fact be argued that the early decades of the Assembly saw the opposite effect, as changes introduced during the life of the Assembly improved the working environment of clergy and, in fact, aided the professionalisation process. Amongst these were clergy-pensions legislation, rationalisation of the funding and payment of stipends, liturgical reform, revision of the system for the selection, training and funding of candidates for ordination, and,

²⁴ Thompson, *Bureaucracy and Church Reform*, p. xiii.

towards the end of the Assembly's life, revision of the antiquated system of church courts in the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure of 1963. Notwithstanding, many contemporary clergy evidently regarded the Assembly as possessing the long-term potential to increase the power of the laity and diminish that of the parish clergy. But this fear, combined with suspicion of the centralising and bureaucratic threat posed by the Assembly, also had a positive effect upon the professionalisation process. The perceived threat helped to galvanise a professional esprit de corps amongst the parish clergy and forge a clearer sense of clerical identity and collegiality. Consequently, the House of Clergy (all members of the Lower Houses of the clergy Convocations of Canterbury and York) felt the necessity to unite to defend the rights of the freehold incumbent against encroachments initiated from elements within the two other Houses in the Assembly, the House of Bishops (all the diocesan bishops), and the House of Laity (elected every five years by the diocesan conferences). Largely through the strong sense of common interest and professional identity nurtured by the Lower Houses of the clerical convocations of Canterbury and York, the parish clergy developed into what resembled a homogenous professional grouping.

By arguing that the purpose of the Church Assembly was to rob the parish clergy of their remaining independence and professional identity, Thompson misread the function of the Assembly. However, there is a case to be made that the period 1919-60 saw other developments that would come to undermine the culture of clerical professionalism.

The first symptom of this changing professional environment occurred in 1954 when the Church Commissioners took responsibility for the payment of suffragan bishops. This had far-reaching implications. By 1970 suffragan bishops had evolved from

²⁵ Ibid., p. 156.

being a relatively small group of clergy, who combined their episcopal office with a variety of other functions, to form a much larger group of specialist clerical managers whose office was separated from archidiaconal or parish roles. Combined with the potential abolition of the parson's freehold this created the conditions in which the parish clergy might metamorphose from self-employed professionals into managed employees.

Suffragans and archdeacons who depended on parish income shared a common interest with the ordinary parish clergy to defend the rights of the freehold incumbent. An important dynamic of the 'Lower' House of Clergy during the period 1919-69 was the inclusion ex-officio of dignitaries such as archdeacons. Although suffragan bishops did not ex officio get places in either the House of Bishops or the House of Clergy in the Church Assembly, suffragans who held archdeaconries sat in the House of Clergy, a factor that added some justification for combining the two offices. Such beneficed suffragans and archdeacons had a vested interest in aligning with the freehold lobby in the Church Assembly. However, once such officers no longer held parish incumbencies this weakened their allegiance to the freehold lobby: and thus, the strength of the House of Clergy as a lobby for the interests of the freehold incumbent. Whilst there was always a class distinction between 'ordinary parish clergy' and 'dignitaries' this was now much reinforced as a distinction between parish pastors and unbeneficed clerical managers. The detachment of suffragans and archdeacons from the ranks of parish clergy had an impact on the balance of power between the Houses of Clergy, Laity and Bishops, coinciding with the House of Clergy featuring as a weaker power bloc in the post 1969 General Synod than previously in the Church Assembly.

IV

Chapter One of this dissertation will use Baddeley as a route into an exploration of the First World War's impact in moulding a distinct professional identity for the post-war generation of Anglican clergy. After a general discussion of the evolution of the clerical profession before the outbreak of the First World War, it takes Baddeley's war service as an *entrée* into an argument that the changes which occurred in the post 1914 Church of England inaugurated a distinct period of 'clerical professionalism' that lasted from 1919 to the early 1960s. The crucial changes were not based on a desire to emulate the Early Church, or inspired by biblical principles, but specifically modelled on developments in a particular profession or service: the Army. Baddeley's progress represents a new type of clerical career that emerged from, and was defined by, the experience in the First World War. The chapter follows Baddeley's transition from soldier to priest.

Chapter Two explains Baddeley's 1932 decision to leave St John, South Bank, Middlesbrough, and to accept the missionary bishopric of Melanesia. The move is discussed against the background of his previous career, particularly the influence of Cuddesdon upon Baddeley. Both the ecclesiastical politics leading to Baddeley being offered the bishopric and his motivation for accepting it are examined. The fact that the diocese served an indigenous people rather than expatriate Europeans made it a 'missionary' rather than a 'colonial' bishopric. The power relations apparent in the process between elements within the Church of England, especially the English-based Melanesian Mission Society, and the Melanesian, New Zealand and Australian churches, serve to illuminate the extent to which the Anglican churches overseas were regarded as a legitimate extension of the Church of England's career structure.

Chapter Three examines the circumstances of Baddeley's 1947 return from Melanesia to accept the suffragan bishopric of Whitby. Once again, Baddeley's developing ministry reflected a wider context of transition as postwar decolonisation saw Empire becoming Commonwealth, and the colonial churches becoming the Anglican Communion. The chapter also places Baddeley's experience at Whitby in the wider context of the developments in of the role of the suffragan bishop and the development of the clerical profession discussed above and in Chapter One.

Chapter Four uses much previously unavailable archival material to offer an account of Baddeley's selection as a successor to Bishop Askwith at Blackburn in 1954. This appointment is used to shed light on the methods generally applied to choose diocesan bishops in the 1950s and the priorities of the oligarchy responsible for their selection.²⁶ The section also touches upon the controversial nomination of Ambrose Reeves as Baddeley's successor in 1960 and the debate that resulted in Reeves being passed over in favour of Charles Claxton. Seen in this context Baddeley's episcopate marked a watershed since both his predecessors, the first two bishops of Blackburn, were promoted to more senior bishoprics (Herbert to Norwich in 1942, and Askwith to Gloucester in 1954). However, since Baddeley no bishop of Blackburn has been translated.

Chapter Five opens with a short description of the history and religious culture of the diocese of Blackburn before leading into an account of his Baddeley's episcopate. His use of patronage, his churchmanship and his preoccupation with overseas mission represent three distinguishing hallmarks of the Baddeley era. The problems and priorities he faced on taking office are identified, including a shortage of clergy, the demands of the ambitious diocesan church-school programme balanced against

²⁶ Bernard Palmer, *High and Mitred: Prime Ministers as Bishop Makers 1837-1977* (London, 1992).

the need to extend Blackburn cathedral, and the ongoing difficulty of establishing the town of Blackburn as the heart of the diocese. Although Baddeley was at Blackburn for only six years, his episcopate occurred at a crucial time of formation in the life of a relatively young diocese.

From Soldier to Cleric

Baddeley's wartime experiences and his subsequent ordination occurred during a time of radical change for the Church of England. It is striking that Geoffrey Williams' account of Baddeley in his history of Blackburn diocese (1993)¹ makes no direct reference to the bishop's distinguished service during the First World War since this is crucial to understanding Baddeley as both priest and bishop and his relationship to the more general ecclesiastical landscape of the post-1914 period.

The first half of this chapter gives a general account of developments in the clerical profession from the early nineteenth century to 1914 and explains why the Great War had such a radical impact upon the clergy's professional identity, strongly influencing the Church's approach to recruitment, training, deployment, and pastoral practice. The war highlighted the Church's weaknesses in these areas just as sixty years earlier the Crimean war revealed inadequacies in the Army's approach to recruitment, training and deployment of its personnel.²

Because war service was a typical experience for men of Baddeley's generation, his example illustrates changes that occurred in the Church of England after 1914. Therefore, the second part of the chapter will chronicle Baddeley's wartime experience and discusses how this prepared him for a career within a profession that was significantly altered by the Great War. Baddeley can be seen as being

¹ G. Williams, *Viewed from the Water Tank*, pp. 181-205.

² R. K. Webb, *Modern England: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, 2nd edn (London, 1980), pp. 309-10, 347-8; Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, preface, p. 2.

representative of a distinct spirit of clerical professionalism that developed following the Great War. Clearly an ethos of clerical professionalism existed long before 1914, but that which emerged after 1918 was different. After 1918 the routes by which men entered the clerical profession changed. To get an adequate understanding of these changes a brief overview of the profession in the period before 1918 is necessary.

The Clerical Profession and the impact of the War

Before the Great War considerable advances were made in modernising the working environment of the parish clergy. The professional training and development of clergy had hitherto lagged behind reforms to clerical stipends and jurisdictional rearrangement. From the 1830s onwards elements within the Church of England had worked to achieve greater professionalism and professional identity amongst clergy. However, because the Church lacked an effective central executive, these initiatives were necessarily local and sporadic. The evolution of the theological colleges illustrates this point. While the Scottish Episcopal Church had had Edinburgh Theological College since 1810, it was not until 1816 that G. H. Law, bishop of Chester, founded St Bees to become England's first theological college. In 1825 the Church Missionary Society founded its own college in Islington.³ Others followed: St David's College, Lampeter, founded in 1827 and Queen's College, Birmingham founded in 1828. The establishment of institutions at Chichester (1839), Wells (1840), Lichfield (1857), St Aiden's, Birkenhead (1846), and Bishop Wilson College, Isle of Man (1889), was determined by decisions taken in the dioceses.⁴

³ *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd edn, p. 1363.

⁴ The foundation of the University of Durham in 1832 has not been listed because this constituted something more than a theological college. Moreover, although King's College London had a

Central policy initiatives regarding training of clergy only emerged later. The foundation of the Central Advisory Council of Training for the Ministry (CACTM) in 1912 created a central body to advise bishops on the training of ordinands. Though bishops frequently disregarded its recommendations, this nonetheless saw the Church of England adopting some overall strategy for clerical training. Most other pre-1914 wider initiatives regarding the clerical profession took the form of legislation aimed at regulating misconduct rather than training.

The history of occasional legislative regulation and diocesan policy-making helped fashion two distinct manifestations of clerical identity on the eve of the Great War. First, the measures just discussed began the process of creating a legal and professional structure.⁵ Second, there was a much more fully developed voluntary individual ethos of professionalism as charted by Brian Heeney (1976) and Alan Haig (1984).⁶

Between 1800 and 1870, the Anglican clergy moved from a position where they generally defined themselves as ‘gentlemen in holy orders’ to one in which distinct ideas of professionalism were emerging. Heeney has shown that by the mid-Victorian period a small but influential group of clergy attempted to develop a professional identity through a theology of pastoral care, although such concepts of clerical professional identity were by no means generally accepted:

Although outlines of clerical professionalism were clear by 1870 there was uncertainty, confusion, and disagreement (some of it related to differences in churchmanship) about details. Furthermore, the fulfilment of professional aims was often failed by elements in contemporary church

theology department from 1846 it was not until 1902, at Mecklenburgh Square, that a residential hall for ordinands was established.

⁵ See Russell, *Clerical Profession*; Burns, *Diocesan Revival*.

organization, tradition and practice. Pastoral theologians, the ideologues of clerical professionalization, never overcame these inhibitions, nor did they form anything like a united school or pressure group within the Church.⁷

The experience of 1914-18 changed this. The difficulties clergy faced when dealing with the injured, dying; dead and bereaved in such vast numbers were unprecedented. Inevitably, the experience had a huge impact on the theology of pastoral care, forcing padres into new ways of thinking. Also, the Great War shone a spotlight on the pastoral competency of the Anglican clergy. Before 1914, pastoral theology may only have been a minority subject, as Heeney suggests. However, the war projected the subject of pastoral competency into a much wider forum of debate. Moreover, Heeney's observation of the absence of 'a united school or pressure group' also changed during the war.

Organisationally speaking, from 1917 there emerged something that resembled a united school or pressure group in the form of the 'Life and Liberty' movement. Many of the movement's aims, such as the creation of the Church Assembly, later became the objectives of the post-war church, drawing some of its leadership. Significantly, influential elements within the movement's leadership, such as Dick Sheppard and Harry Blackburne, were drawn from the ranks of former Army chaplains.

As Michael Snape has observed:

When a Padres' Fellowship was established in October 1918, a body with the avowed aim of helping the Anglican chaplains apply the lessons of the war to the post-war world one of its key demands was self-government for the Church of England. In all of this the Padres' fellowship was at one with the

⁶ Heeney, *Different Kind of Gentlemen*; Haig, *Victorian Clergy*.

wider Life and Liberty movement which had been founded by Dick Sheppard some time earlier and which enjoyed broad and even outspoken support among Anglican Chaplains⁸

At one level 'Life and Liberty' heralded the beginning of a new era. With the advent of the Assembly came greater pressure to move the Church of England from being organised and resourced predominantly at a local level to a body possessing a central system of government and administration. This new institutional expression of Anglicanism made possible central initiatives to recruit, train and resource the clergy to function within an organisational structure where professionalism was deliberately promoted in a form drawing heavily upon the pre-1914 ethos of clerical professionalism. Together, these developments changed the clerical environment in which Baddeley would build his career.

Alan Haig's study of the Victorian clerical profession (1984) offers an entry point to a discussion of the Great War's impact. Haig is in fact reluctant to describe the clergy as a profession, believing that 'professionalisation':

provides no more than a few useful analytical labels ... If analogies must be sought, the secular establishments are more appropriate than the classical professions. Like the armed forces and civil service, the Church was a patronage-ridden structure faced with the need for expansion and calls for efficiency. Unlike them it lacked the requisite seat of authority — no one in the Church could 'cut the knot' as Gladstone did on Army purchase.⁹

⁷ Heeney, *Different Kind of Gentleman*, p. 118.

⁸ Michael Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains Department, 1796-1953: Clergy Under Fire* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 250.

⁹ Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, preface, p. 2.

Haig may argue that before 1914, close analogies between the clergy and law and medicine are not appropriate, but this seems problematic when applied to the period after 1919, following the inauguration of the Church Assembly as a venue for reform, as he himself concedes.¹⁰ Although his distinction between a ‘service’ and a ‘profession’ does have bearing upon the important question of the Great War’s impact upon Anglican clerical identity (Haig argues that the Services regard society rather than the individual as their client)¹¹ and is particularly relevant for the context of Baddeley’s career, nevertheless, for the remainder of this discussion I shall use the term ‘professionalisation’ for the way the Church embraced changes learnt from the Army. The Church’s close working relationship with the Army during the period 1914-18 was one factor in the post-1919 changes in the recruitment, training and deployment of clergy.

Before the war the church had links with, and similarities to, the Army. For example, a significant proportion of regular army officers were the sons of clergy. Richard Holmes estimates that in 1900 some 10 per cent of regular army officers were sons of clergy, noting families such as the Montgomeries, the Feildings, the Bickersteths, and the Chavasses that achieved high professional distinction in both Church and Army.¹² Uniformed youth organisations such as the Scouts and Church Lads’ Brigade, while possessing an obviously paramilitary flavour, existed under ecclesiastical sponsorship. Arthur Winnington Ingram, bishop of London, ‘had shown great interest in military matters and warmly endorsed the quasi-military work and ethos of the newly formed Church Lad’s Brigade, which had its origins in

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 328.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 16.

the diocese of London'.¹³ The fact that on the outbreak of war the vast majority of Anglican bishops, clergy and ordinands did not entertain the idea of pacifism illustrates that prior to 1914 influential elements within the Church of England were culturally sympathetic to the objectives of the services. Many clergy had served as cadets when at public or grammar school. As undergraduates some had involvement with the Officer Training Corps or Naval Reserve. These connections were reinforced by the impact of the war on English society.

Wartime criticism of the competency of the parochial clergy and military chaplains alighted upon the rigour, content and length of ordination training.¹⁴ Alan Wilkinson (quoting from Neville Talbot) describes how the war emphasised the amateurishness of Anglican clergy because the existing system of training had not adequately prepared the padres for what they experienced: 'They made parsons out of men at the expense of their humanity and naturalness and produced the mind which is clerical and not yet truly professional.'¹⁵ Talbot's remark reflects the fact that before the war the formation of Anglican clergy was exclusively theological in emphasis and did not sufficiently stress the public-service aspect of ministry. Snape describes how a former chaplain complained that the Army should test prospective chaplains to see if 'they can talk to men, that they are manly, and that they have some knowledge as to what should be said to men'.¹⁶ B. K. Cunningham, writing in 1919, concurred. He believed the pre-1914 system, when judged upon the padres it

¹² Richard Holmes, *Tommy: The British Soldier on the Western Front 1914-1918*, (London, 2004), p. 505; Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London, 2005), p. 59.

¹³ Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains*, p. 175.

¹⁴ Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London, 1978), p. 277.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹⁶ Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains*, p. 247.

produced for the Army during the War, was found lacking.¹⁷ Seen in the context of the Church of England's relationship with the Army, the origins of the frequent descriptions which we will encounter of Baddeley as 'a man's man' make sense. Some clergy coped with army life better than others. Inevitably, there were inherent difficulties involved in directly transplanting a clergyman from his parish to an infantry regiment overseas. Because many chaplains suffered breakdowns, in 1917 B. K. Cunningham was asked to establish a military training school for chaplains at St Omer. After the war Cunningham significantly influenced the training of clergy in his role as principal of Westcott House, Cambridge, 1919-44.

Many men ordained in the post-1918 period, such as Baddeley, had a shared experience of the army and inevitably brought transferable skills to work in another form of public service, the Church of England. Requirements of war service such as hierarchical structures of command, communicating orders and achieving command tasks, presentation and uniform, discipline and prompt attention to administration, were all attributes acquired in the services but also relevant to ministry in the church. Post-war understandings of clerical competency consequently became less theological and more utilitarian, largely based upon the level of service afforded to the public by the Church and clergy. The war forced those who experienced it at first hand to adopt many non-theological definitions of what constituted a pastorally effective cleric. There emerged a new generational ethos amongst both wartime chaplains and servicemen, like Baddeley, who were ordained after the war, many of whom personified the qualities of courage, manliness, resilience and intelligence, essential in bonding troops and leader together as an effective unit.

¹⁷ J. R. H. Moorman, *B. K. Cunningham* (London, 1947), p. 103.

Arguably, the common experience of the services helped to create a homogenous group of post war ordinands with a shared identity. This was compounded by the fact that many clergy ordained before 1914 served as chaplains in the services during the war. Although precise calculations differ, from the work of Thompson, Marrin and Snape we can be confident that approximately 3,000 of the Church of England's ordained clergy served as Army chaplains.¹⁸ This was too significant a percentage of the overall number of clergy (approximately 22,000) not to shape the direction in which the profession was to move in the post war period. Yet the War's impact upon the post-war clergy went much further than the 13 per cent of personnel who served as Army chaplains before returning to their civilian flocks after the Armistice. We must add those withdrawing from theological college and some of the countless number of university students, potential ordinands like Baddeley, who abandoned their degrees to enlist. At the outbreak of war almost a third of the 1,274 ordinands of the Anglican theological colleges withdrew from training to apply for war service.¹⁹ Following the Armistice, a School of Instruction for 250 potential ordinands was established at Le Touquet under the direction of F. R. Barry. Later a post-army 'Test School' was set up at Knutsford, which ran from 1919 to 1922, where a total of 675 men (of whom 435 were ordained) were trained.²⁰

There is an interesting correlation between the 1914-18 conflict and the church adopting a more professional approach to both clergy training and organisational structure, which is in part attributable to the Army's influence. The organisation of

¹⁸ For the various different attempts to estimate the totals see Thompson, *Bureaucracy*, p. 157 (drawn from R. T. Davidson, *Testing of a Nation*, Macmillan, London, 1919); Marrin, *Last Crusade*, p. 206; Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains*, pp. 183-4; Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 89.

¹⁹ Marrin, *Last Crusade*, p. 188.

²⁰ Wilkinson, *Church of England*, p. 278; Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains*, p. 251.

Church in 1914 had echoes of the Army before Cardwell's reforms of the 1870s²¹ or the Navy prior to Winston Churchill's appointment as First Lord of the Admiralty in 1911. Just as the Army consisted of a collection of generals and regiments, and the Navy consisted of admirals and ships, the Church consisted of bishops and dioceses. After 1870, the emergence of a General Staff for the Army, and similar developments in the Navy after 1912, provided these institutions with the corporate central brain that the church would lack before 1919.²² The Army was also quicker than the Church to reform its system of patronage: under Cardwell's reforms the sale and purchase of commissions was abolished, with the aim of fostering an environment in which ability, intelligence and hard work were identified and rewarded. By the late Victorian and Edwardian period there already existed a distinct professional ethos among the British Army's officer class.²³

Anthony Russell argues that a key element in professionalization is the development of residential training institutions in high-status occupations.²⁴ As we have seen, before 1914 attendance at a specialist Anglican clergy training college was determined by the individual preference of the candidate and the individual requirements of the sponsoring diocesan bishop. Baddeley was one of the first generation to experience the new order in which the post-war Church of England made it compulsory for ordinands to spend a minimum attendance of one year at a theological college.²⁵

²¹ Cardwell's Army reforms of the 1870s sought to create a more professional and meritocratic method for selecting and promoting officers.

²² John Terraine, *The Western Front 1914-18* (London, 1970), p. 26.

²³ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 82.

²⁴ Russell, *Clerical Profession*, pp. 45 and 239.

²⁵ Dowland, *Nineteenth Century Anglican Theological Training*, pp. 214-15, states that 'in 1908, 57.97 per cent of ordinands were graduates with no formal training, and they were to continue in the majority for some time to come'.

Again, it was the experience of the First World War that forced the Church as a national institution to take the initiative with regard to compulsory residential training and grants providing opportunity to undertake it. Albert Marrin describes how from the beginning of the twentieth century there had been efforts to draw ordinands from a wider social range, but this policy had little impact on altering the overall complexion of the profession until after 1919, and even then, the change was limited and gradual. Prior to 1919, the Church of England, with exception of institutions such as Kelham, Mirfield, and the Ordination Candidates Fund (an Anglican charity to provide financial assistance to ordinands of limited means) expected its clergy to pay for their own training, in contrast to the Methodists, Unitarians and Baptists, who paid for training. Kelham (the Society of the Sacred Mission, or SSM) in Nottinghamshire, and Mirfield (the Community of the Resurrection, or CR) in Yorkshire, were unique among the English theological colleges because they were monastic communities that trained ordinands for the secular priesthood. It was policy at these communities to accept ordinands who could not otherwise afford to train. Both colleges were free: however, while Kelham set out to offer a strictly non-graduate training, the CR provided for candidates to attend Leeds University before beginning at the theological college at Mirfield.²⁶ Following the Armistice, Archbishop Davidson confirmed that ‘no man accepted for ordination by competent authority after due testing’ would be ‘debarred by lack of means from training’.²⁷

In the immediate post-war years perhaps the effects were only ‘partial’.²⁸ Nonetheless, over the period 1919-60 the developmental momentum of clerical

²⁶ Towler and Coxon, *Fate of the Anglican Clergy*, p. 26.

²⁷ Snape, *Royal Army*, p. 250.

²⁸ Marrin, *Last Crusade*, p. 26.

professionalism increased, and not just in recruitment. Many changes adopted by the post 1918 Church of England can be seen as the result of the experience of the Great War, not least the clergy's prolonged contact with soldiers. The war generated the perception that a social gap existed between the Anglican Army padres (predominantly from middle- and upper-class backgrounds) and soldiers drawn from the working classes. In contrast, the Roman Catholic chaplains are generally acknowledged to have had more success relating to the ranks. Whether such generalisations are historically accurate is difficult to prove. Notwithstanding, it was an interpretation of wartime Army chaplaincy that had considerable influence in the post-war period. An obvious cause of criticism against the Anglicans lay in the early stages of the war when Roman Catholic chaplains went to the front line when the Anglicans had orders not to advance beyond brigade headquarters.²⁹ In addition, Roman Catholic priests were drawn from a more socially diverse group than the Anglicans. The tendency of sons to follow their fathers into Anglican ministry helped produce a middle-/upper-class clerical caste in English society, which did not apply to the celibate Roman Catholic priesthood. Undeniably, to some working-class soldiers some Anglican padres symbolized negative aspects of the English class system. Even so, this argument is largely based on anecdotal evidence and its credibility is undermined by the two Anglican padres most famous for their popular rapport with soldiers, Woodbine Willie and Tubby Clayton, both originating from privileged backgrounds. Moreover, there are other explanations as to why the Roman Catholic padres appear to have triumphed in the post-war assessments of chaplaincy, such as the ratio of Roman Catholic chaplains to Roman Catholic soldiers being far greater than that of Anglican chaplains to Church of England soldiers. While Roman

²⁹ Ibid., p. 208.

Catholics only comprised 7 per cent of those who served in the British Army between 1914 and 1918, Roman Catholic priests comprised 20 per cent of British Army chaplains.³⁰

The wartime chaplains' unprecedented experience of frequently ministering to the dead, dying, wounded, bereaved, or those facing the immediate possibility of death, enhanced the value placed upon practical catholic sacramentalism. This carried over into the post-war Church of England. The catholic tradition of meaningful sacramental rituals was better adapted to wartime conditions than a narrowly protestant approach. Of this Snape has commented that 'for many soldiers mass mortality and recurrent exposure to extreme danger appeared to vindicate prayers for the dead and frequent communion'.³¹ Nor was the impact of catholic theology limited to the Army. As a consequence of wartime bereavement many Anglican parishes embraced prayers for the departed and the Commemoration of All Souls', which prior to 1914 were seen as distinctly 'catholic' practices. Catholic theology and pastoral practice appears to have emerged from the war as something that may be equated to a set of defined professional skills (or tools) that some padres possessed and others did not. As Snape observes: 'If Roman Catholics were naturally pleased by the plaudits their chaplains received, these favourable verdicts also represented for Anglo-catholics a clear vindication of sacramental religion, thereby furthering the Anglo-catholic agenda within the Church of England in the inter-war years.' Snape believes that the war drove the theology and practice of many Anglican chaplains in a Catholic direction.³²

³⁰ Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains*, p. 253.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 84; id., *Royal Army Chaplains*, p. 252.

Certainly, the wartime problems encountered by Anglican chaplains revealed many inadequacies in existing pastoral practice and theology and highlighted the Church of England's need to change its approach to clergy recruitment and training. The war showed that two particular qualities had made some padres more effective than others, which the Church of England hierarchy now came to regard as particularly relevant for its clergy.

First, padres conversant with catholic sacramental practices had fared better than those who were not, encouraging a wider acceptance of sacramentalism in the post-war Church of England. Walter Baddeley was an Anglo-Catholic; thus, his particular type of churchmanship was becoming generally more fashionable at precisely the point he embarked on his clerical career.

Secondly, padres who could confidently establish a good rapport with working-class men were at a distinct advantage, making the recruitment of clergy who could bridge the perceived gap between the Church and the alienated working classes a priority. Here again Baddeley would benefit: as we will see, he had the skills the Church required. His distinguished record of wartime command in infantry regiments provided him with precisely the right credentials to fulfil the Church of England's post-war aspirations. It may be argued that the Great War's impact on the church helped create an environment favourable to what would become Baddeley's style of leadership.

Sensitive to criticism, and certainly anxious to be seen taking the initiative in the unique wartime situation, in the autumn of 1916 the Church of England launched the National Mission of Repentance and Hope. The actual evangelistic effectiveness of the mission is open to debate. However, from this initiative five committees were established. The findings of the committees mark a watershed with regard to the

church acknowledging its existing inadequacies and outlining its objectives for the future; in particular the committee on *The Teaching Office of the Church* highlighted several important issues pertaining to recruitment, training and the professional development of the clergy.³³ Its report stated that the existing number of parish clergy was too few. The lack of an adequate pension scheme before the war had bred a culture of priests staying in post beyond their years of professional competency. Therefore, a central pension scheme was recommended. The theological colleges were also described as being inadequately resourced and in need of greater centralised supervision. Both the brevity of training courses and the relevance of the subjects studied were questioned. The system of training was to be restructured enabling the theological colleges to be more closely linked with the universities. The issue of post-ordination training was considered and a recommendation made that laid the foundation for what may be described as continuing professional development. The committee's report also drew attention to the prewar problem that a greater level of financial assistance was required for ordinands from poorer, less privileged, backgrounds. Following the armistice, a significant effort was made to recruit a greater number of working-class ordinands and provide the necessary training and financial assistance.³⁴ Wilkinson describes how the Church spent £378,000 on ordination training for 1,039 candidates drawn from the services. Such initiatives were important steps to creating a more professional and socially inclusive clerical culture in the post-1918 period. It may be argued that the 1914-18 war drove the evolution of clerical professional identity into its most important phase of development.

³³ Wilkinson, *Church of England*, pp. 70-90.

I

Portslade, Keble, the Western Front and back

Walter Hubert Baddeley was born on 22 March 1894; the census for 1901 lists Walter, age seven, residing with his parents, Walter and Agnes Louisa Baddeley, and three siblings, Agnes born 1892, Margaret Hannah, 1896, and Alfred James, 1899, at 55 North Street, Portslade, Sussex.³⁵ Baddeley's father was a grocer shopkeeper. The fact that the Baddeley family employed one domestic servant indicates that, by the standards of Edwardian England, they were neither wealthy nor particularly poor. The description is one of a solidly lower middle-class Anglican family of the early twentieth century. In this sense Baddeley's background was unexceptional.

Intelligent clerics from humble backgrounds had always had opportunities to rise within the church. The route inevitably involved gaining an influential patron willing to 'open doors' for a clerical protégé. In the nineteenth century a useful start for a clerical scholar often involved becoming a domestic chaplain to an aristocrat, or private tutor to the children of an important family. Therefore, for a socially modest cleric to progress a degree of adoption by, and assimilation into, the old elite was necessary. Around 1870 the progress of such scholastic clerical parvenus became easier. Public and parliamentary pressure resulted in the reform of the richest clerical preferments as substantial ecclesiastical revenues were re-directed for the wider benefit of the church and society. Accordingly, bishoprics and deaneries began to lose much of their previous financial appeal for the sons of the nobility.

The agricultural depression which affected England from 1875 onwards resulted in diminishing clerical income drawn from farming land. This economic reality

³⁴ Wilkinson, *Church of England*, p. 289.

³⁵ www.1901census.nationalarchives.gov.uk

combined with the end of pluralities meant ordination became a less attractive career choice for sons of the gentry. With fewer members of the nobility and gentry entering the Church, this freed places in the clerical hierarchy for those drawn from more modest social backgrounds. Nonetheless, the route to promotion still essentially remained down the road of scholastic achievement not pastoral distinction.

After the First World War a meritocracy emerged which placed greater emphasis on pastoral distinction. Men like Baddeley proved their worth through a variety of career tests often involving such elements as a heroic curacy; the efficient administration and leadership of a large demanding urban parish; the training of curates; election to the clergy convocations and Church Assembly, and the chairmanship of various church related boards and committees.

Prior to the war, Church of England clergy with catholic sympathies, particularly those, like Baddeley, from less privileged backgrounds, thus stood little chance of progressing into the clerical hierarchy unless they gained an influential patron. The war changed this not only because it made the Church of England a more tolerant place for 'catholic' clergy, but also because the church that emerged from the war came to place increasing value on those clerics who could win the trust and affection of working-class men. When he was ordained in 1920 Baddeley's curriculum vitae was tailor-made for the post-war environment.

Baddeley's experience of the Great War was not that of an ordained chaplain, but of a combat officer whose service extended from 1914 to 1919. He entered the army as a second lieutenant and rose to be acting lieutenant colonel. His decoration with an M.C. and bar, and later, the D.S.O., evidences his qualities of courage and leadership being proven in the secular environment of an infantry regiment on the Western

Front. He stands as a counter-example to the popular stereotype that the experience of the Western Front turned a generation of previously churchgoing men against institutional religion. Before the war Baddeley was a devout practising Anglican. His experience of the Church of England's response to the war, the padres he encountered while serving in the Army and his own experience of the Western Front did not turn him against institutional religion, but appear to have confirmed his faith in it.

Since in 1914 Baddeley was reading history at Oxford, and not theology, he may not at this time have firmly decided to offer himself as a candidate for ordination. There is little to draw upon except circumstantial evidence when considering exactly where and when Baddeley decided upon the Church as a career. In later years he spoke little about his path to ordination. His son, Martin Baddeley, does not remember talking to his father about his path to ordination but suggests that he 'was already thinking about ordination before 1914' and 'that his wartime experiences may have confirmed an earlier hope'. Importantly, Martin Baddeley recounts that his father 'never spoke of considering any other work'.³⁶ This suggests that Walter Baddeley was considering ordination before going up to Oxford. Certainly, Baddeley came from a family of regular Anglican churchgoers who worshipped at St Andrew, Portslade,³⁷ where, prior to Oxford, Baddeley taught in the Sunday school. St Andrew's was built in 1864 as the daughter church of St Nicholas, Portslade, and became closely identified with the high-church movement following the appointment of Father Richard Enraght as curate in charge in 1872.³⁸ This raises the subject of Baddeley's high-church sympathies. The historian Michael Yelton describes

³⁶ Martin J. Baddeley to A. R. Hodgson, 24 Nov. 2006.

³⁷ Ibid.

Edwardian Brighton as a place where ‘Anglo- catholicism began to move forward and nowhere was that tendency more apparent’.³⁹ Later, throughout his ordained life, Baddeley’s theological and liturgical values reflected those of the high-church movement. Keble, his college at Oxford, founded in 1870, was not only intended ‘to help make a university education available to men of limited means’, but had significant associations with the Tractarian movement.⁴⁰

At the age of 18, Baddeley matriculated at Keble on 15 October 1912, receiving scholarship support as an exhibitioner of the Grocer’s Company.⁴¹ Before joining the army, Baddeley experienced his religious formation within the high Anglican tradition. In hindsight, his clerical career somewhat resembles that of another Keble alumnus, Arthur Winnington Ingram. Both were neither particularly academic nor intellectual; both had successful experiences in urban working-class parishes; and both possessed a remarkably good rapport with working-class men. Finally, both Baddeley and Winington Ingram remained militaristic in outlook and maintained a life long regard for the Army.

When Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914, Baddeley was twenty and about to return to Oxford to begin his third and final year reading Modern History. For the majority of the British public the declaration of war came suddenly and took the nation by surprise.⁴² There is a paucity of primary source material on Baddeley during this period. However, we do know that after the declaration of war some lecturers were encouraging their students to enlist and six lecturers in the university Faculty of Modern History participated in the writing of pamphlets in support of the

³⁸ Later, as vicar of Holy Trinity, Birmingham, Richard Enraght was imprisoned in 1880 for ritualism under the Public Worship Regulation Act.

³⁹ Michael Yelton, *Alfred Hope Patten and the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham* (Norwich, 2005), p. 19.

⁴⁰ Michael Hall, *Oxford* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 84-5.

war under the auspices of the Central Committee for Patriotic Organisations.⁴³

Before the end of the month the Secretary of State for War, Field Marshal Kitchener, made his appeal for the first 100,000 civilian volunteers to enlist. By the end of September, over a half-million men had joined the 'New Army'. Kitchener's Volunteer Army was desperately short of potential junior officers.⁴⁴ However, as Baddeley had a further year to go at Oxford, it is unlikely he received a direct invitation from the War Office inviting him to apply for a commission.

In August 1914, T. B. Strong, dean of Christ Church and vice chancellor of Oxford University, was invited by the War Office to chair a committee to select students for commissions in the New Army. From the outset there was a surge of students abandoning their studies to enlist. By the end of August more than a thousand Oxford undergraduates had been nominated for commissions.⁴⁵ Despite the undoubted popular momentum among undergraduates to enlist in the first cohort, Baddeley did not. His War Office records show he did not apply for a commission until 21 November 1914.⁴⁶ The later date of the application suggests his original intention was first to finish his degree before entering the army. Notwithstanding, by November it is probable that the tremendous weight of peer-group and public pressure persuaded Walter to abandon his studies and enlist. After the war he returned to Oxford to complete his degree. Jim, his brother, was not so fortunate, being killed in action in 1918.

In 1914 the minimum age for joining up was 19. Although Baddeley was twenty, he still had to gain a letter of consent from his father, Walter Baddeley senior, to

⁴¹ Varndean School Archives.

⁴² Wilkinson, *Church of England*, p. 14.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 24.

⁴⁴ Martin Middlebrook, *The First Day of the Somme* (London, 2001), p. 16. Ibid.

⁴⁵ Beeson, *Bishops*, p. 215. See also Marrin, *Last Crusade*, p. 187.

support his application for an army commission.⁴⁷ The official *Application for a Temporary Commission in the Regular Army for the Period of the War* shows Baddeley's preference to join the infantry. By requesting a posting to the Royal Sussex Regiment, Baddeley demonstrated the commonplace volunteer preference for the main fighting arm, and to serve in a local battalion.⁴⁸ He was duly commissioned as a second lieutenant of the Royal Sussex Regiment on 2 December 1914, but in the 8th (service) battalion (pioneers). A possible reason why Baddeley was posted to a pioneer battalion is revealed in his 1914 army medical inspection record. Although he was 5' 10" in height, his weight was just 123 lbs (less than 9 stones) and his chest only measured 33 ½" which the doctor recorded as two inches deficient. While this in itself was no great handicap, it may have prevented his deployment to a front-line unit. Martin Middlebrook notes that the vast number of volunteers for Kitchener's army allowed the examining doctors to avoid accepting 'anything but the best'.⁴⁹ During the war Baddeley's regiment expanded to twenty-three battalions. It suffered the loss of 6,800 men during the hostilities, of which 1,723 came from the 2nd battalion. Evidently deployment to the 2nd battalion carried the highest risk of death or injury in the regiment. As Baddeley served in the 8th battalion, at this stage in his army career he was in a comparatively low-risk unit. Nonetheless, as the historian of the regiment has noted, 'the Service Battalions which went to France also bore their share of the fighting particularly the 7th, 8th, 9th and the three Southdown Battalions'.⁵⁰ Of these the 7th and 9th battalions had the second and third highest

⁴⁶ TNA, WO 374/3013, and WO 339/2771.

⁴⁷ TNA, WO 374/3013, Parental letter in support of application for a commission, Walter Baddeley, 23 Oct. 1914.

⁴⁸ Middlebrook, *First Day*, p. 9.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁰ J. F. Ainsworth, *The Royal Sussex Regiment, 1701-1966* (Derby, 1972).

casualty rates in the regiment, with 998 and 764 killed respectively. The 8th lost 215 men.⁵¹

During the First World War the work of pioneer battalions, such as digging trenches and toilets, was undoubtedly hard and monotonous, but it could also prove highly dangerous. Their duties involved going out into no-man's land to clear enemy barbed wire before an attack. Even so, these battalions, unless redeployed to support other infantry groups, were not front-line units and whatever combat they experienced was essentially in defensive fighting. It seems that Baddeley's own battalion never actually went 'over the top'.⁵² Baddeley was nevertheless present on the first day of the Somme, 1 July 1916. His pioneer battalion served with the 55th Brigade in the 18th (Eastern) Division under Maj.-Gen. F. I. Maxse.⁵³

Whatever Baddeley's personal involvement on that occasion, on 22 May 1917, while serving as a temporary captain, Baddeley was mentioned in dispatches for the first time. During August the same year he won the Military Cross at Arras shortly after returning from ten days leave in Britain. The citation from *The London Gazette*, 16 August 1917, reads:

For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty. While engaged in digging operations, his company suddenly came under intense hostile barrage. His company commander and many others were killed. He at once took command, showing the utmost coolness and disregard of personal safety, and it was due to his example that a most difficult and urgent piece of work was completed.⁵⁴

⁵¹ G. D. Martineau, *A History of the Royal Sussex Regiment* (Chichester, 1955), p. 196.

⁵² Lamb and Heald, *Right Reverend Action Man*, autumn, 2004, p. 13.

⁵³ Middlebrook, *First Day*, p. 321.

⁵⁴ TNA, WO/339/ 2771, the citation was quoted in a letter from the Departmental Record Office, to Martin Baddeley, 21 Dec. 1995.

This citation is important because it gave the first public expression to the army's recognition of Baddeley's leadership skills. But it was not the last.

Baddeley was again mentioned in despatches on 14 November 1917 while still with his pioneer battalion. In June 1918, however, he was posted to the 8th battalion of the East Surrey Regiment, becoming second in command with the temporary rank of major. This was a front-line infantry unit, which had been in the thick of the Somme offensive in 1916, and which had also suffered heavy casualties at Passchendaele in October 1917. In May 1918, the month before Baddeley joined the battalion; the casualty list was 7 officers and 76 other ranks, which probably accounts for Baddeley's transfer.⁵⁵

On 24 June 1918, when Baddeley joined the battalion, it was in the front line at Hellencourt and the war diary records that 'Captain, a/Major W. H. Baddeley, M.C., reported to the Battalion during the day as acting 2nd in Command. Casualties during the day: 3 other ranks wounded, of whom two were attached to Brigade as signallers. Work was continued as usual at night.' The entry for the next day reads: 'on the evening of the 25th, Lieut. Col. A. P. B. Irwin, D.S.O., was called to Brigade and Major Bawdily [sic], M.C., took over the command of the Battalion.'⁵⁶ Baddeley's command consisted of 4 companies and the battalion headquarters. The first two weeks of Baddeley's command were quiet because on the night of June 26/7 the battalion was relieved in the front line and placed in the divisional reserve in camps in the valley behind Hellencourt Wood. On the night of 13/14 July, after two weeks in reserve, the battalion relieved the 2nd Bedford Regiment. In the first full month of his command, Baddeley recorded a casualty list of 18 other ranks.

⁵⁵ Michael Langeley, *The East Surrey Regiment* (London, 1972), p. 73.

⁵⁶ TNA, W.O. 95/2050, War Diary for the 8th Battalion East Surrey Regiment, 25 June 1918.

However, it was during the following month that Baddeley faced his most testing challenge as a military leader.

On the night of 31st July/1st August, 1918, the battalion relieved the 32nd Battalion Australian Infantry in the front-line South of Morlancourt, left sub sector of the Brigade Front. The 32nd Battalion Australian Infantry having advanced on the night of the 28/29th July, the front taken over was a very active one and consisted for the most part of a series of posts in front of the old German positions ... At 4:15am on the morning of the 6th August, whilst two companies of the 8th East Surrey Regiment, less a platoon, were still holding the front line south of the Bray-Corbie Road, in touch with the 2nd Bedfords on the right, the enemy put down a heavy barrage on the front line systems and attacked in force at 4:20am. The attack was repulsed and on 7th August a counter attack was launched.⁵⁷

It was for these actions at St Quintin that Baddeley won a bar to his Military Cross. The citation was printed in *The London Gazette* on 16 September 1918: 'For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty during an enemy attack. He commanded his company with great skill and determination. He reorganised and directed his men in a masterly manner, and displayed fine powers of command.'⁵⁸

Two weeks later Baddeley had to lead the battalion in a planned offensive against the enemy. At 10 p.m. on 21 August 'the companies moved forward and took up positions...for an attack on Albert at 4:45 am on 22/8/18. At 3:30 am the commanding officer [Baddeley] and one HQ officer went forward to supervise the

⁵⁷ Ibid., 8 Aug. 1918.

⁵⁸ TNA, L. F. Hern, for the Departmental Record Officer, to M. J. Baddeley, 21 Dec. 1995.

forming up. 4:43 am barrage on Albert opened. Companies moved on to “jumping-off” positions.’⁵⁹

During the month of August, the war diary records that 3 officers were killed and 3 wounded; 18 other ranks were killed and 118 wounded; and 71 men were declared missing. Significantly, Baddeley was in command of the 8th Battalion at the capture of Albert on 22 August, and later, at Bouzies on 23 October 1918. His Army record states that he ‘commanded the Battalion for an aggregate period of four months and proved himself to be a capable and energetic Battalion commander both in action and out of the line’.⁶⁰

He was mentioned in despatches for the third and final time on 8 November 1918. After the Armistice in December 1918 Baddeley was appointed lieutenant colonel while commanding the 8th battalion, and in March 1919 he was awarded the DSO as part of the King’s birthday honours list.⁶¹

Baddeley’s citations and medals must be seen within context. Of approximately 4 million British and Commonwealth men who served in the Army (of whom 81 per cent survived), only 1 in 40 received commissions. Towards the end of the war Military Crosses were awarded with increased frequency to serving officers, in some cases through a ballot, which included the names of all the battalion officers who had not already received the medal.⁶² Many padres received the MC, and therefore, in the years after the war, even among the ranks of the clergy, possession of a MC was by no means unique. The DSO was a more senior and prestigious medal: only 7 per cent of serving officers received the award. The DSO denoted the holder as a leader of

⁵⁹ TNA, WO, 95/2050, War Diary for the 8th Battalion East Surrey Regiment, 21/22 Aug. 1918.

⁶⁰ TNA, WO, 374/3013 and WO, 339/227.

⁶¹ The DSO is a higher award than the Military Cross, instituted in 1886. The awarded may be conferred on officers in any of the armed forces for distinguished service in war. To be nominated the officer must already have been mentioned in despatches.

both officers and men and symbolised success as a commander. It is hardly coincidental that novelists used the medal as a symbol to convey that a character had 'done well in the war'.⁶³ For example, Dorothy L. Sayers, whose work has always been popular amongst the Anglican intelligentsia, awarded the medal to her creation Lord Peter Wimsey. Likewise, Anthony Powell's character Sunny Farebrother held the DSO, as during World War II did Paul Scott's anti-hero, Ronald Merrick. Turning back to real life, few post-war clergy held the distinction, marking out such men as Eric Milner-White, Noel Hudson, Harold Evelyn Hubbard (Baddeley's predecessor at Whitby), William Kay and Baddeley as priests with proven ability to lead.

In the circumstances of a country committed to consensual total war, such an endorsement was likely to be widely accepted. It may be argued that, for Baddeley's post-war career, the medals and citations were as valuable as a first-class degree or a glowing testimonial from an influential bishop. He was perceived as a man to whom jobs demanding tough leadership could be given. This would be the case in succession at St John's, South Bank, Melanesia and the bishopric of Blackburn. Moreover, as Albert Marrin observes, in post-1918 Britain, a society strongly influenced by the cult of remembrance and veneration of wartime sacrifice, 'the war penetrated into the heart of Anglican religious life'.⁶⁴ It was consequently in the interests of the institutional church to make the most of Baddeley and men like him. In pre-war, peacetime circumstances it could take even the most gifted priests years of assiduous work in parishes, on diocesan committees, Convocation, etc., to establish a reputation for being potential leadership material, while even the most

⁶² Padre Paul Wright, R.A.C.D., Battle Field Tour, Ypres, May 2009.

⁶³ Anthony Powell, *A Question of Upbringing* (London, 1983), p. 76.

⁶⁴ Marrin, *Last Crusade*, p. 214.

hard-working and talented of clergy were often ‘passed over’ for preferment. The Church of England, after all, did not possess a staff college or a system of promotion through examination. The public-school system was the nearest thing the church had to the institutions possessed by the army and civil service. Here clergy of talent could prove themselves both as managers and administrators in a career path from house- to headmaster, which might then lead to a bishopric or deanery. At first glance, the Victorian Church had developed the beginnings of a rudimentary career structure. However, the revival and expansion of the role of rural deans and archdeacons (along with the increased number of diocesan bishoprics and suffragan bishoprics) had failed to establish a proper career progression.⁶⁵

But in the post-war world, not only was the clerical career opening up to merit, but the war itself gave opportunities to prove leadership qualities. For those, like Baddeley, who were fortunate to survive the war in good physical health, there was great potential to aspire eventually to a senior position in the developing clerical profession. In an occupational environment where the system of leadership selection was primitive and ad hoc, Baddeley’s medals and leadership record were valuable assets. The war defined not only how Baddeley was perceived by others but, more importantly, moulded his own perception of self. Although prior to the war he had gained a place at Oxford, this did not set him apart. His college, Keble, was not a senior institution and was consistent with his lower middle-class shopkeeping background. The mitigating circumstances of his studies being interrupted by war service in part accounts for his disappointing third class-degree. Nevertheless, the result does indicate his academic limitations. Baddeley’s school, Varndean Boys, had none of the chic of a leading public or well-known grammar school, and was

⁶⁵ See Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, chs. 3 and 4.

overshadowed by its more prestigious public-school neighbour, Brighton College. In the years to come such social distinctions were to become irrelevant. However, in the class-conscious climate of early twentieth-century England such academic and social attributes could have considerable influence upon career advancement. Baddeley may have begun the war as a somewhat scrawny second lieutenant in a pioneer battalion. But by 1919 he emerged as a highly decorated, acting lieutenant-colonel in a front-line battalion of one of the most respected and battle proven regiments of the war.

As Baddeley was just twenty when war was declared, his subsequent five years of army service affected him at a crucially formative period in his life. Baddeley went on to experience some measure of accelerated promotion within the post war church. In 1924 Archbishop Lang put him in charge of a large and demanding urban parish in Middlesbrough. At this time Baddeley had been ordained only three years and experienced just one curacy. As the parish was in the patronage of the archbishop, the appointment drew Baddeley into closer contact with the hierarchy and his work did not go unnoticed by his superiors. In common with Lang's former parish, St Mary's Portsea, St John's had the distinction of being a fairly recent high-church foundation situated in a socially deprived urban area, with a middling to good rather than poor income. It provided precisely the right environment in which Baddeley could confirm himself as a leader, administrator and trainer of curates. After eight years in Middlesbrough he was invited to become bishop of Melanesia. Significantly, at the time of his appointment the diocese of Melanesia was in crisis and a strong leader was required to sort out the struggling mission.

The war was also important for Baddeley's own understanding of his future career in another respect. He had survived when hundreds of thousands had perished. From a

Christian perspective this could be interpreted as divine providence having spared Baddeley for some important calling, 'a brand plucked from the burning'. Such a belief in providence characterised the theology of the generation of Christians that survived the war in possession of a religious faith. Michael Snape has noted how many pious soldiers hoped to be spared by God for a special purpose. From 1915 to 1918 'Tubby' Clayton through the Toc H organisation tapped into this strand of theology and introduced a pledge that read: 'If God decides to bring me through this war, I vow to take it as a hint from Him that I shall help and serve the Church in future throughout the life that He gives back to me.'⁶⁶ In many cases the experience of war did not make men abandon belief in God, but rather the opposite. In this respect as a former-soldier, who took holy orders soon after demobilization, Baddeley, was far from atypical.

⁶⁶ Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 29.

From Middlesbrough to Melanesia

In 1932 Baddeley left the parish of St John the Evangelist, South Bank, to become bishop of Melanesia. He remained there until 1947. In hindsight, the move seems an odd one. This chapter examines the circumstances that led to Baddeley being offered the bishopric, his reasons for accepting it and offers some account of his episcopate.

St John's was in the gift of the archbishop of York, and Baddeley was presented to the living in 1924 by Cosmo Gordon Lang.¹ An Anglo-catholic church established in 1894 and situated in a working-class district of a heavy industrial town, it was a large parish with a population of 17,659.² The economy of Middlesbrough was based upon the chemical industry, steel production, shipbuilding and glue manufacture. The economic depression was at its worst in 1932 and St John's was in an area where poverty and unemployment were acute. The work and conditions in Middlesbrough were hard for which Baddeley's financial remuneration was 383 guineas (£402) net *per annum*.³ Baddeley appears to have been happy in Middlesbrough and claimed on leaving never to have considered going overseas or indeed working in any other than an industrial parish.⁴ Financially, the Melanesian bishopric had its attractions, giving him an annual income of 600 guineas (£630).⁵ Although in terms of income and status the appointment was a considerable step up from the vicarage of St John's, as

¹ St John the Evangelist, South Bank, is not to be confused with St. John the Evangelist, Middlesbrough, a nearby parish of high-church tradition in the same deanery.

² *Crockford's* 1932, p. 47.

³ Ibid. However, the *York Diocesan Year Book 1932* lists the net income at the higher figure of £475 per annum. Ronald H. Preston, 'The Church of England', in Rupert Davies (ed.), *The Testing of the Churches 1932-82* (Epworth Press, 1982), pp. 67-8, quotes £400 per annum as the average income of a parish clergyman in 1939.

⁴ Lambeth Palace Library (hereafter LPL), Lang Papers (hereafter, LP), vol. 112, fo. 272, Baddeley to Lang 7 July 1932.

Melanesia was a 'missionary' diocese it was not as lucrative as many of the colonial bishoprics in the antipodes. For example, in 1932, the income of the bishop of Adelaide was 1,200 guineas, of Auckland 1,250, of Christchurch 1,400, and of Waiapu 1,000.

According to Michael Lawrence:

Baddeley was not the first choice for Bishop following the resignation of Frederick Molyneux. The nomination of Archdeacon N. C. Christopherson [by the Melanesian Mission] was vetoed by the New Zealand bishops and Charles Fox subsequently declined their offer. Fox had been in the Solomon Islands for thirty years and might have been expected to restore the fortunes of the Mission. His acute intelligence and deep understanding of all aspects of Melanesian life appeared to have fitted him for the post and the Mission could hardly have overlooked him. Baddeley, by contrast, had no recorded experience of the mission field.⁶

The New Zealand bishops' decision to veto Christopherson seems strange. He was archdeacon of Colombo in the Church of South India, Burma and Ceylon and undoubtedly a candidate of high calibre free from the kind of sexual scandal that forced the resignation of Molyneux. Educated at Uppingham and St John's College, Oxford, Christopherson had served with distinction as a chaplain to the forces during the First World War and like Baddeley had been awarded the M.C. What undoubtedly worked against him in 1932 was that he had only been in position as archdeacon and vicar of St Peter's Colombo since 1929. He suffered the consequences of being an unfamiliar candidate, proposed by an English-dominated mission at a time when the appointing New Zealand bishops wished to assert their authority over Melanesia. In

⁵ *Crockford's* 1933, pp. 1956-7.

rejecting Christopherson, and proposing Fox, it appears that the bishops were anxious to get a bishop who was sympathetic to the New Zealand church and would strengthen the relationship between Melanesia and New Zealand. Fox was certainly well qualified to do this.⁷

Baddeley was 38 when he was offered the bishopric. Fox was seventeen years older and perhaps considered himself too old for the position. Certainly, in comparison with the five previous bishops Fox would have been old. Molyneux was 40 when he was consecrated in 1925; John Steward 45 in 1919; Cecil Wood 38 in 1912; Cecil Wilson 34 in 1894 and J. R. Selwyn 33 in 1877. Fox appears to have seen his main contribution to the life of the Mission as that of a linguist and teacher. From 1911 to 1914 he was headmaster of the Mission's school of St Michael, Panua, and from 1924 onwards was principal of All Hallows School, Pawa. Although Fox was working within the Mission under Bishop Molyneux there is no reason to suggest that he was in any way implicated in the scandal that forced the resignation of his bishop.

Not only was Baddeley not the first choice of the New Zealand bishops or the mission; his name may not even have featured on their lists. By Lawrence's reckoning, Baddeley was simply a compromise candidate who got the bishopric by default. While Lawrence is right about this, it is not an adequate explanation. Although in theory full legal power over the appointment rested with these two bodies, in practice the deciding factor was always going to be the Melanesian Mission Society (MMS) in England. For this organization Baddeley was more than a compromise candidate: he was undoubtedly their first choice. Lawrence appears to miss this dynamic. It could be

⁶ Lawrence, 'Baddeley', p. 16.

⁷ Although Fox was born in Dorset he was taken to New Zealand when he was twelve. In 1900 he had graduated from the university of New Zealand with a first-class degree, and was later awarded a D.Litt. in 1922: *Southern Cross Log*, xlv, no. 6, (June 1939), p. 82. Christopherson was later destined to hold high office as dean of Peterborough, 1943-65.

argued that the situation was so strained that deadlock between the Mission staff and the New Zealand bishops was inevitable. Therefore, the rejection of Christopherson by the New Zealand bishops, and Fox's refusal, were merely preliminaries to the inevitable action of the archbishop of Canterbury stepping in to resolve the dispute, which would result in the despatch of a new bishop from England.

By 1932 Cosmo Gordon Lang was archbishop of Canterbury, having been translated from York in 1928. At the time of Baddeley's appointment, the *de facto* influence of the archbishop of Canterbury was greater than the *de jure* situation merited because Archbishop Lang also happened to be president of the English branch of the M.M.S. Lang was instrumental in the appointment, as Baddeley, some years later, recounted to Geoffrey Fisher:

Early in 1932, Archbishop Lang asked to see me in London. He told me that it seemed there had been disastrous happenings in the South Pacific Islands—in the Diocese of Melanesia. At first, he [Lang] had thought it was the complete breakdown of the then Bishop [Frederick Molyneux] but he now understood that the Bishop had been indulging in improper practices with young men and lads. He [Lang] had been asked to send out a new Bishop who would 'rally the Mission' — he put it that way — and get things on an even keel. Would I go? I went out some months later.⁸

There was, however, a longer back-story to Baddeley's appointment.

After Baddeley was released from the Army at the end of August 1919, he returned to Keble to complete his degree. Having graduated, he entered Cuddesdon to prepare for ordination in 1920. Many years later, in 1955, Baddeley described something of the formative influence Cuddesdon had upon his life:

⁸ LPL, FP, 178, fo.146, Baddeley to Fisher, 13 Feb. 1956.

To many of the clergy of the Church of England during the past one hundred years Cuddesdon has meant that happy and lovely ‘retreat’ where for a year at least (maybe two) they made their final preparation for Ordination. What it has been to others it is not for me here to attempt to say. I only know that I came to Cuddesdon early in 1920 after the turmoil of rather more than four years of war and I owe it a greater debt than I can ever hope to repay: Here in the beauty of the countryside, in the quiet of the college chapel and the lovely village church: Here for a time one walked very close to Our Lord, and in that companionship drew nearer to God, being given a more intimate realisation than ever before of His purpose and His power and one’s own inadequacy for the work to which He is calling one. It is true that there was also some ‘champing at the bit’ — an over anxiousness ‘to get on to the job’ the same kind of anxiety which many of us suffered in the winter months of 1914-15 when in training camps in England, we feared the War would be over before we got to France!⁹

At Cuddesdon Baddeley encountered the same Frederick M. Molyneux whom he would succeed in Melanesia. Before the outbreak of the First World War, Molyneux had served as chaplain at Cuddesdon; he then served as a chaplain to the forces until his release from service in Mesopotamia to rejoin the staff at Cuddesdon in 1920.¹⁰ Molyneux left Cuddesdon for Melanesia in 1925; evidence that a connection had been established is apparent in the fact that in 1931, while still vicar of St John’s, Baddeley received an invitation from Molyneux asking him to become assistant bishop of Northern Melanesia on the resignation of Edward Nowill Wilton. For whatever reason, it was an offer Baddeley declined; claiming that prior to this he had never

⁹ BLO, *The Crosier* (Blackburn Diocesan Leaflet), vol. 6, no. 65, (May 1955).

considered missionary work.¹¹ In declining Molyneux's offer, Baddeley appears to have successfully opened the door for a former colleague, John Dickinson, also an 'old boy' of Cuddesdon, whose time there coincided with Molyneux's. Dickinson had served as a curate at St. John's, Middlesbrough, 1925-9, in the same deanery as St John's South Bank, before becoming S.P.G. Missioner in the diocese of Southern Tokyo, 1925-31.

Possibly, the offer of an assistant bishopric did not appeal to Baddeley, whereas the later invitation to be a diocesan did. What seems more probable is that Molyneux's unsuccessful invitation in 1931 helped galvanise in Baddeley's mind a calling to missionary work. A letter Baddeley wrote to Lang in 1932 gives some hints as to his religious motivation first in declining Molyneux's offer and then accepting the post of diocesan just over a year later:

There is no doubt in my own mind but that I ought to go. When Bishop Molyneux asked me to be his assistant some twenty months ago I was genuinely perturbed by the answer to give. I had never thought of the possibility of work other than in parishes such as this where I have been very, very happy — and I am very grateful to you for having sent me here. Certainly, I had never contemplated work overseas in a 'missionary' diocese. The archbishop of York told me at the time, when I said 'No', that I must dismiss the matter from my mind. If God meant me to go another opening would come later. When I saw Bishop Molyneux had resigned, it came to me clearly that this was the opening, and I have increasingly felt that sooner or later I should be asked to consider going.¹²

¹⁰ *Cuddesdon College, 1854-1929: A Record and Memorial* (Oxford, 1930), p. 117.

¹¹ LPL, LP, 112, fos. 272-73, Baddeley to Lang, 7 July 1932.

¹² *Ibid.*

It is difficult to say what exactly motivated Baddeley to accept the bishopric. Unquestionably, both during the war and at St John's he had witnessed considerable human suffering and hardship. After such experiences it is possible that by 1932, he welcomed the opportunity of a new life in the South Pacific. Secondly, his personal theology was strongly influenced by a belief in divine providence. He was sincerely deferential to episcopal authority and in this sense regarded his spiritual superiors as mediators through which the divine will for his vocation was revealed. Molyneux clearly did not have this sort of episcopal sway over Baddeley, but Lang did.

Factors other than the theological and humanitarian may also have influenced Baddeley's decision. Before the Second World War accepting a missionary bishopric was a career path that got many men into the episcopate far sooner than had they remained in the domestic church. It would be a mistake to underestimate the level of contact the parish clergy of 1930s Middlesbrough had with the colonial churches. For instance, others similarly placed to Baddeley had equivalent experiences.

Comparing the career trajectory of Baddeley to that of a close contemporary, Noel Hudson, demonstrates how in the 1930s accepting a missionary bishopric brought with it good prospects of future promotion. Hudson was also a distinguished veteran of the Great War. He too had served as an infantry officer on the Western Front, attaining the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and had been awarded the M.C. and Bar and D.S.O. Both men were ordained after the war in the diocese of Ripon and served first curacy appointments in the same town, Leeds, at approximately the same time. While Baddeley was vicar of St John's, Hudson was vicar of St. John's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1926-31). On 28 October 1932, Hudson was consecrated as missionary bishop of Labuan and Sarawak, Borneo. After six years Hudson returned in 1938, briefly to become secretary of the S.P.G., and an assistant bishop in the diocese of St Albans

before being appointed bishop of Newcastle in 1941.¹³ Another north-eastern contemporary of Baddeley's who went down a similar route was Philip Strong. In 1936, after five years as vicar of St Ignatius, Sunderland, Strong was appointed bishop of New Guinea.¹⁴

The clerical *milieu* inhabited by men such as Baddeley, Hudson and Strong was in one respect culturally different from that of the Church of England that emerged after 1945. The English ecclesiastical world of the 1920s and 30s was still an integral part of a wider imperial society, which was deeply colonially minded. British society's concern with empire was reflected in the life of the churches by a heavy interest in, and involvement with, overseas missionary activity. Church life was no exception to the wider culture of popular imperialism. Susan Thorne (1999) has argued that during the nineteenth century overseas mission was more successful in securing support for imperialism at home in Britain than in foreign mission fields. Thorne states that mission societies were 'one among the myriad sites at which ordinary Britons encountered the colonies' and the 'imaginative relationship to the empire encouraged by the missions contributed ... to some of the central developments of British social history in this period'.¹⁵ This observation is also highly relevant to northern England in the 1920s and 30s. For example, extracts from the *York Diocesan Leaflet* during the 1930s give a flavour of how English church life was heavily influenced by concerns of Empire. Even a self-confessed socialist like William Temple, an unlikely advocate of Empire, appears to have been caught up in the imperial enterprise. Evidence of this is found in his *Archbishop's Letter* for May 1933:

¹³ *Who Was Who 1960-1970*.

¹⁴ Strong eventually became bishop of Brisbane and archbishop of the Province of Queensland.

¹⁵ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth Century England* (Stanford, 1999), p. 10.

A custom has been spreading in many districts of preaching on the responsibilities of Empire on the Sunday before Empire Day [22 May] ...

We should be glad of every occasion which leads us to ask again to what purpose God has given our race this great influence in the history of the world, so that we may dedicate that influence to His service.¹⁶

Parishes raising money for the work of overseas missionary societies was an obvious way for English congregations to participate in the work of Empire. Another was providing clergy to staff the Anglican Church in distant corners parts of the Empire. Men like Baddeley and Hudson were not unlike many lay contemporaries seeking overseas advancement.

A substantial part of Baddeley's prospective diocese, the archdeaconry of Northern Melanesia, consisted of the mandated territory of New Guinea, a former German colony. A letter written by A. E. Corner, general secretary of the Melanesian Mission Society, to Archbishop Lang's chaplain, Alexander Sargent, shows how some missionary societies clearly identified their work with the cause of British colonial expansion:

Have you noticed in today's [17 Mar. 1934] *Times* a leading article on 'Australian New Guinea'? This deals mainly with the Mandated Territory, which is in the diocese of Melanesia. In the opinion of those who know, this country is going to play a very important part in the future. At present a great part of it is unknown to the white man. You will see what General Griffiths, the Administrator of New Guinea, says to the Bishop about it. He is very anxious that the English Church should take up the work there. Can the Church at home stand an appeal such as this? I think it can, and other

¹⁶ *Archbishop's Letter, York Diocesan Leaflet*, no. 59 (May 1933), p. 1.

missionary work would not suffer. If we don't do it no doubt either the Roman Catholics or the Lutherans will — and they are both staffed by Germans, and it is very undesirable that they should get control.¹⁷

We have seen that 1931-2 appears to mark a conversion for Baddeley. It divides his life between times when he claimed not to have considered missionary work, from the remainder of his life throughout which he showed deep concern for Melanesia. Even during his tenure at Blackburn Melanesia remained his driving passion. His monthly letters in the Blackburn Diocesan Leaflet promoted the work of the Mission with at least equal enthusiasm as initiatives taking place in his own diocese. However, links to Melanesia can be established from much earlier periods of his career.

Prior to 1931 Baddeley was in places where the work of the M.M.S. was firmly on the agenda. Even so, he does not appear to have had much direct contact with the society himself. However, individuals with whom Baddeley was in contact were involved. For example, the Mission's Annual Reports show that it had an agent in Middlesbrough at this time: the vicar of St Peter's Middlesbrough, L. H. B. Staveley. The atmosphere Baddeley experienced at Cuddesdon, and the ecclesiastical-colonial network he encountered there, would have familiarised him with the Anglican Church overseas.

The environment of Cuddesdon at that time was highly charged with enthusiasm for missionary work. Many ex-missionaries were involved with the life of the college and this forged links between the ordinands and the various missionary organisations, particularly those societies with a high-church bias. The College had a strong tradition of producing clergymen for overseas work. In 1860 the college's missionary studentship fund had been founded, with the purpose of binding 'together the old

¹⁷ LPL, LP, vol. 128, fo. 126, Corner to Sargent, 17 March 1934.

members of the college ... By promoting the training of young men as missionaries for our colonial and other foreign diocese', and 'To excite and keep among its members an interest in mission work.'¹⁸ The principal of Cuddesdon College during Baddeley's time there was James B. Seaton, future bishop of Wakefield, 1928-38, who prior to his installation at Cuddesdon in February 1914 had been archdeacon and rector of St Mary, Johannesburg.¹⁹ In 1920, another former student of Cuddesdon, archbishop of York Cosmo Gordon Lang, stayed at Cuddesdon during part of Holy Week. He would do so repeatedly until his translation to Canterbury in 1928.²⁰ After his move to Canterbury, Lang succeeded Randall Davidson as president of the English Melanesian Mission Society. Lang appears to have been quite taken by the Mission and was more directly involved than Davidson.

On leaving Cuddesdon, Baddeley served as a curate at the parish of St Bartholomew, Armley in Leeds. The Leeds Association for the Melanesian Mission was based at Armley, and the *Melanesian Mission Report* for 1922, records the Leeds branch contributing £13 20s., which by the standards of the time, and in comparison, with other branches, was a substantial commitment. St Bartholomew's also had a link arrangement with the mission station at Ra, Motalava, in the Solomon Islands. If Cuddesdon had made Baddeley more familiar with the work of overseas missions, the experience of his curacy in Armley reinforced this. Indeed, Baddeley's training vicar was Henry Woollcombe, a former chaplain to Archbishop Lang. From 1909 to 1911, Woollcombe had been the travelling secretary for the Church of England Men's Society for Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India. In this capacity, Woollcombe built close links with the Anglican Church overseas. As a representative

¹⁸ *Cuddesdon College*, p. 152.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

of the Men's Society he toured the empire promoting the Society, writing a travel-log recounting his experiences entitled *Beneath the Southern Cross*.²¹ The book reveals a personality not lacking in self-confidence, and paints a positive, romantic, picture of the colonial church. In the long term, he envisaged an ideal whereby the colonial churches would produce their own indigenous clergy. However, for Woollcombe, writing in 1913, the ideal was still far distant. In the meantime, he exhorted the English clergy, 'it is the spirit of missionary enthusiasm more than anything else we need to catch. Without this there will never be enough driving force in the Anglican Communion to enable it to travel far enough and work hard enough to take the great share which God has given it in converting the world.'²² Woollcombe was adamant that the Church of England had not lived up to her imperial responsibilities with regard to producing sufficient numbers of clergy prepared to work in the colonial churches. The book attempted to address this question:

We must be training candidates for ordination to be 'ready to go'. Each individual priest or deacon must realise that though according to the custom of the Church he is ordained to work in a particular diocese, he is in fact an ordained minister of the whole Anglican Church, and that as such he may at any time be called to work in any part of the Church's field...we should be endeavouring to train a body of men who for the first ten years of their ministry will strive to keep the way open to the possibility of any kind of work by keeping themselves free from such ties

²¹ Henry St. John Stirling Woollcombe, *Beneath the Southern Cross: Impressions Gained on a Tour Through Australasia and South Africa on Behalf of the Church of England Men's Society* (London, 1913).

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 156-7.

as marriage or such ideas as that England is their only possible sphere of labour.²³

Adopting the metaphor of ‘a mother and her children’, the book repeatedly stressed the importance of encouraging the right sort of clergy to go out from the ‘mother’ country to serve in the developing, ‘offspring’, churches of the Empire: ‘We clergy are none of us perfect, and there is little doubt that in the early days we were guilty of shooting clerical as well as lay rubbish into the Colonies; and though there is much that needs doing in the way of training the clergy abroad, an ordinary stay-at-home parson must be filled with admiration for the heroic life which many of them lead.’²⁴ Baddeley, as Woollcombe’s curate, could hardly have escaped this book, particularly as it was intended ‘to be of use to young clergymen at home who would like to know something of the life of the Church that they may one day be called to help’.²⁵ Woollcombe’s own career and the influence he was to have on Baddeley give some illustration of the extent to which an apparently parish-based Church of England career could involve missionary contexts.

With these personal connections it is perhaps less than surprising that Baddeley was approached about succeeding Molyneux in Melanesia. Baddeley’s candidacy was greatly assisted by contacts such as Woollcombe and the Church of England Men’s Society, Lang, and especially Arthur Edward Corner, general secretary of the English M.M.S., who did much lobbying on his behalf. Corner would have seen Baddeley’s potential when Molyneux offered Baddeley the assistant bishopric in 1931, which he refused. Corner knew well the workings of the M.M.S., in which he was an influential figure and in his role as Secretary exerted power beyond that of a passive member of

²³ Ibid., pp. 104-5.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 49.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 45.

the secretariat. By 1932 he had seen all three of Baddeley's predecessors appointed, not least in 1919 when the diocesan clergy of the Mission had passed a vote of no confidence in Bishop Cecil Wood which forced Wood's resignation and made way for the appointment of Michael Wilson. Corner's support was crucial for any candidate successfully to secure the bishopric. Corner's correspondence with Lambeth Palace shows him to have been an enthusiastic and assertive man. Baddeley was later to comment of Corner, 'he lived for Melanesia though he had never been there'.²⁶

As general secretary of the M.M.S., Corner worked out of Church House, so he was conveniently placed to network on behalf of the Melanesian Mission. It was Corner who, in April 1932, lobbied Lang into writing a private letter to the archbishop of New Zealand commending Baddeley for Melanesia:

All members of our committee are exceedingly anxious that W.H. Baddeley should be the next Bishop of Melanesia ... Baddeley is willing to go if elected ... We are afraid that if the Mission Staff does not nominate someone to the Bishops of New Zealand the Bishops will appoint someone from New Zealand — and that nobody wants ... So, a few days ago I cabled as follows to the Staff: Failing agreement nomination member of staff as Bishop submit name Walter Baddeley. He consents.

Corner then went on to request either Lang, or Corner in Lang's name, to send a cable to the mission staff commending Baddeley.²⁷

Here Corner was clearly over-reaching himself, because the following day Alexander Sargent, the archbishop's chaplain, replied on Lang's behalf stating it would not be 'right to intervene in this way in the affairs of another province ... However, the Archbishop will write a private letter to the archbishop of New Zealand commending

²⁶ LPL, FP, vol. 178, fo. 142, Baddeley to Fisher, 13 Jan. 1956.

Baddeley before the New Zealand Synod Meeting.’²⁸ Accordingly, Lang wrote the following commending Baddeley to the Archbishop of New Zealand:

He has done the most remarkable work especially among men in a great industrial district in North Yorkshire. He is a man not only of great force of character and administrative ability but of a very real spiritual enthusiasm, devout and single minded ... The very man to restore confidence and pull things together in Melanesia.²⁹

When Lang sought to convince the archbishop of New Zealand that Baddeley was a good prospect for Melanesia certain significant ‘selling points’ were emphasised. Interestingly, Lang refers to Baddeley success among working-class men. Baddeley was to be continuously characterised in this way as ‘a man’s man’. Also, Lang certainly exaggerated Baddeley’s war record. Whether it was intentional or simply down to absent-mindedness it is difficult to deduce. Lang informed the archbishop of New Zealand that Baddeley entered the war a private and emerged as a colonel (rather than entered as a second lieutenant and finishing as an acting lieutenant colonel, leaving with the substantive rank of major).

In addition to Lang and the indefatigable Corner, Baddeley had other allies. It is possible that the assistant bishop of Melanesia, John Dickinson, had some say in nominating his former colleague. The minute book of the English Melanesian Mission Society records under the subject of Molyneux’s illness and resignation:

letters from Bishop Dickinson, and the Reverend S. G. Caulton, Warden of Selwyn College, with reference to the appointment of a successor to Bishop Molyneux. Mr Caulton suggested seeking a priest in England

²⁷ LPL, LP, vol. 112, fo. 265, A. E. Corner to Lang, 28 April 1932.

²⁸ LPL, LP, vol. 112, fo. 266, A. Sargent to A. E. Corner, 29 April 1932.

²⁹ LPL, LP, vol. 112, fos. 268-9, Lang to the Archbishop of New Zealand, 3 May 1932.

who would be willing to stand for nomination by the Mission Synod, and whose name could be submitted to the New Zealand bishops. The committee discussed the matter and expressed the opinion that either a member of the present Mission Staff should be nominated, or, if a bishop was desired from England, then, the Staff should ask the bishops of New Zealand to delegate the appointment to the archbishop of Canterbury.

Carried unanimously.³⁰

Baddeley's associations with Bishop Molyneux did not diminish his chances. The selectors were clearly not prejudiced against accepting another Keble graduate, or a Cuddesdon-trained, high-church bachelor. Moreover, perhaps 'mission field experience' was not the first priority required in finding a successor to Molyneux.

In the imperial 1930s, as Kevin Ward observed, there was a perception that 'a church under missionary supervision needed the tutelage of a British bishop'.³¹ Baddeley represents a classic example of an English clergyman, with no overseas experience, being chosen to be a bishop abroad.

In 1931, the archbishop of Canterbury and the archbishop of York both knew Baddeley personally. In a letter of 3 May 1932 Archbishop Temple inquired of Lang what was happening with regard to Baddeley's prospects for Melanesia. Temple wrote that 'if Baddeley is not going overseas, I would like him to go to Sculcoates. He has had a very heavy job and while Sculcoates is not much lighter in work it is much easier financially.'³² When the Melanesian appointment was eventually finalised, Temple, in his monthly *Archbishop's Letter* to the diocese of York, graciously commented of Baddeley's move:

³⁰ SOAS, Minutes of the General Committee of the English Melanesian Mission Society, held at the Mission Office, Westminster, 27 Jan. 1932.

³¹ Kevin Ward, *A History of Global Anglicanism* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 290-1.

It is with great sorrow for the diocese but with no less joy in the wider interests of the church that we bid farewell to the Rev. W. H. Baddeley, D.S.O., who has left South Bank, after eight years of energetic and most effective work as vicar, to take charge of the distant See of Melanesia. It is not only in his parish that he will be missed. He has taken a leading part in many diocesan activities, and he has represented his brother clergy in Convocation in the Church Assembly.³³ His vigour will have ample scope in his widely scattered island diocese. He will know that our prayers follow him.³⁴

Even so, despite the high level of esteem both Temple and Lang had for Baddeley, he was not considered for an English bishopric, archdeaconry or even canonry. Having been ordained for only twelve years it is probable that at this stage in his career Baddeley was regarded as too junior to succeed to high office in the Church of England. Baddeley's acceptance of the vacant Melanesian bishopric was thus a good long-term career move.

An effusive description of the bishop designate was printed in the *Church Gazette*, New Zealand, and reproduced in the *Southern Cross Log*:

Of the new Bishop himself, let the following extract speak, from the October issue of *All in One*, the organ of the Church of England Men's Society, of which Bishop Baddeley has been one of the leaders in the North. 'There are men who make one want to be a good Christian, and the Bishop of Melanesia is certainly one of them. He can lead one right into the very sanctuary of God in his heart-to-heart talks, and he can show the wonderful

³² LPL, LP, 112, fo. 270, Temple to Lang, 1 May 1932.

³³ In 1929, Baddeley was elected as one of the proctors in Convocation for the archdeaconry of Cleveland.

³⁴ William Temple, 'The Archbishop's Letter', *York Diocesan Leaflet*, no. 52 (Nov. 1932), p. 1.

joy which healthy and true Christianity brings into life. He is full of humour and fun, as every Christian should be.³⁵

One request that was greeted with anything but full 'humour' and 'wonderful joy' by the New Zealand bishops was Baddeley's desire to be consecrated bishop not, as protocol dictated, in Auckland cathedral (the six previous bishops had all been consecrated in New Zealand), but instead in London by the archbishop of Canterbury. This may simply have been motivated by a desire to have his family, friends and former parishioners present at the service. However, it may also indicate that his long-term ambitions were fixed on England and not the Pacific.³⁶

As early as 1931, Baddeley had shown shrewdness in managing his public image. He was aware that his war record gave him a prominence in the post-war church that his background and education alone would not have warranted. In *The York Diocesan Year Book*, 1931, over 500 hundred clergy are listed along with their qualifications. Baddeley's is the only entry that contains a D.S.O. This is not to say that other clergy serving in the York diocese at this time did not have the medal. Harold Evelyn Hubbard, vicar of St John's, Middlesbrough, a contemporary of Baddeley's in the same deanery, held both the M.C. and the D.S.O., but did not include the decorations in his Year Book entry. Possibly, Hubbard's diffidence was on account of him receiving the decorations while serving as a chaplain, whereas Baddeley, who served an infantry officer, felt no such reticence about his war record. Baddeley's letter to Lang of July 1932 gives a few hints about the writer's temperament and personality. The printed heading made no reference to his Oxford M.A., or even his M.C. and Bar; however, the letters D.S.O. were conspicuously present after his name. In itself this does not amount to much, but placed in the wider context of other examples, such as

³⁵ *Southern Cross Log*, vol. 39 (March 1933), p. 39.

his later episcopal letters to the financial supporters of the Melanesian Mission, it is illustrative of his technique of employing particular shared cultural elements of the war to win over audiences.

Melanesia appeared to give Baddeley the opportunity of strengthening his links with Lang and the English episcopal hierarchy. Entry into the episcopate would qualify Baddeley to be invited to future Lambeth conferences. Moreover, consecration by Lang and the English bishops in London would instantly propel Baddeley into contact with the world of the Church of England's hierarchy. Such personal contacts could later prove useful as and when he wished to return home from the Pacific. It is possible that such considerations weighed in Baddeley's request to be consecrated in London. This also suggests that Baddeley was not fully conversant with the constitutional situation whereby power over the Melanesian church rested in New Zealand and not Canterbury. Although both Lang and the archbishop of New Zealand countenanced the request, the other New Zealand bishops were having none of it and Baddeley was consecrated in Auckland.³⁷

Baddeley's ambition was to show itself again in 1935, when he unsuccessfully attempted to get an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. In November 1935 Corner mentioned to Sargent, the archbishop's chaplain, that Baddeley had recently written and asked if 'there was any chance of getting the DD degree at Oxford.' Corner described how he had already:

spoken to Brewis, the Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall (a great friend of Baddeley's) ... He spoke to Dr Kidd, the warden of Keble. Kidd said as head of Baddeley's college he would have to negotiate with the Council but as definite evidence of literary distinction has to be given, he would not be able to

³⁶ LPL, LP, vol. 112, fos. 272-3, Baddeley to Lang, 7 July 1932.

get it through. This would equally apply now were he [Baddeley] an English diocesan bishop, and has in fact occurred, i.e. a petition being rejected. He [Kidd] recommended a request be made to the archbishop of Canterbury for a Lambeth DD. If this was — as he feels sure it would be — granted Baddeley would wear the Oxford DD robes as the Archbishop was an Oxford man.

Corner ended his letter by pointing out that ‘Baddeley wanted to sound out Oxford on the matter not the archbishop’.³⁸ In his reply Sargent explained:

Since the universities of Oxford and Cambridge gave up what used to be the practice of conferring the DD on all bishops *jure dignitatis* there have been a very great many applications for Lambeth DD’s ... The Archbishop is very anxious not to abuse his privilege by conferring these degrees broadcast.

Sargent concluded that there was no rigid rule about conferring the degrees but it was general practice to grant the awards to English diocesan and overseas metropolitans. He explained that while there were one or two exceptions to this rule, and despite Lang’s high regard for Baddeley, the prospects of the award being made were not good.³⁹ Corner accepted the advice and let the matter drop.

The business shows Baddeley to be a man who was not shy to acquire the privileges of office. By the standards of the time, the application did not amount to a huge breach of episcopal etiquette. In fact, Noel Hudson made a similarly unsuccessful application in 1931.⁴⁰ The correspondence does, however, reveal certain aspects of Baddeley’s personality. He realised the importance of not making direct petitions for oneself, but instead got others, such as Corner, to do the bidding. Here, as elsewhere, Corner

³⁷ LPL, LP, vol. 112, fo. 281, telegram from Archbishop of New Zealand to Lang.

³⁸ LPL, LP, vol. 131, fo. 212, Corner to Sargent, 8 Nov. 1935.

³⁹ LPL, LP, vol. 131, fo. 213, Sargent to Corner, 9 Nov. 1935.

proved himself a determined advocate for Baddeley's interests. In an earlier period, the application might have proved successful. The assumption that the archbishop of Canterbury could make the awards exempt from public criticism belonged to a time when the Church of England felt confident in exercising its privileges as the Established Church. However, there were signs in the 1920s that the practice was already living on borrowed time. The second half of the nineteenth century had seen a steady increase in the number of Anglican bishops both at home and overseas. The Church was confidently expanding. Yet all of these changes were occurring at a time that witnessed the 'deconfessionalisation' if not secularisation, of the older universities.

In 1923 both Oxford and Cambridge stopped conferring DD degrees by right of office on all bishops except their own respective diocesans (i.e. Oxford and Ely) and the two archbishops. Owen Chadwick describes how:

Archbishop Davidson stepped into the breach with Lambeth DD degrees for all new bishops. This custom continued to the end of Archbishop Fisher's time and Fisher thought it a good one...Ramsey with his academic background thought it was a cheapening of the DD degree if the archbishop awarded more of such degrees than both the ancient universities put together... As soon as Ramsey became archbishop, he stopped the custom; not without a little grief, especially with the primates of provinces overseas, where the degrees were very much valued.⁴¹

Lang's policy reflected sensitivity to changing academic values at Oxford and Cambridge. Not until his appointment to Blackburn in 1954 did Baddeley receive a Lambeth D.D.

⁴⁰ LPL, LP, vol. 106, ff. 385-6.

I

Melanesia: Missionary not Colonial

The Melanesian Mission was founded in 1849 to promote Christianity amongst the non-Christian indigenous people of the Solomon Islands. For the first twelve years of its existence, the Mission worked under the episcopal jurisdiction of the celebrated missionary George Augustus Selwyn (bishop of New Zealand, 1841-67, bishop of Lichfield, 1868-78).⁴² Selwyn was strongly influenced by the high-church tradition and this had considerable bearing on the theology and liturgy of what later became the Anglican diocese of Melanesia.

In 1861 Selwyn consecrated the first bishop, J. C. Patterson, who, in 1877, was succeeded by J. R. Selwyn (son of G. A.), bishop 1877-94.⁴³ Therefore, from the beginning a high-church tradition was established. This remained the 'house style' of the diocese up to, during and after, the episcopate of Baddeley, who in 1932 succeeded Molyneux to become the seventh 'missionary' bishop.

Even during Baddeley's time, the prefix 'missionary' (e.g. 'missionary bishop', 'missionary diocese') was used with reference to both the diocese of Melanesia and the bishop himself. Unlike the S.P.G. and the C.M.S., which each supported a number of dioceses in different geographic locations; the work of the Melanesian Mission Society was exclusively concerned with the area corresponding to the single diocese of Melanesia (i.e. the Solomon Islands, Banks Islands and New Hebrides Islands, and, after 1919, the 'mandated' Territory of New Guinea). The Society paid the bishop's stipend: without the support of the M.M.S. the diocese would have become bankrupt.

⁴¹ Owen Chadwick, *Michael Ramsey: A Life* (Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 405.

⁴² *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 1257.

⁴³ *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, 1967-68, Overseas Section, pp. 1997-2003.

From 1861 until well after Baddeley's departure from Melanesia in 1947 the terms 'mission' and 'diocese' were practically synonymous.

William Jacob makes a useful distinction between those dioceses that were established to evangelise the non Christian indigenous populations and which may therefore be called 'missionary', and those which 'largely existed to meet the spiritual needs of English settlers overseas'.⁴⁴ He shows that up to 1867 'most Anglican overseas dioceses had been established in areas of British emigration' and 'there were only eight dioceses which could be regarded in any way as "missionary dioceses"': Victoria (Hong Kong) established in 1848, Sierra Leone in 1852, Mauritius in 1854, Labuan and Sarawak in 1855, the Zambezi in 1861, Honolulu in 1861, Melanesia in 1861 and the Niger in 1864. Prior to the 1860s some attention had been given to missionary work among the indigenous inhabitants of New Zealand, but, as Jacob stresses, this had been supported essentially by missionary societies and 'was not a major priority in the establishment of dioceses'.⁴⁵

While the title 'missionary' implied that the principal work of the diocese was to the indigenous people, rather than communities of expatriate Europeans, it also had other ecclesiological and political implications. For instance, the terms 'missionary bishop' and 'missionary diocese' were particularly associated with the high-church party. During the nineteenth century the two principal forces that funded and organised Anglican missionary activity overseas were the Church Missionary Society (founded 1799), which was evangelical-protestant in its sympathies, and its high-church counterpart, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (founded 1701). Kevin Ward notes that 'The C.M.S. was anxious, in a way the S.P.G. was not, to emphasise

⁴⁴ W. A. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church Worldwide* (London, 1997), p. 194.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

the autonomy of missionaries from episcopal direction.’⁴⁶ Conversely, those missionary societies with high-church sympathies regarded the office of bishop as central to any missionary activity. For the more high-church societies it was the presence of a bishop that gave definition to the church as an ecclesial unit. Contained within this strand of catholic theology is the belief that episcopacy is a divinely inspired institution essential to the correct ordering of Christ’s church on earth. In effect, if a church lacked bishops it was not a church. In this sense, the office of the bishop was as (if not more) important an institutional expression of the being of ‘church’ as the clergy, congregations and buildings contained within his episcopal jurisdiction. The catholic tendency to conceptualise the institutional expression of the church in these terms adopts a particularly ‘top down’ ecclesiology and contrasts with the more protestant ‘bottom up’ understanding, which defines the church as a congregation of faithful believers.

In addition to the C.M.S., and the S.P.G., other smaller societies existed. The South American Missionary Society represented the evangelical tradition, while the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa and the Cambridge and Oxford Missions to India both had high-church sympathies. The M.M.S. was one of these smaller societies and definitely Anglo- catholic in its orientation.

In context of the relationship between Anglicanism and Britain’s political influence overseas, a colonial bishop was one whose diocese fell within the official territory of the British Empire. Such territories, for example India, New Zealand, Australia and Canada, were constitutionally annexed to the monarchy of the United Kingdom. However, a ‘missionary’ bishop was responsible for a diocese where Britain had influence and interests, but fell outside what was officially defined as British territory.

⁴⁶ Kevin Ward, *A History of Global Anglicanism* (Cambridge 2006), p. 35.

Not until a treaty of 1886 between Britain and Germany was it determined the 'northern half of eastern New Guinea and the northern units of the Solomon Islands were to be German and the southern half of New Guinea and the southern Solomon Islands were to be British'. However, the northern Solomon Islands were transferred to Britain in 1900 and together with the Southern Solomon Islands formed the British Solomon Islands Protectorate under the United Kingdom.⁴⁷ A protectorate had a more ambiguous relationship with Britain than a crown colony. The term 'protectorate' was generally applied to weak undeveloped territories where the British made treaties with the local rulers, often promising protection in return for being given the right to govern the people, either directly or through the local rulers.⁴⁸ Therefore, while the dioceses of New Zealand were clearly defined as falling within the British Empire, the 'missionary' dioceses of Melanesia and Polynesia were not British territory in the same sense, hence the classification 'missionary' and were treated as a case apart from the other New Zealand dioceses of Auckland, Christchurch, Nelson, Waiapu, Wellington and Dunedin.⁴⁹

The English branch of the M.M.S. was the principal paymaster of the diocese when Baddeley was appointed, and for many years afterwards this remained the case. This was an economic reality to which Archbishop Fisher felt it necessary to draw the attention of the archbishop of New Zealand when, in 1947, the New Zealand bishops were pressing for a New Zealander to succeed Baddeley: 'Australia gives about £3000; New Zealand, £8,000, and England £13,000 ... and the English society say

⁴⁷ Kenneth Bradley, *The Living Commonwealth* (London, 1961), p. 71.

⁴⁸ This definition of 'protectorate' is derived from *ibid*, pp. 363-4, which explains: 'In some cases, the British, having annexed a seaport and its neighbours, later made treaties of protection with peoples living further inland'.

⁴⁹ Importantly, the paymasters of the 'missionary' dioceses were English missionary societies. In the case of Melanesia it was the MMS. With Polynesia it was the USPG. Therefore, these 'missionary' dioceses were dependent upon missionary societies in a way that many of the more established 'colonial' dioceses were not.

they cannot expect to maintain this contribution unless the bishop is well known in England.’⁵⁰

The diocese of Melanesia’s relationship with the archbishop of New Zealand at times proved contentious.⁵¹ Both the English and Australian missionary societies had great interest in the affairs of the Melanesian Church and periodically this caused tension with the New Zealand bishops. In 1919 the English M.M.S. passed a resolution proposing a sub-division of the existing diocese. Under the scheme a diocese of Southern Melanesia, constituting those islands situated closest to New Zealand (i.e. the New Hebrides Islands, the Norfolk Islands, and the Santa Cruz group) would remain part of the province of New Zealand. However, the rest of the diocese would be separated, with a view to the new diocese being associated with Australia as part of the province of Queensland. Despite enthusiasm for the scheme in London, the New Zealand bishops were opposed.⁵² Inevitably, the New Zealand bishops remained sensitive to questions that challenged their relationship with Melanesia. Baddeley had only been in post for a year when a decision was taken in 1934 to transfer the part of the Mission’s administration from Auckland to Sydney. This was done to regulate the finances and supplies from Australia. In view of the Mission’s shipping charges it was deemed essential to set up an advisory committee, under a clerical secretary, and open an office in Sydney.⁵³ The move hardly endeared Baddeley to the New Zealand

⁵⁰ LPL, FP, vol. 30, fo. 315, Fisher to the Archbishop of New Zealand, 14 Feb. 1947.

⁵¹ The same could also be said for Polynesia the other Anglican missionary diocese in the South Pacific.

⁵² SOAS, Mel. M. 3/13 (Correspondence of A. E. Corner), Corner to the bishop of Christchurch, 24. Jan. 1919.

⁵³ SOAS, Minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of the Melanesian Mission Society, held at the Mission Office, Church House, Westminster, 11 Oct. 1933.

bishops.⁵⁴ Transferring the Mission's office from Auckland to Sydney was later cited as a reason why he was never offered a New Zealand bishopric.⁵⁵

II

From South Bank to South Pacific

Baddeley sailed from Britain to New Zealand, but two weeks before reaching his destination he heard by ship's radio that the Melanesian Mission's ship, the *Southern Cross*, had been wrecked at sea.⁵⁶ Because of the scattered island nature of the diocese of Melanesia, the ship was essential to the Mission. What added to the tragedy was that the ship was new and its purchase had been the subject of a recent fundraising campaign. On hearing the news Baddeley wrote the following letter dated 14 November 1932:

My dear Friends of Melanesia,

I have promised that I will write to you through the pages of the Log as regularly as possible. Mr Tempest and I received news of the wreck of the Southern Cross through a wireless agency on this ship on Friday morning. Later in the day came the report of the heroism of Captain Stanton and his officers. By the earlier news we were both staggered, as I have no doubt you all were. It was Armistice Day. I had been thinking as I walked about the deck of a phrase that has been often in my mind — 'building up a new world on the ruins of shattered hopes and dreams of a generation of school

⁵⁴ *Southern Cross Log*, vol. 141, no.1 (Jan. 1935), p. 13.

⁵⁵ In Baddeley's defence it can be stated that substantial parts of the diocese of Melanesia were geographically closer to eastern Australia than New Zealand. Also, the diocese was being supplied from Australia. There was an established shipping route of 1750 miles from Sydney to Tulgi Island.

⁵⁶ *The Southern Cross Log*, vol. 39, no. 1 (Jan.1933), pp.1, 2.

boys.’ Those words contain a wonderful depth of truth for those of us who came back from the chaos of the world war. So often it is true of our own lives, isn’t it? Suddenly all our hopes and plans are shattered: we see tumbling down all about us what we have been building up laboriously but joyfully: and we begin again. Very true it is of the work of the Church. At times throughout her history she has all but fallen. But she has arisen with new power. We know why. ‘For He must reign till He hath put all things into subjection.’ In the battle we are called to fight there is no defeat. Temporary setbacks: victory delayed: but there is always, if we will but ask for it, that power, which enables us to be up again and going forward. So it must be now with the Melanesian Mission. You have all followed with your interest and prayers the sending forth of both a new ship and a new Bishop. Before the memory of the launch and dedication have ever begun to fade, comes news of the wreck. It will be a very great blow to many of you — almost heart breaking to Mr Corner and others who have worked so hard to achieve that splendid result — a new ship sailing free of debt. It was a great blow to me, for I fell in love with her at Cowes and at Greenwich, and was looking forward to some years of happy life and work in her. Now perhaps she is breaking up on some uncharted reef. The material loss is bound to be a heavy one: that we must face. But don’t let us be despondent. We must rise above that. The Mission has had many very heavy blows in times past, but the Church in Melanesia goes on. We must face disappointments and discouragements with that Christian optimism, which recognises no defeat. And we must build again. There will be inconveniences and difficulties in the Islands these next few

months. Those on the spot will no doubt be already taking steps to meet them. But the work will go on. It's difficult here in mid-Pacific to know all that may happen in the immediate future as to emergency arrangements. Doubtless you will hear of them by cable messages, almost as soon as this letter reaches you. God bless you all.

Yours very sincerely in O.B.L.

Walter H. Baddeley.⁵⁷

The letter constitutes an effective rallying cry clearly directed to the English-speaking supporters of the M.M.S., in Britain, Australia and New Zealand.

The archbishop and bishops of New Zealand consecrated Baddeley in St Mary's cathedral, Auckland on 30 November 1932. The preacher was Thomas Cullwick, archdeacon of Melanesia, 1902-6. Cullwick's sermon was printed in the *Southern Cross Log* and gives insight into how Baddeley was presented to the public as the right man for the job:

He comes to us with a wide experience of human nature and a gift for leadership, which has been tested and tried by an exceptional war service.

He brings to us all the varied and sobering experience, which belongs to the oversight of a large industrial parish.

Cullwick then goes on to give a description of the responsibilities of the appointment and the theology underpinning the Mission's work:

The work ... remains unique in its inherent difficulties. The geographical position of these Islands, with their scattered far flung groups - the Babel of languages and dialects that possess them — the exacting conditions of a tropical and malarial climate — the maintenance and extension of

⁵⁷ Ibid.

organisations outside the Mission in three countries ... But there is something else ... that is the childlike faith and trustfulness, which belong to the child races of the world. Weak and wayward and wilful, as in many cases they are, yet they are affectionate and trustful, teachable and responsive to discipline, even severity when deserved, and never forgetful of those who have gained their confidence and affection ... The fullness of Christ's manhood can only be complete when the varying gifts and qualities of all nations and races of the world have contributed to it ... And so these child races of the world are very near to the heart of our Lord. He expects them to be won for Him to complete the fullness of His Incarnation and the joy of God's Fatherhood.⁵⁸

The 1933 edition of *Crockford's* (based on figures submitted by Bishop Molyneux) estimated the total population of the missionary diocese of Melanesia as 750,000, of which 25,000 were Christian. The jurisdiction encompassed 2,750 square miles. The total staff of the Mission was 50, and consisted of different levels of personnel, of which 25 were missionaries of European racial origin (English, Australian and New Zealand), and 25 of indigenous culture, who were styled 'pastor' as opposed to 'missionary'.⁵⁹ Because of the scattered island nature of Melanesia, the bishop was required to do a great deal of travelling by sea and internal communication was difficult. However, getting to know his new diocese and staff was a task Baddeley began with enthusiasm.

For the first three months, Baddeley reported to Archbishop Lang, 'I was able to visit all our work in the Solomon and adjacent islands and all but one of our stations in the

⁵⁸ *Southern Cross Log*, vol. 39, No. 3 (March 1933), pp. 46-7.

⁵⁹ *Crockford's 1933*, pp. 1956-7.

Mandated Territory. And in addition, I was able to make a first call at two islands — Rennell and Bellona.’⁶⁰

Baddeley spent the early years of his episcopate either touring his diocese, or visiting New Zealand, Australia and England fundraising for the Mission. When he accepted the bishopric, Baddeley was aware of some of the problems he would face, but many difficulties were unforeseen, as he later explained to Geoffrey Fisher:

During my first year things were tough. The new Southern Cross had been wrecked on her maiden voyage. The Mission doctor had retired and there was a general shortage of staff. I got round as best I could — no rallying was needed! But discipline had grown slack in places and for a time I had to speak pretty straight here and there ... In due course the new ship arrived but alas the new Captain, appointed by the Committee in London, was drunk on much of the journey out, arrived in the islands so: and after enduring it for three days, I told him to put his things together and get off the ship, and in ten days or so, we found a passage to Sydney for him. Meanwhile, I had asked the English Committee to find us a doctor and a nurse — the latter if possible, with some knowledge of leprosy and its treatment. The doctor arrived first and was soon in consultation with the local S.M.O., and his assistant (that is, the two government doctors) and together they determined to advise me to shut down the leper-colony and start again on new lines later on.⁶¹

For a weaker bishop than Baddeley Melanesia might have proven a poisoned chalice. In the event, in face of great adversity, Baddeley turned out to be an inspirational bishop, arguably the most successful in the Mission’s history. Fifty years after

⁶⁰ LPL, Lang Papers, vol. 128, fo. 128, Baddeley to Lang, 6 June 1934.

Baddeley's death the Province of Melanesia had the reputation of being one of the most thriving in the Anglican Communion. Because Baddeley's Melanesian episcopate has already been chronicled elsewhere⁶² this dissertation will not discuss the years 1933-47 other than to describe briefly the jurisdictional nature of Baddeley's episcopal experience prior to his return to England in 1947.

In 1933, the islands of Baddeley's diocese could be divided into three geographical-political areas, which roughly corresponded with the three archdeaconries: the Solomon Islands (the largest), Southern Melanesia, and Northern Melanesia. The cathedral, dedicated to St Luke, was situated in Siota on Nggela in the middle of the Solomon Islands. The central part of the diocese, the archdeaconry of the Solomon Islands, consisted of six large islands and dozens of smaller ones. South-east were the New Hebrides Islands (since 1980 the independent Republic of Vanuatu), during Baddeley's time defined as a 'Condominium Government' and ruled jointly by the British and the French. This part of the diocese constituted the archdeaconry of Southern Melanesia and was made up of approximately 80 islands and islets. To the north-west of the Solomon Islands was the Territory of New Guinea, which constituted the archdeaconry of Northern Melanesia and was 'mandated' because prior to the First World War it had been a German colony. In February 1935 the journal of the Melanesian Mission Society, the *Southern Cross Log*, described the status of this part of the diocese, in which it had a medical station on the island of Namatana, as 'anomalous' since the Anglican diocese of New Guinea was: 'in Papua, [yet] the territory of New Guinea — as far as the Anglican Church is concerned— is in the

⁶¹ Ibid., vol. 178, fo. 146, Baddeley to Fisher, 13 Feb. 1956.

⁶² Fox, *Lord of the Southern Isles*: Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*: Lawrence, 'Walter H Baddeley'

diocese of Melanesia ... The whole of the Mandated Territory has recently been constituted as the Archdeaconry of Northern Melanesia.’⁶³

According to Baddeley’s statistics, recorded in *Crockford’s* for 1939, a remarkable transformation had occurred in the diocese during the six years of his leadership. Baddeley’s figures contrast greatly with Molyneux’s last submission recorded in 1933. Baddeley gave a greatly reduced figure of 620,000 as the total population, but an increased number, 32,000, as Christian. The diocesan staff including the bishop, his secretary, and the archdeacon, had increased to 87, nineteen of whom were British, New Zealand and Australian clergy and lay workers. The remaining 68 were clergy drawn from the indigenous population.⁶⁴ Fifty-nine of the diocesan staff were based in the archdeaconry of the Solomon Islands.

At the time of Baddeley’s appointment, the Melanesian Church was facing a financial crisis. The world economic depression, following the Wall Street Crash, adversely affected the finances of the Mission. Revenue in donations, from England, New Zealand and Australia, was badly hit.⁶⁵ The Solomon Island’s economy was also caught by the depression. Contraction in the overseas market reduced exports from the region’s coconut oil and coconut palm plantations. Moreover, prior to Baddeley, the financial management of the Melanesian church had been weak. Therefore, a fundamental requirement for any prospective bishop was an ability to fundraise. This involved touring the English-speaking world to deliver sermons and public speeches to get donations for the Mission’s work. Substantial periods of Baddeley’s peacetime episcopate were spent away from Melanesia touring the USA, Canada, Britain, New Zealand and Australia, giving lectures and fund-raising. For example, late 1935 and

⁶³ *Southern Cross Log* (February 1935), p. 19.

⁶⁴ *Crockford’s Clerical Directory, 1939*, p. 1996.

⁶⁵ Lawrence, ‘Baddeley’, p. 9.

much of 1936 were spent out of his diocese. The first quarter of 1936 found him back in England. On 12 January 1936 Baddeley gave a BBC national wavelength radio broadcast lasting twenty minutes. His other engagements included preaching at Portsmouth cathedral, St Mary's, Portsea, Roedean School, Harrow, Rugby, Eton, Winchester, Cambridge University, Cuddesdon and St Augustine's College Canterbury. The tour culminated with the Annual Meeting of the English Melanesian Mission Society held at Church House, Westminster, on 26 March 1936: Archbishop Lang was in the chair and Baddeley was a keynote speaker.⁶⁶

The fundraising and public relations aspects of the Melanesian bishopric projected Baddeley onto a national/international ecclesial stage for which he was well suited. For the Mission to survive after the Molyneaux affair it was vital to appoint a bishop who inspired public confidence. Baddeley was made for the part. He was a tall man of imposing physical stature and a strong commanding voice. His war record made him an appealing spokesman for the work of the Mission and enabled him to exploit the shared cultural experience of the War.

For a less confident character the Melanesian appointment might have proved a challenge because scandal dogged the reputation of the Mission before and after Baddeley's episcopate. According to his own account, Baddeley indirectly owed his appointment to a sexual scandal. Sexual indiscretion was more common in the world of the Anglican Church overseas than the authorities would ever openly acknowledge. Robert Aldrich has shown that before the Molyneaux affair the Mission had been dogged by scandals of homosexuality.⁶⁷ In 1874, a missionary named Brook was dismissed because of homosexual activity. 'A. E. C. Forrest, a lay teacher associated with the Melanesian Mission, set up a school at Nendo on Santa Cruz Island. He

⁶⁶ *Southern Cross Log*, vol. 42, no 1 (Jan. 1936), pp. 2-3.

worked there from 1887 to 1896, when it was revealed that he was engaged in sexual relations with his male students.’⁶⁸

Aldrich describes how, prior to European settlement, male homosexual acts were an established part of native culture and part of initiation rites in some regions of the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. The missionaries and government authorities were eager to stamp out such practices. However, ‘European practices, such as confining labourers to plantations, ironically may have encouraged same-sex intercourse.’⁶⁹ Inter-racial homosexual acts with Europeans were frequent and the ‘appropriate treatment for those involved, it appeared, was to make certain that the white man left the territory speedily, and to pay off the native. This would keep scandals from erupting and presumably remove the problem, leaving white prestige intact. A desire to hush up moral cases was clear.’⁷⁰ For a Mission heavily dependent upon financial support from the British, New Zealand, and Australian public, the scandal of missionaries abusing Melanesians could prove disastrous, as Baddeley was to discover.

Melanesia continued to matter to Baddeley long after he returned to England and in late 1955, he became chairman of the English committee of the M.M.S.⁷¹ The chairmanship effectively placed him at the head of all the Mission’s English-based activities. Baddeley could not have undertaken the job at a more unfortunate time because it coincided with one of the most tragic events in the Mission’s history. At Maravovo on 17 November 1955 a 24-year-old Englishman named Reginald Poole from Stoke killed the Melanesian boy, Henry Kwakwaoa, a pupil at the Mission’s

⁶⁷ Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (London, 2003), pp. 246-75.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 263.

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 247.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 253.

⁷¹ LPL, FP, vol. 178. fos. 142-6, Baddeley to Fisher, 13 Jan. 1956.

small school on the island, with a pick-axe.⁷² Poole had signed up as a lay missionary in 1954 after completing his National Service with the Royal Air Force. Initially, Poole was employed at the Mission's school for boys at Pawa on Uki Island, nicknamed the 'Eton of the Pacific.' However, according to Aldrich:

Within a few months of arrival at Pawa ... Poole was surprisingly transferred to the Maravovo Mission Station, on the island of Guadalcanal.

This occurred in July 1955, according to a later report in the *Pacific Islands Monthly*, after 'two Solomon Island boys at the school told the headmaster ... that Poole was a homosexual.'⁷³

A protectorate court consisting of the judicial commissioner and three assessors found Poole guilty on 1 February 1956 and he was sentenced to death. However, the British High Commissioner for the Western Pacific had authority to commute the sentence. Members of Poole's family, who had travelled from England to attend the trial, made a plea for clemency to the Colonial Office.⁷⁴ Controversially, the death sentence was commuted, and Poole was sent home to England to be incarcerated in Broadmoor.

As Poole was a British subject, recruited by the English branch of the M.M.S., the ship appeared to be running aground during Baddeley's watch. The adverse publicity attracted by the case reopened earlier difficulties, not least the Molyneux affair. Winifred Wilson, a disgruntled former employee of the Mission, whom Baddeley had dismissed in the 1930s, used the publicity of the Poole case as a platform from which to re-launch her own programme of anti-Mission criticism. Initially, Wilson approached Molly Allen, General Secretary of the English Committee of the M.M.S. who then turned to Baddeley for advice. In early 1956, Baddeley counselled Allen, 'I

⁷² Aldrich, *Colonialism*, pp. 264-5.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

should not worry about W.W. It is all twenty years old and anyone having any dealings with her at all would soon realise what she is.’⁷⁵ However, Wilson was not to be ignored and sent a telegram directly to Bishop’s House, Blackburn, threatening to discredit the reputation of the Mission. The intimidatory tactics caused Baddeley great distress. His anxiety is revealed in two confidential letters written on the same day to Archbishop Fisher seeking counsel, but Fisher was reluctant to become involved. The longer letter reveals the authentic voice of Baddeley and goes into detail about the administrative, managerial, and personnel problems he encountered while out in the Pacific. The Poole scandal reopened the sensitive issue of unsuitable Europeans being recruited for missionary work, a matter about which Baddeley was quite candid:

I always thought he [Corner] was a bad judge of men and women: but he was desperately keen to get folk in England to fill gaps and I think he often sent folk out who were quite unfitted for the life in isolated tropical islands. And I think he took people at their own assessment of themselves. The ship’s captain whom he sent out with the new ship had been twice suspended and then dismissed by his company for drunkenness — so I heard later ... I don’t envy Commissaries their work. It must be mighty hard work to know in an office in London what a man will be like under the conditions which prevail in some mission fields: and however careful they may be, there will certainly be misfits. Unfortunately, several came my way — including this woman.⁷⁶

The Poole affair and the attempted blackmail uncharacteristically rattled Baddeley. Prior to this he had always taken good health for granted, as he commented in his monthly letter to the diocese of Blackburn written in January 1957:

⁷⁵ SOAS, Mel. M. 3/3. Baddeley to Mollie Allen, 10 Jan. 1956.

To be ill is for me quite a novel experience and except, I think, for one period during the First World War I do not think I have ever spent a fortnight in bed before. I was beginning to feel the strain of things towards the end of November [1956] but I had hoped that I should be able to carry on until after the December ordination and I had run into comparatively calm water, which the state of my diary for January-February indicated would during those weeks be my lot, and would give me an opportunity to pull myself together again, as it were. But it was not to be and I had to give in a few days before Christmas.⁷⁷

In his diocesan letter of the following month Baddeley made a veiled reference to the strain caused by the Poole controversy:

I have, in fact, known that I was really overworking since I came here [i.e. Blackburn] but was anxious to get certain work done in those two years and had it not been for ‘extras’ which have come my way, I think I would have accomplished what I had hoped, not only without this ‘break’ but without any overstrain at all.⁷⁸

When the storm surrounding Reginald Poole broke in 1956 Baddeley was 62; the strain of being a diocesan bishop was taking its toll. By the end of the year his health began to show the first signs of serious physical breakdown. Shortly before Christmas 1956 he was admitted to hospital for almost a month. Arguably the stress generated by the Poole affair contributed to Baddeley’s illness. Evidently the Melanesian bishopric was fraught with risks and problems that continued to haunt Baddeley long after his return to England. Although in 1932 a scandal in the Mission originally led to

⁷⁶ LPL, FP, vol. 178, fo. 145, Baddeley to Fisher 13 Feb. 1956.

⁷⁷ *Crosier*, vol. 7, no. 86 (Feb. 1957).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 7, no. 87 (March 1957).

Baddeley getting the bishopric, it thus was another scandal in Melanesia, two years into his episcopate at Blackburn, which marked the start of his final physical decline.

How are we to judge Baddeley's time in Melanesia and its impact on his career? When Baddeley accepted the Melanesian bishopric in 1932 it seemed to offer great potential. However, Baddeley's pro-Australian position alienated the New Zealand bishops, which damaged his chances of preferment in New Zealand, while the system of popular election made an Australian bishopric unlikely.⁷⁹

Admittedly, in 1932 Melanesia held the possibility of Baddeley returning to England to a position appropriate to one who had successfully served for a respectable period in a missionary diocese. The English committee of the Melanesian Mission Society was a body of some influence. At the time of Baddeley's appointment, the archbishop of Canterbury was an enthusiastic and involved president of the society and the committee members included the bishops of Rochester and Salisbury. However, a number of unforeseen circumstances worked against Baddeley. For example, the Second World War meant that the Lambeth Conference planned for 1940 was postponed for eight years. The abrupt death of Archbishop Temple in 1944 did not aid Baddeley's cause because Fisher, Temple's successor, did not know Baddeley personally. In addition, there was a change in policy at Canterbury and York about the desirability of offering senior English appointments to ex-colonial bishops. The Fisher and Garbett archiepiscopal partnership were less disposed to appoint ex-colonial bishops to English sees, either diocesan or suffragan, than was the previous regime of Lang and Temple.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ LPL, FP, vol. 17, fo. 106, Wand to Fisher, 7 Mar. 1946.

⁸⁰ See pp. 151-154 for details of this policy.

In 1932, Baddeley could hardly have envisaged the circumstances that were to keep him in the Solomon Islands for fifteen years. By 1944, despite his relatively successfully episcopate, it seemed that Baddeley would either have to remain in Melanesia indefinitely or take a much junior position as a parish incumbent acting as an assistant bishop to a New Zealand, Australian or English diocesan. At this point it appears that if the Great War made Baddeley's career, the war in the Pacific saved it. Baddeley went to Melanesia with one distinguished war record and left with two. Indeed, the Japanese occupation of Melanesia radically changed Baddeley's prospects. In face of imminent Japanese invasion Baddeley decided to remain rather than evacuate to Australia. Unlike missionaries in other parts of the Pacific who were betrayed to the Japanese, Baddeley evaded capture⁸¹ even though large bribes were offered.⁸² His loyalty to the Solomon Islanders was not misplaced and the Japanese invasion came to define his episcopate not least because during the occupation Baddeley was totally dependent upon the indigenous islanders to prevent his capture. The Japanese occupation and subsequent American liberation of the Solomon Islands took Baddeley from obscurity and projected him onto an international stage. His defiance of the Japanese enhanced his existing reputation as a tough, manly man capable of inspirational leadership in the most demanding circumstances. As we have seen, his exploits were reported in *Time Magazine*, honoured by the United States Congress and recognised with an honorary doctorate from Columbia. By the end of 1944 Baddeley had uniquely distinguished himself for bravery in theatres of combat during both the First and Second World Wars and his public reputation had never been

⁸¹ According to Alan Gill, 'Missionaries' Murderers are Revealed', *Church Times*, 13 Oct. 2006 p. 8, approximately 400 missionaries died in the Pacific during the period of Japanese occupation. The 13 'Gona New Guinea martyrs' were murdered by tribal people, or died after being betrayed to the Japanese.

⁸² Williams, *Viewed from the Water Tank*, p. 179.

higher. The publicity not only brought Baddeley to the attention of an international audience but also made the Anglican church realise that Melanesia was no longer the best place for Baddeley. The peripatetic nature of the work meant a young, unmarried bishop was almost a prerequisite⁸³ for Melanesia and Baddeley was neither. When Baddeley had left England in 1932, he was a bachelor. Circumstances changed when in 1935 he married Mary Katharine Nutter Thomas, the youngest daughter of the bishop of Adelaide. By 1946 Baddeley had a young family and, having spent over fourteen years in Melanesia; it was time for a move more conducive to family life. With no prospect of a bishopric in the antipodes, and Fisher and Garbett unwilling to make him an English diocesan, finding a move for Baddeley, commensurate with his experience and reputation, presented a difficulty. The problem of what to do with the ex-missionary bishop is considered in the following chapters.

⁸³ LPL, FP, vol. 30, fo. 317, the Archbishop of New Zealand commented to Fisher, on the subject of Baddeley's successor that 'it may be that an unmarried man would be helpful for the first few years of his episcopate'. 24 Mar. 1947.

Whitby, a port en route to the cruel See of Blackburn

In 1947 Walter Baddeley moved from Melanesia to be suffragan bishop of Whitby in the diocese of York. The appointment provides a useful entrée into a much wider topic, the evolution of the office of suffragan bishop, a phenomenon that Andrew Chandler has described as ‘this great if quiet ecclesial movement’.¹ Baddeley is well suited for this purpose because he not only worked as a suffragan bishop, 1947-54, but also as diocesan bishop of Blackburn, 1954-60, he appointed and directed two suffragans, Burnley and Lancaster.

The chapter is divided into a prologue and five sections. The prologue explains the circumstances that took Baddeley from Melanesia to Whitby. Section one gives a brief historical account of suffragan bishops in England as background. Section two discusses how changing the professional identity of the parish clergy led to changes in the role of suffragans. Section three examines Baddeley’s time as suffragan bishop of Whitby. Section four chronicles the progress of suffragan bishops in the diocese of Blackburn 1927-60. Section five is an assessment of the developments relating to suffragans during and after the archiepiscopate of Geoffrey Fisher, himself instrumental in bringing Baddeley back from Melanesia.

In 1946 Fisher was approached by Bryan Robin, bishop of Adelaide, about the problem of what to do with a missionary bishop called Baddeley. He said:

I am writing about a matter which is strictly no concern of mine, but I think it ought to be mentioned and I don’t think anyone is likely to do it if

I don't... It is about the present Bishop of Melanesia ... who I think may possibly be in danger of being one of the forgotten men. He is not in any way a personal friend of mine, but I suppose I know more of him than most other Bishops do not only because he comes to Australia a great deal, but because his wife is the daughter of my predecessor, and has been living in Adelaide with her father for the last four years, during the trouble in the Islands.

He went as Bishop in 1932, at the request, I believe, of Archbishop Lang who asked him to go for five years to tidy up the mess left by the previous Bishop. He has now been there thirteen years, during the last four of which he has, of course, been separated from his wife and family except for rare visits to Adelaide, and has had a pretty arduous and perilous time in his Diocese. He is now trying to tidy up the post war mess there. But since he has three children — two of whom are now school age — it will be quite impossible for his wife to rejoin him in the Diocese where there is no educational provision except native schools.

I think he deserves really well of the Church. I don't at present see the prospect of any Australian Bishopric or other job opening up which would be adequate for him, and I believe his own desire would be to return to England.

He is, I think, what they call a 'man's man', got the DSO in the 1914 war and after Ordination I am told did exceptionally good work among working class people in the North.

¹Andrew Chandler, *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century: The Church Commissioners and the Politics of Reform, 1948-1998*, (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 132.

If it should be thought that he is up to the calibre of an English Diocesan, I should imagine he would do well in some industrial Diocese-particularly in the North — or possibly a suffragan Bishopric among working class folk, or even one of the big Rectories like Halifax or Huddersfield ... If I were to make any criticism at all of him ... I have a personal feeling that he is just a very little bit of a bluff artist; but we are all that, and provided it is only a very little, it probably hardly detracts at all from a man's capacity to do a very good constructive job. His wife is an extremely nice person and would pleasantly 'grace' any position.²

Robin's knowledge of the Church of England stemmed from the fact that he had been born, educated and ordained in England and had spent fourteen years of his ordained life there. However, Fisher treated Robin's suggestions with caution. He discounted the offer of an English diocese, focussed on the suffragan idea³ and sought the opinion of John William Wand, bishop of London, a former archbishop of Brisbane. Wand replied:

We have known for some time he ought to get a move, but Australia is a funny place and with the system of popular election it is very doubtful whether he will get a diocese there. New Zealand is hardly likely to take him because he moved a good deal of his Mission's business from New Zealand to Australia, a move which the New Zealand authorities did not very much appreciate...He has recently done a tour of this country and told an amazing story of the devotion of his people. He speaks with too great fluency and has a hard, displeasing voice. A Suffragan Bishopric in a

² LPL, FP, vol. 17, fo.104, Bryan Robin to Fisher, 15 Feb. 1946.

north country town might do him very well if he were content to settle down to such work, but it would be hard for him to act as second string to somebody else all the time. I suppose there is no S.P.G. Diocese of which he could be given charge where his powers of initiative would have full play, but where he would be able to have more home life with his wife and family.⁴

The eventual solution was to invite Baddeley to become a suffragan bishop in the Church of England. The diocesan bishop to whom Baddeley would have 'to act as second string' was the archbishop of York, Cyril Garbett. The appointment of a suffragan was essentially the decision of the respective diocesan. However, Garbett was receptive to Fisher's suggestion for several reasons. Both Garbett and Baddeley had attended Keble College and Cuddesdon. Baddeley recounted first meeting Garbett in 1920 when the then bishop of Southwark (1919-32) returned to Keble for the Jubilee anniversary of the college's foundation and Baddeley, a final-year student, was responsible for arranging hospitality for the visitors. A second meeting with Garbett took place in 1936 when, as bishop of Melanesia, Baddeley conducted a lecture tour of Britain and Garbett chaired a meeting at Bournemouth.⁵ Garbett's involvement with the Melanesian Mission Society was essentially honorary. He was one of a number of diocesan bishops given the office of vice-president, but another member of the Garbett family was more directly involved. Commander (later Captain) Leonard Garbett R.N., Cyril's younger brother, had been a member of the Society's English General Committee at the time of Baddeley's appointment as bishop of Melanesia in 1932. Amongst other responsibilities Leonard advised upon the purchase and launching of

³ LPL, FP, vol. 17, fo.105, Fisher to Wand, 6 Mar. 1946.

⁴ LPL, FP, vol. 17, fo.106, Wand to Fisher, 7 Mar. 1946.

⁵ YML, GP, Coll. 1973/ 1/ H/31 Baddeley to Garbett, 2 Oct. 1954.

the Mission's ship *Southern Cross*.⁶ Even so, Baddeley's associations with the Garbett brothers were not the genesis for the Whitby appointment.

Cyril Garbett's thoughts turned first to Prebendary James William Welch, the BBC's director of religious broadcasting, 1939-46, as a candidate for Whitby.⁷ Welch had served as principal of St John's training college, York, 1935-9, and honorary chaplain to the archbishop of York, 1940-2.⁸ However, it was Fisher who dissuaded Garbett from offering the bishopric to Welch because Welch had indicated to Fisher that he wanted a period of rest 'after his arduous work at the BBC'.⁹ Fisher thus appears to have opened the door for Baddeley. Despite this, Fisher later played down his part in Baddeley's appointment preferring to let others think that the idea had originated with Garbett, as shown from a letter Fisher wrote to the Archbishop of New Zealand:

Was it you or someone else who told me that after his exacting time in Melanesia, the Bishop [Baddeley] would welcome the chance of returning to this country [England]? Anyhow, when the Archbishop of York's thoughts turned in his direction, I warmly supported it, and I hope that you approve of his move to the Bishopric of Whitby.¹⁰

In light of both Robin and Wand's previous comments, Fisher's letter seems rather tongue in cheek. If indeed 'the Archbishop of York's thought turned in Baddeley's direction', Fisher was responsible for the turn.

In February 1947, in his monthly letter to the diocese of York, Garbett wrote:

⁶ SOAS, Archive of the Melanesian Mission, Minutes of the [English] General Committee, 27 Jan. 1932.

⁷ LPL, FP, vol. 20, fo. 292, Garbett to Fisher, 29 July 1946.

⁸ *Crockford's* 1947, p.1399, Welch was a graduate of Sydney Sussex, College, Cambridge, held a PhD from the university, and trained for ordination at Westcott House. After a curacy at St Mary's Gateshead, 1926-9, he became CMS missionary in Oleh, Nigeria, 1929-35. In 1944 he was made chaplain to the King.

⁹ LPL, FP, vol. 20, fo. 293, Fisher to Garbett, 30 July 1946.

¹⁰ LPL, FP, vol. 30, fo. 312, Fisher to the Archbishop of New Zealand, 3 Feb. 1947.

The diocese will have heard with greatest satisfaction that the bishop of Melanesia has been appointed by the Crown to the see of Whitby. He left the diocese [York] where he had worked for many years, for what has been described as ‘the most romantic diocese in the Anglican Communion.’ During the war he remained with his flock in the Melanesian Islands under conditions of great danger. He will be welcomed on all sides by our clergy and laity, among whom he has many personal friends. I am looking forward greatly to his help.¹¹

Charles Smyth, Garbett’s biographer, is yet another to describe Baddeley as a ‘man’s man’ whose breezy manner appealed to Garbett.¹² This is a striking echo of Robin’s earlier description, but there is no evidence that in using the phrase Smyth was quoting from Robin.

I

In 1947 Baddeley was 53 and, having previously exercised a great deal of autonomy as a diocesan bishop, the prospect of becoming an episcopal curate to the intimidating Garbett might have felt like a demotion. To appreciate fully the significance of Baddeley’s translation it is necessary to understand the historical development of the office of suffragan before and after 1947. The business of being a lieutenant to a

¹¹ BI, *York Diocesan Leaflet*, no. 224 (Feb. 1947), p. 1, ‘Archbishop’s Letter.’

¹² Charles Smyth, *Cyril Foster Garbett* (London, 1959), p. 348.

diocesan has proven not only the most problematic aspect of the suffragan's vocation, but is enshrined in the definition of the office as can be seen from the 1895 edition of *Phillimore's Ecclesiastical Law*:

Bishops suffragan (from suffragan; to help) were consecrated to supply the place of bishops of the see when absent on business of embassies or weighty affairs of the church or crown, chiefly in conferring of orders and in confirming; but not as to grave matters of jurisdiction. Neither the name nor the office of suffragan is to be found in the history of the English Church before the Conquest. The first trace of one seems to be in A.D. 1240.¹³

Generally speaking, the term 'suffragan' applies to any bishop, diocesan or otherwise, who is under the jurisdiction of another bishop and may be 'summoned' by his superior. Although the term was used before the English Reformation, then it most commonly applied to the relationship between a diocesan bishop and his archbishop. Admittedly, prior to the sixteenth century, bishops consecrated to sees 'in partibus infidelium' acted as assistants to English diocesan bishops.¹⁴ However, these titles referred to defunct dioceses situated predominantly in North Africa and Turkey. Nevertheless, the see titles remained and bishops continued to be consecrated to the name of the diocese. Such assistant bishops, though clearly in evidence in England before the Reformation, are perhaps most accurately described as 'titular' rather than 'suffragan' bishops. However, once the split with Rome had occurred, this convenient source of non-English see titles was lost. Consequently, the Suffragan Bishops Act of 1534 designated 26 specific locations as sees from which bishops 'suffragan' should assume their episcopal names. Hence one can argue that 'suffragan' bishops in the

¹³ *Phillimore's Ecclesiastical Law*, 2 vols. (London, 1895), I, pp.76, 77.

sense of the term used here first originated in England in 1534. However, from 1592 until 1870 no suffragan bishops were consecrated and the office fell into abeyance.

A challenge facing the Church of England from the early nineteenth century onwards was the reorganisation of the existing diocesan structures in response to emerging industrial and urban communities. The problem was later described by Elie Halevy, writing in 1913, when he compared it to the pre-1832, unreformed House of Commons:

Formerly but half the province of York had been inhabited; now great centres of industry were being rapidly multiplied. But it still contained only six bishops as against twenty in the province of Canterbury, and 2,000 parishes for the 10,000 in the Southern province. Bath, Chichester, Ely and Hereford possessed their bishops; Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham and Liverpool had none.¹⁵

The institutions of the diocese and bishop had to be adapted to encompass the demographic changes.¹⁶ P. S. Morrish observed that the Church of England was concerned ‘lest the work of some of its bishops might be nullified by the populousness and extent of their dioceses’.¹⁷ One solution was the creation of new dioceses such as Ripon in 1836, and then Manchester in 1847. However, the possibility of adding to the number of ‘mitred heads’ in the House of Lords was politically contentious¹⁸ and gaining Parliamentary assent was far from simple. Moreover, creating new dioceses

¹⁴ The Pilling Report, *Talent and Calling* (London, The Archbishops’ Council, 2007), p. 13.

¹⁵ E. Halevy, *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century* (2nd English edn, London, 1949), p. 399.

¹⁶ Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, p. 192, commented of this: ‘Demographic growth, internal migration, and urbanization had rendered the diocesan map obsolete. With an average diocesan population of half a million, the Church of England in 1831 had the smallest ratio of bishops to people of any episcopal church in western Europe.’

¹⁷ P. S. Morrish, ‘County and urban dioceses: nineteenth century discussion on ecclesiastical geography’, *Jl. Eccles. Hist.*, 26 (1975), p. 281.

was expensive.¹⁹ It was thirty years after the foundation of the diocese of Manchester that the next two new dioceses, St Albans and Truro, were founded in 1877.

Another solution was the redrawing of existing diocesan boundaries. Following the 1836 Established Church Act, the Ecclesiastical Commission could initiate diocesan boundary changes by order in council rather than by act of Parliament and the 1840s saw the wholesale redrawing of several diocesan maps.²⁰

A third solution was the reintroduction of the office of the suffragan bishop. Because suffragan bishops were not entitled to sit in Parliament their reintroduction avoided adding to the number of Lords Spiritual. Burns observed that from the early 1840s there was pressure from within the High Church party calling for the appointment of suffragan bishops.²¹ The motivation was a desire to see a greater level of sacramental and pastoral oversight from the episcopate. Also, there was a belief that the appointment of suffragans could assert the Church of England's spiritual independence because the Henrician legislation was already on the statute books. However, it was not until almost three decades later that the office was reintroduced.

²² In 1870, the 1534 Act was resurrected when Gladstone's administration agreed to the creation of suffragans. Consequently, the first two suffragan bishops since the seventeenth century were appointed when Edward Parry was consecrated to Dover, to

¹⁸ G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868*, (Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 150.

¹⁹ The establishment of a new Anglican diocese would require a considerable deal of parliamentary time. Moreover, there would be the cost of funding a cathedral, and the stipend of the dean, and possibly other residentiary clergy. Also, additional cathedral staff would be needed, such as an organist, vergers, etc. A diocesan office and personnel would be required. The diocesan bishop would need to be housed and supplied with a chaplain and staff. The diocese would need to have the requisite legal officers such as a chancellor, and a registrar.

²⁰ Gordon Hewitt, *A History of the Diocese of Chelmsford* (Chelmsford, 1984), p. 32, describes the 1845 reduction of London diocese with 'the transfer of all Essex (except the nine parishes of Barking deanery) and most of Hertfordshire to the diocese of Rochester'.

²¹ Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, p. 196.

²² Jacob, *Making of the Anglican Church*, p. 43 describes how in 1704 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 'stated a case to the law officers of the crown for reviving the suffragan sees of Colchester, Dover, Nottingham and Hull... for the service of the church in foreign parts'.

assist Archbishop Tait in the diocese of Canterbury, and Henry Mackenzie to Nottingham, to assist Bishop Wordsworth in the diocese of Lincoln.²³

From 1870 onwards the Church of England began to ordain an increasing number of suffragan bishops. The ongoing debate surrounding the office not only illuminates the dynamics of the pastoral response to demographic change, but also has ecclesiological implications because it made the church consider the theological meaning of episcopacy. Objections to the office have largely been theological and political.²⁴ The main theological criticism was that the primitive definition of a 'Bishop' is of someone who possesses a cathedra and an ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the form of a diocese, and that suffragans possess neither. Had the majority of suffragan sees eventually been converted into dioceses this objection would have been overcome but only in eight cases (the suffragan bishoprics of Nottingham, revived in 1870, which became Southwell in 1884; Southwark, founded 1891, in 1904/5; Ipswich, revived in 1899, in 1913; Sheffield, 1901, in 1914; Coventry, 1891, in 1918; Leicester, 1888, in 1926; Derby, 1880, in 1927; and Guilford, 1871, in 1927) did this occur.

Despite the increase in number and its separation from other roles, the legal definition of the suffragan remained essentially unchanged from the reintroduction of the office in 1870 until the Dioceses Measure of 1978,²⁵ after which London changed four of its

²³ Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, p. 204.

²⁴ *Episcopal Ministry: The Report of the Archbishop's Group on the Episcopate* (London, 1990), p. 180, para. 401: 'There has always been a tension in the Church's life between developed theological principle and the meeting of practical needs which sometimes seems to run on ahead of theology, and has to be explained ex post facto. This is the case with the present system of suffragan bishops in the Church of England'.

²⁵ *Episcopal Ministry*, pp. 187-8, paras. 417-22, explain the implications of the Dioceses Measure 1978 on the position of suffragans. Section 10 of the measure provides for 'Temporary delegation by instrument of certain functions [confirmations and ordinations] to suffragan bishops.' Unless a specific period is stipulated, the instrument will continue during the time the suffragan holds office under his diocesan. Under the 1978 measure the previous system of giving suffragans a commission was abolished. While the post 1978 arrangement does not amount to a freehold it does give a greater definition of duties, and clarity to the duration of the suffragan's office than previously existed. The Measure (under Section 11) also permitted a more radical development, which allowed for a diocese to be permanently divided into episcopal areas.

five suffragan sees into area bishoprics with defined territorial areas and synods.²⁶ Seven other dioceses, Salisbury, Chelmsford, Oxford, Chichester, Southwark, Lichfield, and Worcester adopted similar area schemes. The creation of ‘area bishops’ was a radical departure from existing canon law and ecclesiological practice. They created an alternative model of subordinate bishop, an intermediate status between suffragan and diocesan.

II

Much has been written on the changing professional identity of the clergy, but there is relatively little about the development of the office of the suffragan bishop. This is surprising because the reintroduction, expansion and adaptation of the office relates to the changing occupational status of Anglican clergy in five ways. In themselves the five points appear disparate, but relate when linked to the adaptation of the suffragan as part of the church’s organisation of management.

First: since 1870 the number of suffragans steadily increased from two in 1870 to a total of 64 suffragans and stipendiary assistant bishops in 1971.²⁷

Secondly, during this period the role of the suffragan changed from that of a ‘general practitioner’ to that of a ‘specialist.’ For example, from the period 1870 until 1954 it was customary to combine the suffragan’s office with another position such as an archdeaconry. After 1954 this practice went into decline and the role of the suffragan developed almost exclusively into that of assistant bishop.

Thirdly, as already explained,²⁸ the post-1919 Church of England saw greater centralisation in its government and administration and the evolving role of the

²⁶ The suffragan see of Fulham, because of its oversight of the European chaplainries, did not become an area bishopric. Following the creation of the diocese of Europe in 1980, the bishop of Fulham was not given a designated area but assisted the bishop of London in the City, and Westminster.

²⁷ In fact, following the 1993 Episcopal Ministry Act of Synod, there were 68 suffragan bishops including the Provincial Episcopal Visitors or ‘flying’ bishops.

suffragan reflected this change as diocesan bishops delegated many of their diocesan duties to suffragans.

Fourthly, alongside the growth in number of suffragan bishoprics, the Church of England has experienced a declining level of full-time professional clergy: from approximately 23,000 men in 1911, to 9, 707 men and women by 1998.²⁹

Finally, the Church has seen an increase in numbers of unpaid ministers (i.e. non-stipendiary clergy and licensed readers), which has presented a need for a greater level of managerial supervision, a function increasingly met by unbeneficed suffragan bishops and archdeacons.

We shall now examine the relationship between these five factors.

The Official Church of England Year Book 1892 reveals much about the frequency with which suffragan bishoprics were then combined with other clerical roles.³⁰ By 1892, 22 years had elapsed since the reintroduction of suffragans. Moreover, the 1888 Suffragans Nomination Act, which allowed for new suffragan sees beyond the original twenty-six to be created by order in council, had been in effect for four years. The 32 English dioceses supported 78 archdeacons, 14 suffragan bishops and 4 assistant bishops.³¹ Of the 18 suffragan and assistant bishops, 9 (50 per cent) were also archdeacons. This indicates that the combination of these particular roles was not universal. Nonetheless, is it was common practice to combine the suffragan/assistant bishop role with one, or more, other clerical positions such as incumbent of a parish, residentiary canon, or archdeaconry. Such practice was largely financially driven. For

²⁸ See pp. 10 –17 and 27.

²⁹ Towler and Coxon, *Fate of the Anglican Clergy*, p. 28; *Church of England Year Book* 2006.

³⁰ *The Official Church of England Year Book* 1892 (London), Diocesan Officers, pp. 595-622.

³¹ Of the 78 archdeaconries, 51 archdeacons held parish incumbencies and 21 held residentiary canonries. Only four were exclusively archdeacons: J. A. Hessey, archdeacon of Middlesex in the diocese of London; F. A. Vesey, archdeacon of Huntingdon in the diocese of Ely; J. Richardson, archdeacon of Southwark in the diocese of Rochester, and F. B. Sowter, archdeacon of Dorset in the diocese of Exeter.

instance, a suffragan in possession of a wealthy living could meet episcopal expenses that one without such an income source could not. Moreover, he was not limited to just one living because a ‘suffragan exercising the said office ... for the better maintenance of his dignity, may have two benefices with cure’.³² In fact, in 1892, only one man held a suffragan bishopric in conjunction with an archdeaconry without possessing either a parish or residentiary canonry.³³ Evidently, at a time when the payment of suffragans and archdeacons was done at diocesan rather than national level, a cathedral canonry or a parish incumbency provided the necessary income and accommodation.

There were also pastoral and theological justifications for episcopal archdeacons. Burns describes the period 1830-51 as witnessing a rigorous revaluation of archidiaconal duties. This revaluation, along with the creation of nine new archdeaconries, offered a cost effective, less politically contentious and more immediate response to demographic pressures than the creation of new dioceses. Nevertheless, because the archdeacon remained in effect a ‘brother presbyter’, and therefore still only the equal in spiritual status to the clergy under his jurisdiction, problems occasionally arose. For example, an archdeacon could be criticised for acting *ultra vires* in a way that a bishop could not. After 1870 episcopal archdeacons obviated a number of problems. It made the suffragan not only a spiritual but also a legal focal point for the clergy in his care. Because an archdeacon was an ordinary, and a suffragan was not, an archdeaconry gave the suffragan defined legal powers that were not inherent in his office, not just those delegated to him by the diocesan. This also meant that the suffragan held archidiaconal disciplinary powers with which to

³² Phillimore, *Ecclesiastical Law*, I, p. 79.

³³ This was J. L. Randall, suffragan bishop of Reading and archdeacon of Buckingham in the diocese of Oxford. *Official Church of England Year Book, 1892*.

enforce his episcopal oversight. Moreover, because archdeacons had rights to sit in the Convocation and Assembly but suffragans did not, holding an archdeaconry gave the suffragan a voice in these bodies.

Charles Smyth observed that ‘from the point of view of the Suffragan Bishop (though not his Diocesan), the happiest arrangement is when his duties are combined with an Archdeaconry, since this gives him a real job of his own.’³⁴ By combining the offices a higher level of spiritual, liturgical and sacramental authority was wedded to an already powerful legal and administrative position. As Chandler commented, ‘when a suffragan became an archdeacon it became hard to distinguish between him and the diocesan.’³⁵

Although there were good reasons for appointing episcopal archdeacons the practice gradually declined. In 1901 four new suffragan sees were created (Burnley, Barking, Kensington, and Sheffield), but only one, Thomas Stevens, suffragan of Barking, combined the role with an archdeaconry, Essex, which he had occupied since 1894. This meant that by 1901 of twenty suffragan bishops only nine (45 per cent) combined the office with an archdeaconry.³⁶ However, of the eleven suffragans who were not archdeacons, seven were incumbents of a parish. Of the four remaining suffragans, who neither combined the office with an archdeaconry nor a parish, Arthur Foley Winnington Ingram, the suffragan bishop of Stepney was also a canon of St Paul’s, while George Henry Sumner, suffragan bishop of Guilford, at that time in Winchester diocese, had ceased to combine the roles with the archdeaconry of Winchester in 1900, but retained a canonry at the cathedral. Huyshe Wolcott Yeatman-Biggs,

³⁴ Smyth, *Cyril Foster Garbett*, p. 345.

³⁵ Chandler, *Church of England*, p. 133.

³⁶ *Episcopal Ministry: The Report of the Archbishops’ Group*, p. 186, para. 415, gives a much lower figure of suffragans in 1901 ‘The tendency to increase the number of suffragans has continued. In 1901 there were nine. By 1921 there were 21; by 1941 there were 38; by 1961 there were 44; by 1966

suffragan bishop of Southwark, and George Carnac Fisher, suffragan bishop of Ipswich, were exclusively suffragan bishops without combining the office with another position. The practice of holding a suffragan bishopric in conjunction with another office remained common until the mid-1950s and even in some of the wealthiest dioceses the suffragans combined their office. In 1952, the four suffragans of London diocese all held benefices and the three suffragans of Oxford diocese were also archdeacons. Of approximately 58 working suffragan/assistant bishops listed in the Church of England, sixteen held archdeaconries, twelve held a residentiary canonry (this includes the overlap of those episcopal archdeacons who also held a residentiary canonry). Twenty-nine (50 per cent) combined the suffragan/assistant bishop role with a parish incumbency. Only seven (12 per cent) were exclusively suffragan/assistant bishops without a parish, archdeaconry or canonry.³⁷

Admittedly, by 1951-2 the overall percentage of episcopal archdeacons had fallen gradually (from 45 per cent of all suffragans in 1901) to 28 per cent,³⁸ but it was a change made in 1954 that most radically effected the separation of the archidiaconal and suffragan roles.

Prior to 1954 there was no official minimum stipend for suffragan bishops. Andrew Chandler estimated that in 1953 among 41 suffragan bishoprics 62.5 per cent of their overall costs were accounted for by holding other church offices: 13 archdeaconries: 11 canonries; 16 benefices. With regards to accommodation, by Chandler's reckoning:

Eight lived in the houses attached to residentiary canonries held by them,
and 12 in parsonage houses now amalgamated to the suffragan bishopric.

there were 49; by 1974 there were 59. That is during the first 73 years of this century, the Church created on average a new suffragan see every eighteen months.'

³⁷ *Crockford's Clerical Directory 1951/2*

³⁸ This paragraph drew from the relevant years of *Who was Who*, *Crockford's* and *The Church of England Year Book*.

Five rented houses from the diocesan board of finance, 3 had houses provided rent-free by the diocese or somebody else. Thirteen had no official residence.³⁹

From April 1954 onwards the Church Commissioners began directly to finance suffragan bishops' stipends. In 1951/2, it is recorded that the Church Commissioners considered taking over the payment of suffragan bishops' stipends but deferred a decision. However, in 1954/5, the cost of such stipends is shown as an item of expenditure for the first time.⁴⁰ The level of stipend paid to a suffragan bishop in that year was £1,750, or £1,650 if an official house was provided.⁴¹ This had immediate effect. By October 1954, Innes N. Ware, registrar to the diocese of York, was advising Archbishop Garbett: 'In some dioceses the suffragans who hold other offices are now resigning them so that they may devote their whole time to their episcopal work'.⁴² Subsidising suffragan bishoprics in this way encouraged the office's differentiation from other roles. It also increased the overall number of suffragans and archdeacons because two people now held offices that were previously combined. Consequently, the numbers of clergy employed in the Church of England's middle management grew. As Ware pointed out to Garbett:

The Commissioners decided that if a suffragan also holds an archdeaconry, the £400 per annum payable to him as archdeacon is to be taken into account in making up his total income as suffragan to £1,750. If

³⁹ Chandler, *Church of England*, p. 133.

⁴⁰ A. N. Ramsey, Payroll Manager, Clergy Payments Department, Church Commissioners, to A. Hodgson, 9 Oct. 2006.

⁴¹ Ramsey to Hodgson, 14 Dec. 2006.

⁴² BI, Correspondence with suffragan bishops, Bp.2/ Prov/2/2. Ware to Garbett, 1 Oct. 1954.

a suffragan abandons his archdeaconry officially, he will be no worse off.⁴³

Within three decades the episcopal archdeacon was not just an endangered species but practically extinct. It may be argued that if 1870, 1888 and 1978 are to be regarded as key dates in the history of suffragans so too is 1954.

Before 1870 the ratio of bishops to clergy was low; after 1870, the episcopate was extended to encompass a junior level and the Church, at least in theory, gained a more extended career structure. Burns observes in the period 1830-70 that the creation of new archdeaconries and 'the emergence of a more demanding conception of the archidiaconal office, are consonant with the "occupational differentiation" associated with professionalization'.⁴⁴ While the same could be said of suffragans in the post-1870 period, it was particularly pronounced after 1954 when the suffragan's role became increasingly differentiated from other clerical roles. But if this sort of 'occupational differentiation' was associated with professionalization, it was here occurring at a time when the parish clergy were experiencing a process of de-professionalisation.

Anthony Russell comments that most professions as they evolved in the nineteenth century took steps to create a rudimentary career structure. He explains how such measures help alleviate the tensions and grievances that can arise in professions that have a wide base and a narrow apex.⁴⁵ Yet Russell ignores the office of suffragan as adding an additional level to the clerical career structure. This is probably because during the period 1870-1945 the ratio of suffragans to parish clergy was small.

⁴³ BI, *ibid*, Ware to Garbett, 26 Nov. 1954. Chandler, *Church of England*, p. 134, describes: A new augmentation scheme from 1 April 1956 set down a minimum stipend for all suffragan bishops and a standard grant to meet the costs of house, rent rates and repairs. Chandler comments that the proposal 'passed the Church Assembly without a murmur.

⁴⁴ Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, p. 65.

Moreover, the creation of these bishoprics was so ad hoc, and the tendency to combine the office with an archdeaconry so frequent, that the impact on the career structure was almost imperceptible. It is most unlikely that the original intention behind the reintroduction of suffragans in 1870 was to provide an otherwise ‘flat profession’ with an additional level to the structure. However, in the post-1954 church the office of suffragan has increasingly occupied this role. Several factors have contributed to this such as decline in career opportunities abroad, an increase in the number of suffragan bishoprics at home and a decline in the number of stipendiary clergy in the Church of England.

The 1954 measures facilitated the later development of the suffragan into a pastoral manager; the withdrawal of suffragans (and later archdeacons) from parishes created a more distinct status barrier between these ‘clerical managers’, and the parish clergy, ‘clerical pastors’. This fractured the professional ethos whereby clergy had previously regarded themselves as a collective body employed in the shared venture of delivering pastoral care, through, and in, the unit of the parish. Previously, parish priests did not have such a high level of supervisory management.

Another change affecting the professional identity of the parish clergy influencing changes in the role of suffragans took place in the clergy themselves. In 1960 there were 13,429 clergy in the Church of England; by 1981 the figure had fallen to 10,700, (a 20 per cent reduction).⁴⁵ Yet the ratio of suffragans to stipendiary parish clergy has gone from 1 per 305 to 1 per 181.⁴⁷ The increase must not be interpreted strictly in the context of a declining number of stipendiary parish clergy, but also a growing number of unpaid ministers (i.e. non-stipendiaries and licensed readers). The church being

⁴⁵ Russell, *Clerical Profession*, p. 272.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

dependent upon a growing number of unpaid ministers necessitated a larger group of managers adopting a more interventionist form of co-ordination over the parishes. Hence the changing professional identity of the clergy has led to changes in the role of the suffragan. The suffragan's office became a managerial tool to take pressure off the diocesan and to increase the level of supervision of the parish clergy. Arguably, a culture of clerical professionalism was thus replaced by one of managerialism.

Unquestionably, suffragan bishops offered a cost-effective alternative to the creation of new dioceses. Chandler attributes the increase in their numbers to 'a pragmatic commitment to maintain the visibility of the episcopacy in more demanding times'.⁴⁸ However, the 'commitment to maintain the visibility of the episcopacy' may be interpreted as putting greater ecclesiological emphasis on the episcopate and less on the parish.

The 'top down' managerial approach, to which a developed theology of the episcopate may be transposed, carries with it inherent dangers as Martyn Percy has observed:

Anglican ecclesiology must recognize the creative tension that necessarily governs its shape. On the one hand, it is right and proper to describe the Church of England as primarily parochial. That is to say, there is a fair degree of autonomy at local level, which is absorbed by immediate concerns. This is not quite the same as congregationalism. A doctrine of parochialism recognizes the origins of the Church of England lie, often in private and local patronage. The organization, machinery and governance of a diocese is normally developed out of an aggregate of existing church communities. In other words, the Church of England churches are like

⁴⁷ In 1960 there were forty-four suffragans, by 1987 there were sixty-three. *Crockford's Clerical Directories*, 1959/60 and 1987/8.

⁴⁸ Chandler, *Church of England*, p. 132.

local voluntary associations, with contextual awareness and the interests of the community at heart. Any theology of change must recognize the primary focus of value for an ecclesial community will be its building, local fellowship and clergy, not the supra-structure of a diocese or its bishop.⁴⁹

III

The Pilling Report identifies three types of suffragan bishops in the Church of England:

Suffragan bishops who give general episcopal assistance to the diocesan; suffragan bishops to whom the diocesan delegates responsibility for certain aspects of the life of the diocese; suffragan bishops to whom the diocesan delegates (informally or more formally) varying degrees of responsibility for geographical areas.⁵⁰

Of these categories, Baddeley's role in York corresponded most closely to the third. In 1947 of the three suffragan bishoprics in the diocese of York, Hull was the oldest, founded 1891, and Selby was the youngest, founded 1939. Whitby only existed from 1923 and was created not by act of Parliament but under the terms of the 1888 Suffragans Nomination Act. Baddeley's immediate predecessor, Harold Evelyn Hubbard, was appointed by William Temple in 1939 and was in post when Garbett succeeded Temple at York in 1942. Hubbard had been vicar of St John the Evangelist, Middlesbrough, when Baddeley was vicar of St John's, South Bank; therefore, the two had been colleagues in the same deanery.

⁴⁹ Martyn Percy, 'A Theology of Change for the Church' in *Managing the Church: Order and Organisation in a Secular Age* (Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), p. 177.

⁵⁰ *Pilling Report* (2007), p. 43.

The two other suffragans in the diocese in 1947 had also been appointed by Temple: Henry Vodden, bishop of Hull 1934-57, and Carey Knyvett, bishop of Selby 1941-61. Baddeley was thus the first suffragan that Garbett himself appointed in the York diocese.⁵¹ Garbett held a monthly staff meeting with his suffragans and archdeacons. His chairmanship was efficient and businesslike; the meetings often exceeded two hours and he saw that his staff were well briefed for their work.⁵² Garbett delegated certain duties of his own choosing to his episcopal juniors. Smyth contrasted Temple's more affable and openhearted relationship with the suffragans with Garbett's more formal, businesslike approach:

Garbett treated his suffragans as curates, and (as they sometimes felt) as Portsea curates.⁵³ They had their own particular diocesan committees and councils to look after — the Missionary Council, Board for Women's Work, Lay Readers, Youth Work, Moral Welfare ... they were left to get on with the job ... he was Chairman of the Board of Finance, and usually presided over the Council of Education. But he kept control of the diocese in his own hands, and in truth was something of a dictator in his administrative methods: instead of working through Committees, he would sometimes bypass them with a high hand, not infrequently going behind their backs and behind the backs of his suffragans. He was not good at delegating authority; and would appear to have given someone

⁵¹ Correspondence with the Cabinet Office, visits to the Borthwick Institute, Lambeth Palace and the National Archive failed to locate the file on Baddeley's 1947 appointment. The file at TNA, Prem. 5/489, begins in 1954 with the nomination of Baddeley's successor, Philip Wheeldon.

⁵² Margaret, Prioress of Whitby, *Archbishop Garbett* (London, 1957), p. 58.

⁵³ St Mary's, Portsea, is a large urban parish in Portsmouth where Garbett, vicar 1910-19, had charge of a large staff of curates.

power to act, but would then interfere ... Nor did the Archbishop trust his Staff with much initiative.⁵⁴

Smyth's comment about initiative sheds light on the absence of any letters from Baddeley being included in the monthly *York Diocesan Leaflet*, a forum Garbett was unwilling to share with his suffragans. Smyth's description of Garbett as 'something of a dictator', who related to his domestic chaplains as friends and confidants,⁵⁵ but was brusque with his suffragans, recalls Sir David Stephens' later observation that Baddeley, during his time at Blackburn, showed no powers of delegation.⁵⁶ But Baddeley seems to have had a warm and friendly relationship with Garbett.

Garbett was sufficiently impressed with Baddeley at Whitby to recommend him to Fisher for a diocese in the southern province. When none was forthcoming, he permitted his promotion to Blackburn in 1954. Baddeley in turn, shortly after Garbett's death, described the Archbishop in 'fluent' and sentimental tones:

One of the outstanding leaders of the English Church: A man of tremendous strength- — physically, morally and spiritually: a man of wide experience in both Church and State, and both are poorer for his passing. To those of us who had the privilege of working with him he will long remain an inspiring memory: with all of us respect and admiration grew as time went on into friendship and affection, and we salute him as a great warrior now returned home after a magnificently fought campaign.⁵⁷

The York suffragans were each allocated a defined territorial area corresponding to an archdeaconry, but in 1947 only the suffragan bishop of Hull was also archdeacon for his area, the East Riding. Baddeley as bishop of Whitby had supervision of the

⁵⁴ Smyth, *Cyril Foster Garbett*, p. 346.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

⁵⁶ LPL, FP, vol. 257, fos. 304-16, Roberts to Fisher 5 May 1960.

Cleveland archdeaconry, an area of nine deaneries and approximately 180 churches. 'The Suffragan Bishopric of Whitby', Baddeley later recalled, 'included industrial Tees-side, jolly market-towns such as Stokesley and Helmsley, the moorland villages... and part of the North East coast-Whitby, Redcar and so on.'⁵⁸ In 1947, he was already familiar with the locality having served in Teesside at South Bank. Unlike most other suffragans at the time, including his own colleagues, Baddeley (like his predecessor) did not hold a parish incumbency, residentiary canonry or archdeaconry. In hindsight, the Whitby practice of detaching the suffragan from any other clerical offices can be seen as the beginning of a trend that became prevalent in the following decades. As Archbishop of York, Garbett had more extra-diocesan responsibility than most English diocesans, and when Baddeley arrived at Whitby Garbett was already seventy-two. Baddeley was an experienced bishop with no other responsibilities than to act as Garbett's suffragan.

In the 1940s and 50s the principal duty of a suffragan was confirmations. During this period the number of confirmation services per year and the volume of candidates confirmed were far higher than in subsequent decades: from 1911-61, between 2.5 and 3.5 per cent of all boys age 12 to 20 were confirmed; by 1964 it was 2.1 per cent and continued to fall to 1.5 per cent in 1970.⁵⁹ During 1948-52 Baddeley undertook an average of 37 confirmations per year in his area; Garbett himself performed, on average, a further six.⁶⁰ The figures suggest the annual routine of confirmation services was a demanding but not all-consuming duty for Baddeley, absorbing some 10 per cent of his time. The function was essentially sacramental and pastoral, but repetitive. It did not demand great management or leadership ability. The other duties

⁵⁷ *Crosier*, vol. 6, no. 74 (Feb. 1956).

⁵⁸ *Crosier*, vol. 5, no. 57 (Sept. 1954).

⁵⁹ Towler and Coxon, *Fate of the Anglican Clergy*, p. 29.

of a suffragan usually included ordinations, licensing of clergy to parishes, parish visitations, chairmanship of some diocesan boards and committees, and the pastoral oversight of clergy. Baddeley was chairman of two committees, the Evangelistic Committee, which met infrequently, and the Ordination Candidates Council, which met four times annually. In addition, he was ex-officio member of thirteen other diocesan boards and committees, seven meeting 4 times annually, one meeting 3 times, three meeting twice and the remaining two meeting on an ad hoc basis. Thus, Baddeley's committee work demanded, at maximum, 40 to 45 meetings per year. The committees combined with an average of 37 confirmations constituted around 82 working days per year, taking into consideration preparation and travelling. The requirement for Baddeley to attend licensing and institution services for clergy in his area accounted for an average of 6 per month, 72 annually. With regard to parish visitations the rule applied by Temple was that 'people desire to see the bishop occasionally in their parishes' with his visits being 'rare enough to remain something of an event, and frequent enough to let the people feel some real contact with him, roughly one in five years.'⁶¹ If Baddeley had visited each of the 180 churches in his area once every five years it would add up to 36 visitations per annum. A liberal estimate suggests that confirmations, committee meetings, licensing of clergy and parish visits accounted for 190 engagements per year. If five weeks' holiday (35 days) and one day off per week (52 days) are added to 190, we arrive at a total of 277. It is not difficult to appreciate why in 1947 specialist suffragans were the exception rather than the rule. In the 1950s, however, despite the subordinate nature of a suffragan's work, it was nonetheless crucial to have men of high calibre because potentially there were occasions, not least a period of vacancy in see, when a suffragan would have to

⁶⁰ *York Diocesan Year Book, 1948, 49, 50, 51 and 52.*

act in situation for a diocesan. Also, high-profile diocesans, such as Fisher, Garbett and Bell, were often absent overseas. Garbett's appointments diary reveals he was frequently absent from York on extra-diocesan engagements both in Britain and overseas. For example, Garbett visited Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia for a month during October/November 1947; Germany and Austria from 30 March to 12 April 1949; Canada and the USA from 24 August to 25 October 1949; Australia and the Pacific from 21 September 1951 to 30 January 1952; and the West Indies from November 1953 to February 1954.⁶²

Inevitably, the amount of time a diocesan bishop was absent and left his suffragan in charge varied from diocese to dioceses, however, there were similar variations in the way dioceses funded suffragans. The 1943 Episcopal Endowments and Stipends Measure implemented a scheme whereby a diocesan bishop could entrust the portfolio of his episcopal endowments and residence to the management of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in return for a stipend and maintenance of the episcopal residence. Entry to the scheme was optional, but Garbett was glad to allow Bishopthorpe and its financial concerns to be vested in the Commissioners because he was embarrassed by his income of £9,000 *per annum*. Thenceforth, Garbett's annual income fell to £4,500.⁶³ The scheme allowed suffragans to be paid out of see funds or by the diocesan. Thus from 1943 some suffragans were paid grants from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Nevertheless, until the mid-1950s there remained great inequalities and complications in the way suffragans were paid and housed. From 1947 to 1954 Baddeley suffered from these inequalities. At the latter date a measure affecting suffragans' stipends set a uniform rate across the Church of England at £1,750 without

⁶¹ F. A. Iremonger, *William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 4th edn (London, 1949), p. 298.

⁶² YML, GP, Coll. 1973.

⁶³ Whitby, *Archbishop Garbett*, p. 54.

accommodation (£1,650 if official housing was included), which was considerably more than the £918 Baddeley declared as his income when in August 1954 he applied for a grant from the Church Commissioners. The figure comprised £350 from the Archbishop of York's Appeal Fund; £468 from the York Brotherhood Trust (a miscellaneous number of investments endowed to pay the bishop of Whitby) and a grant of £100 from the Church Commissioners. He also received £100 in official expenses from the Archbishop of York's Appeal Fund, and £400 from the diocesan board of finance.⁶⁴ As Baddeley never learned to drive, it may be deduced that much of his official expenses went on a car and driver. As bishop of Whitby, Baddeley was housed in the Old Rectory, South Kilvington, Thirsk. The vicar of Thirsk was the landlord, to whom Baddeley paid £100 *per annum* rent. The rent was reimbursed to Baddeley by the diocesan board of finance. However, Baddeley paid annual rates of £33 entirely at his own expense. Under the 1954 scheme, Baddeley at Whitby was due a pay rise of £832 (an overnight increase of 91 per cent), however, he was to gain little personal benefit from the changes.

IV

In 1954 Baddeley was translated to Blackburn and went from being a suffragan himself to having two suffragans of his own. Baddeley's career at Whitby illustrated the office of suffragan from the perspective of the employee, but his time at Blackburn provides the employer's perspective. Moreover, despite Blackburn being a relatively young diocese it also provides a convenient context in which to explore further the evolution of the suffragan during the period 1927-60.

⁶⁴ Courtesy of A. N. Ramsey, Church Commissioners, 24 Jan 2008. York Diocesan Brotherhood, Trust Document, Appointment of New Trustees and Declaration of Trust, dated 22 July 1947; Baddeley's application for a grant in augmentation of the stipend of a suffragan bishop to £1,750 dated 12 Aug. 1954.

When the diocese of Blackburn was created there were two existing suffragan bishops within the area (Burnley and Whalley), which passed from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Manchester to that of Blackburn. However, both suffragan bishoprics were located in, and named after see towns in the southern archdeaconry of Blackburn. From its creation in 1901 until 1977, the suffragan see of Burnley was combined with the rectory of Burnley. Only one suffragan bishop of Whalley was ever appointed, Atherton Gwilym Rawstorne, who married his episcopal office with that of rector of the wealthy living of Croston, in the gift of patronage of the Rawstorne family, and the archdeaconry of Blackburn. After Bishop Rawstorne's time the title was allowed to go into abeyance, and in 1936 the position of suffragan bishop of Lancaster was created thus basing one of the diocese's suffragans in the northern archdeaconry of Lancaster with an area of oversight that directly corresponded with the archdeaconry of Lancaster.

At the time of Blackburn's creation there was speculation about establishing another Lancashire diocese based on Lancaster: in fact, Lord Henley had sounded the Lancaster idea as early as 1833.⁶⁵ The creation of a suffragan bishopric of Lancaster was seen to pave the way for the possible later foundation of a full diocese. The suffragan of Lancaster was Benjamin Pollard. Pollard had been vicar of Lancaster since 1928, and continued as such after his consecration in an ad hoc arrangement combining the two positions. There was never a formal union between the vicarage of Lancaster and the suffragan see or archdeaconry, because the benefice of Lancaster (the Priory church) was not in the episcopal gift. Notwithstanding this, Pollard not only acted as both bishop and vicar of Lancaster, but also added to his responsibilities

⁶⁵ Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, p. 192.

when he became archdeacon of Lancaster in 1950. However, on becoming archdeacon he gave up the position of rural dean of Lancaster.

The combination of the suffragan bishopric and archdeaconry along with the extensive powers of patronage held by the vicar of Lancaster made Pollard a far more powerful figure in Blackburn than Baddeley had been in York. Also, at this relatively early stage in the life of the diocese, the historic Priory church of Lancaster rivalled the prestige of Blackburn cathedral, which had yet to be extended, representing a type of pro-cathedral for Bishop Pollard.

Beyond Lancashire, Pollard was a national figure within the church because in his capacity as a vicar and archdeacon he was Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation in York and chairman of the House of Clergy in the Church Assembly. Pollard's position as chairman of the House of Clergy presented an interesting conflict of loyalties. Pollard's episcopal status made him part of the diocesan hierarchy, but in his capacity as vicar of Lancaster he evidently identified closely with the parish clergy. Should a conflict of interest have occurred between the diocesan bishop and parish clergy, it would have seemed incongruous that a suffragan should lead the opposition. Pollard's position as chairman of the House of Clergy in the Assembly raised questions about the anomalous place of suffragans within the hierarchy.

Edward Carpenter observed that the status of suffragans within the Church was a subject that concerned Fisher greatly.⁶⁶ He recognised that suffragans not combining the office with an archdeaconry or parish had no right to sit in the Convocation or Church Assembly. In 1959 he wrote a paper entitled *The Place of Suffragan Bishops in the Synodical Government of the Church*. Here he recommended that suffragans

⁶⁶ Edward Carpenter, *Archbishop Fisher, a Life* (Norwich, 1991), p. 231.

should be ‘summoned to one of these bodies [i.e. Convocation or Church Assembly] as a recognised group, even if they were not given full voting rights’.⁶⁷

In recognition of Pollard’s achievements Archbishop Fisher awarded him a Lambeth DD in 1953, an honour usually conferred upon diocesan bishops. Despite such archiepiscopal recognition, not all were impressed with Pollard. In July 1954 Sir Anthony Bevir wrote to the Prime Minister: ‘The suffragan at Lancaster has been there twenty years and is rather a problem’.⁶⁸ As Pollard was recognised as a capable, hard-working man of good character the ‘problem’ to which Bevir referred would appear to have been Pollard’s powerful combination of offices and the period for which he had held them. Evidently Pollard was a ‘problem’ because he was a suffragan with too much power.

The ministry of Pollard, 1950-54, displayed the suffragan’s office being developed to its maximum potential. Assuming the original intention motivating the reintroducing suffragans in 1870 was to create additional areas of effective episcopal oversight, while obviating all the controversy, expense and time of founding new dioceses, this objective was achieved during Pollard’s time at Lancaster. Essentially the arrangements made the office of suffragan everything it could be, short of Lancaster becoming a diocesan bishopric in its own right.

Following Bishop Askwith’s translation from Blackburn to Gloucester in 1954, Cyril Garbett made Pollard the archbishop of York’s coadjutor, temporarily in charge of the diocese of Blackburn. Pollard’s understanding of the situation was recorded in *The Crosier*, the Blackburn diocesan leaflet:

Dr Askwith becomes Bishop of Gloucester on July 6th, and the Archbishop of York, on that day, becomes guardian of the spiritualities of the See for

⁶⁷ Ibid.

the period of the vacancy. After July 6th, all episcopal functions, except those concerning patronage, have been delegated by the Archbishop to me.⁶⁹

This measure would remain in place until Askwith's successor was chosen and had legally taken possession of the vacant bishopric. For three months during 1954 Pollard was the only bishop in the diocese of Blackburn before Baddeley had arrived. Usually, Pollard could have counted on Blackburn's second suffragan. However, the suffragan bishopric of Burnley was vacant due to the sudden death of Keith Prosser, at the age of 57, on 27 June 1954. Because of the density of population, Blackburn was a diocese that required its two suffragan bishops. Even before Askwith left Blackburn, Archbishop Garbett anticipated difficulties: in early April 1954 he wrote to Sir Anthony Bevir, the Prime Minister's Appointment Secretary, 'I hope very much there may not be a very long interregnum after the resignation of the Bishop of Blackburn. His suffragan, the Bishop of Burnley is seriously ill'.⁷⁰

Pollard's appointments diary from 16 July to 27 August 1954 listed nineteen 'non-parochial' engagements, some of which required his absence from Lancaster for several days. For instance, from 20 to 23 July Pollard was in London attending meetings of the Pensions Board, the Church Commissioners and a Buckingham Palace Garden party, and from 9 to 14 August he attended the school for choristers at Rossall. The engagements must be seen in context of an additional tier of responsibilities added to his existing parish and archidiaconal duties.⁷¹

⁶⁸ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Bevir to Churchill, 21 Jul. 1954.

⁶⁹ *Crosier*, vol. 5, no. 56 (Aug. 1954).

⁷⁰ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Garbett to Bevir 9 Apr. 1954.

⁷¹ *Crosier*, vol. 5, no. 56 (9 Aug. 1954), calendar of 'the Bishop of Lancaster's non-parochial engagements'.

The circumstances of Pollard of being placed in sole responsibility could have been foreseen in one of the neighbouring northern dioceses, such as Carlisle, Liverpool, or Wakefield, that each had only one suffragan see. However, in dioceses, like Blackburn, York, and Manchester, with a tradition of having several suffragan sees, Pollard's predicament generated an unreasonable workload in addition to his other duties. By July 1954, the situation warranted Garbett again writing to Bevir:

Will you do what you can to hasten an appointment to Blackburn. The position there is really desperate: no diocesan, one suffragan...If nothing happens in the next two weeks, I think I shall have to write direct to the Prime Minister urging the importance of an appointment in the near future.⁷²

Shortly before Baddeley's translation to Blackburn was publicized, Garbett wrote to Bevir that 'Blackburn will get a very good diocesan. We must try to move Pollard as soon as possible.'⁷³ Garbett anticipated a problematic relationship between an over powerful suffragan and a new diocesan and promptly facilitated Pollard's translation to Sodor and Man.

The combination of archidiaconal power and suffragan episcopal prestige in the hands of one cleric could represent a serious challenge to the authority of the diocesan bishop, particularly if the suffragan/archdeacon had been appointed by a diocesan's predecessor.

Before Baddeley legally succeeded Askwith, Pollard was nominated as Bishop of Sodor and Man. Under canon law the situation became complicated not only because Pollard had been made the archbishop of York's coadjutor, with regard to the diocese of Blackburn, but also because Pollard simultaneously held the suffragan bishopric,

⁷² TNA, Prem. 5/259 Garbett to Bevir 10 July 1954.

archdeaconry and vicarage of Lancaster. In law, the Crown had the right to appoint an archdeaconry, deanery, canonry or parochial benefice vacated by the office holder becoming a diocesan bishop.⁷⁴ Moreover, during a vacancy in a diocesan see, the crown had the right to make appointments, which are otherwise in the gift of the bishop, 'since that right forms part of the "temporalities" of the see, which belong to the crown during a vacancy and are restored to the bishop when he does homage. In practice, the bishop [in this case Pollard] to whom the other functions of the diocese have been delegated takes the lead on the appointment and the crown appoints the person recommended by him.'⁷⁵ Following Pollard's translation, Baddeley, decided to separate the three positions of vicar, archdeacon and bishop of Lancaster, commenting that 'it is a fact that Bishop Pollard is not bishop of Lancaster because he holds the vicarage nor is he archdeacon on the same grounds'.⁷⁶

Baddeley's decision was influenced by an important legal technicality, the significance of which initially escaped him, but not the outgoing suffragan bishop of Lancaster. At first Baddeley seemed incredulous when Pollard pointed out the legal realities of the situation. In the event, the appointments to vicarage and archdeaconry of Lancaster reverted to the crown and the nomination to the suffragan see of Lancaster was left with Baddeley. This unusual legal situation helps explain why William Gordon Fallows, a priest from the modernist stable, became archdeacon of Lancaster under the Anglo-catholic Baddeley.

On coming to office in 1954, with appointments to the archdeaconry and vicarage of Lancaster clearly out of his patronage, Baddeley was still at liberty to nominate two

⁷³ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Garbett to Bevir 31 July 1954.

⁷⁴ The Pilling Report, *Talent and Calling*, p. 20.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷⁶ LRO, DRB, accession 8453, Box 20. Bishop Baddeley to Reginald Clayton, Registrar. 24 Sept. 1954.

suffragan bishops of his own choice for the vacant sees of Burnley and Lancaster. Here Baddeley's previous experience as suffragan bishop of Whitby came into play. Baddeley sought the opinion of the Vicar General to the Archbishop of York, the barrister W. S. Wigglesworth, on the viability of separating suffragans from holding parish benefices. The opinion supporting separation was welcomed by Reginald Clayton, registrar for the diocese of Blackburn, who recommended 'the idea of divorcing suffragans from a benefice has much to be said for it though doing so in the case of archdeacons I personally doubt — at any rate in a diocese of Blackburn's pattern'.⁷⁷ Clayton's remarks are interesting because the diocese of Blackburn had experimented with the idea of unbeneficed archdeacons, when from 1944 to 1950, having ceased to be vicar of Lytham, Fosbrooke remained archdeacon of Lancaster; while from 1946 to 1959 Charles Lambert combined the office of archdeacon of Blackburn, not with a parish, but a canonry at Blackburn cathedral. During Baddeley's time the archdeacons of Lancaster were beneficed, and the archdeacon of Blackburn became beneficed when Picton succeeded Lambert in 1959. But while the suffragan bishop of Burnley also remained beneficed, the bishop of Lancaster came out of a parish, and the office of suffragan was also separated from that of archdeacon. Baddeley's policy certainly had the effect of weakening the power base that had been built up by Pollard. Baddeley clearly intended to follow a strong, almost headmasterly, line when it came to overseeing suffragans, 'learning so much from Garbett and his methods'.⁷⁸ The extent to which Baddeley replicated this is revealed in his monthly *Bishop's Letter*:

I am not surrendering episcopal oversight and pastoral care of the whole,
but I delegate certain functions to the suffragan bishops including a share

⁷⁷ LRO, Ibid., Clayton to Baddeley, 10 Sept. 1954.

in the episcopal oversight and pastoral care. There will be many matters, which the clergy will refer in the first place to their suffragan, but each and all may always have direct access to the Bishop. He remains the ‘pastor pastorum’ — the shepherd of the shepherd: but thanks to the help he receives from his two ‘assistants’ he will have more time to fulfil this (as I think) his primary function — with some time, too, to make close contact with ‘the sheep.’⁷⁹

To the dual position of suffragan bishop and rector of Burnley, Baddeley appointed forty-two-year-old Canon George Edward Holderness, vicar of St Cuthbert, Darlington, 1947 to 1955.⁸⁰ Like Baddeley, he was a graduate of Keble College, but then went on to Westcott House.

Baddeley commented of the new bishop’s duties:

The primary charge of the bishop of Burnley will be that of the parish of Burnley, of which he is rector: but he too will share with me the confirmations in the rural deaneries of Accrington, Blackburn, Burnley, Leyland and Whalley, and take his rightful place on some central bodies. I have promised him that I will do the lion’s share of episcopal work in his area at least until such a time as he has been able to pick up the reins of the parish of Burnley: and I hope he may for some time be spared more than a few invitations to preach even in the parishes of his area.⁸¹

Baddeley’s new Bishop of Lancaster was the fifty-two-year-old Anthony Leigh Egerton Hoskyns-Abrahall, rural dean, and vicar of St Michael, Aldershot. He was a

⁷⁸ YML, GP, Coll. 1973/1 Garbett H/32, Baddeley to Garbett 1 Nov. 1955.

⁷⁹ *Crosier*, vol. 6, no. 62, (Feb. 1955).

⁸⁰ Holderness attended Leeds Grammar. Before the war he was chaplain at Aysgarth School, Bedale and during the Second World War served as Chaplain to the Forces in West Africa and India.

⁸¹ *Crosier*, vol. 6, no. 62 (Feb. 1955).

Navy man, educated at Osborne and Dartmouth. On leaving the Royal Navy in 1929 he trained for ordination at Westcott House. Unusually, for a bishop, he was not a university graduate.⁸² Like Holderness, Hoskyns-Abrahall was keen on shooting, fishing, and cricket: both suffragans were members of the MCC. Baddeley commented of Abrahall's duties:

The work of the bishop of Lancaster will be mainly in the five rural deaneries of Fylde, Garstang, Lancaster, Preston, and Tunstall, and he will have a place on a number of diocesan boards and committees. He will share with me the confirmations in the parishes of those rural deaneries. I hope that, at least during his first year amongst us, he may be allowed to visit the parishes of his area without distracting invitations from other quarters.⁸³

In separating the bishopric from the parish and archdeaconry of Lancaster, Baddeley moved Abrahall's position closer to becoming the unbeneficed clerical manager that suffragans were to become in the 70s. Certainly in Abrahall the diocese of Blackburn now gained a suffragan able to concentrate exclusively on his episcopal role; but was this Baddeley's motivation for separating the offices? Pollard had been a powerful figure whose unique combination of offices brought his authority close to rivalling that of the diocesan. Living in the vicarage of Lancaster (rather than outside the town as subsequent suffragans were to do) he symbolised the regional pride of the ancient county town. Pollard seems to provide a cautionary tale of an over-mighty suffragan with the potential for an explosive situation. The hope of a separate diocese of Lancaster appears to have faded with Pollard's translation to Sodor and Man, and

⁸² Abrahall was a curate at St Mary, Portsea, then, chaplain at Shrewsbury school, 1933-36, and then curate at another Anglo-Catholic church, St Wilfrid, Harrogate. From 1939-45 he was chaplain to the Tower of London and to the Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve.

Baddeley's appointment of a successor who was in effect an episcopal curate to the diocesan. Suggestions for increasing the number of dioceses within the Church of England, and in effect making a large number of existing suffragan sees into dioceses continued to be made well into the 1960s and 70s⁸⁴ but came to nothing.

V

During Fisher's time at Canterbury, 1945-61, of 64 appointments to diocesan bishoprics 23 (36 per cent) were suffragans promoted to diocesans.⁸⁵ Of the remaining 44 diocesan appointments, 3 were former suffragans later translated to another diocese.⁸⁶ The figure is consistent with the sixteen years prior to Fisher's arrival at Canterbury. The years 1928 to 1944 saw 55 appointments to diocesan bishoprics, 20 of which (36 per cent) were filled by men with suffragan experience (and 17 directly by suffragans). However, in the sixteen years after Fisher's retirement, 1962-76, 21 of the 50 diocesan appointments (42 per cent) were given to men who had acted as suffragans,⁸⁷ a modest but noticeable increase (6 per cent) in the odds favouring suffragans. Another development was the average age of suffragans at appointment falling from 56 during the ten years 1920-29, to 51 for the decade 1970-79.⁸⁸ Taken together these two developments strongly imply that the office became

⁸³ *Crosier*, vol. 6, no. 62 (Feb. 1955).

⁸⁴ Welsby, *History*, pp. 249 ff.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ These translations were: William Louis Anderson, suffragan bishop of Croydon 1937-41, bishop of Portsmouth 1941-9, appointed bishop of Salisbury 1949; Maurice Harland, suffragan bishop of Croydon, 1942-7, bishop of Lincoln 1947-56, and appointed bishop of Durham 1956; and Robert Stopford, suffragan bishop of Fulham 1955-6, bishop of Peterborough 1956-61, appointed bishop of London in 1961.

⁸⁷ Palmer, *High and Mitred*, pp. 323-47.

⁸⁸ Based on data from *Crockford's*, and *Who Was Who: A Culminated Index 1897-1990*, the decade 1970-79 saw 66 suffragan appointments, the oldest was Hugh Charles Blackburne, 65 when appointed in 1977. The youngest was Michael Eric Marshall, 39 when appointed in 1975. The average age on appointment was 51 years. The decade 1920-29, saw 29 suffragan appointments, the oldest, William Chapman Streatfield, was 64 when consecrated in 1929, and the youngest Percy Mark Herbert, was 37 when consecrated in 1922. The average age of suffragans appointed between 1920-29 was 56 years. The age at consecration of one candidate, Henry Kemble Southwell, consecrated suffragan bishop of Lewes in 1920, cannot be stated because his date of birth was not listed in either *Crockford's* or *Who was Who* moreover, internet searches on Google, etc, did not provide the information.

increasingly regarded as part of a clerical career structure corresponding to a middle-management position which provided something of a training ground for potential diocesans.⁸⁹

There were other developments, not least decolonisation, which were to have an impact upon the English episcopate. The Fisher years coincided with Britain's withdrawal from many of her former colonies. During the days of Empire ex-colonial bishops had performed the function that bishops *in partibus infidelium* had undertaken in England before the Reformation. Burns observed that wider colonial issues even featured in the debate surrounding the reintroduction of suffragan bishops in England and that some opinion in favour of the restoration of English suffragans reflected a hope that this would remove a possible incentive for homesick colonial prelates to desert their posts.⁹⁰ Indeed, during the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth it was an established practice for ex-colonial bishops to act as assistant bishops to hard pressed or incapacitated English diocesans.

As Empire moved towards Commonwealth the office of the English suffragan was therefore an unexpected beneficiary as a 1964 report on suffragan and assistant bishops revealed: 'Within a few years there will be few if any overseas diocesan bishops available for appointment as assistant bishops on their retirement and return to England.'⁹¹ The decline in supply of ex-colonial bishops undoubtedly contributed to the demand to increase the number of English suffragan sees in the post 1945 era, but it also had a more subtle and unintentional impact on the clerical profession. Chandler comments that between 1965 and the end of 1973 the number of suffragans rose by

⁸⁹ Michael De-la-Noy, *The Church of England: A Portrait* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 60.

⁹⁰ Burns, *Diocesan Revival*, p. 211.

⁹¹ Report on Suffragan and Assistant Bishops, p. 2, Para. 9.

thirteen, while the number of assistant bishops only reduced by four.⁹² In the case of Baddeley's return from Melanesia he became a suffragan, rather than 'assistant' bishop, an appointment that contradicted the logic that suffragan bishops were needed as an alternative to ex-colonial bishops. During Fisher's time at Canterbury while several of the seventy-one suffragans appointed had experience of the church overseas, only two were given to ex-colonial bishops (Baddeley and Roderic Norman Coote, bishop of Gambia and the Rio Porgas 1951-7, translated to the suffragan see of Fulham in 1957) and indeed only two were archdeacons prior to returning to England.⁹³ The figure is unexpectedly low precisely at a time of decolonisation when it might have been anticipated many colonial bishops would wish to return to England.⁹⁴

Fisher's tenure at Canterbury saw the foundation of only three new suffragan sees: Stockport, 1949, Aston, 1954 and Tonbridge, 1959. By contrast, in the sixteen years prior to Fisher eight suffragan sees were created, and in the sixteen years after he retired thirteen were founded.⁹⁵ Of this growth in number Colin Podmore has observed:

Increased funding by the Church Commissioners is likely to have played its part — together with the failure to create new dioceses after 1927 and the decline in availability of former overseas bishops for appointment as assistant bishops — in the growth in the number of suffragan bishoprics. It would seem that after 1978 the need for a report by the Dioceses

⁹² Chandler, *Church of England*, p. 189.

⁹³ These were: Harry Thomas, who was archdeacon of Brisbane 1938-44, and consecrated suffragan bishop of Taunton in 1945; and Angus Campbell MacInnes who was archdeacon of Palestine and Jerusalem before being consecrated suffragan bishop of Bedford in 1953.

⁹⁴ Two suffragans: Joost de Blank, bishop of Stepney, 1952-7, and Frank Woods, bishop of Middleton, 1952-7, were both translated as overseas diocesans in 1957 respectively to Cape Town, and Melbourne.

⁹⁵ *Crockford's 1987/8*, pp. 898-900.

Commission and approval by the General Synod played its part in first reducing and then halting that growth.⁹⁶

Fisher's attitude towards the office of suffragan bishop had been both pragmatic and conservative. For example, the undefined and subordinate legal status of suffragan bishops remained essentially unchanged under the revised Canon Law.

Towards the end of Fisher's archiepiscopate the anonymous author of the 1959/60 *Crockford's* Preface made some critical yet prophetic comments about the evolution of the office of suffragan.⁹⁷ The piece is prophetic in that it was written a year before Fisher retired and its criticism was more applicable to the policy that emerged in the post-Fisher period than Fisher's own. For instance, it complains that forty-four suffragan bishops were too many. The writer also objected to the policy of promoting suffragans to be diocesans because, 'when they at last enter that charmed circle which attends "Bishops' Meetings" they do not bring the fresh air from the outer world that is so badly needed'.⁹⁸

However, the article also criticised something for which Fisher was largely responsible: the separation of the suffragan's office from that of incumbent of a parish. The Preface criticised this because it reduced 'contact between the diocesan episcopate and the body of ordinary clergy. Suffragans are part of the administrative staff of the diocese and they also share in the isolation that surrounds a bishop.'⁹⁹

The qualities Fisher embodied, and admired in others, were those of an effective administrator and manager, this inevitably influenced his choice of bishops. Trevor Beeson observes:

⁹⁶ Colin Podmore, 'Diocese and Episcopal Sees in England: A Background Report for the Dioceses Commission' (July, 2008), p. 74.

⁹⁷ *Crockford's Clerical Directory 1959/60*, pp. iv, v.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. iv.

Since politicians were becoming much less interested in episcopal appointments, Fisher's influence was much greater than any of his predecessors ... He favoured pastors rather than scholars or prophets, and generally went for 'safe' men who were unlikely to challenge his ideas.¹⁰⁰

Fisher's intellect was channelled into the efficient running of institutions rather than theological scholarship. Before his appointment to Canterbury these qualities were ably demonstrated both during his time as headmaster of Repton and later as bishop of London. Surprisingly, for a man born in 1887, Fisher understood with impressive foresight that in the modern age running a diocese would increasingly become 'a major task, involving several hundred personnel, millions of pounds and massive responsibilities and that good manager at the helm was arguably a better bet than a saint'.¹⁰¹ Fisher grasped the necessity of collating accurate information to ensure efficient central management and the foundation of the Statistical Unit of the Church of England's Central Board of Finance demonstrated this desire. Fisher embodied managerial efficiency during a period when the force of secular society was moving in this direction. Within this climate the Church of England came to be regarded alongside other public service institutions such as the BBC, the Armed Forces, the National Health Service and the Civil Service, as one of a series of public bodies that demanded efficient management. To this end in 1948 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Ann's Bounty merged to create the Church Commissioners. The measure was primarily intended to achieve a higher level of uniformity and efficiency in the financial administration of the Church. However, it

¹⁰⁰ Beeson, *Bishops*, p. 131.

¹⁰¹ M. Percy and Gillian Evans, 'The Church: Management or Service?' in *Managing the Church*, p. 252.

also enabled the episcopate to adopt an increasingly managerial identity during the 1950s, 60s and 70s.

Chandler comments that ‘the history of the Church Commissioners coincided with the rise of the suffragan bishop in the Church of England. It was a rise which, in their turn, the Commissioners themselves did much to facilitate.’¹⁰² A legacy of Fisher’s time at Canterbury was that the episcopate, both in its suffragan and diocesan forms, moved increasingly in an administrative and managerial direction and could be cited as a historic example of what Gillian Evans and Martyn Percy were much later to describe as the episcopate finding itself ‘linked to the normative modes of organizational power that operate in a secular society. Pre-eminent among these is that of a chief executive, presiding over other managers, who in turn regulate clergy and laity.’¹⁰³ The image of the diocesan as a chief executive presiding over other managers, suffragans and archdeacons, who regulate the clergy, is a particularly appropriate one to apply to the Church of England at the start of the twenty-first century. However, the church’s adoption of the culture of managerialism is not a recent phenomenon. The seeds were well and truly sown during the time of Fisher at Canterbury. After Fisher retired the office of suffragan continued to evolve. In March 1964, the bishops of Hereford, London, Manchester, Newcastle, and Norwich produced a report, at the request of Archbishops Ramsey and Coggan, on suffragan and assistant bishops in the Church of England. The terms of reference given to the group were:

To consider the additional number of suffragan and assistant bishops required in the provinces of Canterbury and York and the responsibilities

¹⁰² Chandler, *Church of England*, p. 132.

¹⁰³ Percy and Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

of such bishops; and advise about the combination of suffragan bishoprics and archdeaconries.¹⁰⁴

Two of the five bishops on the group, Robert Stopford of London and Mark Hodson of Hereford, had served as suffragans prior to becoming diocesans. Some of the group's recommendations were quite radical, went well beyond their terms of reference, and were never implemented. For example, they proposed that 'the long-term solution to the problem of suffragan bishoprics is to be found in the creation of more dioceses essentially a diocese for every bishop, approximately 112 in all. Alongside this would come an increase in the number of provinces in the Church of England.'¹⁰⁵

On less contentious ground, the report recommended an increase up to a maximum of 32 per cent [14] of the existing number of forty-four suffragans.¹⁰⁶ They suggested that the title of 'suffragan' be dropped and replaced with either 'assistant' or 'auxiliary' bishop.¹⁰⁷ While the number of suffragan bishoprics has increased since 1964, slightly in excess of the 14 recommended, the title of the office has in fact remained unchanged.

With regards to the central issue of combining the offices of archdeacon and suffragan the report advised:

In a diocese which is predominantly rural and where parishes are scattered over a wide area there is much to be said for combining in one person the archdeacon and suffragan. Not only is there a saving in stipend and expenses, where parishes are remote from the See city administration and

¹⁰⁴ Borthwick Institute, Bp. 2/ Prov. /2/2, '1964 Report on Suffragan and Assistant Bishops' (unpubl.), p.1, Para.1.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 4, Para. 15

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 2-3, Para. 10.

pastoral care will overlap. In a large urban diocese the two offices could only be combined by increasing the number of suffragans and the two functions are more easily separated.¹⁰⁸

Despite this recommendation there has been a marked reluctance, even in rural areas, to combine the roles of archdeacon and suffragan. There has also been a trend for archdeacons to be withdrawn from parish ministry and the suffragan has become an intermediary position between the more 'junior' archdeacon and the more senior diocesan, corresponding with levels of lower, middle, and senior management. In the 1950s, when the Church of England was numerically strong in terms of parish clergy and congregations, as we have seen, there were relatively few unbeneficed suffragan bishops and archdeacons. This was at a time before the advent of much information technology that was later to make the task of management and communication quicker and simpler. Fifty years later, a greatly reduced church, in terms of clergy and congregations, had more unbeneficed suffragan bishops and archdeacons to manage it than at any previous time in its history. This is symptomatic of the Church of England moving away from a culture of clerical professionalism and embracing one of managerialism. The evolution of the office of suffragan bishop which began under Fisher is an effective illustration of this change in Anglican culture.

By arranging for suffragans to be paid from central church funds, Fisher effected their liberation from the necessity of combining the office with other functions. In so doing he removed the main motivation for suffragans to align with the parish clergy as political grouping in the convocations, Assembly and later General Synod. By detaching suffragans from other offices they were defined in an exclusively

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 3, Para. 12

leadership/managerial role in the same way that a head teacher, or deputy, who is not a classroom teacher is marked out as one who leads/manages the institution and the professionals within it. As a successful headmaster and educationalist Fisher would have been well aware of the implication of the 1954 changes. That Fisher identified a need for suffragan bishops to become ‘specialists’ marks the beginning of the managerial movement in the Church of England.

Finding a diocese for the former-colonial bishop

This chapter contains an introduction and three sections. The introduction explains why two candidates from within the diocese of Blackburn were ‘passed over’ in favour of Baddeley. Section one (the longest) discusses why Baddeley’s previous experience made him particularly suitable for Blackburn, but excluded him from appointment to other dioceses. Section two examines the debate surrounding the choice of Baddeley’s successor at Blackburn, and section three comments on the changing nature of the episcopate in the 1950s.

Page one of *The Preston Guardian*, 25 September 1954, had two ecclesiastical headlines. One, ‘Blackburn Chapter elects Bishop’, gave a brief account of Walter Baddeley being formally elected bishop by the cathedral chapter. However, the second, the main headline, read: ‘Dr Pollard to be Bishop of Sodor and Man’. Due to the near proximity in time, and the overlap of individuals involved in the appointments, there is profit in examining the criteria that decided that Pollard, vicar, archdeacon and suffragan bishop of Lancaster, should leave Lancashire for the Isle of Man, and Baddeley get Blackburn.

Following the public announcement in April 1954 of Wilfred Askwith’s translation from Blackburn to Gloucester, Garbett followed his ‘usual course’ of asking the Provost and Chapter to let him ‘know confidentially’ if they had ‘any views on the matter’.¹ Bernard Palmer attributes this practice to Fisher: ‘A further “democratisation” of the system was Fisher’s decision always to consult the dean and chapter of the vacant diocese before suggesting a name to the Prime Minister.’² Before

¹ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Garbett to Bevir 12 April 1954.

² Bernard Palmer, *High and Mitred: Prime Ministers as Bishop Makers* (London, 1992), pp. 337-8.

Garbett began his consultation, Sir Anthony Bevir, the Prime Minister's Appointments Secretary, wrote to the Archbishop of York advising that:

I think that very likely there will be letters to the Prime Minister suggesting that the Bishop of Lancaster should be appointed, and, though I will have everything looked through carefully, I remember the Bishop of Warrington's name [Claxton, suffragan in the diocese of Liverpool] was mentioned as being more suitable for Blackburn than for St Edmundsbury and Ipswich. Further when Moorman's name was mentioned for St Edmundsbury, it was said he was more suited to a Northern See, if he was to be a diocesan, such as Blackburn.³

This correspondence was part of an initial consultation between Bevir and the archbishop, which was triggered by a vacancy in see. There followed separate but parallel processes. Bevir made a research trip to the diocese concerned 'to see people and collect opinions',⁴ and the archbishop wrote to the relevant cathedral chapter. Accordingly, in May 1954 Bevir visited Blackburn.⁵ Prior to his visit Charles Claxton, John Moorman and Benjamin Pollard were names on Bevir's list.

From a Lancashire perspective, Pollard appeared an obvious successor to Askwith at Blackburn. Bevir anticipated difficulties if Pollard were not appointed because 'the new bishop will therefore have to deal with a Suffragan who feels he has strong claims to the See itself'.⁶ An additional factor also compounded the case for simply promoting within the context of the diocese. Shortly before Askwith went to Gloucester, Charles Keith Prosser, suffragan bishop of Burnley had died aged fifty-

³ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Bevir to Garbett 12 April 1954.

⁴ Palmer, *High and Mitred*, p. 236.

⁵ TNA, Prem. 5/ 259, Ann Robinson, bishop of Blackburn's secretary, to Bevir, 13 May 1954.

⁶ Ibid., 5/259, Bevir to Prime Minister, a Note of the See of Blackburn, 21 July 1954.

seven.⁷ Burnley was the only other suffragan in the diocese and with William Kay, provost of Blackburn cathedral, far from well, only Pollard and Charles Lambert, archdeacon of Blackburn, represented continuity in the high command at a period of crisis in diocesan leadership.

For several reasons, however, Pollard was ‘passed over’ for Blackburn as a letter from Garbett to Bevir reveals:

The name of the Bishop of Lancaster has been mentioned from time to time in connexion with vacant bishoprics and almost invariably I have had private letters asking that he might not be considered. It would be quite fatal to appoint him as the diocesan of the See in which he has been the suffragan. In fairness to the Bishop I ought to add that he is doing very well as Prolocutor of the Northern Convocation, and he needs a move from the parish of which he has been vicar for a very long period. But it would be a mistake to appoint him to Blackburn. I am also doubtful if it would be at all wise to move Warrington to a neighbouring diocese. Personally, I do not know Moorman, but the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Chichester [Bell] have spoken about him warmly in connexion of other vacancies.⁸

In 1945, Bevir suggested to Garbett that Pollard be considered to succeed Campbell Richard Hone as bishop of Wakefield. However, Henry McGowan was appointed.⁹ In 1947 Pollard was mentioned as a possible successor to Warman of Manchester, but the bishopric went to William Greer, principal of Westcott House. If there were those pushing for Pollard’s promotion to diocesan, Garbett was thus unconvinced and took

⁷ Williams, *Viewed from the Water Tank*, p. 178.

⁸ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Garbett to Bevir, 13 April 1954.

⁹ LPL, FP, vol. 3, fo. 355, Garbett to Fisher, 13 Sept.

note of the ‘private letters’ asking that Pollard ‘not be considered’. If Garbett had personal misgivings about Pollard’s appointment he also held a more general objection, which constituted an axiom of the selection process.

Garbett, in common with other archbishops in the post-1870 period, held a general prejudice against promoting suffragans within their existing dioceses. This prejudice was displayed in his opposition to Tom Longworth, suffragan bishop of Pontefract in the diocese of Wakefield, succeeding McGowan¹⁰ in 1948:

I am inclined to think we ought to rule Pontefract out... He would do well as a diocesan elsewhere...but it would be a mistake for him to remain in the diocese ... the diocese wants some fresh ideas from outside.¹¹

Predictably, in 1954 Garbett objected to Pollard succeeding Askwith at Blackburn:

Though his appointment would be acceptable to a large number of his friends in Blackburn, there are others who would feel it a mistake that a man who has been working for so long in the diocese should be appointed as its bishop. While I feel bound to mention his name, I myself am very doubtful whether he would be able to make any fresh contribution to the diocese. He would keep the machinery in action, but I think after a few years it would be found that he had done little to improve it.¹²

Though suffragan bishops often became diocesans during the period 1870-1968, this usually involved translation to a different diocese. The few exceptions to this rule constituted less than 2 per cent of diocesan appointments between 1901 and 1968; Winnington-Ingram’s translation from Stepney to London in 1901; Campbell Richard Hone’s translation from Pontefract to Wakefield in 1938; Sydney Cyril Bulley’s

¹⁰ Longworth became bishop of Hereford in 1949.

¹¹ LPL, FP, vol. 50, fo. 2, Garbett to Fisher, 30 Sept. 1948.

¹² TNA, Prem. 5/259, Garbett to the Prime Minister, 19 June 1954.

translation from Penrith to Carlisle in 1966, and Eric Treacy's translation from Pontefract to Wakefield in 1968.¹³ In three cases (Hone, Bulley and Treacy), the internal promotions were made in the context of dioceses that only had one suffragan see.

The translation of a suffragan to a diocesan within the context of the same diocese was thus rare both before and after the Fisher-Garbett partnership. However, during Geoffrey Fisher's fifteen years at Canterbury, as in Cyril Garbett's thirteen years as archbishop of York, such suffragan translations ceased entirely. Evidently, this archiepiscopal combination was peculiarly hostile to such appointments.

Other reasons also conspired against Pollard getting Blackburn. For instance, Bevir cited Pollard's age as a reason why Baddeley was a better prospect:

No appointment to the bench has been made for the last fifteen years of anyone over the age of sixty, and the Bishop of Lancaster is sixty-four and not in good health, and the Bishop of Whitby [Baddeley] is sixty and vigorous. The diocese is heavy and it does not seem a case in which account should be taken of wounded feelings.¹⁴

Pollard was not the only internal candidate put forward to succeed Askwith. Some of the Blackburn Chapter mentioned to Garbett that Charles Lambert, archdeacon of Blackburn, should succeed. Lambert had been a protégé of both William Temple and Wilfred Askwith. Even so, Garbett never highlighted the name in the appointment correspondence with either Downing Street or Lambeth. Less than two months after Baddeley had taken over at Blackburn the bishop began to experience difficulties in his working relationship with Lambert and sought advice from Garbett. In December 1954 Baddeley told Garbett: 'Charles Lambert knows that there was a solid body of

¹³ Palmer, *High and Mitred*, pp. 323-47.

opinion in the Chapter here when they were discreetly asked about a new Bishop some months ago [May 1954]'. Garbett refuted the suggestion: 'How men deceive themselves ... only four out of the 18 mentioned him as a successor to Askwith.'¹⁵ Garbett's reply denotes a barely concealed contempt for Lambert. Lambert never became a bishop or dean and remained in Blackburn diocese until his retirement in 1966. The example of Lambert shows that in 1954 the nature of the appointment process gave individual discretionary power to Garbett as archbishop to make or break promotions to bishoprics both within and beyond the Northern Province. Garbett acquired a reputation for having protégés of his own and 'watch[ing] over their subsequent careers with greatest interest'.¹⁶ Three of Garbett's former domestic chaplains, Stretton Reeve, Gerald Ellison and Philip Wheeldon became bishops during Garbett's time at York, prompting 'a diocesan bishop of the Southern Province' to comment drily on Ellison's 1955 appointment to Chester: 'I observe that the Lion of the North has succeeded in placing another of his white-headed boys'.¹⁷ Baddeley as Garbett's suffragan, 1947-54, was fortunate in having a good working relationship with the 'Lion of the North', and it would appear that Garbett 'watched over' Baddeley's 'subsequent career with greatest interest'.

I

Baddeley's enthronement sermon, preached in the cathedral on 28 October 1954, left little doubt that the new bishop of Blackburn saw a parallel between his experience as a missionary and his new work in industrial Lancashire. Baddeley:

¹⁴ TNA, Prem. 5/ 259 Bevir to Lord Salisbury, 19 July 1954.

¹⁵ BI, Bp.2/Prov./4/1: Correspondence between the Archbishops of York and the Bishops of Blackburn, 1954-1982, Baddeley to Garbett, 11 Dec. 1954, Garbett to Baddeley, Dec. 1954.

¹⁶ Smyth, *Garbett*, p.459.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

doubted if there was a time in the whole history of the Christian church when there had been such evangelistic effort as there was in this generation. Yet they could not but be aware of the great gap, which seemed to widen between those who were apparently trying to live their lives by the standards of Jesus Christ and those who had thrown those standards overboard. In the towns of the diocese there must be thousands, who baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus and having received the gift of the Spirit, now lived their lives apparently indifferent to the claims upon them of Him who gave Himself for their salvation. You must expect to hear from me over and over again to try to bring back into the fellowship of Christ's church those who through carelessness, indifference and sin, have wandered away on the bleak hillsides of the world. Whether you be of that portion of the Catholic church which is commonly known as the Church of England or of some other part, for we are all one in Christ, one Lord, one Faith, one baptism, I come first to ask your prayers, already promised by so many and today assisted by the great concourse of Christian men and women. There can be no neutrals in the war against the power of evil. The fight that was now on, Christ, or chaos, was a challenge to lay aside spiritual inertia, to stand to arms and to follow Christ.¹⁸

Surprisingly, for a sermon delivered as early as 1954, the two themes of ecumenism and secularisation are addressed. Baddeley's preaching style was direct, simple and evangelical. This is unexpected for a bishop drawn from the Anglo-Catholic tradition. Nevertheless, it is consistent with his missionary background. His references to the

¹⁸ *Preston Guardian*, 30 Oct. 1954, 'Ceremonial Enthronement of the new Bishop of Blackburn.'

‘towns of the diocese’¹⁹ reflect the fact that, despite the rural, coastal, and county aspects of Lancashire, many people perceived Blackburn as an essentially urban diocese. At the time of Baddeley’s appointment, the Church of England had for over a century targeted urban-industrial areas for domestic missionary activity.

Before the nineteenth century ‘mission’ in the Church of England was largely understood simply in extra-domestic terms: i.e. taking the Gospel out to ‘primitive natives’ in foreign lands. As the nineteenth century progressed, the demographic changes caused by industrialisation resulted in missionary activity also becoming seen in terms taking the good news to Britain’s unchurched urban poor. Initiatives such as the London City Mission in the 1830s illustrate the point. The Religious Census of 1851 also highlighted the need to regard ‘mission’ as a domestic activity.

As we have seen the connection between domestic and overseas mission is a recurring theme in Baddeley’s career. Baddeley’s 1933 move from Middlesbrough to Melanesia assumed that his successful ministry in a northern industrial town equipped him for the appointment. In 1942, noting that a distinctive aspect of Blackburn was the need for ‘missionary work amongst the very large holiday population of the coast towns, Blackpool, Morecambe, etc’ Sir Anthony Bevir cited Askwith’s seven years missionary work in East Africa as a relevant factor.²⁰ He made the same point in 1954, mentioning Baddeley’s missionary experience in support of his candidature for Blackburn.

Bevir, Fisher and Lord Salisbury evidently perceived Blackburn as an archetypal working-class industrial diocese. Fisher described ‘the hard-Northern conditions of

¹⁹ *Lancashire Evening Post*, 28 Oct. 1954, ‘Enthronement of New Bishop: Church and State are linked with Solemn Pageantry’.

²⁰ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Bevir to Prime Minister, 14 Sept. 1942.

Blackburn',²¹ later remarking the 'great number of ... problems which arise from a considerable industrial area'²². Yet Baddeley's new diocese, unlike those of Manchester and Liverpool, did not contain either a city or a university, and so lacked a strong civic identity. This was an influential factor in determining Baddeley's appointment, as 'intellectually' he was seen as 'below the usual standard' for a diocesan bishop.²³ With Baddeley at Blackburn the issue of choosing a candidate known for good rapport with working men was not compromised by the need for the bishop to hold his own in the local university, or stand confidently in the forum of municipal statesmanship. In this it resembled Wakefield, but it also lacked an equivalent of the Community of the Resurrection and Mirfield Theological College, a spiritual and theological powerhouse of which appointments to the bishopric of Wakefield were sensitive.

The requirement for the diocesan bishop to be both academic and statesman was therefore less pressing in Blackburn than most other dioceses. Baddeley's high-church reputation probably excluded him from consideration for dioceses with an overtly 'low' or evangelical tradition. Accordingly, Fisher advised both Garbett and Bevir that 'if Whitby [Baddeley] was ever to be a diocesan, could there be a more suitable diocese than Blackburn'.²⁴

A legacy of the First World War was that thereafter the Church of England endeavoured to be more socially inclusive not only in the recruitment of clergy but also in its communication with the working classes.²⁵ Those appointing to Blackburn in 1954 were acutely aware that empathy with working people was essential. Indeed,

²¹ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Fisher to Prime Minister, 11 Dec. 1953.

²² Ibid., Fisher to Prime Minister, 31 May 1960.

²³ Ibid., Garbett to Prime Minister 19 June 1954.

²⁴ Ibid., Fisher to Bevir 20 July 1954.

Baddeley's modest social origins worked in his favour in a diocese like Blackburn and contrasted against the aristocratic lineage of Herbert and the archidiaconal/county background of Askwith. Hints as to the class origins of the respective bishops are suggested in the ways they addressed the Prime Minister's Appointment Secretaries. Herbert, the aristocrat, began correspondence 'Dear Bevir'; Askwith, as vicar of Leeds, started out using 'Dear Sir', changing to 'Dear Mr. Bevir', but on becoming bishop of Blackburn, soon adopted Dear Bevir'. Baddeley showed more deference, using 'Dear Sir Anthony'.²⁶ Here, as in other correspondence, Baddeley had with his superiors, it is evident that he was extremely deferential to those who held positions of authority above him. What made Baddeley an attractive personality from the point of view of the archbishops was that he clearly knew his place within the hierarchy of the episcopal pecking order. By temperament Baddeley was an unlikely candidate to challenge established authority and rock the boat.

Blackburn was a relatively junior diocesan appointment for a man of nineteen years' episcopal experience; nonetheless Baddeley was lucky to be appointed. Post-war changes at Downing Street made appointments from among ex-colonial bishops less likely. Churchill throughout his wartime administration had depended upon Brendan Bracken, Minister of Information, 1941-45, and a close personal associate for advice about church affairs. As Bracken was born in Australia he possessed particular insight into the Anglican Church abroad; Garbett observed that 'he has an amazing knowledge of bishops in all parts of the world!'²⁷ Bracken was instrumental to John William Wand's moves in 1943 from Archbishop of Brisbane to Bishop of Bath and

²⁵ Robert Reiss made this point in his paper on 'Twentieth Century Vocations' delivered to Club at the Athenaeum on 11 Feb. 2010.

²⁶ TNA, Prem.5/259, Herbert to Bevir, 13 May 1942, Askwith to Bevir 25 Sept 1942.

Wells; and then in 1945 from Bath and Wells to London. Churchill's election defeat in 1945, however, effectively ended Bracken's influence.²⁸ When Churchill returned to Downing Street in 1951, Bracken had fallen from grace and the Prime Minister turned instead to Lord Salisbury for advice in ecclesiastical affairs. Other factors also contributed to making the post-1945 Church of England a less welcoming institution to returning ex-colonial bishops.

According to Bernard Palmer the process of selecting diocesan bishops in the Church of England became more systematic from around 1947, when, during Attlee's administration, Sir Anthony Bevir was given particular responsibility to advise on all the premier's ecclesiastical appointments.²⁹

In the early days there was no clear allocation of duties, but over the years

Bevir found himself concentrating more and more on ecclesiastical work.

By 1947, it was thought desirable that a single secretary should advise on all appointments that lay within the prime minister's prerogative; and Bevir was given this particular portfolio.³⁰

Lists containing suitable names for bishoprics existed before Bevir. Queen Victoria presented Disraeli 'in 1875 with a list of suitable nominees for bishoprics, deaneries and canonries'.³¹ Lord Cairns and Lord Derby both gave Disraeli suggestions for crown appointments. Even so, the innovative aspect of the Bevir system was the compilation of the lists by 'objective' civil servant rather than a 'partisan' politician. With the detachment and objectivity of the civil service came the implementation of formal procedures to undertake this process. Part of Bevir's duties

²⁷ Smyth, *Garbett*, p. 456.

²⁸ Bracken, was a close colleague of Churchill. Whereas Churchill was notoriously uninterested in ecclesiastical appointments, Bracken was the opposite.

²⁹ Bevir was from an Anglo-Irish background, educated at Eton and Hertford College, Oxford, and had been a secretary at Downing Street since 1940.

Consisted in going around the country to see people and collect opinions — and in the process to compile a useful dossier of men deserving consideration for appointment as bishops. He became a storehouse of facts, figures and judgements about the clergy (Attlee called him a ‘walking Crockford’). Indeed, so thorough were his methods and so massive his intelligence system that he caused some minor misgivings among leading churchmen.³²

These methods were imitated at Lambeth. Fisher thought the idea of compiling a list of men deemed to be ‘episcopabile’ a good one and set about compiling a Lambeth list. It became practice for diocesan bishops to send names to Lambeth of men considered potential bishop material, as, for example, when the bishop of Adelaide first brought Baddeley’s name to Fisher’s attention by suggesting him for an English bishopric in 1946.

It is unlikely Attlee had much direct involvement in the 1947 appointment to Whitby. Nevertheless, Baddeley possessed the personal attributes of a classic Attlee-type bishop. According to Edward Carpenter:

Attlee was convinced that scholars and theologians made better deans than bishops and that he ought to look for potential episcopal material to the parishes rather than the universities. He felt also that there was a tendency to appoint too many from the public schools, and always he had a leaning towards younger men and the more ‘adventurous’ among them.³³

With the exception of ‘younger’ this description could have been written with Baddeley in mind.

³⁰ Palmer, *High and Mitred*, p. 236.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³² Palmer, *High and Mitred*, p. 236.

Bevir's innovative work at Downing Street combined with Fisher's systematic system of researching potential bishops changed the selection procedure for senior clerics significantly and the process became more rigorous.³⁴ Baddeley's appointment to Whitby reveals Fisher's rigorous approach even with regard to a relatively junior position. Fisher approached Wand of London, who also knew Baddeley, to verify Robin Bryan's assessment in Adelaide. Yet Baddeley's return from Melanesia was relatively straightforward. Garbett already knew Baddeley and the nomination of a suffragan was essentially at Garbett's discretion. However, once back, it took Baddeley seven years to qualify for a diocesan bishopric.

Because overseas provinces operated outside the immediate jurisdiction of Canterbury and York, offering English dioceses to colonial bishops represented a higher level of risk than simply recruiting from the pool of home candidates, as the Molyneux affair had indicated. Compiling dossiers on eligible candidates was more practical in England than for those overseas. Garbett and Fisher took note of this. During Garbett's thirteen years at York (1942-55) Baddeley was the only former-colonial bishop made a diocesan in the Northern Province. Over Fisher's sixteen years at Canterbury, 1945-61, only five out of 66 diocesan vacancies, in both provinces, were filled by former-colonial bishops.

Perhaps the most famous of former-colonial bishop to become a diocesan in the period 1945-61 was Leonard Wilson.³⁵ Bishop of Singapore 1941-49, Wilson's courage and fortitude in face of Japanese brutality had been an inspiration to his fellow POWs in Changi Jail. He returned from Singapore to be dean of Manchester 1949-53, and

³³ Edward Carpenter, *Archbishop Fisher* (Norwich, 1991), p. 220.

³⁴ Palmer, *High and Mitred*, pp. 214-62, describes Fisher's changes to the selection process.

³⁵ In the post 1945 period Wilson had a high-profile public image because of his role in the annual Festival of Remembrance at the Albert Hall.

bishop of Birmingham 1953-69. Geoffrey Francis Allen, bishop of Egypt 1947-51, principal of Ripon Hall, Oxford, 1951-59, was appointed to Derby in 1959. Noel Hudson was translated from Newcastle to Ely in 1957 despite Fisher's opposition, the latter being outmanoeuvred by the Prime Minister's appointment secretary David Stephens. The ex-colonial bishop who rose highest in the English hierarchy at this time was John William Wand, bishop of London 1945-55, but his translation from Brisbane to Bath and Wells occurred before Fisher got to Canterbury, although Wand's move to London on Fisher's vacation was the first diocesan appointment of Fisher's archiepiscopacy.

Significantly, none of the five former-colonial bishops that became English diocesans under Fisher were translated directly from an overseas bishopric, all having first proved themselves in a variety of 'probationary' posts including theological college principal (Allen), cathedral dean (Wilson) and suffragan (Baddeley).³⁶

Episcopal appointments before the Fisher and Garbett partnership suggest that the end of direct translations from overseas to English diocesan bishoprics was a deliberate policy of Fisher and Garbett. Under Temple, Wand went from Brisbane to Bath and Wells in 1943 and Philip Henry Loyd's from Nasik, India, to St. Albans in 1944.

It is evident from the correspondence surrounding the unsuccessful nomination of Ambrose Reeves to the bishopric of Blackburn in 1960 that Michael Ramsey (then at York) was more sympathetic to the cause of returning colonial bishops than Fisher.³⁷

Yet at Canterbury, 1961-74, Ramsey only directly translated one colonial bishop when in 1966 Leslie Brown moved from Namirembe to St Edmundsbury and Ipswich.³⁸

³⁶ Hudson returned from Borneo in 1938 to be Secretary of the S.P.G., and an assistant bishop in the diocese of St Albans before being appointed bishop of Newcastle in 1941.

³⁷ TNA, Prem. 5/259.

³⁸ In 1974 Kenneth Skelton the former Bishop of Matabeleland was appointed to Lichfield, but this was after spending four years as a parish priest and assistant bishop in Durham.

Seen in this context the Garbett-Fisher era was a turning point when the Church of England's relationship with the Anglican churches overseas was placed on a new footing.³⁹ Fisher and Garbett implemented this policy at the height of British decolonisation. Fisher sought to re-define the Church of England's relationship with the Anglican churches overseas, jettisoning some of the colonialist baggage. As William Jacob points out, Fisher was keen to push overseas bishops into forming provinces that 'created a context for local leadership, so that local variations in church government and leadership could develop, and Anglican churches particularly in Africa, could have the confidence to be less English'.⁴⁰ His policy contrasts with the more 'hands on' approach of Lang, as displayed with Baddeley's appointment to Melanesia in 1932. Fisher did not perceive the overseas dioceses as his direct responsibility, or as a natural extension of the Church of England's career structure. He encouraged the overseas churches to become more autonomous and to appoint indigenous clergy. The pre-1945 imperialist image of the colonial church rapidly gave way to the model of the Anglican Communion. In contrast to the image of Fisher as an authoritarian and rather reactionary headmaster his approach to the Anglican Church overseas reveals him in some respects as a progressive modernizer.

For those living through the immediate post-war years it was by no means apparent that Britain's international role as a great imperial power was finished. Notwithstanding, Fisher was quicker than most to anticipate the end of Empire. He foresaw the problem of ex-colonial bishops returning home in increasing numbers and adopted a selective policy concerning their filling positions within the English hierarchy. In the days of Empire there was a belief the Church of England generally demanded clergy of a higher academic quality than the colonial churches. A returning

³⁹ See p. 133. Fisher's reluctance to appoint ex-colonial bishops as suffragans confirms the point.

ex-colonial bishop like Baddeley might well have been welcomed by a hard-pressed English diocesan bishop looking for an assistant-bishop, but his appointment as a suffragan or diocesan was another matter because there remained questions about the intellectual calibre of ex-colonial bishops. Seen in this context Baddeley did well to rise as far as he did.

When Baddeley was appointed to Blackburn in 1954 the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, was delegating much of his ecclesiastical patronage work to Robert Arthur James Gascoyne-Cecil, fifth Marquis of Salisbury. In theory, Garbett should have determined Baddeley's preferment from Whitby to Blackburn. In practice, partly because of Garbett's age and failing health, Salisbury, Bevir and Fisher were the driving forces behind the appointment.

In early March 1953, Fisher wrote to Bevir concerning a recent meeting between the two archbishops at which they made 'a rough preview of approaching episcopal appointments' with reference to the dioceses of Lichfield, Birmingham, Leicester, St Edmundsbury and Gloucester. Fisher reported that Baddeley (along with seven others) had been mentioned, but not included on any of the five short-lists (of the eight unsuccessful candidates only three did not receive further episcopal preferment: Owen Chadwick, Frederick D. V. Narborough, suffragan bishop of Colchester, and John R. S. Taylor, diocesan bishop of Sodor and Man).⁴¹ In a letter relating to the vacancies at Lichfield and Birmingham Garbett commented to Fisher: 'I am sending tomorrow [21 March 1953] a statement about the Bishop of Whitby [Baddeley], he would not be suitable for Birmingham or Lichfield'.⁴² Examination of the appointment files for the vacancies in sees for the three years preceding Blackburn show Baddeley was not

⁴⁰ Jacob, *Making of the Anglican Communion*, p. 297.

⁴¹ TNA, Prem. 5/369, 1953 Ecclesiastical Appointments, Fisher to Bevir, 1 March 1953.

officially shortlisted for any diocesan vacancy before Blackburn: St Albans, Chelmsford, Truro, Gloucester, Birmingham, Lichfield, Bury St Edmunds or Leicester. However, Bevir's correspondence with Buckingham Palace before the Blackburn vacancy indicates that Baddeley had been 'commended to the Prime Minister for preferment to a diocese.'⁴³ In absence of any documentary evidence, Bevir's letter suggests Baddeley was recommended to the Prime Minister in a conversation of which there was no written record.

The appointment file relating to the vacancy at Gloucester in 1954 reveals that the scholarly fifty-three-years-old warden of Keble, Harry James Carpenter (appointed bishop of Oxford in early 1955) was mentioned for the vacancies at Gloucester and Blackburn. In January 1954, Bevir wrote to Lord Salisbury (acting for the Prime Minister): 'Blackburn [Askwith] might be moved to Gloucester, and perhaps the question might be asked whether Carpenter could not go to Blackburn?'⁴⁴ In the event, Gloucester was first offered to Carpenter, who turned it down; at this stage, Askwith was being considered as a possible successor to Garbett at York. The appointment papers to diocese of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich tell us that John Moorman was considered in influential quarters for Blackburn even before Askwith's translation to Gloucester had been decided. Archbishop Fisher wrote to Bevir in June 1953 about the vacancy at St Edmunds:

I asked the bishop of Chichester [Bell] about Moorman. He felt he would be perfectly good at St Edmundsbury and Ipswich ... When I said that as to Gloucester, about which he asked, I had a feeling that Blackburn [Askwith] had a claim to be offered it ... Chichester said, of course, if that

⁴² LPL, F.P., vol. 119 fo. 70, Garbett to Fisher, 20 March 1953. Unfortunately, the subsequent statement cannot be located in the Lambeth files.

⁴³ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Bevir to Sir Michael Adeane, 26 July 1954.

happened Moorman would be just the right person for Blackburn. He is a north countryman, his heart is in the north-country, he constantly goes back there and he would be far better placed as a north-country bishop, such as Blackburn. He did mention one other name, which is often mentioned to me, and that is Tiarks of Bradford.⁴⁵

When Gloucester, St Edmundsbury, and Blackburn, were vacant, John Moorman was principal of Chichester theological college and chancellor of Chichester cathedral. He was a respected scholar and by 1954 had had six books published. In 1959 he was consecrated bishop of Ripon. Fisher's letter to Bevir verifies Bernard Palmer's assertion that:

Fisher had an 'inner cabinet' of senior diocesans whom he consulted when Garbett and he were unable to make up their minds on a particular appointment, or when a number of sees had fallen vacant at the same time.⁴⁶

As Fisher certainly consulted George Bell, bishop of Chichester, over episcopal vacancies, it is possible that through Bell's prompting John Tiarks, provost of Bradford, was short-listed for Blackburn.⁴⁷ Tiarks had a great deal of Lancashire experience having served two curacies and two incumbencies in Liverpool diocese, vicar of St Paul Widnes, 1934-7, vicar of St Helens, 1937-44, before being appointed to Bradford. (In 1954, Tiarks was fifty-one and in fact did not become a diocesan for a further eight years, being consecrated bishop of Chelmsford in 1962.)

⁴⁴ TNA, Prem. 5/369, Bevir to Lord Salisbury, 13 Jan. 1954.

⁴⁵ TNA, Prem. 5/369, Fisher to Bevir, 6 Oct. 1963.

⁴⁶ Palmer, *High and Mitred*, pp. 337-8.

⁴⁷ Tiarks attended Westminster school and Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating with a third-class degree in 1925 before training for ordination at Ridley Hall.

Baddeley always assumed his appointment to Blackburn was attributable to Garbett, as a letter written in October 1954 indicates:

My first letter with the new signature [Walter Blackburn] must be to you [Garbett]. I owe you more than I can say. You have given me seven of the happiest years of my life. Not only have I made many friends here [Whitby] and my roots have gone so deep that it is going to be mighty hard to pull myself by them and go 'over there' [Lancashire] but all the time I have the great inspiration of your pastoral spirit and your magnificent leadership. I shall feel very lonely at times without you in the background. And it is, I know, largely due to you that I have this opportunity of service. I hope I shall never let you down. My sincerest thanks for everything,

God bless you always,

Yours ever, in affection and loyalty,

Walter Blackburn.⁴⁸

Thirteen months later Baddeley wrote to Garbett: 'I know full well that the additional responsibility which I now enjoy came to me largely through your commendation.'⁴⁹ But in fact Baddeley was not Garbett's first choice for Blackburn.

In March 1953, a year before Askwith's translation to Gloucester, Garbett suggested to Fisher that Ivor Stanley Watkins, suffragan bishop of Malmesbury, 1946-56, should follow Askwith at Blackburn.⁵⁰ However, by May 1954, Garbett had put aside the idea of Watkins, alighting instead upon the names of Alan Richardson, professor of theology at Nottingham University, John Moorman, John Tiarks, and Edward Barry

⁴⁸ YML, GP, Coll. 1973/1 Garbett H/31 Letters 1954, Baddeley to Garbett 2 Oct. 1952.

⁴⁹ Ibid., Baddeley to Garbett, 1 Nov. 1955.

⁵⁰ LPL, FP, vol. 119, fo. 67, Garbett to Fisher, 2 March 1953.

Henderson, vicar of St Paul's, Knightsbridge.⁵¹ A month later, Garbett had dropped both Richardson and Henderson off his shortlist. Richardson was discounted for Blackburn because, by Garbett's reckoning, the sudden death of Kenneth Kirk, bishop of Oxford, meant a candidate of Richardson's intellectual standing had to be available for consideration for the 'more important post' of Oxford.⁵² Garbett rejected the suggestion from Bevir (which seems to have originated from Ralph Assheton, MP) that Lewis Mervyn Charles-Edwards, vicar of St Martin-in-the-Fields, 1947-55, be proposed for Blackburn on the basis that Edwards would make an excellent dean or possibly could go to a small diocese, but not to a diocese like Blackburn. In 1956 Charles-Edwards became bishop of Worcester.⁵³

Moorman, a Christian Socialist, had obvious attractions for Garbett whose political leanings were also markedly left of centre. The two shared similar churchmanship, standing within the catholic tradition of Anglicanism. Moorman also possessed the type of academic reputation that Garbett respected. Accordingly, Moorman became Garbett's first choice and Baddeley, by default, crept into third place on the official list, which as archbishop of the province concerned, Garbett finally submitted to the Prime Minister in June 1954:

I am sending you the names of three men who I think might be suitable to be considered for the vacant diocese of Blackburn.

1. The Reverend J.R.H. Moorman, D.D., principal of Chichester theological college. He is a good scholar and historian and would make a good contribution to the Bench of Bishops — we need in the North to be strengthened by scholarship. He is interested in the North and has taken

⁵¹ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Garbett to Bevir, 10 May 1954.

⁵² Ibid., Garbett to Bevir 11 June 1954.

⁵³ TNA, Prem. 5/258, Assheton to Bevir, 12 May 1954, and Garbett to Bevir, 4 June 1954.

students from time to time to visit the industrial centres. His wife is a Trevelyan and also belongs to the North. He has had experience in various northern parishes, both as a curate and as a vicar. Aged about 50.

2. The Very Reverend J. G. Tiarks, M.A. A definite, but not narrow Evangelical. Works well with people of different views. He has been provost of Bradford cathedral during the last ten years. He has done very good work there. Age 51.

3. The Right Reverend W. H. Baddeley, D.S.O., M.C., S.T.D., bishop of Whitby. He is one of my suffragans, and I know him well. He was bishop of Melanesia during the war and remained in the islands during the Japanese occupation. A good preacher and speaker, especially at men's meetings. On the intellectual side he would be below the usual standard, for he reads very little, and is not much in touch with modern thought and movement. He would be good in his diocese, but would not contribute any scholarship to the Bench of Bishops.⁵⁴

However, following a meeting between Bevir and Salisbury on 15 July 1954, Bevir noted: 'spoke to Lord Salisbury. Whitby for Blackburn: not the place for a scholar.'⁵⁵

Fisher clearly concurred as a letter from Bevir to Lord Salisbury shows:

I [Bever] saw the archbishop of Canterbury last night [18 July 1954]. He made it clear that he did not wish to interfere with appointments in the Northern Province, but he said two things: (1) that the archbishop of York had been pressing the bishop of Whitby [Baddeley] on him for appointments in the Southern Province, and (2) that he agreed that apart

⁵⁴ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Garbett to Churchill 19 June 1954.

⁵⁵ Ibid., Bevir to Lord Salisbury 14 July 1954.

from Rossall there were no educational institutions in the Blackburn diocese, or any particular way in which a scholar was suited to the See.⁵⁶

The letter proves that, despite his protests to the contrary, Fisher was interfering with appointments in the Northern Province. To Garbett's credit, he had a better understanding of both Baddeley and Blackburn than Fisher, Bevir or Salisbury. Aware of Baddeley's age and the punishing demands of Blackburn in all likelihood Garbett wanted Baddeley to get a less intensive diocese in the southern province. As already noted, the lack of a university in Blackburn offered some grounds for Bevir's assertion that it was not necessary to appoint 'a scholar'. However, an assessment of secondary education suggests the overriding image of Blackburn as a uniquely working-class industrial diocese meant that Bevir and Fisher did not notice the importance of educational institutions within Blackburn diocese. The assessment also betrays a class prejudice. The remark about Rossall is surprising because Blackburn diocese also contained at least four historic grammar schools, Queen Elizabeth Blackburn, Kirkham, Royal Lancaster, and Royal Clitheroe, all older foundations than Rossall, with academic reputations that certainly equalled (and probably exceeded) Rossall. The only conceivable reason for singling out Rossall was its status as a minor public school: emphasising that in 1954 the hierarchy of the Church of England was still wedded to its traditional relationship with the public-schools system to the exclusion of other forms of secondary education. The correspondence gives credence to James Bentley's criticism that the church preferred to draw from its traditional recruiting grounds, i.e., the public schools, for too long without making serious attempt to

⁵⁶ Ibid., Bevir to Lord Salisbury 19 July 1954.

promote from other classes at a time when boys of increasingly inferior calibre were offering themselves for the ministry.⁵⁷

Fisher was known to prefer pastors rather than scholars and tended to recruit bishops from the 'safe pair of hands' school who were unlikely to challenge his ideas or 'rock the boat'. Baddeley was precisely the sort of man Fisher favoured. An additional selling point in Baddeley's favour (and also for Claxton his successor at Blackburn) was that, like Fisher, he was a prominent senior Freemason.

Baddeley was not a public-school man, nor had he attended a prestigious grammar school. Admittedly, the Second World War did much to weaken the barriers of the English class system. Given Attlee's personal preferences, Baddeley possessed the kind of curriculum vitae that fitted the expectations of a new social era, which accompanied Labour's 1945 landslide victory. In contrast, it appears Garbett's priority was to appoint a bishop to Blackburn who could make a wider intellectual contribution to the bench of Bishops; pastoral effectiveness within the locality of the diocese was a secondary consideration.

Irrespective of motives, it is paradoxical that Fisher, who personified the church-public school relationship and held two firsts from Oxford, was less concerned about Baddeley's educational history than Garbett, a grammar-school boy with a Second in Modern History. This is another example of Fisher being more in tune with the changing social climate and contemporary values than he has been given credit. Nonetheless, post-war egalitarianism only went so far: Baddeley was only a viable prospect for a provincial diocese with no universities and few public schools.

As the cabal of Fisher, Salisbury and Bevir worked to get Baddeley appointed to Blackburn, Garbett, unaware he was being outmanoeuvred, wrote to Bevir on 19 July

⁵⁷ James Bentley, 'The Bishops, 1860-1960: An Elite in Decline', in M. Hill (ed.), *A Sociological*

1954 reiterating his preference for Moorman: 'I increasingly feel that of the three names I have mentioned for the See of Blackburn, Moorman might be the most suitable, chiefly on the ground that he will be of real value to the Upper House.'⁵⁸ Fisher's view, as expressed to Garbett and Bevir, was that he found it difficult to decide between Moorman and Baddeley, but if Baddeley was ever to be a diocesan there could be no more suitable diocese than Blackburn.⁵⁹ However, Bevir's final recommendation to the Prime Minister unashamedly promoted Baddeley for the vacancy at Blackburn in face of Garbett's preference for Moorman and Tiarks. Interestingly, Bevir, himself a veteran of the 1914-18 war, emphasised Baddeley's war record as a means of promoting him to Churchill:

The Bishop of Whitby, who had a distinguished record in the 1914/18 War as a young man, played a courageous part in the Western Pacific as a missionary bishop during the recent war and has done very well as Suffragan bishop of Whitby, though he lacks the academic distinction of Dr. Moorman...

You will notice that the diocese requires a strong hand and further that there are no academic institutions in it.

Dr. Moorman indeed is fond of Lancashire and has worked in that area in the towns, but though he may carry more intellectual weight than the Bishop of Whitby he is less of a figure. If the needs of the diocese could be considered apart from anything else there is little doubt that the Bishop of Whitby is the strongest of the three candidates, for his record will appeal to the tough Lancashire types with whom he would have to deal. It

Yearbook of Religion in Britain, 5 (London, 1972) p. 167.

⁵⁸ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Garbett to Bevir, 19 July 1954.

⁵⁹ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Fisher to Bevir, 20 July 1954.

is usual to consult the Archbishop of Canterbury, though this appointment is primarily for the Archbishop of York, being in the Northern Province. The Archbishop of Canterbury said that the Archbishop of York had constantly been pressing the Bishop of Whitby on him for an appointment in the Southern Province, and he has expressed the opinion that Blackburn would be the best diocese for him. It is because the Archbishop of York feels that the Bench of Bishops in the Northern Province is not intellectually strong that he would prefer Moorman. There are going to be vacancies at Chester at the end of the year and Sodor and Man in October. It would therefore be possible to take the Archbishop's wishes for strengthening the Bench into account in filling those vacancies. On the whole the balance seems in favour of the Bishop of Whitby.⁶⁰

Predictably, both Downing Street and Buckingham Palace agreed to offer Baddeley the bishopric and accordingly on 28 July 1954 Bevir wrote to Garbett to convey the news:

A letter is going from the Prime Minister to the Bishop of Whitby about Blackburn. His name may not have been first on the list, but I would like you to know that the P.M. was (not?) without careful advice from other people when he took his decision; and it is very clear to him that you wish the Bench in the Northern Province to be strengthened on the theological side. Just at the moment there is considerable pressure; but I thought I ought to write to you.⁶¹

⁶⁰ TNA, Prem. 5/ 259, Bevir to Winston Churchill 21 July 1954.

⁶¹ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Bevir to Garbett 28 July 1954.

Nevertheless, Garbett, was sensitive that Baddeley's appointment to Blackburn did little to strengthen the intellectual credentials of the Northern bishops. Soon after the decision to offer Blackburn was made, Bevir reported to Fisher:

I saw the Archbishop of York [Garbett] yesterday after leaving Lambeth and he spoke to me again about strengthening the Bench intellectually in the Northern Province, though of course the vacancies at Chester and in the Isle of Man might give a chance of that.⁶²

At the age of sixty-four Ben Pollard suffragan bishop of Lancaster was appointed to the Isle of Man. Pollard had a scientific background. As a product of Manchester Grammar School, an exhibitioner at Victoria University, Manchester, gaining a second class in Chemistry in 1911, M.Sc.1912, and a BD in 1923, Pollard's academic credentials were obviously deemed adequate. Moreover, the Isle of Man, like Blackburn did not possess a university. In the 1950s, the diocesan's reputation within the local university was clearly important and influenced John Moorman's eventual nomination to Ripon in 1959 because of the diocese's relationship with the University of Leeds.⁶³

Even by the standards of the 1950s, Pollard was deemed too old for a first diocesan appointment: however, because Sodor and Man was the smallest and least demanding of the English dioceses, and by Garbett and Bevir's reckoning Pollard needed a move, an exception was made.

The process of appointing diocesan bishops in the 1950s, illuminated above, contrasts that which followed the introduction of the Crown Appointments Commission in 1977 in three striking ways. Firstly, the 1950s saw greater tolerance of older bishops. Prior

⁶² TNA, Prem. 5/259, Bevir to Fisher 21 July 1954.

to 1977 a candidate being in his sixties (or even seventies) did not exclude him from holding high office. Secondly, the Crown Appointments Commission involved a much wider group in the process; in the 1950s selection involved just the Prime Minister, the two Archbishops, and Bevir. Thirdly, this shortened the time taken to appoint. Askwith's resignation of Blackburn was confirmed in April 1954; it was offered to Baddeley in July, the public announcement was made in August, and the enthronement occurred in October 1954.

Excluding a candidate for being too young for a senior bishopric was not the *modus operandi* of either Fisher or Garbett as shown in the case of forty-four years old Gerald Ellison (himself a former twice Garbett's domestic chaplain, at Winchester and York,) who in 1955 was translated from the suffragan see of Willesden to the diocese of Chester. In comparison with Blackburn, and Sodor and Man, Chester was a more senior diocesan appointment, yet Ellison, a relatively junior man in terms of age and experience, was appointed to Chester and Baddeley given Blackburn. The decisions hardly seem commensurate with the respective age and episcopal experience of the two candidates. It is possible that Fisher and Garbett identified in Ellison the potential to be an ecclesiastical statesman of national standing. He was young, handsome and athletic in appearance, intelligent and a good orator, telegenic at a time when (following the television broadcast of the 1953 Coronation) the visual image of the episcopate was becoming increasingly relevant. Socially and educationally he came from a privileged background and was therefore sufficiently urbane to represent the church confidently at the highest levels of the establishment. It could be said that Ellison was as uniquely capable at communicating with the establishment as Baddeley

⁶³ LPL, FP, vol. 228, fo. 172, Fisher to Prime Minister Macmillan, 14, Feb. 1959. In recommending Moorman for the vacancy at Ripon, Fisher suggested: 'the bishop of Ripon ought to be able to hold his own as a scholar with the university of Leeds.'

was with urban working-class men. The careers of both Ellison and Baddeley clearly benefited from previously having close working relationships with Garbett: to different degrees both may be seen Garbett's protégés. However, Garbett clearly identified a potential in Ellison that he did not in Baddeley. Ellison perhaps represented a surrogate son to the bachelor Garbett. Charles Smyth observed that of all Garbett's chaplains, Gerald Ellison was probably his closest friend. Smyth quotes a letter written by Garbett to Ellison on 4 April 1948:

I have just been reading through Lockhart's typescript of Cosmo's time at York. It is very good, and brings out the human side. He was devoted to William Parker, his first Chaplain here, and wrote to him fully and freely. He was almost as miserable over his departure as I was when you left. Cosmo felt acutely the loneliness I so often feel.⁶⁴

Fisher and Garbett probably also saw something of themselves in Ellison that they did not see in Baddeley and Pollard: both archbishops, like Ellison, were sons of clergy, and it is evident this influenced their patronage. Gerald Ellison certainly had the right pedigree:

His father and grandfather were both vicars of Windsor and the former held the living of St. Michael's, Cornhill, for 30 years ... His early record reads like a blueprint for an honourably ambitious churchman: choirboy at St. George's, Windsor; Westminster School; New College, Oxford; and Westcott House, Cambridge, whose famous principal, B. K. Cunningham, strongly influenced him.⁶⁵

Two contributory influences helped determine who became senior diocesan bishops in the Church of England of the 1950s and 60s. Firstly: because of the oligarchic nature

⁶⁴ Smyth, *Garbett*, p.459.

of the selection process, candidates who, through family connections or social assimilation, possessed patrons within the secular or ecclesiastical hierarchy. Secondly: those clerics from whatever background with a proven record of academic distinction. A first-class degree from either Oxford or Cambridge was an important first step along the academic route. Inevitably the small number of bishoprics, compared to the large number of qualified candidates, meant many eligible clergy never became bishops or deans. Nonetheless, possession of favourable credentials in terms of family background, contact with influential patrons and a record of academic distinction could greatly accelerate the career path of an ambitious cleric. Baddeley, as we have seen, did not easily conform to the traditional pattern.

II

Following Baddeley's death in 1960, John Tiarks was again placed on the short-list for Blackburn. Because Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of York, was on a tour of South Africa, Archbishop Fisher wrote a detailed three page letter to the Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, proposing (but with some reservations) the controversial archbishop of Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves, as first choice; Charles Claxton, suffragan bishop of Warrington second; Tiarks, third and Noel Martin Kennaby, provost of Newcastle, fourth. The circumstances surrounding the vacancy in 1960 provide a possible explanation for the Cabinet Office delaying to open the Blackburn file. Ramsey had suggested to Fisher that Reeves should succeed Baddeley.⁶⁶ Ramsey cited Reeves' Lancashire experience in commending him for the vacancy, as Reeves was vicar of St James, Haydock (a noted Anglo-Catholic parish) 1937-42, and rector

⁶⁵ W. De'Ath, 'The Church's Search for Confidence', *London Illustrated News*, (Dec. 1973), pp. 37-8.

of St Nicholas, Liverpool, 1942-9.⁶⁷ Interestingly, Reeves, like Baddeley, first entered the episcopate by accepting an overseas bishopric. Moreover, the prospect of a direct translation from Johannesburg to Blackburn was no deterrent to Ramsey in making the recommendation, evidently regarding Blackburn an appropriate place for a man as controversial as Reeves. In several ways this was a defining moment in Blackburn's history. A bishop of Reeves' reputation could have brought national prominence to the otherwise low-profile Lancashire diocese. However, Fisher's favoured candidate for Blackburn in 1960 was Charles Claxton, the then suffragan bishop of Warrington in the diocese of Liverpool. Claxton had previously been mentioned in connection with the diocesan vacancies at St Albans in 1950, Truro in 1951, Lichfield and Leicester in 1953, Blackburn, Chester, and St Edmundsbury and Ipswich, in 1954, and Southwark in 1958, and passed over on each occasion. Fisher was fond of Claxton, but had reservations about his ability to be a diocesan bishop as described in a letter to the Prime Minister about the 1953 vacancy at Leicester:

Claxton has had varied experience and has the advantage of being already familiar with the work of which falls to the episcopal office: he is competent; he is keen and he has great enthusiasm; he would make a perfectly good bishop of a smallish diocese as Leicester is, but I am not convinced that he is the best of the three [RR Williams, Robert Wright Stopford and Claxton]. He is intellectually not so good — he only got a Second Class in the Historical Tripos — and he has a weakness, if it be a weakness, in that he is perhaps over enthusiastic and over emphatic in his

⁶⁶ See pp. 7 and 8 for the account of the file. Reeves had conflict with the South African Government over apartheid. He was born in Britain, educated at Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, and the Community of the Resurrection's theological college at Mirfield.

⁶⁷ *Crockford's Clerical Directory 1959-60*.

utterances which might sometimes get on people's nerves. However, he is a good man.⁶⁸

Garbett was not greatly impressed with Claxton and in November 1954 dismissed Bevir's suggestion that Claxton be considered for the vacant bishopric of Chester:

I do not think Warrington would do for the bishopric of Chester. He would exhort and worry them too much, and I think it would be unwise to move him to a diocese so close to the one in which he has been working.⁶⁹

Four years later Fisher vetoed Claxton's chances of becoming bishop of Southwark, later admitting to Ramsey: 'In 1958 with reference to the diocese of Southwark I said that Claxton had not enough real power and depth to support the admirable energy and enthusiasm, which he shows.' Fisher's refusal of Claxton for Southwark, but later endorsement for Blackburn, shows Fisher perceived Southwark to be the more important of the two appointments. Ramsey was not keen on Fisher's proposal of Claxton succeeding Baddeley, commenting to Fisher: 'it would be a rather dull and damping appointment for Blackburn to have a well-known and not extraordinarily impressive suffragan from a neighbouring diocese.'⁷⁰

The official correspondence reveals Fisher playing the dominant role in the 1960 Blackburn appointment to a level that is not sufficiently explained by Ramsey's tour of Africa. Fisher did recommend Reeves to Macmillan, but mentioned to the Prime Minister that it could be interpreted as a controversial and political appointment. By adding this *proviso*, it could be argued that Fisher armed Macmillan with the ammunition needed to stop Reeves. Macmillan was not slow to heed the warning and Blackburn got Claxton despite the reservation of the Archbishop of York and of David

⁶⁸ LPL, FP, vol. 128, fo. 54, Fisher to Churchill, 4 Sept. 1954.

⁶⁹ TNA, Prem. 5/264, Garbett to Bevir 30 Nov. 1954.

⁷⁰ LPL, FP, vol. 236, fo. 58, Ramsey to Fisher, 21 March 1960.

Stephens, the Prime Minister's Appointments Secretary, who favoured John Tiarks. In his objections to Claxton's candidature, Stephens referred to Garbett's previous objections to Claxton's name going forward for the diocese of Chester in 1954.⁷¹ Reeves never became an English diocesan. It is possible that after 1961 when Ramsey succeeded Fisher at Canterbury Ramsey again unsuccessfully attempted to get Reeves an English bishopric.⁷² Owen Chadwick suggests this was the case:

About the appointment of bishops Macmillan did what his archbishop wanted in all cases but one. The exception was Ambrose Reeves, the ejected Bishop of Johannesburg ... Ramsey was assailed vehemently by Canon John Collins and others for doing nothing to find work for Reeves. The charge was false, for Ramsey worried much about Reeves and how he should best be used. He came finally and after hesitation to the view that Reeves ought to be the bishop of an English see and so recommended to the prime minister. For the only time in Ramsey's experience, Macmillan refused. He refused on political grounds. He said that relations with South Africa were difficult enough at the moment without adding to the friction an appointment, which was not necessary to make and where plenty of other good people could do the job.⁷³

⁷¹ LPL, FP, vol. 257, fos. 304-16, Stephens to Fisher, 5 May 1960.

⁷² A year after Claxton's appointment, Reeves resigned as Archbishop of Johannesburg and returned to Britain eventually becoming General Secretary for the Student Christian Movement and acting as an assistant bishop in the diocese of London.

⁷³ Chadwick, *Ramsey*, pp. 135-6.

The diocesan appointments of the 1950s were made amidst an ongoing debate about the declining intellectual quality of bishops. The 1955/6 *Crockford's* preface suggested, 'very few bishops publish a book or write an article on a learned theme, whether it be theological or other, and when they do their discussions seldom carry much weight'.⁷⁴ Such remarks can be attributed to a degree of snobbery, but they may also reveal an underlying anxiety that the Church of England was losing influence. Later historians picked up on these anxieties and perpetuated the belief that the premature death of Archbishop William Temple in 1944, and the succession passing to Fisher rather than George Bell, resulted in a period of missed opportunities and intellectual stagnation, which was only rectified with the replacement of Fisher by Ramsey. For example, Adrian Hastings (1996) and Trevor Beeson (2005) are critical of the Fisher years.⁷⁵ Others, for instance David L. Edwards, are positive about Fisher's tenure at Lambeth, arguing his accomplishments while in office were tarnished by his damaging post-retirement pronouncements. There has developed a tradition of Anglican hagiography that portrays Temple and Bell as martyrs, makes a scapegoat of Fisher, and portrays Ramsey as a saviour. It is overlooked that Fisher held two first-class degrees from Oxford and was acknowledged as one of the most promising scholars of his generation. In hindsight, it appears the debate about the declining intellectual quality of bishops was not essentially about the calibre of the episcopate, but rather the administrative and managerial direction in which the episcopate was moving. During the 1950s the importance for diocesan bishops to be first and foremost competent administrators and managers was less self-evident than it was later to become and the *Crockford's Preface* that accused bishops of 'seldom

⁷⁴ *Crockford's* 1955-6, p. vi.

⁷⁵ Hastings, *History of English Christianity*, pp. 381, 423-7.

carrying much weight' showed that Fisher paid the price for prioritising the importance of administration at a time when the subject was unfashionable.

The Episcopate: ‘A Man’s Man’ for Blackburn

The objectives of this chapter are three-fold. First it provides the background necessary to understand Baddeley’s episcopate in the history, religious culture and geography of the diocese of Blackburn. Secondly, it discusses how Baddeley’s leadership style, personality and churchmanship fitted with the expectations of the people of Lancashire. Finally, it gives a brief account of Baddeley’s administration in Blackburn and an assessment of what he achieved. Much detail on Baddeley’s episcopate is to be found in Geoffrey Williams’ *Viewed from the Water Tank*, but this dissertation offers some new perspectives.¹

If Baddeley was an ‘odd man out’, the diocesan culture of Blackburn made it, too, something of an exception in 1954. The unique character of Blackburn can be understood within the framework provided by P.S. Morrish. Morrish argued that there were two schools of thought determining the foundation of new Anglican dioceses in the period 1830-1920, reflecting ‘a basic distinction between dioceses created upon the urban model and those moulded to the county or Erastian formula’.² The ‘urban’ model dates back to the patristic period and assumes that a see should be based upon a large urban settlement and its immediate environs with ‘the new diocese serving both the town and its economic and social hinterland’. On the other hand, the ‘county’ or ‘Erastian’ model favoured diocesan boundaries following ‘existing secular authorities, especially the counties’.³ According to Morrish the ‘county’ model of diocesan reform

¹ Williams, *Viewed from the Water Tank*, pp. 181-206.

² P.S. Morrish, ‘County and Urban Dioceses: nineteenth century discussions on Ecclesiastical Geography’, *Jl Ecclesiastical Hist.*, xxxvi. 3 (July 1975), 283.

³ *Ibid.*, 282.

predominated in the 1830s when ‘the equation of county and diocese was largely taken for granted’, and ‘urban dioceses were discussed less frequently before the 1870s than county dioceses’. However, an exception to this rule was Lancashire. Reform here did not entirely conform to either the urban or county model, although the diocese of Blackburn undoubtedly possessed characteristics that fitted each of Morrish’s categories.

Prior to the Reformation, northern Lancashire fell within the boundaries of the dioceses of Carlisle and York, while the southern section of the county was part of the diocese of Lichfield. The diocese of Chester was established in 1541 to encompass both Lancashire and Cheshire and, until 1848, encompassed not only the two counties but extended ‘over some 4,100 square miles from the Dee to the Lakes and into the North Riding, ... containing nearly two million souls.’ In 1834, Lord Henley, an influential campaigner for church reform, considered the complexities and difficulties relating to diocesan reform in the north-west and ‘proposed a diocese for north Lancashire — an area very different from the southern part of that county’.⁴

In 1848, northern Lancashire as far north as Silverdale and practically all of central and south-eastern Lancashire was included within the jurisdiction of the newly founded diocese of Manchester. However, the city of Liverpool and much of south-western Lancashire remained within the diocese of Chester. Morrish describes this reorganisation as ‘an amalgam of the logical and the inconvenient ... an arrangement which was neither Erastian [county model] nor an adequate answer to the problem of the industrial communities of the woollen district’.⁵ In 1890 the city of Liverpool and south-west Lancashire from the Mersey estuary in the south to the River Douglas in the north were separated from the diocese of Chester to create a new and

⁴ Ibid., 286.

predominantly urban diocese centred upon Liverpool and including its surrounding environs. However, it was not until Blackburn was founded in 1926 that Henley's proposal for a north Lancashire diocese was in part realised. Already in 1908, a committee of the Convocation of York had recommended that Manchester be divided, creating two or three new dioceses. It was envisaged that a diocese for Lancashire north of the Ribble plus the archdeaconry of Blackburn would eventually become two new dioceses.⁶

Two factors necessitated the foundation of another diocese in Lancashire. First, the high population density of the area; secondly, regional pride.⁷ The introduction of county councils in 1888 revived a sense of identity in the English counties and, accordingly, the feeling that there should be a diocese for the county of Lancashire separate from that of Manchester. Even so, some prophetic voices⁸ questioned the wisdom of founding new Anglican dioceses. Issues of episcopal transport and communication, which had justified the foundation of new dioceses during the nineteenth century, no longer applied in the age of rail and motor car.

Notwithstanding this, in 1920 the Church Assembly established a committee, chaired by William Temple, to discuss new sees and provinces. This reported in 1922.⁹ It proposed the creation of twelve new dioceses, five of which, Guilford, Portsmouth, Derby, Leicester and Blackburn, were duly founded. The report also recommended that 'new dioceses should not be so large as to require more than one suffragan'. In relation to Lancashire this meant that a diocese of Blackburn would consist of Blackburn archdeaconry, plus Lancashire south of the River Wyre, while a diocese of

⁵ Ibid., 281.

⁶ Colin Podmore, 'Diocese and Episcopal Sees in England: A Background Report for the Diocese Commission' (not pubd.2008), p. 49.

⁷ Morrish 'County and Urban Dioceses', p. 293.

⁸ Hensley Henson quoted *ibid.*, p. 229.

Lancaster would cover Lancashire north of the Wyre including some areas in the south of the diocese of Carlisle. Even so, a supplementary report of May 1922 ‘accepted that the proposed Diocese of Lancaster would be too small and therefore proposed a new diocese consisting of the archdeaconries of Lancaster and Blackburn.’¹⁰ Although the Anglican diocese of Lancaster never became a reality a suffragan see of Lancaster was founded in 1936. It seems that by the time of Baddeley’s episcopate plans to create an independent Anglican diocese of Lancaster had been abandoned. In fact, the number of dioceses in the Church of England did not increase after the 1920s, although even as late as 1960, Eric Kemp unsuccessfully recommended creating several smaller dioceses.¹¹

The Diocese of Blackburn Measure received parliamentary assent in 1924 and on 12 November 1926 the Lancashire archdeaconries of Blackburn and Lancaster were separated from Manchester and the diocese of Blackburn founded by an Order in Council. One of the fourteen dioceses of the Northern Province of York, Blackburn was bordered by five of the others: Carlisle to the north, Manchester to the south, Liverpool to the south-west, Bradford to the east and Wakefield to the south-east.

Even in 1926, at the height of its industrial and commercial importance, Blackburn arguably became the see town by default. Geographically the choice made little sense since it was situated in the south-east of the diocese. People in north Lancashire invariably looked to Lancaster, while central Lancashire and the Fylde coast gravitated to centrally located Preston, or Blackpool. In neither a *de facto* nor *de jure* sense was Blackburn the capital of Lancashire. Therefore, the new diocese’s ecclesial structure

⁹ Podmore, ‘Dioceses and Episcopal Sees’, pp. 56-9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 57.

¹¹ Eric W. Kemp, *Counsel and Consent: Aspects of Church Government* (London, 1961), pp. 223-4.

did not convincingly fit with cultural geography, a view shared in part by the Prime Minister's Appointments Secretary when he visited the diocese in March 1960:

There is not much natural cohesion about the Diocese nor any obvious focus. Blackburn is suitably placed geographically to be the see town. But it is not the County town and has not developed the prestige of the ancient See towns, which are not also County towns such as Wells, Ely and Ripon.¹²

Why was Preston, the governmental and administrative centre of the county, not chosen? The explanation lies in the ecclesiastical ambitions of the 1920s. F. A. Iremonger noted that

The choice of the See city lay between Preston and Blackburn, and gave rise to no little contention. It was widely held that if the diocese of Manchester was to be divided into two, Preston was the better centre. It was the town from which the civil local government of the whole county was administered; it was also one of the most ancient boroughs in England, which had always in fact been the capital of a great area of central Lancashire ... There was, however, a suggestion that there should be a third diocese in the northern part of the county with a see town at Lancaster. If this project were ever to become practicable, it was obviously better not to have another see town so close to Lancaster as Preston; and Blackburn had the advantage of being nine miles nearer than Preston to the industrial population of East Lancashire.¹³

¹² LPL, FP, vol. 257, fos. 304-16. Sir David Stephens' 'Impressions of the diocese of Blackburn' 31 Mar. 1960.

¹³ F. A. Iremonger, *William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury*, p. 299.

During the 1950s, Blackburn was the seventh most populous English diocese. The urban south of the diocese was most densely populated. Blackburn itself was a town not a city, urban-industrial in character, conforming to the stereotypical image of the 'industrial North' with factory chimneys, rows of terrace housing and cotton mills. Nonetheless, the bishopric of Blackburn was not a stereotypical urban diocese. In 1954, the two archdeaconries, Blackburn and Lancaster, were each subdivided into five rural deaneries. Fylde, geographically the largest of the ten deaneries, displayed a mixture of coastal, urban and rural characteristics. Leyland mixed urban-industrial and rural. Four deaneries — Accrington, Blackburn, Burnley and Preston — could be strictly defined as urban-industrial, while the deaneries of Lancaster, Garstang, Tunstall, and Whalley conformed to a rural model. Indeed, overall Blackburn was more rural and coastal in character than urban-industrial.

It is worth noting that the Anglican diocesan restructuring of the north-west, with the dioceses of Manchester being founded in 1848, Liverpool in 1880, and Blackburn in 1926, prefigured later local government reorganisation. It was not until 1974 that the region was subdivided into the two separate metropolitan counties of Greater Manchester and Merseyside, leaving a greatly reduced county of Lancashire. The Church of England here moved more quickly than the state to adapt its regional organisation to relevant demographic and economic factors.¹⁴

Ironically, under the 1970s local government reorganization Blackburn found itself no longer central to the county of Lancashire but, instead, situated on the south-eastern edge of the redefined smaller county on the border of the new region of Greater Manchester, once more highlighting the dubious wisdom of the choice in the 1920s.

¹⁴ Morrish, 'County and Urban Dioceses', p. 284.

The ecclesiastical boundaries of the diocese have remained unchanged since the diocese was founded.

Blackburn was particularly distinctive when compared with the other post-1846 Anglican dioceses. It was not founded on a major commercial centre like Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Bradford, Sheffield or Portsmouth. Blackburn encompassed the historic County Palatine of Lancaster while excluding the conurbations of Manchester and Liverpool (and their environs). However, the diocese failed to correspond to the 'county' model because its cathedral seat was located in a town that was neither a historic county town (as were Leicester, Derby, Guilford and Coventry) nor a regional centre (Newcastle and Truro). Four 'county' dioceses, Bury St Edmunds, Southwell, St Albans and Ripon did not adopt local regional capitals (Ipswich, Nottingham, Hertford, and Leeds), but possessed historic buildings with cathedral potential (St Edmundsbury Abbey, Southwell Minster, St Alban's Abbey, and Ripon Minster). This was clearly not the case with Blackburn. Blackburn was thus a hybrid bishopric.

Sir Anthony Bevir described its composite nature when visiting the diocese in 1954:

The diocese is balanced between town and country. Blackburn itself is one of a belt of towns (Preston, Accrington, Burnley, Colne) stretching from east to west, along the southern end of the diocese. There is a middle agricultural belt: Lancaster, an old-fashioned county town and half industrialised, lies to the north, and there is a belt of county stretching up to the moors. Along the shore are the holiday towns of Morecambe, Blackpool and so forth.¹⁵

¹⁵ TNA, Prem. 5/ 259, Bevir to Prime Minister, 'note on the diocese of Blackburn' 21 July 1954.

From the outset the absence of a centrally situated see town caused problems. The cathedral failed to become a strong focal point and experienced difficulty in winning the affection of the diocese. Perhaps in the 1920s, with the town's booming textile industry, there was an expectation that Blackburn would inevitably supersede both Preston and Lancaster as the dominant town of the diocese. Lancashire's industrial base appeared secure: 'Britain's bread hangs on Lancashire thread' was a popular expression. Seen in this context, placing the cathedral seat in Blackburn was a logical decision. In retrospect the venture appears a speculative gamble on the fortunes of the cotton industry. Within three years of the foundation Lancashire's industrial base faced the consequences of the Wall Street Crash.

The economic downturn left the infant diocese undernourished. Then the war ensured that resources were directed away from cathedral extension and church building. By 1945 diocesan priorities had changed not least because of the changed status of church schools after 1944. No doubt the diocese's historic commitment to Anglican schools was in part influenced by the unique denominational demographics of the county. If in 1954 Baddeley became 'the shepherd of the shepherds of Lancashire', the county also contained a sizable Christian flock whose sheep were not of Baddeley's fold.

Up until the 1990s, of all the English counties Lancashire had one of the highest percentages of adults regularly attending church.¹⁶ A contributing factor was the considerable Roman Catholic presence. After Merseyside, Lancashire had the highest county proportion of Roman Catholics who regularly attend Mass.¹⁷ In the nineteenth century many Irish Roman Catholics settled in Lancashire particularly around Preston. Archbishop Fisher raised this point with Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in 1960

¹⁶ Peter Brierley, *Christian England: What the English Church Census Reveals* (MARC, Europe, 1991), pp. 254-60, Map 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

when discussing Baddeley's successor, describing the see as 'A good, straight vigorous Diocese with all the attractiveness of the North country and a great number of problems which arise from a considerable industrial area and in places a very large R.C. population'.¹⁸

Three Roman Catholic dioceses overlap with the diocese: Lancaster in the north, Salford in the south-east, and Liverpool in the south and south-west. The strong cultural identity of Roman Catholicism has led Anglicans to a religious self-definition in opposition. Admittedly, in eighteenth-century Liverpool and Manchester there were some high Anglican churches. But the cities lay outside Blackburn, which in the religious culture of its parishes, was generally low-church. At the time of Baddeley's enthronement in 1954, out of 265 parishes in the diocese of Blackburn less than a dozen could be described as Anglo-catholic.¹⁹ In the 1989 Church Census the majority of Anglicans in Lancashire favoured a 'low church' self-definition.

I

Coming from the Tractarian tradition, Baddeley was therefore an unexpected choice as bishop. In 1942 Sir Anthony Bevir had thought that 'The diocese is predominantly low-church with a strong strain of Ulster protestantism, which is beginning to die away. The Roman Catholics are strong in Preston and in other areas, and where they exist there is a tendency to militant Protestantism, and rather barren controversies.'²⁰

¹⁸ LPL, FP, vol. 263, No. 62, Fisher to Harold Macmillan, 31 May 1960.

¹⁹ The churches were: St Andrew's, Ashton-on-Ribble, St Peter's, Blackburn, Holy Cross Blackpool, St Stephen's -on- the- Cliffs, Blackpool, St Catherine's, Burnley, St Peter's, Chorley, St Peter's Fleetwood, St George's, Preston and St Peter's Preston. This statement is based upon on conversations with clergy who worked in Blackburn during this period. For example, John Cornish, Derek Welch and Geoffrey Moore.

²⁰ TNA, Prem. 5/259 Ecclesiastical Appointments 1941-61, Sir Anthony Bevir's notes, 24 May 1942, subsequent to discussion with Percy Herbert, bishop of Blackburn 1927-42.

In later recommending Baddeley for Blackburn, however, Bevir remarked that ‘his record will appeal to the tough Lancashire types with whom he will have to deal’.²¹ As far as the local press was concerned, Bevir’s prediction was fulfilled. The *Preston Guardian* announced Baddeley’s appointment with a front-page headline, ‘Fighting Bishop for Blackburn’. It reported that:

Bishop Baddeley, who is 60, is known as ‘the fighting bishop’ because of his service in World War 1 in which he won the M.C. and bar and was later awarded the D.S.O. Ordained after the war he became Bishop of Melanesia where he remained for 15 years. When the Japanese invaded the Solomon Islands he escaped into the bush and there ministered to the natives and cared for allied wounded from Guadalcanal.²²

The *Northern Daily Telegraph* for 13 August 1954 carried a front-page photograph of Baddeley wearing a cope and mitre and the headline ‘New Bishop “very thrilled” at moving to Blackburn.’ Here as elsewhere, Baddeley presented a more high-church persona than either Herbert or Askwith. Whereas Herbert was essentially ‘broad church’, Askwith, like Baddeley, had Tractarian sympathies. However, the way they projected their respective episcopal public images were very different. Askwith like Herbert before him often appeared in rochet and chimere, the canonical dress for an Anglican bishop. Baddeley, on the other hand, had a fancy for wearing (and being photographed in) cope, stole and mitre, which was, for the period, overtly high-church vesture. When Baddeley did wear a bishop’s rochet a conspicuous assortment of coloured military medal ribbons was attached to the accompanying black preaching scarf.

²¹ Ibid., Bevir to Churchill, 21 July 1954.

²² *Preston Guardian*, Sat. 14 Aug. 1954, p. 1.

The *Telegraph* article indicates how a quality local newspaper introduced the new bishop to the county. The image is of a distinguished war veteran with High Church sympathies. Page 12 carried the ‘full story’, majoring on the theme ‘Fighting Bishop Faced the Japs’, giving an account of: Baddeley’s ‘involvement in the campaign of underground government, resistance and non-co-operation’ during the Japanese occupation. It is striking that given this emphasis on his record in the Second World War the paper made only a passing reference to his winning ‘the D.S.O., and M.C. in the 1914-18 war.’²³

Here, as in Geoffrey Williams’ book, it was Baddeley’s nine months behind enemy lines in 1942 that captured the imagination. One explanation for this imbalance is that many men from Lancashire regiments suffered as Japanese prisoners during the Second World War. Also, in the 1950s the Lancashire textile industry was experiencing damaging competition from Japanese and Indian manufacturers: this fuelled anti-Japanese sentiment in the local press. Consequently, Baddeley’s experiences in the Second World War had great local resonance. This remained the case throughout his episcopate and, despite having served in Lancashire for six years, even his obituary in the *Lancashire Evening Post* was headed ‘Conducted Island Resistance Against the Japs’.²⁴

Baddeley’s episcopate, from his enthronement on 28 October 1954 until his death at Bishop’s House, Blackburn, on 10 February 1960, lasted only five years three months. Thus, Baddeley had a comparatively short tenure. He nevertheless, made a lasting impression upon the diocese conceptualised by those who experienced it in terms of

²³ *Northern Daily Telegraph*, 13 Aug. 1954, pp.1, 12.

²⁴ *Lancashire Evening Post*, 15 Feb. 1960, p. 1.

his extrovert personality. Geoffrey Williams, who knew Baddeley personally, observed:

His warm-hearted love of people quickly endeared him to the clergy and people...and Blackburn speedily took him into its affections. His great anxiety to get to know his people caused him to race about the diocese indefatigably. He loved to drop in at parochial social events, be they tea parties, meetings, or even whist drives... Everywhere he went his booming voice and hearty approach announced his coming, and when he had departed there seemed to be an emptiness left behind him.²⁵

Baddeley certainly possessed a confident and friendly personality that won over people. This made him a particularly suitable candidate for Blackburn in 1954 because Garbett had criticised Askwith for lacking influence on the laity despite being good with clergy.²⁶ Geoffrey Moore described something of the difference between Baddeley and Askwith.

I remember going to be interviewed by Askwith at a big Victorian mansion on the Preston side of Blackburn. He was very tall, friendly but clearly in authority. Over his fire-place was his Cambridge Blue boat oar from the turn of the century. Baddeley was a very different personality — still in authority but a “man’s man” very “jolly”, a word he used a lot, and positive — much more a man of the people than his two predecessors.²⁷

Baddeley possessed an air of supreme self-confidence, projecting a public image focussed upon his impressive war record and extensive missionary experience. His self-confidence enabled him to connect with working-class men with more success

²⁵ Williams, *Viewed from the Water Tank*, p. 181.

²⁶ TNA, Prem. 5, 259, extract from a letter from the Archbishop of York, 13 April 1946.

²⁷ Bernard Geoffrey Moore’s unpublished memoirs, p. 24.

than other bishops. Comparison between Askwith's letters in the monthly diocesan leaflet and Baddeley's reveals that Askwith was far more confident on national and international affairs than Baddeley. Yet Baddeley's lack of theological sophistication enabled him to communicate in a simple, enthusiastic and straightforward manner that appealed to the working class. A 'common touch' was not all that differentiated Baddeley from his predecessors. His war record added an aura of heroism and masculine toughness to his episcopal status that appealed to laity as well as clergy. At the start of his episcopate there was every reason for believing Baddeley would be a resounding success.

Geoffrey Moore, Baddeley's chaplain in 1954-5, recalling the atmosphere at Bishop's House, Blackburn, during the early months of Baddeley's episcopate, reveals a bishop full of enthusiasm for his new job and determined to give it his all:

I was given a large bedroom at the corner of the house, directly above the Bishop's study. It was a particularly cold winter and we were all very cold. Mrs Baddeley felt it most and sadly Bishop Walter seemed subject to many colds and coughs. He used to get me to buy him bottles of a strong cough mixture [Ellimans] and had a favourite, strong blend of baccy. He loved his pipe and it was rarely unused outside church. I shared the driving duties with the chauffeur/ gardener. The Bishop had never driven a car. I didn't do much in the secretarial/administrative field. He did his own letters — very badly-typed on an old machine and impregnated with baccy ash and cough mixture. He had a part-time secretary who came in from the village. I saw the strains of the Bishop's job — aggravated by his trying to do too much and by his inability to say 'no' or 'later', and the multifarious requests for his presence in parishes and civic groups. Many nights I

would drop off to sleep, about midnight, to the noise of his tip-top
[typewriter] in the study below.²⁸

Moore portrays a 'hands on' bishop reluctant, or unable, to delegate and beginning to show ominous signs of failing health. Not only without a full-time secretary, typing his own letters; Baddeley was soon without a full-time chaplain because he felt guilty about keeping Moore 'on the staff' when men were needed in the parishes. Baddeley took his physical strength and good health for granted, commenting that 'I have been very fortunate all through my life, with little or no illness'.²⁹ But Baddeley overestimated what he could achieve independently without adequate resources or delegating, and this proved his undoing at Blackburn, not a diocese for a bishop with suspect health. It was not for nothing that Blackburn later came to be known as 'the cruel see'.

Five priorities faced Baddeley on his arrival: making appointments to three senior diocesan posts and the exercise of patronage generally; the shortage of men in the ordained ministry; building churches in new housing developments; the re-conditioning of the church day-schools and the building of county secondary schools; and the extension of the cathedral and establishing its reputation as the spiritual centre of the diocese. Each of these policy areas will be addressed in turn.

Appointments and Patronage

Baddeley continued Askwith's policy of favouring men of moderate high-church sympathies. While the majority of these priests were not so ritualistic as to alienate low-church Lancashire congregations they were sufficiently catholic and

²⁸ Moore's unpublished memoirs, pp.25, 26.

²⁹ *Crosier*, vii, 117 (Nov. 1959), bishop's monthly letter.

sacramentally minded as to change gradually the religious culture of Lancashire Anglicanism.

In late 1954, Baddeley had to appoint two new suffragans. Both men chosen came from a catholic sacramental tradition.³⁰ Anthony Hoskyns Abrahall, suffragan bishop of Lancaster, was more overtly anglo-catholic than William Holderness of Burnley, but they were both products of Westcott House, enjoyed hunting and fishing and were members of the MCC. Both had spent periods as public-school masters.

Because the archdeaconry of Lancaster had become vacant when Ben Pollard was appointed bishop of Sodor and Man, the crown rather than Baddeley was responsible for the appointment of 42-year-old William Gordon Fallows as archdeacon of Lancaster in 1955. Both rector and rural dean of Preston, Fallows retained his parish alongside his new diocesan role though ceasing to be rural dean. Fallows was less of a county type than the two suffragans, a product of Barrow Grammar School and St Edmund Hall, Oxford. Theologically too, Fallows was from a different stable having trained at Ripon Hall, Oxford, a modernist college. The marked difference in churchmanship of Fallows can in part be explained by his appointment by the crown; it may also account for Fallow's short tenure as archdeacon of Lancaster for in 1959, Fallows left Lancashire to return to Ripon Hall as principal. The vacancy allowed Baddeley to oil part of the diocesan machinery that had become the cause of much friction, the archdeacon of Blackburn, Charles Lambert.

Lambert had benefited from the patronage of William Temple and had been appointed archdeacon of Blackburn in 1946 by Askwith. But Lambert was unpopular with Temple's successor, Garbett, who had blocked his further promotion.³¹ Notwithstanding, Lambert was a very popular figure amongst the Blackburn clergy.

³⁰ For Baddeley's two appointments of suffragan bishops, see pp. 127-133.

Discontent resulted from Lambert remaining as archdeacon of Blackburn while Baddeley recruited two suffragans from outside the diocese. Lambert's relationship with Baddeley and other members of the senior staff deteriorated. Mistrust of Lambert combined with Baddeley's instinctive tendency not to delegate to fuel the fire. Because Garbett had already scuppered Lambert's promotion, Baddeley was saddled with a potential long-term problem. In July 1957, Baddeley's working relationship with Lambert had deteriorated to such an extent that Baddeley consulted the Archbishop: 'the relationship of one of my archdeacons with myself and other members of my staff is now intolerable. He must go.'³² The main stumbling block was Lambert's strong personality and outspoken opinions. Ramsey consulted his registrar Innes Ware, who explained the freehold nature of the archdeacon's office.³³ Baddeley was left with no option but to make the best of it and Fallow's departure in part offered a solution.

Baddeley persuaded Lambert to change archdeaconries and succeed Fallows as archdeacon of Lancaster. In addition to a different archdeaconry and a different working environment, Lambert ceased to be a residentiary canon of the cathedral and moved from Blackburn to become vicar of the prestigious parish of St Cuthbert, Lytham, where 'he thoroughly enjoyed being back in a parish and continued until his retirement' in 1966.³⁴ Lambert found the atmosphere in Lytham more congenial than Blackburn. Being vicar of an important parish removed him from living and working in close proximity to Baddeley and other members of the senior staff. He enjoyed

³¹ For details see the earlier section on Baddeley's appointment and also pp. 144-5.

³² BI, Bp./Prov/4/1 Baddeley to Ramsey, 2 July 1957

³³ Ibid., correspondence with the bishops of Blackburn 1954-82. Archbishop Michael Ramsey to Innes Ware, Registrar to the Archbishop of York, 3 July 1957; Ware to Ramsey, 4, Jul. 1957.

³⁴ Moore, unpubl. Memoirs, p. 26.

living in a palatial vicarage, set in its extensive grounds. Lambert expressed thanks for 'living in the loveliest place of all in attractive Lytham'.³⁵

Lambert was succeeded as archdeacon of Blackburn by the rector of St George, Preston, Arnold Stanley Picton. Picton was another high-church Baddeley protégé. At 60 he was a senior and experienced parish priest, who despite being educated in the south of England had spent all his 34 years of ministry in Lancashire. Like Baddeley and Lambert, Picton had trained at Cuddesdon (under James Buchanan Seaton) and was probably close to Baddeley in churchmanship. Baddeley's appointments, although uncontroversial in Blackburn itself, did not go unnoticed at Lambeth Palace. After Baddeley's death, Fisher commented to Michael Ramsey:

The more I hear about Blackburn, the more I feel that the next Bishop must be one about whom nobody even asks what kind of a churchman he is? The late Bishop [Baddeley] was pretty high: he appointed as one suffragan, Hoskyns-Abrahall, who was also pretty high. And when the moderate Fallows went to Ripon Hall, he replaced him as Archdeacon by one not in the same way a moderate ...³⁶

Fisher's comments echoes the assessment of Sir David Stephens, who remarked that Baddeley had 'incurred some criticism for having raised the level of churchmanship of the diocese, not least by his choice of people for diocesan appointments'.³⁷ It is possible that Baddeley's churchmanship was not as controversial as suggested and that Fisher and Stephens had ulterior motives for making it an issue.

As explained earlier, both Fisher and Macmillan opposed Ramsey's favoured candidate for Blackburn, the Anglo-Catholic Ambrose Reeves. Macmillan's

³⁵ *St Cuthbert's Parish Church, Lytham, 175th Anniversary Magazine* (Lytham, 2009), p. 35.

³⁶ LPL, FP, vol. 236, fo. 59, Fisher to Ramsey, 9 May 1960.

³⁷ TNA, Prem 5/259, David Stephens to Michael Adeane, 2 June 1960.

objections were diplomatic and political rather than theological and Baddeley's churchmanship may have been used as an excuse to veto Reeves. Certainly Claxton, Baddeley's immediate successor, having trained at Ridley Hall, could not be described as being 'pretty high'. Nonetheless, to suggest that Baddeley's churchmanship was controversial is misleading. There was continuity in churchmanship between Askwith and Baddeley and Blackburn's continued move in a high Anglican direction was gradually, but uncontroversially, maintained during the Baddeley years.

Several appointments to prominent parishes went to priests whose sympathies lay on the 'catholic' side. Baddeley, as patron, was directly responsible for the appointment of Charles Bramley, Lichfield-trained, to the large, lucrative and historic parish of St Wilfrid, Standish. Similarly, as patron of St Laurence, Chorley, Baddeley appointed Chichester-trained Arthur J. G. Anderson. St Laurence was the senior of the four Anglican parishes in Chorley and, as rector of Chorley, Anderson became patron of the other three. In 1956 Anderson appointed E.M.J. Cornish to St George, Chorley. Although Cornish had trained at Queen's College, Birmingham, he was a definite high churchman and gradually steered St George's in that direction.

Traditionally, St Peter's had the reputation of being the high church in Chorley. Conversely, St James represented the low-church/evangelical wing. However, after 1956, clergy with high-church sympathies held three of the four Chorley parishes. When St James, Chorley, became vacant, Anderson, as patron, appointed Frederick Brain Oddy in 1957. Oddy was a graduate of St David's, Lampeter and having trained at Lichfield, and served his second curacy at St Margaret, St Anne's, was anything but an evangelical. Chorley presents an interesting case study because it was a town that had a strong Roman Catholic presence. Traditionally, Anglican self-definition in Chorley had been formed in opposition to the three strong Roman Catholic churches

in the town. Because none of the appointments to the Anglican parishes in Chorley proved controversial it does suggest that old attitudes and prejudices were softening.

Similarly, Lancaster had a notable denominational heritage being the see town of the Roman Catholic diocese of that name. Arguably, in 1955 Lancaster Priory was still the most prestigious church in the diocese of Blackburn. Nonetheless, the Priory appeared to move in a catholic direction when in 1955, Henry Bland, Cuddesdon trained, succeeded the broad-church Pollard.

Churchmanship was not the only factor that influenced Baddeley's appointments. The decision to fill vacancies from within the existing ranks of diocesan clergy had to be weighed against the benefit gained by recruiting from further afield. Significantly, during Baddeley's episcopate as we have seen the archdeaconries and the two most prestigious parish appointments in his gift, St Wilfrid, Standish and St Laurence, Chorley, all went to internal candidates. The two parishes merit particular comment because they were important churches in terms of seniority, income, staff employed and rights of patronage over other parishes. Baddeley could have used these two 'plum' livings to attract talented clergy into the diocese from elsewhere. It is possible he was sensitive to criticism over his policy of external recruitment. Certainly, in three of his senior diocesan appointments Baddeley had shown a desire for 'new blood and fresh approaches.'³⁸ This was true not only of his two suffragans but also of the key position of Diocesan Director of Education, which had to be filled twice during Baddeley's episcopate and which both times went to external appointments. To some degree, Baddeley balanced his desire for fresh blood by giving his archdeaconries and two best parishes to internal candidates.

³⁸ Peart-Binns, *Gordon Fallows*, p. 56.

A brief study of parish appointments reveals something of the professional climate amongst clergy in the diocese of Blackburn during this period. In 1954 the diocese contained 265 parishes. There were 137 institutions during Baddeley's episcopate, a turnover of 52 per cent during five years. Of 137 parishes filled 58 (42 per cent) involved the appointments of clergy coming into the diocese of Blackburn from elsewhere and 79 (58 per cent) were internal appointments.

The Bishop held exclusive patronage of some 29 per cent of the parishes and shared patronage over 8 per cent. Individual lay patrons held approximately 7 per cent of patronage; ex-officio clerical patrons (such as the incumbents of senior parishes for example the provost of Blackburn, rector of Burnley, rector of Standish, vicar of Lancaster), accounted for 26 per cent of the remaining livings. The various boards of trustees (such as the Hume Trustees, the Church Pastoral Aid Society and Meryill trustees), accounted for 18 per cent. Oxford colleges held approximately 3 per cent. During this period Baddeley exercised exclusive patronage over 37 parishes and in these 23 clergy (62 per cent) were appointed internally and 14 (38 per cent) recruited from outside the diocese. This shows Baddeley personal preference was slightly above (4 per cent more) the overall diocesan average of 58 per cent for internal appointments to parishes.

The high turnover appears to reflect financial incentives for clerical mobility. There existed great variations in the incomes of parochial clergy. For example, St Wilfrid's, Standish was worth approximately £1,600 per annum, whereas Charnock Richard paid only £650. A high-income parish becoming vacant could trigger a chain of inductions as several clergy moved 'up' into parishes of greater wealth. When Ben Pollard vacated the vicarage of Lancaster (which gave the incumbent a net income of £1,487 per annum) he was succeeded by another Blackburn priest, Henry Bland, who moved

from Morecambe (£888 per annum). Here the chain within the diocese was broken but not the sequence of financial progression. At Morecambe a migrant priest from Yorkshire, George Snowdon, moved from St Paul Morley (£609 per annum).

The diocesan bishop was central to this process. Within his patronage he held a cross section of parishes from low-income first incumbencies to several plums, allowing him to dangle the latter as incentives.

Recruitment of Ordinands

Three months after his enthronement, Baddeley described a shortage of clergy:

There are now quite a number of vacant parishes in the diocese. Such of these as are in my 'patronage' I hope to be able to fill very shortly. But we are short, very short, of sufficient men of experience, and it seems to me before long we shall be quite unable to fill the gaps.³⁹

Under Bishop Herbert (1927-42) there was annual average of 13 ordained to the diaconate in Blackburn. The Second World War appears to have had a delayed but significant impact on numbers ordained. In 1943 the figure fell to 9, the lowest since 6 in 1928, not exceeded until 1951 when 11 deacons were ordained. From 1943 to 1949 the annual average was 5.14. It was unfortunate for Askwith that the decline coincided with his arrival at Blackburn; however, the last years of Askwith's episcopate saw the see numbers improve. In 1952, 17 deacons were ordained, the most since 1938.⁴⁰

Baddeley cultivated links with his former college of Cuddesdon in order to attract ordinands. Cuddesdon had significant influence on Baddeley's Blackburn. Not only was Baddeley an alumnus but so too were Archdeacon Lambert, the diocesan director of ordinands, Arthur Picton, warden of the Fellowship of Vocation and Wilfrid Francis Browning, canon theologian of Blackburn cathedral. Previously a lecturer at

³⁹ *Crosier*, vi, 61, (January 1955), Bishop's Monthly Letter.

Cuddesdon, 1951-9, Browning possessed valuable contacts with both the college and the ordinands training there. Thus, the Cuddesdon influence was extended in Blackburn because, as canon theologian, Browning had oversight for curates in training.

Baddeley often spent part of Holy Week each year at Cuddesdon. In the summer of 1955 he made a 'pilgrimage through the parishes of the Tunstall rural deanery' accompanied by 'three students from Cuddesdon who made a splendid team' moving 'from parish to parish for a fortnight'.⁴¹ In January 1956 Edward Knapp Fisher, principal of Cuddesdon, along with forty ordinands visited Blackpool for ten days living in the parishes and attending and taking part in services. 'It was two-way traffic. The parishes were ministered unto by the students, and the students had a direct experience of parish life'; the 'mayor of Blackpool arranged a civic reception for them and the students were taken to places of interest and shown something of Lancashire life, industrial and commercial.'⁴² Following the visit of the Cuddesdon students, Baddeley wrote in *The Crosier*:

The visit of some forty students and the principal of Cuddesdon Theological College to Blackpool for ten days or so in January was a great success. The men themselves thoroughly enjoyed the experience ... I hope that through this introduction to the Diocese more young men from Cuddesdon will later come to work in the parishes here. There is an upward trend in the number of young men who are being recommended

⁴⁰ LRO, the diocese of Blackburn's Book of Ordinations 1927-54, (uncatalogued).

⁴¹ *Crosier*, vi, 69 (Sept. 1955), Bishop's Monthly Letter.

⁴² Williams, *Viewed from the Water Tank*, p. 186.

for training by C.A.C.T.M., but even so the number is still far short of our need.⁴³

Baddeley not only saw Cuddesdon as a source of recruitment but also as a means of raising the level of churchmanship in Blackburn, as explained in a letter to a Cuddesdon ordinand, written soon after the Blackpool visit.

The Cuddesdon visit was a great success — at least, that is the unanimous opinion of people in Blackpool and Fleetwood. I am so glad that you are more keen than ever to go to Fleetwood...Would that we could get another half-dozen good Cuddesdon men into the diocese — we'd get ahead then in some of the stony places... I sincerely hope that I shall be able to get down to Cuddesdon on the Monday in Holy Week and stay until the Saturday... Incidentally, I shall hope to 'pick up' three pilgrims for this year's pilgrimage, which I hope may be partly in the Garstang rural deanery and partly in that of Lancaster.⁴⁴

Despite Blackburn's shortage of clergy Baddeley did not regard it as an immediate crisis. Indeed, he was enthusiastic about releasing clergy for both overseas work and chaplaincy to the forces, as evident from his monthly letters to the diocese.

There are tremendous possibilities for chaplains of the right sort working among young men who are doing their National Service. Indeed, here is a tremendous missionary opportunity and I fear that we may later have to plead we did too little too late. I do hope that some of our younger men will seriously consider the possibility of offering themselves for period of service. It may involve us in a temporary loss. In the end there will be a

⁴³ *Crosier*, vi, 75 (March 1956), Bishop's Monthly Letter.

⁴⁴ Baddeley to Kenneth Gibbons, 4 Feb. 1956 (letter in the possession of Mr Gibbons).

big gain. It is the old and true story: the Church that forgets herself and gives herself finds new life.⁴⁵

In 1955, the Chaplain General of the Army wrote to Baddeley concerning the Department being seventy-two Anglican chaplains under strength. Baddeley appealed for volunteers to his clergy.

A Bishop cannot but be aware of the difficulties of the adequate staffing of his own parishes but, at the same time, he must also realise what a heavy responsibility is the spiritual care of the large number of young men during their period of National Service. It would make all the difference in the world if these young men came back to their parishes with a renewed Faith and a determination to 'carry on' in 'civvy-street' the practice of a Religion, which has become of greater concern to them during their time in the Forces. The period of a lad's National Service does give the Church a great opportunity and the present shortage of chaplains is a challenge to the Church. It is a difficult matter to draw up a list of priorities. I think myself the need of the Church overseas is No. 1; Chaplains' work in the Forces is No. 2; and I believe that if we work on this principle we should, in due course, find our needs at home amply satisfied. It is a case of giving freely to others and finding ourselves amply rewarded — the same principle as 'losing one's life and finding it'.⁴⁶

The quote reveals much about Baddeley's personal theology. In the 1950s many within the church, and outside it, were turning away from militarism and Empire, and prioritising domestic post-war reconstruction over overseas mission. However,

⁴⁵ *Crosier*, vi, 61 (Jan. 1955), Bishop's Monthly Letter.

⁴⁶ *Crosier*, vi, 69 (Sept. 1955), Bishop's Monthly Letter.

Baddeley's priorities were the church overseas and the Army. It is striking how he automatically linked the shortage of chaplains and the Church overseas.

It is only by understanding Baddeley the soldier that we understand Baddeley the bishop. In his letters to the diocese Baddeley stops short of saying that if the necessary numbers of chaplains to the forces are found this would result in more ex-servicemen offering themselves for ordination. Nonetheless, Baddeley was aware that his own career progression from the Army to the church was not unique but an experience shared by many others, as following the Great War former soldiers provided much-needed candidates for ordination. As long as National Service persisted, the Church needed to put resources into the religious life of the Army, and would reap the benefit in devout ex-servicemen.

Baddeley hoped the Army would continue to produce the 'right' sort of clergy. Perhaps it was a naïve attempt to recruit clergy in his own image. Nonetheless, up to the abolition of National Service in 1960, there existed a path from the services to university, and then, on to theological college and ordination. It was a route followed by many including Baddeley's son, Martin. By 1963, the last national servicemen had completed their duty. This coincided with the precise point, 1962/3, when ordinations in the Church of England reached a 75-year high before going into a rapid decline.⁴⁷

Writing in November 1956 Baddeley described his forthcoming visit to Germany for a 'long week' and his intention:

To make contact with a good many young men from these parts
[Lancashire] doing their National Service there and I shall be seeing a

⁴⁷ F. W. B. Bullock, *A History of Training for the Ministry of The Church of England 1875-1974* (London, Words Publishing, 1976), p. 122, in 1963, 653 deacons were ordained.

good deal of the 1st Battalion, the East Lancashire Regiment. There is a good deal of lack of liaison between the parishes and our young men in the forces. I know it is a bit difficult to keep in touch when a fellow first goes from home for he will perhaps be in four or five different places within the first three months of his service, and, if a parish priest waits until he gets his final unit it seems that touch may be lost altogether. Again, at the end of a lad's service, we often do not seem somehow or other to be able to link him up so closely as before. A good many do come back: some are likely to be found in the choir on such week-end leaves as they have, and at the end of their service take up where they left off. But there are others whose habit of attendance at church has been broken by their National Service. It is these fellows for whom we ought to be on the look out. I am quite sure that many of our parish clergy who have been chaplains are very much on the alert. Even so, everyone seems to admit there is a real leakage.⁴⁸

Despite the unorthodoxy of prioritising overseas mission and the Army, Baddeley must be credited with success in the area of clergy recruitment. During seven years, 1954-60, 89 deacons were ordained in Blackburn diocese, an annual average of 12.71,⁴⁹ representing a 46 per cent increase on the previous seven years, 1947-53, when 61 deacons were ordained, an annual average of 8.71.⁵⁰

While it is true that the numbers were improving in the three years immediately before Baddeley came to Blackburn and nationally ordinations were on the increase,⁵¹ it cannot be denied that Baddeley nurtured what he inherited and in turn left a

⁴⁸ *Crosier*, vi, 84 (Dec. 1956), Bishop's Monthly Letter.

⁴⁹ 10 in 1954; 15 in 1955; 6 in 1956; 13 in 1957; 16 in 1958; 15 in 1959 and 14 in 1960.

⁵⁰ 8 in 1947; 3 in 1948; 6 in 1949; 8 in 1950; 11 in 1951; 17 in 1952 and 8 in 1953.

flourishing model for his successor. Without doubt, in the area of clergy recruitment Baddeley's personal gifts were employed to great effect. In 1962 a record 27 deacons were ordained in the Blackburn diocese.⁵²

Church-Building

When Baddeley came to office in 1954, the years of post-war austerity were coming to an end and superficially the economic optimism that fostered the initiative to establish a Blackburn Diocese appeared to be returning to church life in Lancashire. The war had been over for nine years, rationing had recently stopped and society had had time to adjust to peacetime conditions. Seen in this context, in 1954 Blackburn could still be regarded as an up and coming young diocese with great potential. In fact, during the Baddeley years the social and economic conditions of Lancashire were probably the most favourable since the mid-1920s. As William Vanstone recounted of his ministry in urban parishes of Manchester diocese, 'in the early 1950s an atmosphere of social hope was present, an atmosphere created by a rising standard of living, new educational opportunities and the development of the welfare state'.⁵³

If the people of Lancashire had 'never had it so good', then, the start of Baddeley's episcopate coincided with the upturn. The Lancashire town of Leyland was a world-leading centre of the motor industry. The coastal town of Fleetwood was the hub of the region's fishing industry. Preston in the 1950s was a thriving port and industrial centre. Blackpool was a booming holiday resort and favoured playground of the northern working class.

⁵¹ Bullock, *History of Training*, p. 122.

⁵² Blackburn Diocesan Registry, Ordinations Book, 1954-65.

⁵³ W. A. Vanstone, *Love's Endeavour, Love's Expense* (London, 2007), p. 7.

Towards the end of Askwith's time at Blackburn in 1954, the Diocesan Pastoral Committee reported that an additional 'twelve, or thirteen' churches would be required to serve areas of new housing.⁵⁴ As the majority of this programme was begun or achieved during Baddeley's time, church building became a defining characteristic of his episcopate. New housing estates represented a fresh opportunity for evangelism. Here Baddeley's previous missionary experience could be applied to a domestic setting.

A spirit of renewed energy and fresh optimism was reflected in the church-building programme. Nine of the proposed dozen new church buildings were completed during his episcopate: St James, Lostock, St David's, Fleetwood and The Ascension, Torrisholme (1957), St Michael and All Angels, Blackpool (1958), St Anne, Greenlands, Blackpool, All Saints', Chorley, St Christopher, Lea, St Margaret, St Annes-on-the-Sea and The Ascension, Ribbleson in 1959.⁵⁵ Employment in the region's expanding aviation, nuclear, insurance and automotive industries, in addition to work in developing government agencies such as premium bonds, the Land Registry and Royal Ordnance, brought people to Lancashire from other parts of the country and these 'incomers' initially settled in the housing developments where the new churches were built. For this demographic reason, it may be argued that these new communities were less susceptible to the anti-catholic prejudices that influenced many of the older Anglican parishes in Lancashire. To varying degrees, the nine new churches adopted a generally catholic complexion.

Church Schools

⁵⁴ Williams, *Viewed from the Water Tank*, p. 177.

⁵⁵ Decisions were also taken to build two churches, which were only completed after his death, All Saints', Anchorholme, 1961 and, St John the Evangelist, Little Thornton, 1961.

Because of Blackburn's lack of a university in 1954, a 'man's man' rather than an academic was undoubtedly a more appealing proposition for 'tough Lancashire types'. However, while the diocese lacked a university it did possess an abundance of other educational institutions. Following the 1944 Butler Education Act, under Askwith the diocese had made a determined effort to maintain as many church schools with aided status as possible. In Melanesia Baddeley had experienced the great religious and social power that church schools could wield. Through the Melanesian Mission schools the indigenous population had learned not only to speak English but also come to embrace the doctrine, liturgy and ethics of Anglicanism, eventually producing the indigenous priests and teachers the mission required to survive.

In his first message in the diocesan newsletter, *The Crosier*, two months before his enthronement, Baddeley described Blackburn as 'a diocese, which has won the admiration of us all for its determined efforts to maintain its church schools'.⁵⁶ The policy to keep as many church schools as possible with aided status was only adopted by a handful of dioceses. While Bradford, Manchester, Southwark and Carlisle followed a similar line to Blackburn most allowed their church schools to move to controlled status. Consequently, Blackburn contained an unusually high number of church schools. As with the history of Blackburn cathedral, the diocesan policy for church schools is recounted in some detail in Williams' *Viewed from the Water Tank*.⁵⁷ Here we merely address how Askwith's policy influenced the episcopate of his successor. As Williams observed, throughout Baddeley's time 'schools dominated the thinking planning and money raising in an extraordinary way and occupied the

⁵⁶ *Preston Guardian*, 28 Aug. 1954, p.1

⁵⁷ Williams, *Viewed from the Water Tank*, pp. 162-7.

thoughts and activities of all responsible for the life growth and evangelism of the diocese'.⁵⁸

More than the cathedral, it was the church schools that came to symbolise the character, identity and aspirations of the diocese. No doubt Lancashire's unique religious culture made the preservation of Anglican identity through schools more compelling and for Askwith it become 'a great personal mission',⁵⁹ a courageous policy that many thought foolhardy.

In the 1940s and 50s, when church attendance was numerically strong, it could be argued that the church did not need to keep the schools because Christian teaching and evangelism occurred elsewhere; meanwhile money could be redirected to other Christian projects, not least building new churches. The state could appear best qualified, equipped and resourced to run schooling; it might be socially responsible for the church to abdicate its responsibility in this area.

As director of education 1934-46, Charles Lambert had given great impetus to the campaign to keep the church schools, 'urging parishes to raise or guarantee the necessary finance'.⁶⁰ On becoming archdeacon of Blackburn in 1946, he was succeeded by Charles James Stranks, who accepted a canonry at Durham cathedral shortly before Baddeley arrived in 1954. Baddeley thus encountered a new appointment to this crucial area of diocesan life, Prebendary Frederick Harford-Cross, formerly diocesan missionary for Lincoln 1950-53.⁶¹ In 1959 Harford-Cross left for Gloucester diocese. Lambert, Stranks and Harford-Cross had all combined the directorship of education with the post of warden of Whalley Abbey, the diocesan

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 200.

⁵⁹ B. Geoffrey Moore to A. Hodgson, 21 Jan. 2010, p. 2.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Harford-Cross had previously performed the Director of Religious Education role in Lincoln, 1946-50.

retreat and conference centre. However, in 1959 the wisdom of dividing the director of education's time was questioned and the post separated from Whalley Abbey. The fact that the education role was no longer considered to be a part-time job reflected the increased priority given to church schools during Baddeley's episcopate. As his new specialist director of education Baddeley chose Charles W. D. Carroll, vicar of Stanwix, Cumbria.⁶² The specialisation of the director's role was one of two important educational initiatives that were taken at the end of Baddeley's episcopate. The second was the decision to found a Church of England teacher training institution in the diocese, which later became St Martin's, Lancaster.

The aided schools placed an immense financial burden on limited resources. Blackburn was not a wealthy diocese with historic endowments and had to meet 50 per cent of building costs on new church schools at a time when there were other demands upon its purse.⁶³ Because the financial incentive for moving to controlled status was great it was essential that whoever succeeded Askwith was equally committed to the aided-school policy. Not only was Baddeley a keen proponent of church schools, but he also held an impressive record as a public speaker and fund raising, and these qualities were now put to good use. Of all the Church of England dioceses, Blackburn retained the highest number of aided-schools (160) and in so doing secured its own unique place in the history of the Church of England. Paradoxically, Blackburn was one of the dioceses least able to afford an expensive programme of aided schools. But seen in the wider context of decline in church attendance, confirmations, baptisms, ordinations, etc after 1960, frequently oversubscribed schools became vital means of Christian education and evangelism.

⁶² Because of Blackburn's large number of church schools, the Diocesan Director of Education was a very senior position.

⁶³ The state met all the costs in schools that adopted controlled status.

Undoubtedly, the Blackburn policy cost dear. The cathedral paid the price.

The Cathedral

The history of Blackburn cathedral is chronicled in *Viewed from the Water Tank* and will consequently only briefly be considered here.⁶⁴ The costly and problematic task of transforming an early nineteenth-century parish church into the cathedral of a densely populated diocese took over fifty years.

Building work to enlarge the cathedral began in 1938, but upon the completion of the crypt in 1941 had been curtailed because of wartime restrictions. In 1948 work recommenced on the cathedral, but funds were only sufficient to complete the south transept. Plans to build a north transept, central crossing and east end were postponed. The slow progress reflected and contributed to the cathedral's inability to establish its identity as the spiritual centre of the diocese. This was the situation Baddeley inherited in 1954; it was a problem he failed to resolve. Four years after his enthronement, Baddeley expressed exasperation:

I know it will be years before the cathedral becomes a place of pilgrimage as some of our ancient cathedrals are, but it is the Mother church of the diocese and I wish I could see it becoming increasingly a place in which people will come from all over the diocese and show their interest and draw some inspiration from it.⁶⁵

It was not until well after Baddeley's time that the cathedral came to symbolise Anglicanism in Lancashire. One problem, as Sir David Stephens later noted, was:

Personal to the Provost [William Kay] himself: He is a somewhat aggrieved and disappointed man. He regards himself as 'extra-diocesan' and has been unwilling to share his life's work with others. As a result, he

⁶⁴ See also G. A. Williams, *Blackburn Cathedral* (London, 1971).

has found himself isolated and evidently feels he has not had the support that he deserved. After the war the then Bishop had to tell the Provost that the resources of the diocese must be concentrated upon church schools and new churches. The Provost fully accepted the case for this with his reason but not with his heart. In competition with the cathedral is the problem of church schools, which are a great tradition in Lancashire.⁶⁶

Like Baddeley, Kay had distinguished himself as an Army officer during the Great War and was ordained soon after demobilization. In 1954 Kay had been in post since 1936, and remained there until 1961. But it was clear from Garbett's comments to Bevir prior to Baddeley's appointment that Kay's health already called into question his competence for his post.⁶⁷ Undoubtedly, this restricted Baddeley's room for manoeuvre with the cathedral. Geoffrey Moore commented of the relationship between the bishop and provost that 'Provost Kay was old and clearly near retirement and though Bishop Walter respected him as a fellow veteran of the 1914-18 War, he did not consult him.'⁶⁸

By not consulting with Kay it appears that early in his episcopate Baddeley had decided that for the moment little progress could be made at the cathedral. In 1954 Baddeley appeared young and vigorous and Kay old and sick. Baddeley had other priorities and the cathedral could be postponed until Kay had gone. However, Kay was to outlast Baddeley. The relationship with Kay added to Baddeley's problems of delegation. Had the working relations between the bishop and provost been better and the latter younger and fitter, Baddeley could have shared some of his demanding ministry with the provost of his cathedral.

⁶⁵ *Crosier*, vii, 102 (June 1958), Bishop's Monthly Letter.

⁶⁶ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Stephen's Impressions, 31 Mar. 1960.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Garbett to Bevir, 10 July 1954.

Following Baddeley's death, Sir David Stephens remarked that the unfinished cathedral was a large problem with which the diocese still had to cope, despite Provost Kay having, 'devoted his life and a good deal of his own money. The new Bishop [Baddeley's successor] will have to decide how much time and effort and what proportion of diocesan resources can be devoted to this object. The cathedral needs finishing. It has been hanging about too long.'⁶⁹

Baddeley was aware that the cathedral needed attention but apart from two appointments (Glynn Jackson as canon sacrist in 1956 and Wilfrid Browning as canon theologian in 1959) he did not achieve much for good reasons. But Kay was only one reason why Baddeley's impact upon the life of the cathedral was clearly limited. Baddeley honoured the commitment to give priority to the diocesan schools and the cathedral was sacrificed.

Conclusion

Baddeley's successor, Claxton, was 57 when appointed and spent twelve years at Blackburn (1960-72). Claxton's leadership style was remarkably similar to that of Baddeley. He too was a 'man's man', being a prominent Freemason and great supporter of the Church of England Men's Society. Claxton, like Baddeley, was not particularly academic and possessed a confident, robustly hearty and, at times, impulsive personality. The appointment of a successor so similar must be seen to Baddeley's credit. Admittedly, Claxton originated from an evangelical stable, but there is little to suggest that the churchmanship of either Claxton or Baddeley caused problems in Blackburn. As we have seen, Archbishop Fisher did criticise Baddeley for favouring high-church appointments; however, Fisher had ulterior motives and in hindsight the criticism seems unjustified. Baddeley simply continued a policy begun

⁶⁸ Moore's unpublished memoirs, p. 26.

by Askwith. The bishops and senior staff before and after Baddeley's time were frequently recruited from the Anglo-catholic constituency. Four of the eight diocesan bishops to date [2010] have been high-churchmen. In 1964, Claxton appointed Henry Hodd as archdeacon of Blackburn. Having attended Keble, trained at Westcott House, served a curacy at Leeds parish church, been vicar of Mansfield and later the Anglo-catholic parish of St George Preston, Hodd's pedigree was as high-church as any of Baddeley's appointments. In 1966, Claxton appointed the renowned Anglo-catholic Geoffrey Gower Jones as archdeacon of Lancaster.

By the standards of the time Baddeley was deemed to be an effective bishop. Certainly, Dr Eric Kemp writing in 1959 thought so when reviewing the contemporary state of the English episcopate:

English bishops are not merely local ecclesiastical persons, but also move on the national stage being all potential members of the House of Lords and must therefore be of the stature of national leaders. One cannot help feeling that in many discussions of this kind a sort of ideal bishop is set up who has rarely corresponded to any reality, someone who combines the qualities of Edward King, Hensley Henson, and William Temple. The appearance of a man such as any of these is not common, and it is unlikely that a body of the size of the Church of England will produce more than ten or a dozen men in any one generation who are really of the calibre of national leaders. On the other hand, the Church does produce many pious and able men who would be good pastoral bishops of smaller dioceses,

⁶⁹ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Stephens, Impressions, 31 Mar. 1960.

men of the type of Walter Baddeley of Blackburn or Edward Wynn of Ely or some others who have served to the end of their days as suffragans.⁷⁰

In Lancashire Baddeley was undoubtedly a prominent local ecclesiastical personage but he never moved on the national stage and died shortly before he was due to enter the House of Lords. Even so, there was little to suggest he was a potential national leader. Intellectually he was not equipped to fill the statesmanlike roles performed by Garbett, Fisher, Bell and Ramsey. Baddeley was not among the ‘top ten’ bishops of his generation, which explains why little has been written about him. Nevertheless, the church needed Baddeley type bishops.

The success of Baddeley’s career was a response to criticism levelled at the church during the First World War. In 1918 the church emerged with a determination to be more socially inclusive, especially to working-class men. Baddeley was able to capitalise upon sentiments of camaraderie and fellowship engendered in men by their shared experience of the Services. He possessed the qualities the church needed at the time and it was no coincidence that at every important juncture in his career particular emphasis was placed upon him being ‘a man’s man’, ‘good with men’, and ‘good with men’s meetings’. For example, Archbishop Lang when recommending Baddeley for Melanesia commented, ‘he has done the most remarkable work among men in a great industrial district’.⁷¹ Again, in 1946, Bryan Robin in lobbying for Baddeley’s return to English described him as a ‘man’s man’. Later, in 1954 shortly before the move to Blackburn, Garbett described Baddeley to the Prime Minister as, ‘a good preacher and

⁷⁰ Kemp, *Counsel and Consent*, p. 225.

⁷¹ LPL, LP, vol. 112, fos. 268-9, Lang to the Archbishop of New Zealand, 3 May 1932.

speaker, especially at men's meetings'.⁷² It could be said 'a man's man' became the ubiquitous description of Baddeley, eventually becoming his epitaph.

Unlike many bishops, Baddeley came from a socially modest non-clerical background. Ordained in 1921 he exemplified a distinct breed of ex-serviceman cleric. His parish experiences, both in Leeds and later Middlesbrough, were in large, working-class parishes. His distinguished military record and masculine style made for successful rapport and popularity among the working-class men the church was keen to include. Because the First and Second World Wars had depended not only on conscription but also motivating the civilian population, Baddeley's career was forged during periods of shared wartime experience when the general public readily understood the significance of his Army rank and medals.

Admittedly, Baddeley did not have the academic ability of Fisher or Ramsey, but he possessed many relevant achievements they lacked such as a distinguished war record, time spent in urban parishes and not least heroic missionary experience. When Baddeley went to Melanesia Britain was still an imperially minded society and overseas mission continued to capture the popular imagination in English parishes. On his return to England Baddeley proved a popular and capable suffragan and although not eligible for one of the top bishoprics there was sufficient reason to believe he would make a good second-order diocesan. However, because of his lengthy time in Melanesia, at sixty, Baddeley was older on appointment to Blackburn than his two predecessors (Herbert was 42 in 1927 and Askwith 52 in 1942), both of whom had lengthy episcopates (Herbert fifteen years; Askwith, fourteen). Askwith's translation to Gloucester was clearly seen as easing an older man into a less demanding job, and in 1954 no new appointment to the bench of diocesan bishops over the age of sixty

⁷² TNA, Prem. 5/259, Garbett to Churchill, 19 June 1954.

had been made since 1939.⁷³ In 1954 Baddeley was certainly due a promotion, but although he appeared the right man for Blackburn it is debatable whether Blackburn was the right diocese for Baddeley. Four years spent on the Western Front and fifteen years in the tropics, including a period of nine months behind Japanese lines, undoubtedly had adverse long-term effects upon his health. Kemp's assessment of Baddeley as a 'pious and able man' and 'a good pastoral bishop' was accurate enough. Unfortunately, his description of Blackburn as 'a small diocese' was incorrect. Blackburn was a demanding and densely populated diocese that required a diocesan and two suffragan bishops. The workload at Blackburn contributed to Askwith's illness and eventually killed Baddeley.

Like others, before and since and indeed Baddeley himself, Kemp underestimated the diocese of Blackburn and what was demanded of its bishop. Paradoxically, although Fisher sufficiently grasped that Blackburn had an unreasonably demanding workload, he did not regard it as an important diocese. Although Blackburn was perceived as more junior and less prestigious than Salisbury or Gloucester (both were offered to Askwith) Fisher regarded Blackburn as a harder diocese:

'Some-while back he [Askwith] had an illness and shortly afterwards he was offered the Bishopric of Salisbury so as to relieve him from the hard-northern conditions of Blackburn. He refused the offer, not because he was not attracted by it, but because he felt he was bound to stand by his diocese and see through an appeal he had launched to his people concerning church schools and the like. This was a fine act'⁷⁴

In light of this there is good reason to believe that had Baddeley gone to a less demanding diocese such as Salisbury or Gloucester he would have fared better.

⁷³ Ibid., Bevir to Lord Salisbury 19 July 1954.

Perhaps Garbett understood better than most what Blackburn required in 1954: this was a young, intellectually gifted and up and coming bishop. Garbett had asked Fisher to consider Baddeley for a diocese in the Southern Province, but Fisher having failed to offer Baddeley anything in the Southern Province welcomed the prospect of seeing Baddeley go to Blackburn; thus, Garbett was outmanoeuvred.

To the outside observer Blackburn appeared a second-order diocese for all sorts of reasons, such as its provincial location and absence of a major city and university. But such an impression, no matter how understandable, was wrong and betrayed an inability to evaluate what made Blackburn unique.

Some diocesan identities are defined by a building. For instance, the most powerful projections of the diocesan identities of Peterborough, Coventry, Bath and Wells and Ely are their world-famous cathedrals. Other diocesan identities are synonymous with the cultural heritage of the great cities they represent — Birmingham, Manchester and Newcastle — or natural geography, Carlisle and Sodor and Man. In Oxford and, to a lesser degree, Durham; diocesan identity is closely associated with the great universities with which those bishoprics have historic links.

Blackburn stood in contrast to practically every other diocese in that more than anything else it was the aided church schools that came to symbolise its identity: ‘certainly Blackburn was celebrated as being the diocese which retained more voluntary aided status schools than any other in the Church of England’.⁷⁵ Baddeley played his part in sustaining this defining characteristic as he shared Askwith’s commitment to the aided schools and consolidated it.

In other respects, the personalities of the two men were quite different. Baddeley had far greater personal appeal to the laity. For instance, in 1947, when Askwith’s name

⁷⁴ TNA, Prem. 5/369, Ecclesiastical Appointments. Fisher to Churchill, 11 December 1953.

was mentioned in connection with the vacant bishopric of Manchester, Garbett commented that 'he [Askwith] is very good with clergy and definite Church laity; but has little influence on civic or public affairs. Rather over ecclesiastical in outlook.'⁷⁶

Certain social institutions and networks suited Baddeley's approach. Freemasonry was historically strong in Lancashire. Baddeley was a fervent Freemason and was senior in rank, which undoubtedly added to his standing in his new diocese. Another exclusively masculine network within which Baddeley had great influence was the Church of England Men's Society. Since he was first ordained Baddeley had been the doyen of the CEMS whose structures, meetings and rallies were the stages for some of Baddeley's most successful public-relations performances. When Baddeley came to Blackburn the Society was comparatively weak in the diocese. However, 1957 saw a drive to revive the CEMS within the diocese and many new branches were formed in the parishes.

John Peart-Binns remarked of Baddeley:

His characteristics embraced zeal, impatience, bravery, imagination and forcefulness... A man's man, securing personal triumph when speaking to the Church of England Men's Society, where his ability to reach the minds and touch the hearts of laymen was well attested.⁷⁷

His success with the CEMS is an example of how Baddeley was at his most confident when addressing large gatherings of men. To this end, an initiative that not only played to the strengths of Baddeley's leadership style but also proved exceedingly popular, cultivating esprit de corps amongst the diocesan clergy, was the first residential conference for the clergy of Blackburn diocese. The venue was the Hotel

⁷⁵ B. Geoffrey Moore to A. Hodgson, letter 21 Jan. 2010, p. 3.

⁷⁶ TNA Prem. 5/ 258, 'Garbett's suggestions on the Bishopric of Manchester', 26 Feb. 1947.

⁷⁷ Peart-Binns, *Gordon Fallows*, pp. 54, 55.

Metropole, Blackpool, from 25 to 28 November 1957, made possible because Billy Butlin generously gave special terms. The exercise was repeated in November 1959.

Baddeley explained his rationale for the conferences:

It is not only a matter of getting together to hear first class lecturers on their particular subjects and to join in discussions arising from their talks, the invaluable thing is getting together. Men have told me that while they have worked in this diocese or that, they have never yet met so and so, who is probably a very well-known priest in one or other of the parishes in that particular diocese: We all ought to know one another for after all, we are a family.⁷⁸

Seen in isolation, Baddeley's introduction of residential clergy conferences amounts to little more than a local initiative. However, it was an idea adopted by other dioceses. Baddeley's leadership style focused upon personal contact with as wide a circle of clergy and laity as possible. His success was based upon his ability to win people over by his attractive personality and his impressive record of wartime heroism. Gathering all his clergy in one place for four days clearly suited his particular style of leadership and provided far greater opportunity for bonding bishop and clergy together than previous clerical gatherings had done. It invoked an Army model of commander and men being forged together as an effective unit. However, it could be argued that the success of Baddeley's leadership style depended too heavily on personal contact and individual powers of persuasion and once these were limited by the Bishop's failing health, cracks began to appear in the diocesan lines of command. This was certainly the view of Sir David Stephens:

⁷⁸ *Crosier*, vii, 116 (Oct. 1959), Bishop's Monthly Letter.

Baddeley's great strength was his friendliness. He got on with everyone and everybody loved him. But he was no administrator and his leadership was of a very personal character. He was not a team builder or leader. In consequence the diocese was not much drawn together under him and lost coherence. Furthermore, Bishop Baddeley had no powers of delegation. He was always trying to do too much himself so that the work got on top of him and finally killed him.⁷⁹

Before Baddeley, Askwith had experienced periods of poor health. However, the efficient administration of Blackburn did not suffer from Askwith's illness to the extent it did under Baddeley because Askwith's leadership style was less focused upon the personality of the bishop. Despite Baddeley's great personal appeal, Askwith proved a more able manager. Askwith may not have had Baddeley's heroic public image but his previous experience had better prepared him for the demands of Blackburn than Baddeley. Being the son of an archdeacon, Askwith had a family background of clerical leadership.⁸⁰ His promotion directly from a parish to a diocesan bishopric must be seen in context of several parishes, of which Leeds was one, being regarded as training grounds for potential diocesans. Leeds was:

The largest rural deanery in England [Askwith was rural dean of Leeds] and the vicar, the most important ecclesiastical figure in the sixth city of England. Apart from the control of a large staff at the parish church, the

⁷⁹ TNA, Prem. 5/259, Sir David Stephens, Impressions of the Diocese of Blackburn, 31 March 1960.

⁸⁰ The son of William Henry Askwith, archdeacon of Taunton, Askwith was educated at Bedford School and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and graduated with a second-class degree in classics in 1912. The following year he had the distinction of rowing for Cambridge in the university boat race.

vicar is chairman or governor of over 50 committees and is virtually the unconsecrated bishop of a deanery of nearly 150 clergy.⁸¹

Leeds had prepared Askwith for command of an English diocese in a way Baddeley's previous experience had not. South Bank was not as managerially or administratively demanding as Leeds. Melanesia was unique and Baddeley's role there was so different from that of an English diocesan as to question the relevance of Melanesian as preparation for Blackburn. No doubt Whitby helped, but we must remember the autocratic nature of Garbett's leadership and Baddeley's essentially functionary role.

Because of the demanding and complex structure of the diocese the managerial and administrative powers of the diocesan bishop were assuming greater importance than qualities such as scholarship, pastoralia or a flair for public relations.

The legacy of Fisher's time at Canterbury was that he realised, sooner than most, that the episcopate, both in its suffragan and diocesan forms, by necessity, had to move in an administrative and managerial direction. Four decades after Baddeley's death, Martyn Percy described the episcopate finding itself:

linked to the normative modes of organizational power that operate in a secular society. Pre-eminent among these is that of a chief executive, presiding over other managers, who in turn regulate clergy and laity. Given the multifarious demands on bishops today, this is not particularly surprising. Running a diocese is a major task, involving several hundred personnel, millions of pounds and massive responsibilities. A good

⁸¹ TNA, Prem. 5/259, a description supplied, by an official of the YMCA, Albion Place, Leeds, to the Prime Minister, 17 Oct. 1941.

manager at the helm is arguably a better bet than a saint. At least that might be the view of the diocesan auditors.⁸²

Half a century before Percy wrote his perceptive comments Geoffrey Fisher had come to the same conclusion.

Baddeley was no administrator and his inability to delegate proved he was not a good manager. In light of this it is surprising that he achieved as much as he did during his six years at Blackburn, but it was done at great personal cost and ultimately it was Baddeley rather than the institution that was the victim of his managerial shortcomings. In the event, the diocese of Blackburn - the cruel see- did for Baddeley what the Great War and the Japanese invasion of the Solomon Islands had failed to do. Those responsible for his appointment to Blackburn assumed that 'the fighting bishop' a 'man's man' met the requirements of the task without realising that he lacked the ability to delegate which had become so vital to a diocesan in the post-war era. His death at a comparatively early age could have been avoided had he remained a suffragan or been appointed to a less demanding diocese than Blackburn. This was not, however, considered to be in the best interests of the Church.

The decades since Baddeley's death in 1960 have seen the area of middle management (a function performed increasingly by unbenefices suffragan bishops and archdeacons) expand greatly. During Baddeley's lifetime the culture of management was in its infancy. Baddeley's experience helps to illustrate its development. Although of limited managerial ability himself, he was nevertheless involved in middle management at a time when it was on the verge of significant expansion. In the post-1960 period managerialism came to replace clerical professionalism as the dominant culture of the

⁸² G. R. Evans and Martyn Percy, 'The Church: Management or Service?' in *Managing the Church*: 212

institutional church and it may be argued that the process of bureaucratisation that Kenneth A. Thompson attributed to the period of the Church Assembly was not avoided, but deferred until a later period, as is apparent from a brief glance at the years following the Baddeley era.

First, in contrast to the period of the Church Assembly, the era of the General Synod has witnessed significant reductions in the autonomy of the parishes and their clergy. The Lower Houses of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, the bodies that Thompson saw as the main defenders of the independence of parish clergy, have ceased to exercise significant influence apart from that of the House of Clergy of the General Synod. In contrast the Upper Houses (i.e. the diocesan bishops) have continued to meet regularly and in camera. The fact that the Lower Houses of Convocation have ceased to meet as frequently as separate provinces reflects a weakening of clerical identity. Moreover, the Parochial Clergy Association (PCA) has had a greatly diminished role in the post-1969 era.

The diminished role of the Clergy Convocations and the PCA after 1969 begs the question of why and when the parish clergy ceased to behave as a professional interest group. There is some evidence to suggest that during the 1960s the parish clergy gradually turned from displaying the characteristics of a 'profession' and mutated into another form of occupational expression, a process accompanied by changes in policy regarding the recruitment, training and deployment of clergy.

In 1961 there were 26 residential theological colleges and 1,663 places for ordinands; by 1977 the figure had fallen to 15 colleges and 769 places.⁸³ Meanwhile, beginning with the Southwark Ordination Course in 1959, dioceses started to promote part-time, non-residential training courses. The policy ultimately enabled residentially trained,

Order and Organisation in a Secular Age, (Sheffield, 2000), p. 252.

full-time professional clergy to be replaced by non-residentially trained, unpaid volunteers. In 1960 there were approximately 19,000 clergy in the Church of England.⁸⁴ By 1980 there were 11,000 full-time stipendiary clergy; by 2005 the number had fallen to 9,000.⁸⁵ By 1998 approximately 2,000 non-stipendiary priests accounted for 17 per cent of the Church of England's total clerical strength.⁸⁶ Within forty years of Baddeley's death the distinct spirit of professionalism that developed from the Great War had disappeared and the parish clergy had changed from a large and relatively homogenous profession into a much smaller and far more diverse occupational grouping. The transition suggests that definitions of the clergy in terms common to the secular professions was more pronounced during the period 1919-60 than it was before or since.

In retrospect, it is not hard to understand why both Baddeley and his times are remembered with such affection. Three years after Baddeley's death the Church of England in several important areas such as ordinations, confirmations and attendance at communion, went into a severe and continuous numerical decline.

Neither is it difficult to understand why Baddeley is remembered with such warmth and respect in Lancashire. It seems that the optimistic atmosphere of Baddeley's episcopate temporarily reignited the mood of the 1920s and the belief that the standing of the newly founded diocese of Blackburn would inevitably increase to reflect the apparently rising industrial and commercial significance of East Lancashire. However, the region's irreversible industrial decline, the first signs of which were becoming manifest in the 1960s, meant this was never realised.

⁸³ Towler and Coxon, *Fate of the Anglican Clergy*, p. 187.

⁸⁴ Anthony Sampson, *The Anatomy of Britain* (London, 1962), p. 165, put the number at 19,969.

⁸⁵ *The Church of England Year Book 2006*, Table D 'Comparison of Licensed Ministries' p. xliii.

⁸⁶ *Church of England Yearbook, 2000*, 'Table of Ministries 1998'.

The evolution of Blackburn diocese can only be understood in the wider context of the Church of England. The period 1877-1927 represented the final fifty years in which the Church of England's diocesan structure expanded; the diocese of Blackburn was born at the very end of this last phase. From the beginning the diocese of Blackburn struggled to establish itself financially. The financial problems were exacerbated by the economy of East Lancashire suffering downturns in the 1930s, 60s, 70s and 80s. Indeed, a convincing case can be made that the foundation in the mid-1920s of five new dioceses emphasises how little self-perception the contemporary leadership of the Church of England possessed. The fact that no new English diocese was founded after 1927 adds weight to the argument. Balanced against this is the tremendous public popularity that Anglicanism in Lancashire was clearly experiencing during Baddeley's episcopate. It may well be the case that the communal experience of the two world wars acted temporarily, for almost half a century, to reverse the effects of numerical decline. However, by the time of Baddeley's death in 1960, and the appointment of his successor, Charles Claxton, elements within the ecclesial hierarchy had a pejorative perception of Blackburn. For instance, Archbishop Fisher commented of Claxton:

When he was thought of for Southwark [vacant 1958/9] I said that he had not really enough power and depth to support his admirable energy and enthusiasm, but on reflection I think he would be entirely adequate for a diocese such as Blackburn.⁸⁷

The Prime Minister's Appointments Secretary shared a similarly dim view of Blackburn commenting in his impressions of the diocese in March 1960 that 'There was some demand for a scholar on the ground that the Diocese was intellectually

⁸⁷ TNA, Prem. 5, 259 Fisher to Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, 31 May 1960.

starved. But for the most part it was agreed that other Dioceses had greater claims to scholarship.’⁸⁸

A shift in priorities seems to have occurred between the appointment of Askwith in 1942 and the appointment of Claxton in 1960. In the space of eighteen years, Blackburn changed from an up-and-coming diocese requiring a young intellectually promising bishop to an ecclesiastical backwater suitable for a passed over suffragan who could not be easily accommodated elsewhere. Baddeley’s two predecessors when appointed were relatively young men of intellectual promise. In the 1940s and 50s Blackburn’s junior status was reflected by the first two bishops of Blackburn, Herbert and Askwith, being translated to more historic (and in the case of Herbert in 1942 better paid) bishoprics, Norwich and Gloucester respectively. Seen in this context, it could be argued that when Blackburn was regarded as a young, up-and-coming diocese it required young, up and coming bishops like Herbert and Askwith. Significantly, since Askwith’s move to Gloucester in 1954 no bishop of Blackburn has been translated.

It seems strange that men as knowledgeable as Fisher, Stephens and Kemp dismissed the diocese of Blackburn as being relatively unimportant. Such distinctions were no longer based on some dioceses being more lucratively paid than others, because in 1960 pay differentials between diocesan bishoprics (outside the five most senior Canterbury, York, London, Winchester and Durham) were no longer a factor. Admittedly, Blackburn was never the ‘SW1’ address of the Church of England. Even so, Fisher and Stephens were guilty of hubris for regarding as relatively unimportant the seventh most populous diocese and the one with the highest number of aided church schools. The mistake is compounded when considering developments

⁸⁸ Ibid., Stephens, Impressions, 31 March 1960.

subsequent to Baddeley's death. During the next half-century, the diocese of Blackburn was prominent in two areas that increasingly dominated strategic thinking in the Church of England: namely, the Church's role in education and Christianity's relationship with Islam. On the basis of these emerging priorities, the bishopric of Blackburn demanded a candidate of the very highest calibre.

Unquestionably, the impact of Baddeley's episcopate was reduced by the fact that from late 1956 deteriorating health necessitated his absence from duty for two lengthy periods of convalescence. Nevertheless, seen in context of the founding of the See of Blackburn in the 1920s, Baddeley played an influential role during the relatively early years in the life of a new diocese and he achieved much of what he intended. During Baddeley's time the numbers ordained increased, nine new churches were built, work was resumed to extend the cathedral, important diocesan vacancies were filled and, perhaps most importantly of all, the ambitious programme of aided schools was consolidated. In addition, Baddeley contributed significantly in raising the level of churchmanship of the diocese. In his sponsorship of high-churchmen, Baddeley helped to move many Anglican congregations away from the anti Roman-Catholic sectarianism that had concerned Bishop Herbert. Baddeley's episcopate was short but it occurred during a period in the 1950s that historians have since come to regard as something of a golden era of Anglicanism.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity* (1991) p. 425, described the 1950s 'it was indeed very Anglican decade'.

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