Defending an Evangelical society and an Evangelical diocese: Sydney James Kirkby, 1879-1935

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Defending an Evangelical Society
and an Evangelical Diocese
Sydney James Kirkby, 1879-1935

A Thesis submitted in part fulfilment of
the requirements for the award of the
degree of

Master of Arts

from

The University of Wollongong

by

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Department of History,
October 1984.
ABSTRACT

Sydney James Kirkby was nurtured in and committed to the doctrines taught by conservative Evangelical Anglicans in Australia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was a period of conflict and growth for the conservative Evangelical Party, and Kirkby took his place as a consistent and able defender of Evangelical religion and one who worked ceaselessly to extend its influence in the Australian Anglican Church. In Chapter One, attention is given to Kirkby's formative years and it is argued that his contact with committed conservative Evangelicals in the Anglican Church in Bendigo determined his theological stance and future life. In Chapter Two, Kirkby's continuing contacts with conservative Evangelicals in Sydney and Bendigo is traced. It is shown that men such as Canon N. Jones of Moore College Sydney and Bishop John Langley of Bendigo were to further develop his commitment to conservative Evangelicalism. It is argued that his position as tutor at Moore College Sydney brought him into contact and conflict with liberal Evangelicalism in the person of Principal D. J. Davies. Chapter Three outlines Kirkby's move to the Parish of Ryde, where he is seen to be closely involved with the growth of an
Evangelical ecclesiastical political party, the Australian Church League. In Chapters Four to Eight, a detailed description is given of the reasons for the foundation and development of the Evangelical Bush Church Aid Society, a society through which Kirkby worked to give wider opportunities for evangelical ministry in the outback of Australia and by which he sought to provide for the needs of lonely and isolated farmers and settlers.

In the Final Chapters, Nine and Ten, Kirkby's work as Bishop Administrator of the Diocese of Sydney together with his role in the conservative/liberal Evangelical struggles of the early 1930s are analysed. His relationship with Archbishop H. Mowll and his death are considered. The study demonstrates Kirkby's lifelong commitment to the conservative Evangelical Party of the Anglican Church and his deep concern for the spiritual and physical plight of outback Australians, both black and white.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many people who willingly helped me and opened up their experiences of the past. To members of the Kirkby family, especially to Mr. Clem Kirkby and Mrs. Hilda Parkinson, I am grateful for their willingness to allow me access to the family records and for answering many questions. Many clergy and others who worked with S. J. Kirkby, were very helpful and filled in many gaps.

Without the help of the Librarians of Moore Theological College, Sydney, the State Library of New South Wales, the Archivists of the Anglican Diocese of Sydney and Bendigo, much would have remained untold. The Rev'd W. Wade, the Federal Secretary of the Bush Church Aid Society, gave me great assistance by making available the B.C.A.S. historical records. Many others, especially Mr. S. Judd, were also patient listeners and generous with their time and advice.

My special thanks must go to Dr. Stuart Piggin of the University of Wollongong, for his constant encouragement and patient supervision. I appreciate greatly Mrs. Sue Palmer's help in typing this thesis. Finally, I must record my appreciation for all the support and assistance given to me by my wife Carol, who laboured often over a very difficult manuscript in proof-reading and correction.
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INTRODUCTION

The period 1879 to 1935 (the life span of Sydney James Kirkby) was, for Australia and the Anglican Church, an era of development and change. Australia moved from being a number of separate English colonies to a Commonwealth. Periods of prosperity, adversity and war characterised the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. The Anglican Church, planted in the Colony of New South Wales in 1788 by the Rev'd Richard Johnson, a military chaplain, grew in time to become a group of self-governing Dioceses. The Anglican Church, together with other Christian denominations, struggled to establish itself in the often unsympathetic Australian environment. Like its parent body, the Church of England, the Australian Anglican church was to undergo conflict occasioned by internal division and the external assaults, resulting from the advent of Biblical criticism and modern scientific thought. While the main effects of these external assaults were felt by the Australian Church in the 1880s, the results of biblical criticism and the new scientific findings were to trouble the Church, in a lesser degree,
throughout Kirkby's life. (1)

Sydney James Kirkby was associated closely with a small group of clergy and lay people involved with the creating and shaping of the conservative Evangelical Party within the Australian Church. Evangelicalism came to Australia with the Rev'd Richard Johnson, Chaplain to the First Fleet. Many of the early chaplains were conservative Evangelicals, but the appointment of later chaplains by the Ecclesiastical Board, under Anthony Hamilton, diminished the proportion of Evangelicals in Australia. Under Bishop Frederic Barker (Bishop of Sydney 1854-1882) the numbers of Evangelicals in New South Wales greatly increased. Kirkby was brought under the influence of Anglican Evangelicalism as a youth and was to remain a loyal and active member of what was to become, in the early part of the twentieth century, an organised Party within the Church. He had close and prolonged contacts with most of the Australian conservative Evangelical leaders of his day, and a study of his life reveals some of the activities and growth of this Party, which were turbulent times for Australian Anglicans. Further, an examination of Kirkby's life is also important as

it reveals a great deal about the nature of the controversy concerning authority within the Anglican Church in Australia. The rise of Biblical criticism towards the end of the nineteenth century, had caused many churchmen to question anew the authority of the Bible in matters of faith and conduct, as well as the Bible's veracity in the areas of history and science. The influence of German and English theological thinking, slowly filtered into Australian theological colleges and pulpits. This new theological movement was to lead to the break-up of the old Evangelical solidarity and was followed by division and conflict within Australian Evangelicalism. Kirkby was to play a significant part in defending and extending the influence of what was to become the conservative wing of the Evangelical party in the Anglican Church in Australia.

Kirkby's defence of the Evangelical religion was expressed most tangibly in the establishment of an Evangelical Anglican missionary society, known as the Bush Church Aid Society (B.C.A.S.). While there is some published material available, tracing the establishment and work of this Society (2), nothing has yet appeared recording Kirkby's role and

aspirations for the Society. Such a study, fifty years after Kirkby's death, seems useful, in that it may help to enlarge our understanding of the forces at work within the Church in the early part of the twentieth century. The study also chronicles Kirkby's significant achievements for the Anglican Church and settlers in outback Australia and his attempt to disseminate Evangelicalism throughout Australia.

Any religious historian who attempts a study of the early part of the twentieth century (1915-1935), using Kirkby's life as a vehicle for such research is fortunate. For Kirkby was very active as a writer and commentator and much written and published material remains. From about 1915 he wrote regularly for the Church press and in particular for The Church Record (afterwards known as the Australian Church Record). His years with the B.C.A.S. (1920-1932) are well documented, with the Society holding many of the early records. Kirkby kept diaries in which he detailed his commitments and recorded some of his inner struggles. He wrote and edited the B.C.A.S's journal, The Real Australian, from 1920 to 1932. This journal is a mine of valuable information about the fortunes of the Society. The Kirkby family files contain some correspondence, photographs and other
family records which have been helpful. The family was also a valuable source of oral history. The Sydney Anglican Diocesan Archives have stored correspondence and documents which cover Kirkby's period as Bishop Administrator. There are also papers relating to his death and funeral. The Sydney Diocesan Year Books from 1910 to 1936 have provided much relevant background material. The Parishes of St. Anne's, Ryde and St. Philip's, Sydney have records, which although incomplete and sparse, were of some assistance. The exercise of gathering oral history from a representative group of people, clerical and lay, was a fruitful one and yielded information otherwise inaccessible. Reference to Kirkby is made in a number of studies on Sydney Anglicanism, with M.L.Loane mentioning the Bishop in three of his books. (3) Kirkby's own Book These Ten Years, provides further valuable insights. (4)

Over the past few decades, there has been a renewal of interest in Australian religious history which has led to the publication of a number of

4. S.J. Kirkby, op.cit.
important studies. (5) Yarwood's *Samuel Marsden* (6) and Shaw's *Patriarch & Patriot* (7) are important scholarly works on Anglicanism in the nineteenth century in New South Wales. Other more general religious histories on religion in New South Wales, prior to the First World War, have been provided by Broome, Bollen and Phillips. (8) To date, there is little published material on post First World War religious life in New South Wales, especially in relation to the Anglican Church. There are scholars now at work on the period following the First World War. S. Judd has presented a doctoral dissertation to the University of Sydney on Anglicanism covering this period. (9)

This era was a very difficult and important period for the largest and most influential Anglican

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Diocese in Australia. The present study draws together many strands of history and traces some of the conflicts and controversies, as well as some of the achievements, of the Sydney Diocese and the evangelicals from about 1900 to 1935. Further, this study provides a comprehensive assessment of the contribution that Kirkby made to Church and to State, especially in his role as the Organizing Secretary of the B.C.A.S. and as a Bishop in the Sydney Church.

The study begins with Kirkby's birth and life in Bendigo, Victoria. Special attention is given to the formative influence of the evangelical churchmen of that city. The work of J. C. MacCullagh and of Bishops, H. A and J. D. Langley, touched upon and related to Kirkby's early contact with and commitment to Anglican Evangelicalism. His conversion and subsequent acceptance as an ordination candidate are both shown to be important in Kirkby's growing place and commitment to Anglican Evangelicalism.

The theological stance of the Principal of Moore Theological College, Sydney is discussed in the second chapter. This stance or outlook was to have a great bearing upon the young Kirkby. His academic career, ordination, posting to country parishes, marriage and involvement in the affairs of the Bendigo Diocese are then described. Kirkby's return to Moore College and
subsequent studies in England are examined in detail.

After Kirkby's return from England, he took up the role of Rector of St. Anne's, Ryde, a Sydney Suburb. His ministry at Ryde was to span the years of World War One and beyond. This was a period in which Kirkby grew in stature and proved himself as a pastor and preacher. There is evidence of his growing commitment to and involvement in the Evangelical party. He entered into controversy in the Church Press using the pseudonym, 'Spermologos'. Late in 1919 he accepted the appointment as the Organizing Secretary of a new independent Anglican Evangelical Society, The Bush Church Aid Society (B.C.A.S.) which was set up to work amongst outback people.

In chapters four to seven, a detailed description is given of the foundation, early struggles and achievements of the B.C.A.S. together with a sample of Kirkby's responses to attacks made on the Sydney Diocese and Evangelicals. Kirkby commented on a wide range of issues which plagued the Church in the 1920s and 1930s. His visits to England are described, together with an account of his failing health and periods of despair. His defence of the Sydney Church was a prominent theme in his Spermologos column in the
B.C.A.S. period. His promotion to Archdeacon of Camden and subsequent appointment as Bishop Coadjutor and movement from the B.C.A.S. in 1932, bring chapter seven to an end.

The final part of the thesis (chapters eight and nine) focus upon Kirkby's work as the Bishop Administrator following the sudden death of Archbishop Wright in 1933. His role in the Election Synod, which witnessed a decisive victory for the conservative evangelicals, is detailed. His management of the Diocese is described against the backdrop of his failing health. Finally there is an exploration of how Kirkby coped with his ministry after Archbishop Mowll arrived in 1934, until his premature death in 1935. A picture is given of his work at Church Hill, Sydney and how the Church and the State mourned his death in 1935.

The greatest difficulty faced in researching this subject was that all men spoke well of Kirkby. There was no oral or written negative information accessible. This lack of negative information may be linked to the informants' dislike of speaking ill of the dead, especially a revered Bishop, or perhaps, Kirkby, in the minds of many, is seen in terms of their own preoccupations and prejudices. It was sometimes difficult, when gathering oral history,
to discover whether the informant was describing Kirkby as the informant felt he should have been, rather than as he was. One informant saw Kirkby as being sympathetic to a sacramental emphasis in ministry, while another informant (with little sympathy for the sacramental emphasis) saw Kirkby as being against such a position. Some informants, who provided oral information did so in an uncritical way and showed the greatest reluctance even to explore the possibility that Kirkby could have had faults in his character. What critical analysis is offered is based upon reflection or oral evidence. Without dismissing the possibility of criticism, Kirkby could well have been such a pleasant, likeable person that criticism would have seemed inappropriate to many of his contemporaries. A further difficulty was the paucity of information and source material available prior to 1920. The records of St. Anne's Ryde are incomplete, as are the Archives of the Diocese of Bendigo.

Nevertheless, there remains so much good accessible data that a reasonably informed and balanced picture of the life and times of Sydney James Kirkby and of the growth of the conservative Evangelical party in Sydney, has emerged in this study.
Kirkby's Early Life

Sydney James Kirkby was born in the prosperous gold town of Bendigo, a Victorian provincial town, on 24 January 1879. Kirkby's future career was to owe much to the influence and atmosphere of his birthplace.

The first recorded European inhabitants of Sandhurst (the original name for the Bendigo district) were shepherds who moved into the area early in 1840. Although farming was important, it soon was eclipsed by an industry with a great deal more glamour and glitter. Gold was first discovered in 1851 and by the end of that year there were about fifteen thousand diggers at work in the Sandhurst area. (1) The diggings attracted treasure seekers from a number of different countries, with the largest contingent coming from the British Isles. Amongst the diggers there were representatives from the lower and middle classes together with a good sprinkling of professional men. (2) Amongst the professionals was Joseph Kirkby who, together with his parents and family, arrived in Sandhurst in 1853. He was described as being an

2. Ibid.
accountant. (3) Little else is known of Joseph Kirkby (Sydney's father) except that by the time his youngest son Sydney was married (1906), he had died. Sydney's mother Alice Maude, survived her husband by a few years, but any information about Alice Kirkby has disappeared. (4)

The Sandhurst area, in which Joseph Kirkby reared his family, was divided by various national and religious sub-communities. Many Irish and Cornish people, fleeing depression in their homelands, settled in Bendigo. The Irish and Cornish communities were suspicious of each other and their deeply held religious convictions tended to colour community attitudes for decades. (5) This tension was to influence the development of the Anglican Church in Bendigo and, in turn, religious attitudes of the growing Sydney Kirkby.

Many of the new settlers in Victoria and Bendigo came from Britain and brought with them some of the religious conflicts and confusion rampant in their homeland. The Victorian age in Britain was marked by a paradox in respect to Christianity. On one hand, many

3. S. J. Kirkby's Birth Certificate.
4. Interview with Mr. C. Kirkby and Mrs. Hilda Parkinson (children of S. J. Kirkby) on 28 February 1983.
5. Frank Cusack, op.cit., p.56
of the nation's churches were full for Sunday worship, yet the Victorian era was wracked with religious doubt and uncertainty. With the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 and the use of Higher Criticism (a method of study which cast doubt on the literal truth of the Bible), many churchgoers and others were finding it difficult to maintain their Christian faith. Church leaders reacted in various ways. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford attacked Darwin's theory of evolution and the principle of 'natural selection' at a meeting of the British Association at Oxford in 1860. (6) While in Victoria, Charles Perry, Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne, preached, lectured and wrote against some of the so called conclusions of Biblical criticism and scientific theory. He defended the view that the Bible had a divine origin and argued that some of the hypotheses flowing from the work of Darwin, which were being accepted as destroying the value of the Bible, were still very fluid. (7) J. Roe argues that the main impact of these new challenges to Christian belief, were to be felt in Australia in the 1880s. (8)

Within the Anglican Church, the rise of an internal movement variously called Tractarianism, Puseyism, Anglo-Catholicism or Ritualism created internal tensions and conflicts. About 1840, the Tractarians began to introduce unfamiliar rites and rituals into the services of Parish churches. Many people reacted and tried to control the spread of ritualism. (9) With the constant flow of British settlers, together with the arrival of mail and newspapers, it was inevitable that some of the conflicts and tensions of the English Church should be transmitted to Victoria and Bendigo. Many of these conflicts which had their beginnings before Kirkby's birth, were to shape and influence the ecclesiastical atmosphere of his birthplace, but were also issues in which he, in due time, was to become vitally involved for most of his working life.

The Bendigo churches were established in this tense atmosphere and were also forced to cope with the indifference which the diggers, in general, held towards the variety of religious organisations which set themselves up on the various goldfields of Australia. The miners of the Sandhurst area conformed to the national pattern. (10) By the year 1852, clergy from the Anglican and Catholic denominations had established congregations, while the Wesleyans held services in

9. A. R. Vidler, _op. cit._, p. 161
various centres, which were conducted by local preachers.

T. Raston, a pioneer clergyman in the Bendigo area, observed 'religion was everywhere respected and its ministers honoured, even so, a diggings with its restless horde of itinerant treasure seekers, was not the most fertile field for evangelism'. (11) Notwithstanding the problems confronting the establishment of the various Christian denominations, progress was made with church buildings erected and congregations gathered.

Kirkby's parents were Anglicans and linked their family with this denomination which, in turn, had a profound effect on Sydney's life. (12) The division and conflict within the wider Anglican Church was reproduced in Bendigo and was to play an important role in the development of the young Kirkby's religious preferences. The Incumbent of the first and then only Anglican Parish of All Saints' had created difficulties and divisions by introducing 'high church' practices. Croxton, the Incumbent, had been influenced by the Tractarian movement and tried to incorporate into the life of the Parish some of its insights and character. (13) The introduction of new ritual into the worship at All Saints' provoked resistance and complaint. The

11. Frank Cusack, _op.cit._, p. 54
13. _The First Hundred Years, St. Paul's Bendigo 1868-1968_, p. 3
Diocesan Bishop, Dr. Charles Perry, a conservative evangelical, was strongly opposed to Tractarianism and did his best to limit its influence in his Diocese of Melbourne. (14) Nigel D. Herring, sometime Archdeacon of Bendigo, writing in an unpublished history of the Diocese of Bendigo, dismissed the charge that there was excessive ritualism in All Saints'. According to Herring, the congregation of All Saints' sang the responses and turned to the ecclesiastical East in the Creed. He further comments 'Anything that departed from a puritanical standard was high and not to be tolerated as it could and would lead to Romish practices and that was to be shunned like the Devil'. (15) Given that there did exist a division in the Sandhurst Anglican community, probably encouraged by Irish Protestants, it is not unlikely that any new ritual would be deeply resented and divisive. In a response to the strife in the Sandhurst Parish, Perry acted by creating the new Parish of St. Paul's, Bendigo in 1868. The first minister, G. Pakenham Despard, remained for two years and then resigned. In 1870, as a result of Perry's growing concern and influence, John Christian MacCullagh was appointed to the Parish of St. Paul. (16)

MacCullagh was born and educated in Dublin and came to Australia for health reasons. In 1864 at the age of thirty-eight he was ordained. He was trained for the ministry in Perry's favourite College, Moore Theological College, Liverpool in 1864. Moore College was established by the evangelical Bishop of Sydney, Frederic Barker. William Hodgson had been appointed Principal in 1856 and was one with Bishop Barker and Perry in seeking to train men in the evangelical tradition of the Anglican Church. (17) The new Incumbent of St. Paul's was to remain at his post for forty-seven years and was to be an enormous influence in the affairs of the Church in the Bendigo area. He was made an Archdeacon in 1883 and became Dean of All Saints' Pro Cathedral, Bendigo in 1902. He was a powerful preacher and a remarkable pastor who was known to many generations of Bendigonians. (18) His Sunday School numbered in its heyday over one thousand pupils with one hundred teachers. MacCullagh wrote all the instruction material for the Sunday School and gave his teachers training in teaching.

The Church Record published an appreciation of his contribution following his death in 1917.

Characteristic of his ministry was the holy greatness of the pulpit from which each Sunday his messages came with force and winsomeness that strangely increased even with his mellowing years. (19)

It is clear that MacCullagh was a definite Irish Evangelical who moulded his Parish into his own theological stance.

Herring, a committed Anglo-Catholic, drew a picture of St. Paul's in 1898 - the period which would have been crucial in the development of Sydney Kirkby's theological stance.

St. Paul's of that day, 1898, then thirty years old looked bare, insipid, uninspiring. An insignificant altar in a bare temporary sanctuary, a miserably small insignificant pulpit. (20)

This is a picture of what might have been a typical evangelical Church building. While Evangelicals would not have placed great emphasis in sacramental worship, hence the 'insignificant altar', it is a bit difficult to account for the 'small insignificant pulpit' except to surmise that economic stringency prevented the purchase of a large impressive pulpit. An Anglo-Catholic writer, such as Herring, would have seen the Building as being 'bare' while an Evangelical could have felt its contents were in keeping with the simplicity of worship they admired.

20. N. D. Herring, op.cit., p.27.
MacCullagh was a great pastor, a tall patriarchal figure with a benign countenance and silvered locks. He was a friend and provider for the poor, needy and distressed, giving generously of his own money to help. But, as with most evangelicals, he was concerned to a much greater measure with the spiritual state of his people. He would call all to repentance and faith in a personal and gracious Saviour. (21) Much of MacCullagh's style was to be reproduced in Kirkby's later ministry.

Kirkby's general education was taken at the Gravel Hill State School. (22) When about fifteen years old, he is known to have moved to Sydney, New South Wales. His sister, Mrs. Francis M. Chapman, with her husband, had a newsagency in the North Sydney area. Sydney's brother-in-law was accidentally killed and it appears that young Sydney came to help his sister in her time of need. Little else is known of this sister, except that she was in later years to be a loyal supporter of her younger brother in his work with the Bush Church Aid Society. (23) A reference written by the Rev'd A. Yarnold of Christ Church, North Sydney indicated that Sydney spent two and a half years in North Sydney and that he was closely associated with the congregation of Christ Church. His musical talents were employed

21. The Church Record, 28 September 1917, p.6
23. Interview with Kirkby's family, February 1983.
as a member of the choir - his family claim that Sydney's musical talents were largely self developed. Yarnold had a high opinion of his 'christian character' and 'his obliging disposition'. (24) Yarnold was a 'middle churchman' and therefore differed in style and theological outlook from MacCullagh of Bendigo, but it appears that Kirkby was able to accommodate himself to this difference. This ability to be accommodating of different outlooks and styles of ministry was to be invaluable in his wider ministry with the Bush Church Aid Society (B.C.A.S.) and as bishop in Sydney.

In 1899, Kirkby returned to Bendigo to take up a position as a bookkeeper in the Bendigo Federal Co-operative Co., a grocery firm. (25) He was to serve this firm in an acceptable manner for two and a half years. Returning to Bendigo meant returning to his association with St. Paul's Bendigo. MacCullagh was still the Rector and had been joined in his work by a new assistant Curate. The new curate, Herbert Smirnoff Begbie had recently graduated from Moore Theological College, Sydney in 1898. His College Principal had been the Rev'd Nathaniel Jones. Jones

24. Reference, The Rev'd A. Yarnold, North Sydney 1898 (held by family)
25. Reference, The Manager Bendigo Federal Co-operative 28 April 1902 (held by family)
was a convinced conservative evangelical and a fine scholar having taken a 1st class honours degree in theology at Oxford. Ordained in the Diocese of Melbourne, he served as Principal of Perry Hall, Bendigo (a small theological college) from 1894–1897. His intimate knowledge of and concern for the church in Bendigo may well have been crucial in the movement of one of his most promising students to St. Paul's as the assistant curate in 1899. Thus, the return of Kirkby and the appointment of Herbert Begbie to Bendigo went together, and Kirkby was brought under the new curate's powerful ministry.

H. W. K. Mowll, Archbishop of Sydney, preaching at Kirkby's funeral in July 1935 said that Sydney Kirkby was converted to Christ under Begbie's ministry in Bendigo. (26) Kirkby had been closely involved in Christian work and worship up to this point in time and it appears that Begbie's ministry moved Sydney to a point of definite commitment to Christ and His claims upon his life. Begbie was a committed evangelical and was a prominent leader of the evangelical party in Sydney and beyond for almost half a century. He was to return to the Diocese of Sydney and later rose to become an Archdeacon in the Diocese.

For some time it had been recognised that the Diocese of Melbourne was too large for one bishop to manage and therefore, in 1902, the new Dioceses of Bendigo, Wangaratta and Gippsland were created. Archdeacon Henry Langley of Melbourne was appointed as the first Bishop of Bendigo. Henry Langley was born in Ireland in 1840 and with his family arrived in New South Wales in 1853. In 1861, he entered Moore College, was ordained in 1865, and went to Bathurst as assistant curate. Langley was highly regarded by Bishop Barker of Sydney who appointed him as an assistant minister at St. Andrew's Cathedral a few years later. (27) After a period of great activity he moved to St. Matthew's Prahran, Victoria in 1878. Such was the work of his ministry that he was recognised and appointed as Archdeacon of Gippsland in 1890. This was a physically, as well as a spiritually, draining task. It involved him in a great deal of travel on unmade bush roads. In 1894 he was collated as the Archdeacon of Melbourne and Geelong. Finally he accepted the appointment as the first Bishop of Bendigo in 1902.

As Bishop, Langley would have been brought into association with the newly converted Kirkby because

27. Bendigo Church News, September 1906, p.4
Langley lived in Bendigo and his association with St. Paul's and its people would have been strong. The worship and the theological emphasis of the other Bendigo Parish, All Saints', would not have been favoured by the new evangelical Bishop, so Langley would have had close links with St. Paul's. Langley was a great influence on Kirkby's developing spiritual outlook. This influence would have been felt by Kirkby as a result of Langley's preaching and in the bonds of friendship which were established between Langley and Kirkby. Mowll said that Kirkby learnt much through his friendship with Henry Langley. (28)

In 1903, Kirkby made moves to enter the ordained ministry of the Anglican Church. A reference, preserved by Kirkby's family, written by Canon W. C. Sadlier of Melbourne, accompanied Kirkby's application for acceptance as a candidate for Holy Orders. Sadlier indicated in the reference that Sydney had been a scholar and Sunday School teacher at St. Paul's and that from his boyhood he presented himself as a most suitable candidate for Holy Orders. (29) The Bishop accepted Kirkby's application and made a decision to send him to Moore College, Sydney. There were two

29. Reference, Canon W. C. Sadlier East Melbourne July 1903 (held by family).
reasons for this choice. The College in Bendigo (Perry Hall) was not functioning at the time. Secondly Langley, a past student of the College, declared in January 1903 'That the most valuable part of my life was the period I attended Moore College'. (30) Thus, Kirkby once again journeyed to Sydney in July 1903 to commence a course in Moore Theological College Newtown.

Kirkby's birth coincided with a period of conflict for the Christian Church as a whole and for the Anglican Church in particular. The influence of Biblical criticism, together with the insights drawn from modern scientific knowledge, found the Church under serious attack. The Anglican Church experienced internal conflict and division with the growth of the Tractarian movement. Some of these conflicts coloured church life in Bendigo and were to influence deeply Kirkby's spiritual formation and religious loyalties. The spiritual leadership given to the Anglican Church in Bendigo by John MacCullagh, Herbert Begbie and Henry Langley was to be crucial for Kirkby, who throughout his life was loyal to the insights and convictions imparted to him by these men in his early years.

Chapter 2

Theological Training and
Early Days of Ministry

Sydney Kirkby commenced his theological studies at Moore Theological College Sydney in 1904. In 1897 Nathaniel Jones had been appointed Principal of the College. Jones had taken a first class honours degree at Oxford in theology in 1866. Perry ordained him in Melbourne and in 1894 he went to Bendigo as Principal of the small Theological College, Perry Hall. Jones was himself a convinced conservative evangelical and had many friends in England who were involved in theological education. W. H. Griffith Thomas, theological teacher and author, was such a friend. (1) Although Jones was handicapped by ill health, he was to leave his mark upon the Anglican Church in Australia for a period of fifty years through the lives of those whom he trained. (2) Jones had an enormous influence on the ministry and theological commitment of Kirkby. Soon after his ordination Kirkby wrote to Jones:

'I have to thank you for much Mr. Principal for God did use your sermons and words to the strengthening of my heart in grace'. (3) The Principal came from a

2. Ibid, p.99
3. Letter February 1906 (Held by Pyramid Hill Historical Society Library)
theological world which had been stirred to action and hope by the emergence of what came to be known as the Keswick Movement. The Movement, having taken root in the English Evangelical Church, was responsible for a renewed sense of dedication and commitment to Christian service. Loane, in assessing Jones, described him as one 'who turned the true Keswick teaching into daily life and habit'. (4) To understand Jones' theological stance, a grasp of the main ideas of the Keswick movement is essential.

The revivalist missions of the American preacher, D. L. Moody and his partner I. Sankey had stirred the English Church. Some English Christians were repelled by Moody's lack of theological understanding and what could have been experienced, at some of his meetings, as emotionalism. Nevertheless, in the wake of these Missions came another group of American Christians, the Rev'd W. E. Boardman and Robert Pearsall Smith. They spoke at various meeting in England in 1874 and encouraged many of their hearers. So heartened by their teaching were some members of the English Evangelical Church that a special convention was arranged. This Convention was to give many others an opportunity to hear their teachings and was planned for

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4. Loane, *op. cit.*, p.98
the town of Keswick in the English Lakes District. (5)

The Convention was attended by many, including a
great number of younger Christians. In time its
platform was to be graced with many of the leading
Anglican Evangelicals. The scholar and Cambridge don,
Hansley C. G. Moule became a regular speaker at the
Keswick Convention and was to influence the Movement
in a very profound way.

One of the early leaders of the Movement was
Charles Harford, who attempted to explain the essence
of the Movement for the wider Christian world:

The message of the Convention is
addressed to those who are the
children of God through faith in
Jesus Christ and therefore taking
the words of the writer of the
Epistle to The Hebrews, we would
say, 'let us cease to speak of
the first principles of Christ
and press on unto perfection' or
as the margin says 'full growth'.
Perhaps the words 'full growth'
express in the best way the
experience which is set forth as
the normal position to which
Christians should attain. Too
many are satisfied with being
babes in Christ. They have
rejoiced in the knowledge of
sins forgiven and in the new
life imparted through Christ
but like the Galatian Christians
having been in the Spirit they
are seeking to be made perfect
by the flesh. (6)

5. A. Potter, 'Late Nineteenth Century Attitudes to
Africa'. The Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth
6. Ibid.
While the Keswick teachers preached, that by an act of faith in Christ, a person might receive forgiveness of sin and be received as a member of the Church, there was yet more to come. What one still needed was liberation from the psychological fact of sin, deliverance from the power of besetting sin. Members of the Higher or Victorious Life Movement claimed that they could demonstrate a scriptural basis for the belief that Christ offered and promised freedom from sin's power in the here and now. This Movement had its theological roots in Wesleyan theology which stressed the need for perfection and complete sanctification. Nevertheless, it had its critics and Anglican Evangelical leaders such as, J.C. Ryle, Bishop of Liverpool, wrote and taught against its perfectionist views. Be that as it may, Potter argues that the Keswick Movement, through leaders such as Hanley Moule of Ridley College, Cambridge and later Bishop of Durham, was to have a deep and abiding influence amongst many younger Christians. (7) Moule's influence at Ridley Hall, Cambridge, an evangelical training college, was very considerable with many of his students going into overseas mission areas.

A further important feature of the Keswick Movement was its emphasis upon the reception of

7. A. Potter, op.cit., p.23
spiritual power. Power to do great things for God was bound up with a person's union with Christ. To be in a place of power, the believer must be willing to give his whole heart to God. 'A perfect heart is a heart wholly yielded to God. It gives itself up without reserve. It lays itself wholly on the altar of consecration and that altar is Christ.' (8) Jones moulded his life by such doctrines and it is therefore likely that Kirkby saw total commitment to the work of Christ as the pathway to spiritual power. (9) Given that Kirkby imbibed this commitment to service without reserve in his College days, sense is made of his relentless labours as the Organizing Missioner of the B.C.A.S. and Bishop Coadjutor of Sydney, labours which led to his premature death in 1935. Jones may not have known Moule personally but it is clear that he would, like many evangelical undergraduates of his day, have come under his influence at Keswick. This contact with Moule and the Keswick Movement had a profound impact on his life and would account for his commitment to theological training in the mission field – Australia. Both an interest and commitment to mission and theological training were important concerns of the Keswick Movement. Mission and theological training

were to be great concerns for Kirkby, as his life history will illustrate.

Another prominent and influential tenet of the English evangelical movement of the latter part of the nineteenth century focussed upon Eschatology. Andrew Potter points out that belief in the premillenial Second Coming of Christ developed in popularity in Evangelical circles after 1870. (10)

Most Christians believe that Christ will return again to this world but there is a large measure of disagreement about how and when this will happen. Premillennialists teach that God's victory over Satan occurs in two future stages. Satan, who has already been 'bound' by Christ (Matthew 12:29), will be further limited before his final destruction in the Lake of Fire pictured in the Book of Revelation (Chapter 20:10). At Christ's coming, Satan will be bound that he may be prevented from deceiving the nations and Christ will reign with His saints for a thousand years. Many evangelical leaders like Henry Venn, Secretary (1841-72) of the large Church Missionary Society, an Anglican Society based in London, believed that the conversion of the whole world would bring in the millennium and when the millennium was complete, Christ would return. That this view was accepted by

many Evangelicals is demonstrated by the great renewal of missionary activity and interest amongst Evangelicals. Jones was committed to this view and one of his most outstanding students, Herbert Begbie, (Moore College 1898) was a life long defender and teacher of the Premillennial view.

Begbie was stirred by criticism of the Premillennial views to write to the Church Record in 1915. In his letter he defends the theological position, linking it with a deep commitment to missionary activity. 'Far from discouraging missions to the heathen, their very longing for the Lord's appearing stimulates their activity and influences their zeal, as they long for the completion of the number of the elect.' (11) This commitment to mission was therefore to be clearly linked in the evangelical mind of the early part of the twentieth century with a desire to hasten the Lord's second coming by touching everyone with the Gospel.

Thus, the Keswick holiness movement beliefs and the doctrine of Premillennialism were to be forcefully presented to Kirkby both by H. Begbie, as Curate at Bendigo, and by N. Jones, as Principal at Moore College.

When Jones came to Moore College, it was at a low ebb. The previous Principal, the Rev'd Bernard Schleicher, was not only unwell, but also stirred up problems by his commitment to some Tractarian beliefs. (12)

11. The Church Record, 4 June 1915, p.6.
12. M. L. Loane, op. cit., p.92
The New Principal set about to lift the academic and spiritual tone of the College. Jones prepared his students for the Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary Examinations for Holy Orders. Most bishops were prepared to accept this examination as a standard for ordination. Kirkby was prepared and sat for the Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary Examination in 1905 and passed with first class honours. He also passed the Moore College diploma examination with credit and was therefore entitled to wear the hood of Moore College. (13)

The years at the College were happy and profitable years. Kirkby left the College in 1905 and wrote to Jones in February 1906. 'I feel that the two years will not merely prove to be the brightest two years spiritually and socially that I could have spent but the help received during the time in study and preparation for orders will be of profit all the days of my ministry. I owe so much to the college training.' (14)

The late Rev'd A. J. A. Fraser was a fellow student of Kirkby and remembered him well. In an interview in 1979 Fraser, then in his late nineties, described Kirkby 'as the best student in the year,

13. S. J. Kirkby Certificate, 1905 Signed by N. Jones (in family records)
14. Letter to Canon Jones, 23 February 1906 (Held by Pyramid Hill Historical Society)
not brilliant but a keen student who was beaten only once in examinations'. Fraser described Kirkby as 'a humble, well liked student who although firm in his own convictions, was prepared to allow others their own convictions'. (15)

Although theological issues were very important in the shaping of the young Kirkby, there were other issues in the wider community which were also important. Richard Broome argues that reformism was the dominant mark of politics after 1890. There were overseas influences, a number of major industrial strikes and the depression of 1890s, which pushed the New South Wales electorate towards reformism. (16)

Within the community and within the Protestant Churches of New South Wales, there were differences of opinion as to what shape reform should take. Liberals and radicals were inclined to look for social reconstruction in the provision of pensions for the aged and others. The more conservative favoured less radical movements in the society. (17)

There is some disagreement amongst scholars as to where the Protestant Churches of New South Wales

15. Interview with the Rev'd A. J. A. Fraser, September 1979.
17. Ibid.
stood in regard to reform. J. D. Bollen argues that the Protestant Churches were deeply involved in social reform as opposed to moral reform. Bollen is able to present many examples of Protestant involvement in social reform. Canon B. Boyce's involvement and work in the movement for provision of the Aged Pension is but one example of the Anglican and the Protestant Churches' involvement in this area. (18) The Evangelical Council, made up of members of the six major Protestant denominations, met in 1904. One speaker declared 'the government should deal with barbarous commercial and industrial competition so that every citizen had an opportunity for a happy life'. (19) Such an utterance is an example of Protestant social reform ideas.

Bollen believes that this so called reformism came about as the result of the new theology of the social gospel, which emphasised social rather than moral solutions to society's ills. Further, Bollen argues that the emphasis on moral issues was peripheral in Protestant thinking by the 1900s. (20) Broome, on the other hand, argues that when Protestant clergy and lay people spoke about the need for reform, they usually, apart from the younger or liberal clergy, meant moral reform. As clergy were products of their middle class background and their time, as well as

19. Ibid., p.128
20. Ibid., p.127
being busy, they would not be expected to understand 'the complexities of social reconstruction'. (21)

Added to the problems for Protestant clergy, was the growth of the political power of the Labor movement. While the Protestant Church saw that Labor policies were of some value, there was a great deal of concern about some of Labor's philosophical commitments. Many Protestants were concerned about what they believed to be Labor's ignorance of 'the radical defect of human nature called sin'. Labor radicalism together with its philosophical basis made it difficult for the Protestant Church to feel comfortable with all its policies. (22)

By the year 1904, in the political arena, there was the beginning of an alignment of Protestant Middle Classes with the Carruther's Liberal Party against the Labor Party and the gambling and liquor interests in New South Wales. (23) But this analysis is further complicated by yet another division. Within the ranks of New South Wales Protestants, there were at least two main groups. The Liberal group (who would approximate Bollen's social gospellers) believed that games and other leisure pastimes were not evil in

21. Ibid., p.128
22. Ibid., p.129
23. Ibid.
themselves. Man was not inherently evil; given the right environment, mankind would choose to do what was right. The other group, the Evangelicals, believed that man was evil and his environment needed to be controlled so that temptation could be reduced. While Broome does make a good case for his theory, that Evangelical Protestants in New South Wales were mainly concerned with moral reform (for example reduction of hotels and drinking), there is evidence which indicates that this analysis is not without its problems. P.B. Boyce and R. B.S. Hammond, both Anglican Evangelicals, were deeply involved in both moral and social reform. Both men were involved in the struggle against the liquor interests - a so-called moral issue. They were also active in social issues, Boyce in the fight to secure the Old Age Pension and Hammond in pioneering the establishment of accommodation for the homeless - Hammondville homes in the 1930s.

There is yet another aspect to Anglican Evangelical concern for mankind which has been identified by Kathleen Heasman. She concluded that Evangelicals tended to adopt an individualistic attitude to the work which they did, and showed little interest in what
non evangelicals might be doing in the same field or stop to wonder whether there were any basic principles underlying the conditions which they found. (24) The conclusion accords with Broome's view that Evangelicals did not always give themselves to an examination of the causes of social and moral problems. Although Evangelicals may not have given much energy to the investigation of the causal factors in social and moral problems, they did seek to do something about the plight of the needy. D. L. Moody, the prominent American Evangelist of the nineteenth century, said that helping a person to have a personal faith in God might be a way to help solve such problems as immorality, drunkenness and crime. His converts were taught to search for such people and to offer to them both spiritual and material help. (25)

It is frequently argued that Evangelicals turned away from any radical alteration in the structure of society (Broome argues this way). This should not be exaggerated however, for English Anglican Evangelicals such as William Wilberforce (slavery) and the Earl of Shaftesbury (Factory Acts) were

25. Ibid., p.27
responsible for significant changes in the society of their respective days. (26) Australian Anglican Evangelicals owed much to Wilberforce and the Earl of Shaftesbury, both of whom had been involved in supporting and strengthening the Evangelical cause in Australia by helping to recruit and send Evangelical clergy to Australia. Not only was their influence felt in the provision of clergy, but they were important as 'models' for social and moral action. Kirkby and his generation would have been forced to consider their role in the wider world as a result of the 'model' presented by these prominent Evangelical leaders. Kirkby, then, was heir to a strong legacy of social thinking which encouraged involvement in the wider community and its problems. The Evangelical tradition stemming from Wilberforce and Shaftesbury, as well as the more contemporary and localised tradition established by Anglicans like Boyce, would have been a crucial and powerful model for Kirkby. Kirkby's concern for both social and moral questions was to take public expression in his later years of ministry with the B.C.A.S. and in the Sydney Diocese. As the organizing missioner for the B.C.A.S., he was involved with the establishment of hostels, hospitals and the sending out of bush nurses.

As a Bishop in Sydney, he supported the struggle for a better deal from the Australian community for the unemployed and aborigines.

Following ordination in All Saints' Pro Cathedral, Bendigo in December 1905, Kirkby was appointed Minister in Charge of the Parish of St. Thomas' Pyramid Hill, a small country town about eighty kilometres north of Bendigo. Settlement first took place in the area in 1874 and the records show that a Stipendiary Reader was in charge of the Parish in 1880. (27) The Parish, by the time Kirkby arrived, contained a number of preaching centres which therefore required the clergyman to do much travelling. Kirkby wrote soon after his appointment to Canon Jones giving him an outline of his new work.

The centres are very far apart. My work for Sunday next necessitates eighteen miles driving on Saturday evening - preach at 11 a.m. Sunday - then twenty eight miles across country and preach at 7.30 p.m. and back again at the earliest on Monday evening. (28)

Kirkby told Jones he would travel for three hours in the buggy without meeting anybody. There was method in his work as he explained to his former Principal.

27. N. Herring, op.cit., p.102.
28. Letter to Canon N. Jones, 23 February 1906 (held by Pyramid Hill Historical Society)
'At present, I am engaged in house to house or rather farm to farm visitation. To do this thoroughly and to get at close quarters with people, I live in the particular district seven to nine days at a time'. (29)

The Church Building at Pyramid Hill had been dedicated by Archdeacon MacCullagh in 1897. From what little else remains of the history of this period of Kirkby's life (1905-7) it is known that Kirkby established a better administrative system for the management of this scattered Parish. In June 1906, the young minister was able to set up a central committee to control the affairs of the Parish, thus ensuring that decision making was an easier task. (30)

In August 1906 Kirkby was greatly saddened by the death of his Bishop, Henry Langley. Archbishop Mowll noted later that the relationship between Langley and Kirkby had been strong and that Kirkby had greatly valued his friendship with the older man. (31) Kirkby, writing to The Church Record in 1914, recalled some of the events surrounding Langley's death. On 22 July 1906 Langley was preaching and conducting services in Kirkby's

29. Ibid.
parish and had preached what Kirkby claimed to be his final sermon. His preaching was 'strong, plain and inspiring, yet tender and gentle withal'. The Bishop presided at the Communion Service, aided by Kirkby. Following the Service the Bishop drove in an open buggy and was lashed by boisterous winds and rain. (32)

Notwithstanding Henry Langley's death, Kirkby was not to be totally deprived of the Langley family's influence and help. The Bendigo Election Synod of 1906 chose Archdeacon John D. Langley as its new Bishop (John Langley was Henry Langley's older brother). John Langley, with his family, emigrated from Ireland to Australia. He was trained for the Anglican ministry at Moore Theological College Sydney and was ordained by the Evangelical Bishop of Sydney, Frederic Barker. He served in the Parish of Berrima, New South Wales and in 1893 became the Chaplain to the new Bishop of Sydney, William Saumarez-Smith. In 1895 he was appointed Archdeacon of Cumberland and served also as Rector of St. Philip's York Street, Sydney. Langley accepted nomination when aged seventy, served as Bishop for twelve years, before

32. The Church Record, 13 February 1914, p.6.
retiring to Melbourne. Herring judged him to be 'gentle, diplomatic and willing, except in matters of churchmanship and ritual, to compromise.' (33) John Langley was a committed evangelical who maintained the tradition firmly established in the new Diocese by his brother. He had a strong missionary interest and in his final address to the Bendigo Synod in 1919, he exhorted his hearers to be zealous in reaching out to the unconverted, not only in Victoria but also in India, Africa and China. (34) This missionary zeal was clearly part of evangelical piety and Kirkby followed his mentor and developed his own missionary emphasis early in his ministry.

On 17 October 1906, Kirkby was married at St. Paul's Bendigo to Miss Victoria Ethel Godfrey, the celebrants being Archdeacon MacCullagh and a college friend, the Rev'd J. Herring. Miss Godfrey had been involved with St. Paul's Sunday School since childhood and was a committed member of St. Paul's Church, Bendigo. (35) Mrs. Kirkby worked loyally with her husband in all his projects, but was severely limited

33. N. Herring, op.cit., p.25.
34. The Church Record, 18 June 1919, p.6.
35. A Bendigo Newspaper, 1906 (title and date unknown, held by Kirkby family)
by ill health for most of her married life. She is remembered by her family as a good mother who shared her husband's willingness to sacrifice much comfort and ease, in the furtherance of the Christian ministry. She had to cope with sickness and was, because of Kirkby's commitment to outback ministry, left often to cope and care for the family alone. She survived her husband by twenty-two years, dying in 1956.

Yet another important event took place on 21 December 1906, when Kirkby was ordained Priest by the Archbishop of Melbourne in St. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne. As John Langley had not yet taken up his appointment as Bishop of Bendigo, the Administrator of the Bendigo Diocese, J. MacCullagh, arranged for the ordination to take place in Melbourne. Kirkby remained in the Pyramid Hill District for another year and then went to be curate of Malmsbury, a small centre about fifty kilometres south of Bendigo on the Melbourne-Bendigo railway. In 1909, the Bishop, being satisfied with his work, appointed him as Rector of the Malmsbury Parish.

During his ministry in this Parish Kirkby continued to support mission work. He arranged
successful sale of work days in November 1907 (36) and in October 1908 he was able to convince his parishioners to use a money box system to aid the work of the Church Missionary Society. (37)

His parishioners clearly were prepared to support him, because in July 1908, they provided him with a 'new Abbott buggy with acetylene lamps and other comfortable accessories'. (38)

His ability as preacher was now being recognised and in 1908 he was the Missioner for a Parish Outreach in Daylesford - a mission which was well attended. (39) Again in June 1909, he was invited to preach at the Ordination Service in Bendigo. (40) In October 1909 the Bishop selected him to be involved in guiding and educating theological students.

But his time in the Bendigo Diocese was drawing to an end and his continuing work was to be in Sydney. Kirkby was invited to return to Moore College to become a resident tutor and so he once again moved back to New South Wales early in 1911.

Canon Jones, never physically strong or well, entered hospital early in 1910 for a major operation. In May 1911, Jones lost his fight against ill health and died. Kirkby was quickly appointed Acting

37. Ibid., October 1908.
38. Ibid., July 1908.
39. Ibid., June 1908.
40. Ibid., October 1909.
Principal of the College and remained in full control of the internal affairs of the College until the new Principal arrived early in 1912. (41)

When the new Principal of Moore College arrived in Lent 1912, it soon became clear that many changes would take place. (42) The Rev'd David John Davies came to Moore College after a brilliant academic career in Cambridge. He was, by any standard, a very erudite man; not only did he teach theology at the College but he was also a Sydney University extension lecturer in history and economics. (43) As far as Kirkby and other conservative evangelicals were concerned, he was very different from the beloved Nathaniel Jones. Within Anglican evangelical circles a split had opened up. There were evangelicals who were conservative in theological matters and made few concessions to modern thought, especially in relation to their approach to Biblical criticism. Liberal evangelicals, while maintaining their spiritual connection with the Evangelical Revival Movement of the eighteenth century were concerned to restate some of the old Christian truths in a way which took account of modern thought with its stress on historical method and

41. M.L. Loane, op.cit., p.112.
42. Ibid., p.114
43. The Church Record, 11 July 1935, p.3.
the philosophy of personality. (44) David Davies was a 'Protestant in churchmanship [but] a liberal in scholarship' and therefore was certain to clash with many conservative evangelicals in Sydney Diocese. (45) Kirkby remained on in the College as resident tutor and was also the Curate in Charge of the inner city of the Parish of Ultimo. This additional appointment was to augment a meagre salary received from the College.

In 1907, the Registrar of the University of Durham wrote to Canon Jones indicating that Moore College would be accepted as an officially affiliated College with the University. Provided students resided in Moore College for six terms and passed the first and second public examination in theology, and then were resident for three more terms in the University of Durham and passed the necessary examinations, they would be awarded a Bachelor of Arts from Durham. Kirkby, having passed the required examinations and having resided in Moore College for six terms, decided to travel to Durham and take the degree. He left Australia in December 1911 leaving his wife and young family.

45. M. L. Loane, op.cit., p.137
45a Ibid., p.102
with his parents-in-law in Bendigo. He was awarded in 1912 the Degree of Bachelor of Arts (in litteris antiques). After Kirkby's profitable period in England, he sailed for Australia in December 1912 and resumed his teaching duties at Moore College early in 1913. He also accepted a part-time post in the Parish of Golden Grove. Differences over theological emphasis (the liberal versus conservative evangelical stance) created tension within the College. When Kirkby was offered the important and developing Parish of St. Anne's, Ryde in 1914, he accepted. In the same year Dr. Digges La Touche, a friend of Kirkby, also resigned from the teaching staff of the College. La Touche, a brilliant Irish academic and conservative Evangelical is said to have publicly differed with Principal Davies on theological matters. He resigned at an Australian Church League Dinner, in the presence of Davies. (46) Such was the degree of tension within the College faculty. While Kirkby was an able academic, he lacked the depth of scholarship to guarantee a useful and continuing career in theological teaching. Therefore, it was a logical move and

Kirkby was able, within the Parish of Ryde, to develop his preaching, pastoral and administrative gifts.

One of the prominent features of Kirkby's early career, was the continued association he had with many of the leading conservative Evangelical clergy of his day. Bishops, clergy, theological teachers, had all contributed to Kirkby's growing commitment to the conservative Evangelicalism. One of his first significant contacts with liberal Evangelicalism, in the person of David John Davies, Principal of Moore College, led to conflict and Kirkby's move to Ryde. This experience coloured his subsequent contact with liberal Evangelicalism and with Davies. As a young man, Kirkby was virtually powerless and knew he could not successfully oppose Davies. (Many years later Kirkby as Bishop Administrator was in a position to oppose Davies. In 1934, Kirkby chaired a Moore College Committee Meeting where Principal Davies was censured. (47) ) Kirkby's experience of retreat may well have caused him to redouble his efforts, in other spheres, to oppose the growth and influence of liberal Evangelism. While Kirkby was forced to work with Davies and other liberal Evangelicals in

the 1920s and 1930s, it is clear that it was a somewhat difficult and uncomfortable situation for him.
Throughout World War I, there was friction between the Commonwealth Government and different sections of the Australian people. One of the most explosive issues surrounded the question of conscription into the armed forces. There were two referendums held to try to resolve the issue. The Labor Movement and the Catholic Church fought against conscription, while a variety of right wing organizations, such as the Universal Service League, gave strong support to the Government in its effort to introduce conscription. Both referendums were lost by the Government. Daniel Mannix, a Catholic Assistant Bishop of Melbourne, became an outspoken opponent of conscription. He was deeply concerned at the British handling of the Irish Easter Uprising and was not well disposed towards the Empire. He described the war as 'a sordid trade war'. (1)

While, the Protestant Churches of New South Wales, supporters of the War and conscription, charged

1. F. Crowley (Ed.), A New History of Australia Wm Heinemann Melbourne 1980, p.312
Mannix with disloyalty to his country and to the Empire. (2)

It was in this period that Sydney Kirkby terminated his position at Moore College and accepted appointment as Rector of St. Anne's Ryde. This Parish was one of the oldest in the Diocese of Sydney. Grants of land in the Ryde District were made as early as 1792 and the first Christian Service was conducted in 1798 in a barn. (3)

Given the different theological positions of Principal Davies and Kirkby, it was inevitable that tensions between the two should occur. Despite the tensions Kirkby at first determined to remain in what was for the conservative Evangelical cause, a strategic posting. While he taught, there was opportunity to strengthen young conservative Evangelical ordinands and perhaps convince others to adopt his theological position. In December 1913, Canon M. Archdall, the Rector of Penrith, an outspoken conservative Evangelical, endeavoured to persuade Kirkby to

accept nomination as Rector of Penrith. Kirkby declined nomination because he was concerned that a move to Penrith would adversely affect his wife's health and he wrote 'I believed God's call is to College'. (4) In 1914, conflict amongst the Moore College staff expressed itself at an Australian Church League Dinner at Summer Hill. Another lecturer, Dr. Digges La Touche, differed openly with Principal Davies 'in regard to certain teaching at Moore College of a liberal character'. (5) La Touche resigned at the Dinner from the College teaching staff. Such events may well have set the scene for Kirkby's move from the College in 1914.

The Parish of Ryde became vacant upon the death of the previous Rector, J. H. Mullins. The prospect of moving to Ryde would have been attractive to Kirkby for a number of reasons. His wife's health had benefitted from living at Beecroft (the family lived at Beecroft while Kirkby worked at the College) and the climate at Ryde would have been almost identical. Kirkby's predecessor had been a conservative Evangelical, and thus Kirkby's style of ministry would be readily acceptable to many of

4. S. J. Kirkby, Diary 23 December 1913, (In family files)
the Ryde parishioners. Mullins had been a student in Moore College in 1868 and was prepared for ordination by Robert L. King. (6) The former Rector spent much of his early life ministering in country Parishes before coming to Sydney to work in Pyrmont and Woolloomooloo. He then worked in Melbourne and, like Kirkby in Bendigo before his appointment to Ryde in 1906. The Church Record said 'he exercised an earnest and quiet ministry of great faith and hope covering a period of almost eight years'. (7) His style and convictions would have fitted well with those of Sydney Kirkby. Mullin's Parish Papers gave some useful glimpses into his policies and patterns of ministry. On at least two occasions The Ryde Church Paper highlighted the benefits of 'direct giving' for the support of the Parish. Direct giving meant that the use of lotteries, fetes and other money-raising activities were set aside in favour of parishioners making cash donations to the Parish. (8) This policy was in line with Protestant opposition to gambling in any form and was a policy favoured by many evangelicals.

7. The Church Record, 19 July 1914, p.5.
8. The Ryde Church Paper, January 1913 and April 1914.
especially those who had been influenced by the China Inland Mission. This interdenominational mission, closely associated with the Keswick Movement, taught that making appeals for financial support was to deny God's ability to provide for His people and His work. In August 1933, Kirkby, when Bishop Administrator of the Diocese of Sydney, received a letter from the Churchwardens of Mulgoa concerning the use of dancing in the parish to raise money. His answer indicated his strong convictions, 'such methods were to be deprecated and that we as Christians should follow the higher ideals of self sacrifice as set forth in the Cross of Our Lord'. (9) While it is not clear whether Kirkby in his Ryde ministry refused to allow fetes or sales of work, it is clear that he would have been comfortable with Mullin's general policy on fund raising.

Another indicator of Mullin's evangelical commitment was his invitation to H. S. Begbie of Leichhardt to conduct a mission in one of the Ryde branch churches. Mullin showed great enthusiasm for the Missioner and the Mission. Begbie had had an enormous influence on Kirkby when he had served as curate in St. Paul's Bendigo. The fight against the widespread and excessive use of liquor was still in motion amongst Protestants of New South Wales.

9. Letter - Kirkby to Churchwardens Mulgoa 16 August 1933 (Sydney Diocesan Archives Box 54)
A leaflet in *The Ryde Church News* in October 1913 invited readers to a Public Meeting in the Ryde Town Hall to discuss the 'Drink Monopoly'. (10) Kirkby, a close friend of R. B. Hammond, an anti-drink campaigner, supported such moves against the 'Drink Monopoly'. Support was given by Mullins to the British and Foreign Bible Society as well as to the Church Missionary Association (later the Church Missionary Society). A Church Paper, *The Church Record*, a mouthpiece for evangelical views, was also given an enthusiastic welcome by Mullins and support was encouraged.

In 1914 the Parish of Ryde had three preaching centres, St. Anne's Ryde, St. Columbus' West Ryde and St. John's North Ryde. This involved Mullins in arranging for six services to be conducted each Sunday. There was a very large Sunday School at Ryde with seven hundred and fifty people present at the Annual Picnic in December 1913. (11) This, therefore, was a vigorous and expanding Parish with an established and strong conservative Evangelical ministry, near enough to Sydney for Kirkby to involve himself in a wider ministry in

11. Ibid., January 1914
metropolitan Sydney. In the horse and buggy age, having access to a tram at Ryde enabled Kirkby to travel quickly and comfortably to Sydney. The announcement of Kirkby's appointment to Ryde was made in August 1914, the same month that war was declared. The Acting Rector of Ryde announced Kirkby's appointment in the August Ryde Church News. (12) (The Acting Rector was H. W. Mullins, son of the deceased Rector and the minister at Eastwood.)

H. Mullins had been in College with Kirkby and claimed that he knew him well enough to write about him. Kirkby, according to Mullins, was 'a scholar, a worker and a man of God. He is a strong man physically and spiritually. He is an excellent preacher, publicly and privately'. Further, Mullins judged him 'to be kindly and humane as well as firm and unbending'. (13) Mrs. Kirkby was mentioned by Mullins who recalled that she did not enjoy good health but since living at Beecroft has greatly improved. He guessed that the pure air of Ryde 'might continue to work in the right direction' for Mrs. Kirkby. (14)

On 23 September 1914 Kirkby and his family moved into Ryde. Archbishop Wright conducted the Induction
Service which was well attended by other clergy and parishioners. (15)

In the December 1914 Ryde Church News Kirkby wrote to his parishioners an extended letter exhorting them to be involved in Sunday School work. The Rector urged his readers to train their children at home in the tenets of the Christian religion as well as ensuring that the Sunday School was given whole hearted support. He instituted a Sunday School training class on Wednesday evenings for Sunday School teachers. Much of his emphasis in his early days in Ryde was reminiscent of the emphasis of the Parish of St. Paul's Bendigo. The Rector of St. Paul's spent a great deal of time and effort developing his large Sunday School. The Sunday School was to feel the effects of war. In the October issue of the Ryde Church News, Kirkby wrote.

One result of the war has been to induce the authorities of many Sunday Schools to forgo their annual excursions and restrict them. Funds are not so plentiful just now and what there are of them are needed for patriotic

15. Regrettably, little in the way of historical material remains in the archives of the Ryde Parish from 1914-1920.
purposes. This year we are not to go to Clifton Gardens but to Shepherd's Paddock, Ryde. (16)

The mention of patriotic purposes in this news item is important. With other Protestants in New South Wales, Kirkby was behind the war effort and would have found Mannix's stand objectionable. In January 1915 Kirkby made reference to a Special Service of Intercession for soldiers and sailors engaged in war. Kirkby's own position in regard to patriotism was spelt out as he commented on the Special Service.

Great issues are being determined in the battlefields of Europe and on the broad seas of the North. Our own kith and kin are duly risking and sacrificing their lives. True patriotism, the Imperial instinct and our common Christianity with its unwavering belief in the power of prayer demand that we should gather together in the House of God on Sunday next to wait upon Him to Whom we have committed our cause. (17)

Although Kirkby was supportive of the war effort, his public utterances were comparatively moderate. Broome, commenting on Protestants in New South Wales in the war years, says 'Many clerics placed their patriotism above their religion in the Protestant chorus of support for the war.' (18)

16. Ibid., December 1914
17. Ibid., January, 1915
18. R. Broome, op.cit., p.165
McKernan has studied the various approaches of churchmen to World War I and some of his findings help to fill out Broome's conclusion and to locate Kirkby's position. According to McKernan, the Churches welcomed war for a number of reasons. War would give the Australian nation a time of testing and would have the effect of regenerating the nation and encouraging Australians to turn from materialism. (19) Other leading clergy supported the war, like Kirkby, in terms of the Australian responsibility for the English homeland. J.C. Wright, Anglican Archbishop of Sydney, defended Britain's entry into the war and believed that war would promote renewal in the Australian nation and that God could turn the present end into good. (20) Kirkby gave no evidence of seeing war in this light but it would be strange if this element was totally absent from his thinking. Kirkby, like his Archbishop, supported the various recruitment campaigns. McKernan concluded (like Broome) that Australian clergy succumbed to the pressures of patriotism. The Minister of St. Philip's Eastwood, Harold Mullins illustrated these sorts of patriotic sentiments together with premillennial

20. Ibid., p.29
eschatology. Mullins wrote in his *Parish News Paper*.

And we confidently state that the same Hidden Hand of God which painted the present colours on the map is going to recast the perspective. We shall see the colour 'red' will be more conspicuous in the eastern portion of the Mediterranean. (21)

While Kirkby does reflect in his statement strong support for Australian involvement in the conflict in terms that would be like his Archbishop's, he appears to have been less committed to a view that Australia would be a better place after the war. Yet, he like most other Protestants, was unwilling or unable to distance himself from commitment to Empire. Very few churchmen were able to resist the claims of Empire, kinship and patriotism in that period.

Any thoughts that Kirkby might have had of enlisting as a chaplain himself would probably have been dashed by his Archbishop. Clergy were exhorted, by Wright, to work to maintain religious life in Australia. (22) Therefore Kirkby remained at his post in Ryde and the Parish moved ahead.

He was joined by a curate in January 1915 and wished for another helper to join the team.

21. *Eastwood Church News*, December 1914, p.3
22. *The Illawarra Mercury*, 30 May 1916
Preaching at St. Columbus' Church West Ryde in October 1914, he called upon his hearers to be unified in purpose and be prepared for greater sacrifice and service for the extension of God's Kingdom. (23) In January 1915 he exhorted his people to use the Lenten period as a time of real sacrifice. He promised his people that if they did so God would supply all the needs of the developing Parish. (24)

An examination of the financial records of the Parish of St. Anne's from 1914-1920 indicates a steady increase in financial support for the ministry and that in the adverse circumstances of war years. Some church lands were sold despite the unrecorded reservation of the Archbishop. Kirkby skilfully steered the sale of these lands to a successful conclusion despite the opposition.

The Service Register from 1914-1915 records the names of all the visiting preachers and they were a very select group of men. Many were leading and influential men in the Diocese while others were to become so in the future years. The list of preachers included, E. Digges La Touche, a brilliant

23. Ryde Church News, October 1914, p.4
24. Ibid., January 1915.
academic and Moore College lecturer who lost his life at Gallipoli. (25) G. A. Chambers, who was to play a significant role in Kirkby's later career and in time became the Bishop of Tanganyika East Africa, preached on several occasions. Other preachers included S. H. Denman, A. L. Wade, R. B. Robinson all of whom later became Archdeacons in Sydney. Archdeacon R. B. S. Hammond, the founder of Hammondville Homes, the retired Bishop of Gippsland and the ageing Archdeacon of Sydney, F. B. Boyce, also preached for Kirkby. They were more than just occasional preachers, they were men who were friends and co-workers and all were to play a role in different spheres of evangelical endeavour. (26)

In the Ryde years mission work was not forgotten with Kirkby arranging missionary meetings in the Parish. Encouragement was also given to Ryde parishioners to attend the Church Missionary Convention at Austinmer. (This was a Convention somewhat like the Keswick Convention held in England.) The people of the Parish responded to him in a number of ways. Not only did the Parish Council accept some

26. The Ryde Service Register, 1914-1919 (held at St. Anne's Ryde)
of his plans for change in the Parish but the Council also attended to the Rector's personal needs, authorising in 1915 the purchase of 'a trap and upkeep of the same' to be met from Parish funds. The Parish agreed to adopt an envelope system as 'the basis for Parish finance'. (27) Towards the end of 1914 The Church Record reported that the Churchwardens had approved the 'installation of a book rack in the porch of St. Anne's Church'. (28) This was novel enough for it to be reported in the widely circulating Church Record. In 1915 the Church Record gave space to report the opening of an enlarged church building at North Ryde. The people responded to Kirkby's leadership in this venture notwithstanding the financial limits imposed by the war. (29) In 1918 Mr. Thomas Jennings, a Methodist Church Member, moved into East Ryde. He was keen to develop work with children and sought help from the Ryde Methodist minister. To his great disappointment, he was told that no help could be given. Undaunted, he went to the Rectory where Kirkby received him. Kirkby 'shared his missionary zeal and promised full support'. (30)

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28. The Church Record, 13 November 1914, p.5.
29. Ibid., 9 July 1915, p.9.
This union led to the commencement of St. Thomas' Monash Park, another branch church for Kirkby to care for.

The Church Register makes reference to the epidemic of pneumonic influenza, an epidemic which swept across Australia in the first half of 1919, claiming eleven thousand five hundred lives. Kirkby was forced, by the legal regulations of the period, to conduct Church Services in the open air. During this period, Kirkby's personal diary records that he conducted fifty funerals of people who died as a result of this epidemic. There are very few of Kirkby's parishioners from the Ryde days, who are alive today. Miss P. Carpenter of Ryde was in Kirkby's last confirmation class. She remembers him as a man who was very well liked and who had a happy disposition.

While it is clear that Kirkby was stretched in his work as Rector, in an expanding Parish, there is evidence that in this period Kirkby began to involve himself in the wider life of the Diocese of Sydney. This involvement was in two areas. First, he was now receiving preaching and speaking invitations

31. F. Crowley (ed.), op.cit., p.355
32. Personal Diary, Held by Family, 1919
33. Interview with Miss P. Carpenter 28 March 1983.
beyond his Parish. In July 1916, Kirkby spoke at the Annual Meeting and Conference of the Anglican Church League (A.C.L.). The League was an evangelical society containing both clerical and lay members of the Anglican church. It was formed, to unite Anglican evangelicals, in their resistance to the inroads of liberalism and tractarianism.

D. W. B. Robinson traced the emergence of a number of evangelical groups in Sydney and claimed that the League was formed by F. B. Boyce. In 1909 the League played a prominent role in the election of J. C. Wright as Archbishop of Sydney. (34) For the period 1917-1921 Kirkby served as the League's Clerical Secretary and he retained his membership of the League until his death. While not playing a major public role in the League's affairs after 1921, he was supportive of its role in Sydney church politics. (35) Kirkby's selection as one of the speakers at the 1916 Conference indicated the confidence that this group had in Kirkby's commitment to the Anglican Evangelical position. Kirkby's paper was entitled 'Evangelical Churchmanship and Personal Religion'. Printed in full in The Church Record, the paper argued that evangelicals need

35. Australian Church League Minutes Book 1916-1933
a revival of Personal religion. When this revival has taken place in the past, there has been a growth in monetary support for mission work and a greater desire to reach out to other people with the Gospel. He further argues that Evangelicals must assert the supreme authority of the Scriptures even against or over the teaching of the Church. Another favoured theme amongst Evangelicals - 'Justification By Faith' - is also highlighted in his paper. (36)

In 1917, together with other prominent Evangelical clergy, Kirkby was invited by the Protestant Church of England Union, to speak in a Lecture Series. The Series was concerned with topics in Church History and Kirkby's topic was the development of the Oxford and Tractarian Movement. (37)

The second area that Kirkby moved into in the Ryde years was the 'printed word'. He began in November 1917, and continued up to the time he became a Bishop, to write articles for The Church Record using the non de plume 'Spermologos'. The word 'Spermologos' from Koine Greek, means a 'word sower'. In a tribute to Kirkby after his death in 1935, The Church Record identified Spermologos as S.J. Kirkby. (38) In his column 'In The Market Place'

36. The Church Record 18 August 1916 p.13
37. The Lecture has not survived.
38. The Church Record 25 July 1935, p.1
Kirkby commented on many issues related to the life of the Anglican Church in Sydney and beyond. The first column appeared late in 1917 and therein Kirkby focussed upon what he considered to be the pretentions and limitations of his old Diocese of Bendigo. He railed against this small Diocese (about thirty clergy) which had created the 'most elaborate and cumbersome ecclesiastical paraphernalia'. It had created so many dignitaries, canons, archdeacons, that Kirkby suggested it was in danger of running out of men to fill these exalted positions. In his attack, Kirkby, faithful to the remembrance of J. C. MacCullaghe, excluded his appointment to the honorary role of Dean, from his sharp pen. Kirkby longed for the Anglican Church to free itself of the old world officialdom. (39)

In the same contribution, he questioned whether celibate clergy have really grasped what he called 'Holy Poverty'. Spermologos reckoned by the time a married clergyman pays for the upkeep of his wife and family, he, it is, who really experiences 'holy poverty'. This was an attack on some of the alleged pretensions of the celibate priests of the Anglican Brotherhoods working in Australia. Finally, he delivered a blast against the indiscriminate baptism of children on weekdays.

39. Ibid.
If the church baptises, let it be done in the presence of the congregation on Sunday. (40) Each of these comments would have stirred consciences across a wide section of the Australian Anglican Church. Again, in December 1917, he found more causes to take up. The Home Mission Society, a Diocesan department responsible for church extension and social work in Sydney, was under attack. Spermologos launched a counter attack against the detractors and also advised the Home Mission Society to use more imagination in its promotion. (41) In July 1919 the pen of Spermologos was lifted once again. This time Kirkby, amongst other issues, is concerned about a suggestion made to Synod, to centralise diocesan finances. The Home Mission Society was to be used and would become according to Spermologos, a huge bureaucratic body handling not only the administration of £100,000 per annum but also the futures of the clergy. Kirkby wondered whether the clergy might be graded and paid accordingly. But how to grade Rectors? Spermologos had a suggestion. Perhaps, the size of the clerical family would be a factor and then the 'pious and patriotic rector who has been blessed with ten or

40. Ibid.  
41. Ibid., 7 December 1917, p.3.
twelve children would come into his own'. (42) The article clearly demonstrated Kirkby's strong opposition to some members of the Anglican Synod in Sydney who had centralising tendencies. Evangelicals, especially members of the Anglican Church in England, opposed such centralisation. They formed many independent societies to avoid control by English Diocesan bodies. The Colonial and Continental Church Society and the Church Missionary Society were two such societies formed by Evangelicals which worked within the Church, but were independent of it. Kirkby was, in 1919, giving voice to what he was destined to constitutionalise in the Bush Church Aid Society.

Occasionally, Kirkby used his own name when entering into controversy. In April 1919 he took to task the Rector of Darling Point, E.H. Lee, for an 'incautious ear to those two old ladies so well known in church circles, Dame Rumour and Dame Gossip'. It appeared that Mr. Lee was complaining about a 'rigid Canonry Election'. Kirkby wrote to suggest that the issue could be given a different sort of interpretation. (43)

42. Ibid., 18 July 1919, p.13
43. Ibid., 25 April 1919, p.7
As Kirkby was developing the Parish of Ryde and moving out into the wider life of the Anglican Church, other events and schemes were taking place, the culmination of which, would radically affect his life and the lives of many others. Kirkby was well liked in his Parish and the Parish was developing in many areas under his leadership. His wife, although still not strong, was coping with her four young children. On 25 September 1919 Kirkby went to see the Archbishop of Sydney to discuss a new position he had been offered. (44) The Council of the newly formed Bush Church Aid Society (B.C.A.S.) had invited him to be its first Organizing Missioner. There was security, comfort and prestige to leave behind if Kirkby accepted this task. He had to venture into the unknown. The Society might not be accepted and he would be seen as a failure. There was no assured income and no Diocesan bishop to help him financially. The B.C.A.S. was to be independent of Diocesan structures. His wife and young family needed him to be available. Kirkby was clearly aware of the issues involved. A persistent story surrounds Kirkby's decision in this matter. Several different

44. Kirkby's Diary, 25 September 1919 (held by family)
people interviewed report that Kirkby spent a Saturday night walking up and down Church Street, Ryde trying to come to a decision. (45) Given Kirkby's commitment to missionary work and his involvement with the Keswick Movement with its teaching about the need to surrender oneself to God without reserve, it is not surprising that Kirkby announced to his Sunday morning congregation that he had decided to resign from Ryde to join the B.C.A.S. He began work with the B.C.A.S. on 1st January 1920.

Chapter 4

Foundation and First Year of the
Bush Church Aid Society 1920

Just prior to the commencement of World War I, J. C. Wright the Anglican Archbishop of Sydney, in the Sydney Diocesan Magazine, had warmly endorsed the formation of an organisation to sponsor and direct Christian ministry in the outback areas of Australia. (1) The outbreak of war meant that this scheme remained unrealised till the war ended. In the nineteenth century much of New South Wales had been provided with an evangelical Anglican ministry, notably in the areas now within the Diocese of Bathurst and Goulburn. But by 1910 all the 'bush dioceses' of New South Wales were administered by non evangelicals. At the turn of the century, many Victorian country centres had turned to Sydney for these clergy. But with the passing of the Langleys in Bendigo in 1919 and the retirement of Bishop Pain from Gippsland in 1917, clergy were increasingly found in Victoria. The Diocese of Melbourne moved away from its evangelical beginning. All these changes left the Diocese of Sydney more and more isolated and concerned about the nature of ministry

1. Sydney Diocesan Magazine, August 1914.
in other Dioceses. During the decade 1910-1920, The Church Record had printed occasional letters and articles which expressed concern about church life, and in some cases, lack thereof, in bush areas. There was a broadside against the Dubbo Bush Brotherhood, a group of Tractarian celibate priests. The Church Record pointed out, in 1917, after viewing their newspapers, that 'there is a good deal of teaching matter which hardly represents that of the Anglican Church as judged by her formularies' (that is, the Thirty Nine Articles). (2) In August 1917 The Church Record complained that the Diocese of Bathurst allowed Prayers for the dead. (3) In April 1917 it was reported that the first Australian Bush Brotherhood based in Rockhampton had become extinct. (4) The various Brotherhoods seldom attracted Australians as workers, and many by 1920 were weakened due to the diminished numbers of English clergymen volunteering for service in Australia. After the War ended, the English Church suffered from a shortage of clergy and therefore had few men to spare for Australia and elsewhere. The underlying idea of the Brotherhoods

2. The Church Record, 8 June 1917, p.1.
3. Ibid., 31 August 1917, p.1.
4. Ibid., 25 April 1919, p.11.
was to draw clergy together in a closeknit fellowship and so help them cope with ministry in isolated and difficult parishes. While most of the Christian Brotherhoods were Tractarian in outlook, there was at least one Brotherhood based in Grafton (The Brotherhood of Our Saviour) which was sympathetic to evangelicals.

When support from England began to dwindle, the country dioceses and the Brotherhoods tended to become dependent on the larger city dioceses, especially Sydney and Melbourne. The small dioceses depended, in an increasing manner, upon the bigger dioceses for money and men. In 1915 the Bishop of Grafton wrote expressing his dependence upon the Diocese of Sydney for financial support. (5) It must have occurred to some evangelicals in Sydney that, since much of the finance was to come from Sydney, the evangelicals should have a greater say in the development of the church life in the country. There was also a growing sense of isolation amongst Sydney Anglicans who were concerned about the place of Sydney Diocese in the future. It was clear that Sydney Evangelicals needed the opportunity to extend their influence and place within the Australian Church.

5. Ibid., 12 November 1915, p.7.
One way to accomplish this, involved placing evangelical clergy and lay people in other dioceses. During the war years however, Evangelicals were, with the rest of Society, too involved in the war effort to launch such a grand new initiative.

In a history of the Bush Church Aid Society, E. M. Waddington records a claim, made by the late Rev'd Hugh Linton, that he made an approach to Bishop Arthur Pain of Gippsland in the war years about the needs of the bush parishes. This, claims Linton was the impetus, which led to the formation of a Society to work in the outback. (6) However, it seems likely that there was no one factor, but rather a number of factors, which finally led to the establishment of an outback mission agency.

Canon Ernest Cameron, a former Bush Brother and a Chairman of the Bush Church Aid Society (B.C.A.S.), claimed that there was no competition between the Brotherhoods and the B.C.A.S. (7) In one sense this claim is true because the B.C.A.S. did not usually move into the Brotherhood's traditional areas of ministry. The Brotherhoods remained in Queensland and in the Diocese of Bathurst, while the B.C.A.S.

7. Interview, 8 April 1983.
moved into Gippsland and South Australia. Yet, given the history of relationships between evangelicals and others in the Australian Church, it is clear that B.C.A.S. must have seen itself as providing an alternative style of ministry for outback Anglicans.

Before the creation of the B.C.A.S., an English Evangelical Society called the Colonial and Continental Church Society (C.C.C.S.) had provided funds, giving grants-in-aid to some country Parishes in Australia. The C.C.C.S. was founded in 1838 to enable Evangelicals in the Anglican Church in England to play an active role in Church development in British colonies. (8) The grant system worked until the number of outback Parishes with evangelical clergy so dwindled by the early 1900s that the Society became concerned about whether or not their money was being used to strengthen evangelical work. So, moves were made in July 1917 to set up in Sydney what was called 'The New South Wales Correspondent Committee of C.C.C.S.'. It was suggested at a meeting to discuss the problem, that 'The Committee shall in the first instance consist of such Evangelical clergy and laymen as the Parent Committee may appoint'. (9)

9. N.S.W. Correspondent Committee Minute Book, July 1917.
The English secretary of the C.C.C.S. responded by suggesting that a Committee comprising the Archbishop of Sydney, Archdeacon B. Boyce (he had spent many years working in the western part of New South Wales), W. L. Langley Rector of Woollahra and Mr. C. R. Walsh, a leading Sydney lay churchman, be formed. The following year the Minute Book indicates that a discussion took place as to whether a number of named Parishes should continue to receive grants. One of the main factors discussed in relation to the grants was whether the Parish had an evangelical ministry or not. It was believed that some Parishes were lacking in this regard and the N.S.W. Committee wrote to London suggesting that these Parishes not receive a grant. (10) Additional pressure for the creation of an Australian society was applied by C.C.C.S. decision not to give grants for ordination training to non-English applicants. This meant Australian ordination candidates, intending to offer for outback service, were left without financial help from the C.C.C.S. Non evangelical Dioceses were not likely to pay for ordination candidates to train in Evangelical Theological Colleges. Therefore, Australian evangelical candidates would be left to find their own financial resources to pay training fees.

10. Ibid., March 1918.
With the end of the war, and the factors recorded, pressures to bring into being an Australian based and controlled Society to work in the Australian outback came to a head at a meeting in the St. Andrew's Cathedral Chapter House on 26 May 1919. A W. Pain, the seventy-five year old retired Bishop of Gippsland was in the Chair, and many other prominent evangelicals were numbered amongst the twenty-six people present. Archdeacons Davies, Boyce and Begbie, Canons and Langsford-Smith were present with the Rev'ds G. A. Chambers, L. Pearce and S. J. Kirkby. There were a number of influential laymen, like C. R. Walsh and T. S. Holt, in attendance. The Meeting felt that there was a need for a new departure 'because of the great spiritual destitution in the Bush'. (11) It was passed and carried that there be a new organization. Thus the Bush Church Aid Society was born. It was to be an independent Evangelical Society working within the Anglican Church in Australia. The office-bearers included President, Bishop A W. Pain, the Honorary Secretary, the Rev'd W. L. Langley (son of Bishop H. A. Langley, sometime Bishop of Bendigo) with the Treasurer, T. S. Holt and a small committee

11. Ibid., August 1919.
of other clergy and laymen. Kirkby was not appointed to the Committee but did 'second' a vote of thanks to the Chairmen. In August 1919, the new Committee met in Sydney with the visiting C.C.C.S. Secretary, Dr. Mullins, who guaranteed that the C.C.C.S. would help to provide the salary of the Organizing Secretary of the new Society for its first three years. It is clear that the creation of the B.C.A.S. was done with the blessing of C.C.C.S. London. The Rev'd G. A. Chambers (later Bishop of Tanganyika, East Africa) visited England prior to 1919 and spoke with the C.C.C.S. in London. No doubt, he prepared the way for C.C.C.S. approval of this new independent Society. Chambers' biographer, N. de S. P. Sibtain, claims, Kirkby's name was suggested by Chambers as a possible pioneer Organizing Secretary of the B.C.A.S. (The B.C.A.S. Minutes confirm that Chambers did, in fact, nominate Kirkby for the position) (12) Given Kirkby's interest, experience and love of country work, with his administrative ability and his firm evangelical commitment, it would have been difficult not to have considered his name. The salary of the Secretary was to be £400 per annum (an average Rector's

salary) with a travelling allowance and £80 for rent. The Committee invited Kirkby to become its first Organizing Secretary from January 1920. (13) Kirkby, after prolonged consideration, agreed. (The beginnings of the Society were far from spectacular. The Kirkby family moved from Ryde to a rented house in Eastwood on 2 January 1920. There is no indication that there was a special service or welcome to mark the beginnings of this new work.) It was in the decade following the end of the Great War that Kirkby was to plan, nurture and establish a major new institution of the Australian Anglican Church. There was a general feeling of optimism within the community and Governments set themselves to resume the task of developing Australia in an ambitious way. Yet it was a decade that was to be marked by many political and social problems. A legacy of the bitterness which surrounded the disputes and controversies in the war years carried over into the new decade. There was to be a pronounced drift of population to the coastal cities. The country people came in search of work and comfort. As a result of the increased use of machinery on the farm and the downturn in the mining industry, people

were forced to the bigger centres of population to find work. It is estimated that nearly a quarter of a million people left the outback. (14) Many returned soldiers were settled in the country on farms, especially in the Granite Belt in Queensland, the Mallee district in Victoria and in the Murrumbidgee area in New South Wales. Such settlements were to provide new opportunities for Christian ministry and B.C.A.S. involved itself in a number of these areas. Ties to the Empire were still strong and English migration was a prominent feature of the decade. English migrants would have been mainly Anglicans and many settled in country areas. The English settlers provided the outback Anglican dioceses with expanded opportunities for ministry, but often without the means to provide for new Parishes.

This new decade saw a growth in the political power of country people with the emergence of the Progressive Party (later the Country Party) which gave voice to the claims of the outback. In the post-war years, medical and educational services in the country districts were poor. This problem was to concern the B.C.A.S., Kirkby in particular,

and he prompted certain initiatives in the early
days of the B.C.A.S. On the credit side, roads
were being made and surfaced, making travel by
the motor car in country areas quicker and safer.
The aeroplane came to conquer great distances and
was, in time, to be used by B.C.A.S. workers.

Australian society in the twenties did hold
masculinity in high regard. Home and family was
seen as the proper place for women. (15) This
emphasis was to be reflected in the work of Kirkby,
but also challenged by the employment of deaconesses
and nurses in the bush by the B.C.A.S. Kirkby, in
his recruitment efforts, emphasised that the bush
was no place for weakly, but rather it was the
domain of strong, brave, adventurous men.

The decades before the war had witnessed great
activity in public life by the Protestant Churches.
After the war, the mood seems to have changed. But
in the twenties, church authority was seen to be
limited to moral issues and there was a tacit
acceptance on their part, and by the community, that
Churches should not interfere in public affairs. (15)
Throughout the decade, there was little said by
Kirkby on community issues but rather a preoccupation

15. Ibid., p.396
with mission and the internal affairs of the Anglican Church. It was against this background of optimism and conflict within the Australian community that, under the leadership of Kirkby, the B.C.A.S. began and took shape.

The establishment of the B.C.A.S. as an accepted institution of the Australian Church was far from easy, given its theological stance and the scepticism of many churchmen regarding a new agency which aimed to do so much. Kirkby, writing about the beginnings of the Society, indicated that many were doubtful that the Society would survive or be useful. 'Critics and croakers were numerous in the early days. The latter prophesied the early demise of the Society. They said Evangelicals lacked cohesion and perseverance. The former rather resented the intrusion of a body of enthusiasts, however small, who might disturb their parochial complacency and whose message might possibly not coincide with their own.' (16) The successful establishment of the Society was to be very much the product of an enormous amount of hard work and planning by the first organizing missioner. Kirkby was not so much concerned with easy and quick results, but was

rather committed to the establishment of the Society, in such a way, that it would endure and command the acceptance and respect of the Australian Church.

After initial meetings with Canon W. L. Langley the Secretary of the B.C.A.S. Committee, Kirkby was able to rent a small office in Church House, Sydney. Diocesan Church House, situated next to St. Andrew's Cathedral Sydney, was the seat of government for the largest Anglican Diocese in Australia. Here, Kirkby would be in constant contact with Sydney church leaders as well as visiting leaders of other Australian and overseas Dioceses. It was a very strategic place to locate the Society's offices.

Having settled in home and office on 11 January 1920, Kirkby preached his first sermon on the plans and hopes of the B.C.A.S. in the Church Building at Concord.

Kirkby usually took the initiative and contacted Parish clergy, asking for opportunities to present the claims of the new Society to their congregations. As the opportunities to speak of the B.C.A.S. developed, Kirkby offered to return to Parishes on the week following his preaching visit, to show lantern slides depicting the needs of the outback. Kirkby's diary records his commitments day by day and shows that he
preached at least three times every Sunday and showed slides, together with a lecture, on many Wednesday evenings. He would travel by public transport, carrying his robes or equipment to show slides. Often his preaching commitment meant that he either began travelling very early on Sunday morning or travelled to the Parish in question on Saturday evening. Public transport was slow and inconvenient and his problems were further enlarged by having to carry so much equipment with him. Constant travelling was to take its toll on Kirkby's health after a period.

The Organizing Missioner's first concern was the raising of financial support for the Society. This was to be a constant concern, but never more so than in the early period of the Society's existence. Although the C.C.C.S. had agreed to provide the bulk of the Organizing Secretary's salary for the first three years, the B.C.A.S. Minutes of the early period show that there were difficulties in the collection of the grant. (17) The B.C.A.S. had virtually no funds of its own and Kirkby and his family were to be without salary for some months. Money was also required to support clergy and others who might be

17. B.C.A.S. Minutes, May 1922.
sent to work in outback Parishes. This financial support would not come to the B.C.A.S. in the form of Diocesan grants, but would have to be raised by the new independent Society from its own supporters. Most of B.C.A.S. supporters would be contacted by Kirkby in his preaching ministry in Parish Churches. Kirkby needed to develop the respect and support of Parish clergy in Sydney and beyond, otherwise he would have been denied access to the pulpits of Parish Churches and in consequence to this, potential supporters. Preaching in Parish Churches and speaking to mid-week groups was a pattern Kirkby developed in the first months of his work with the B.C.A.S. This pattern, with some modification, has continued to be the strategy of the B.C.A.S. for presenting the needs of the outback to a wide audience. Some people who heard Kirkby preach in the early 1920s, still remember his ability to evoke a sympathetic response for outback people. His ability as a preacher was well respected and was to be one of his major contributions to the infant Society.

By September 1920, Kirkby realised that while preaching was vital, he needed to establish a more frequent means of contacting people who had been touched by his deputation work in the Parishes. So, in September, Kirkby wrote, and had printed, the first
78.

Kirkby's, second task in the first year of the history of the Society, was to secure areas of ministry for B.C.A.S. clergy and other workers. In March 1920, as a result of an invitation from Godfrey Smith, Archdeacon of Broken Hill in the Diocese of Riverina, Kirkby sent off to visit the Wilcannia, Menindee, White Cliffs area in the far western part of New South Wales. The Organizing Missioner travelled to the railway terminus at Cobar and then found a place on a motor lorry (the town omnibus) for a journey of one hundred and seventy miles to Wilcannia. This journey, his first as a B.C.A.S. organizing missioner, took eighteen hours and allowed him to see, at first hand, the effects of the widespread drought. The Darling River had ceased to flow; blinding dust storms regularly covered the area and were described by the locals as 'Darling showers'. There was an adequate church building at Wilcannia, but the congregation had not had a regular clergyman in the area for some years. The Rector of Broken Hill occasionally travelled to Wilcannia to conduct Services. There was a reasonably large population in Wilcannia of about two thousand, but White Cliffs had suffered a reduction in population resulting from
the mining slump. (19) Travel in the area was very difficult as there were, in 1920, few made roads. The tracks ran through paddocks and sometimes over desert areas of heavy sand. In common with many country areas, schooling was inadequate for children outside the large towns. Station children were forced to board in the larger towns if they wanted to continue to higher schooling. While travelling in the outback towns, Kirkby noticed that the Catholic Church had provided hostels for station children who came to town for higher schooling. The children, whether Catholic or not, were required to attend the Catholic Church. This meant, in at least some cases, Protestant children were influenced to join the Catholic Church. This situation troubled Kirkby and in an article in *The Church Record* he wrote 'What are we, as members of the Church of England, prepared to do to save the children. To declare in frothy utterance against Rome is futile. The Church of England must provide hostels giving wholesome healthy accommodation for the children of Protestant parents and the first hostel should be at Wilcannia'. (20) From Wilcannia, Kirkby travelled on and preached at Broken Hill and then made his way to Adelaide. In

Adelaide, he preached in two of the city's Evangelical Parishes before travelling on to Melbourne to confer with the B.C.A.S. Committee set up in this southern Diocese. The B.C.A.S. Committee in Melbourne, while important in promoting the Society, has never been in terms of power and decision making, anything more than a shadow of the Sydney Committee. The power base has always been in Sydney. While in Melbourne, Kirkby preached in several evangelical Parishes and delivered a number of lectures about the outback. In a day when travel in the outback was difficult and the colour movie film was unknown, Kirkby's lectures and lantern slides were very successful in promoting the work of the Church outback. An observer commented, after Kirkby's visit, that the B.C.A.S. would receive backing from the people of Melbourne and that the B.C.A.S. had a fine future ahead. (21) Kirkby returned to Sydney, travelling via Bendigo, where he spent some time with the new Bishop, Donald Baker. His first journey for the B.C.A.S. ended on 11 April 1920. This was to be the first of many such journeys; journeys which allowed Kirkby to draw upon fresh impressions of the outback as well as to meet and encourage church leaders in many parts of Australia.

21. Ibid., 7 May 1920 p.5
The Bishop of the Riverina invited the B.C.A.S. to send and support a clergyman in the vast parish of Wilcannia. Kirkby received another invitation in May 1920 to find a man to fill a Parish in the middle and far west of the State of New South Wales. (22) Two men were needed and therefore, Kirkby made a public appeal through the church press for younger clergy working in capital cities to volunteer for service in the outback. The period of such service could be from one to three years. Kirkby argued that such a service period would enrich a young man's ministry. One of the first clergymen to respond to Kirkby's appeal was F. W. S. Harvey, a graduate of Moore College. He, together with his wife and small daughter, went to Wilcannia in July 1920. Also in July 1920, Reginald Hawkins left for service in the Parish of Cobar, which was within the Diocese of Bathurst. Previously, the Diocese of Bathurst had been served by the predominantly Anglo-Catholic Bush Brotherhood, based in Bourke, and this invitation to the B.C.A.S. was perhaps somewhat unexpected. Maybe both the Parishes of Wilcannia and Cobar had proved to be so unresponsive that it was felt that diocesan clergy could be better used in more responsive centres.

22. Ibid.
in the large towns of the west. Whatever the reasons behind the invitations, there was great benefit for the B.C.A.S. in that the Society now had 'a field of operation'. Both areas would be 'proving grounds' for Kirkby, the missioners and the new Society.

Another Brotherhood had been previously established in Grafton and was led, in 1920, by an evangelical clergyman, Canon George Watson. As a result of contact between Kirkby and Watson, Kirkby made another extensive journey to North East New South Wales to explore the possibilities of B.C.A.S. assistance in this area. Kirkby, in May 1920, met with some clergy and people of the Grafton Diocese and, as a result, B.C.A.S. gave assistance by recruiting two lay brothers and a 'sub warden in full orders' for the Brotherhood. (23) The Organizing Missioner gave assistance to the Brotherhood in a fund raising campaign centred on Sydney. An appeal through the B.C.A.S. for a Hostel Matron at Lismore was successful and a Ryde parishioner, Miss Stennet, went to work in the Hostel at Lismore. (24)

24. Ibid.
Kirkby was in Sydney in May through to July and had an enormously busy programme of meetings and preaching engagements. His 1920 diary mentions a number of periods when he was unable to work due to illness. This is significant in view of later developments in respect to his health.

The first Annual Meeting was held in the St. Andrew's Cathedral Chapter House in July with seventy people present. Kirkby, in his Report, made mention of the placement of Harvey and Hawkins and he also gave details of the Society's efforts to secure a flow of well-trained evangelical clergy for the B.C.A.S. work. The Society was prepared to sponsor and pay for the training of young people. Already there was a lady in training in Deaconess House Sydney for the role of a Bush Deaconess. A man had been sent to Moore College and Kirkby reported that the Society was prepared to assist students looking to work with the Society at University or in Theological College. (25) The travel in the outback had alerted Kirkby to the nature of the loneliness that many country people experienced, so he arranged a distribution of books, papers and leaflets for dwellers in the distant bush and plains. (26)

25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
foreshadowed his commitment to the establishment of a Hostel in Wilcannia. Concluding his Report, Kirkby told his readers that 'the Society had only been in existence for six months and therefore, a great programme of achievement cannot be expected'. (27)

One of the traits which people who knew Kirkby made mention of most often, was his humility. This statement was typical of Kirkby and was to be a constant feature of his life and ministry. The first six months of the B.C.A.S. Society was surely a period of real achievement and it is difficult to know what more could have been achieved in such a short period. The Annual Meeting elected the retired Bishop of Bendigo, J. Langley, as its President, with his nephew, W. L. Langley, as the continuing Secretary. A well-known businessman and churchman, T. Holt, was reappointed to act as the Honorary Treasurer.

Before the year ended, Kirkby once again visited Victoria, preaching in Melbourne as well as in the Gippsland area. These journeys required travel by train, horse and by foot. Most of November was spent in Victoria with Kirkby back in Sydney half way through December. By any standard, Kirkby had poured an enormous amount of energy in this first year. He preached an average three times per Sunday, and that

27. Ibid.
in different places, held lantern lectures mid-week and attended to the demands of administration and recruitment. Travelling was far from easy and he had been absent from his family for at least three months of his first year with the Society.

There were other areas which captured Kirkby's interest and energy in his first year with the B.C.A.S. Spermologos, aggrieved by another attack on the Diocese of Sydney, leapt to the defence of the Diocese in an article published in October 1920. Kirkby takes up the issue of Sydney Churchmanship and points out that even if it appears to contributors to our provincial diocesan journals that Sydney churchmanship is both a grief and abomination, appeals for finance are made in Sydney Diocese to help country areas. He pointed out that the Brotherhood scheme operated in the middle west of New South Wales, where wool kings have sway. (28) With wealth in their own Diocese, country bishops still seek help from Sydney. Kirkby concluded his remarks about this situation with a somewhat 'tongue in cheek' statement, when he wrote 'And though the country smites her, she but turns the other cheek and loosens her purse strings and prays that the ill-informed writers may someday have grace and wisdom given them to write the things

28. The Church Record, 8 October 1920, p.13.
that are true and not the things which they imagine'. (29) In the same Spermologos article, Kirkby indicated his view on the use of alcohol. The Adelaide Diocesan Synod of 1920 had debated the question of alcohol prohibition. Apparently some members of the Diocese considered the whole issue a laughing matter. Not so for Kirkby. He wrote with some vehemence:

The foul and disgusting character of the mess which the Liquor Traffic makes is known to all. The evil associations and nefarious practices connected with it are patent to all; would that the grave and reverend brothers of the Adelaide Synod bestir themselves from out of their plush cushioned study chairs, doff their rosetinted pincenez, moderate their cachinnatory outbursts and do the one thing sure needed in this land of ours, that is, chase John Barleycorn off the face of the map altogether. (30)

Kirkby's views were very much in line with many other leading Evangelicals of his day whose reaction to the 'drink problem' was to work for total prohibition. Campaigners, such as R. B.S. Hammond, a Sydney Anglican Rector and Temperance campaigner, fought hard and long against what they considered to be the 'drink disease'. Kirkby was, according to his first office secretary, a firm friend and admirer of R. B.S. Hammond. (31)

29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Interview with Miss I. Manning, 28 March 1983.
Kirkby's first year with the B.C.A.S. was both productive and important. He had travelled extensively in all the Eastern States, except for Queensland, which was clearly a Bush Brotherhood area. Support and goodwill, as well as a growing awareness of the Society's role and identity were growing. For Kirkby, it had been a year of high adventure and of ceaseless toil.
Kirkby as the Organising Missioner.
(Courtesy B.C.A.S.)
Chapter 5

Nurturing an Evangelical Society, 1921-1922

A number of different issues engaged Kirkby in the years 1921-1922. His efforts to establish and develop the infant Bush Church Aid Society continued unabated and, at the same time, he was forced to defend the Society from its critics.

The development of the Society especially in its early years depended largely upon the ability of the Organizing Missioner to present the claims of outback ministry. The Society needed a focal point, a day on which supporters of the Society and others could especially think about the needs of outback settlers. Kirkby succeeded, after some lobbying, to have the first Sunday in February 1921 set aside as the B.C.A.S. Sunday. In an anonymous article in the Church Record mention is made of this new move. The Record writer commented 'Very appropriately does the Sunday chosen for special remembrance of the work of the B.C.A.S. synchronise with the day on which we are bidden to commemorate the holding of the first Christian Service in this land'. (1) The writer argued that the blessing of

1. The Church Record, 28 January 1921, p.8.
the Gospel came to Australia because 'those who set up the outposts of Empire were not forgetful of the spiritual and moral needs of the new settlers'. (2) Because we have received much, the author said, we should share time, finance and energy with those who are in spiritual need in the outback of Australia. Although the author of the article is unnamed, he or she clearly presented many of the attitudes that Kirkby is known to have had. Kirkby had a real passion and concern for the material and spiritual needs of outback people.

Kirkby was well placed to write for and have many articles printed in *The Church Record*, as its Editor, the Rev'd S. Taylor, was a close friend of his. (3) In the years 1921-1922, an enormous amount of space in *The Record* was given over to the promotion of the infant Society. Another comment was printed in April 1921 praising the work of the Society and likening it to other large and influential societies, long established within the Anglican communion. The article complained that 'for too long there has been lacking in the Church that spirit of adventure which can attract the best life of the Church to difficult

2. Ibid.
3. Interview with Miss I. Manning March 1983, (sometime secretary to Kirkby)
and isolated outposts where the very best work is needed'. (4) This was a theme often present in Kirkby's writings. He set out to appeal to the heroic nature of the Society's mission and worked consistently to develop an image for the Society which pictured its work in terms of adventure and sacrifice. Kirkby wrote that the type of workers needed must have 'grace, grit and gumption'. They must not 'be pious ninnies, rather be real red blooded men and women of character and powers of leadership'. (5) Slowly but carefully Kirkby was developing the ideal image of the B.C.A.S. worker. An image which, in a decade where masculinity was greatly admired, would have been calculated to touch the feeling level of many young adventurous Australian Christians. This was a necessary emphasis, aimed as it was, at the younger evangelical clergy and others who, for the most part, lived in the comfort and security of Sydney or Melbourne. By the 1920s, most Australian evangelical clergy were to be found working in Sydney or Melbourne and it was in these areas where Kirkby recruited many of his mission workers. Constantly Kirkby's journeys into pioneer

4. The Church Record, 22 April 1921, p.2.
5. S. J. Kirkby, These Ten Years, B.C.A.S. Sydney 1930, p.9.
areas, like North Gippsland, were held up as great adventures which had been beset by many trials and difficulties. It was good material upon which to develop the image of the B.C.A.S. worker as a red blooded adventurer for Christ.

Without doubt, Kirkby's main thrust in the development of the image and needs of the Society was his personal contact with members of many congregations in the Eastern States of Australia. The pattern of extensive travel established in 1920 was repeated in 1921-1922. Although much of his promotional work was conducted in the Diocese of Sydney, he did travel to Victoria and South Australia to speak for the B.C.A.S. He was able to secure invitations to speak in the Dioceses of Melbourne, Bendigo, Adelaide, Willochra, Wangaratta and Riverina. He travelled interstate at least twice yearly and spent about two months away from Sydney at one time. This meant that Kirkby was absent from Sydney for about five months of the year. When he travelled interstate, other evangelical and diocesan groups often invited him to minister to them. In 1921, he addressed the Adelaide Home Mission Society and often preached for the Church Missionary Society.

In the years 1921-1922, it is possible to see that a pattern in his promotional work had developed.
He returned to Parishes previously contacted in 1920 and also persuaded a few more clergy to open their pulpits to the Society. On some Sundays he would spend the whole day in one parish, while at other times, he would travel from one parish to another. By present standards that sort of programme may appear reasonable, but travel for Kirkby in the nineteen-twenties was by public transport. He was forced to carry his heavy equipment (lantern projector and glass slides) on the trams and trains. Often the Sunday preaching was followed up with a 'travel talk' on Wednesday night. In an age without the television, the use of the coloured glass slides on Wednesday evening, was a very profitable way to promote the work.

When Kirkby did travel interstate, he did not waste a moment but gave himself to a very extensive programme of speaking. In Victoria in September 1922, his Diary indicated that during one month, he spoke at least thirty-two times in twenty-four different places. (6) On that tour, he travelled about three thousand kilometres using train and horse. In between the promotional work in parishes, Kirkby was involved in routine

office and administrative work. Answering letters, acknowledging the receipt of donations and preparation for Council meetings ate deeply into his time in Sydney. Therefore, Kirkby's frequent travels, together with his very busy programme while in Sydney, meant amongst other things, that his family was often without his help and nurture. While his long absences from home and its responsibilities seem to the modern mind somewhat reprehensible, the pattern was not out of keeping with that of other Christian leaders of the same generation. In fact, leaders in many spheres, be they political, academic or religious found travel very time consuming but necessary. In the memoirs of Bishop G. A. Chambers, a close friend of Kirkby, there is adequate evidence to indicate that Chambers' life followed a similar pattern. Chambers was willing to leave his family for very long periods in the fulfilment of what he considered to be his God-given ministry. (7) The strong commitment to Keswick teaching, which involved complete surrender, while perhaps not in the forefront of Kirkby's public utterances, would nevertheless have been very influential in his thinking about these matters.

7. N. de S. P. Sibtain with W. Chambers, Dare to Look Up, Angus & Robertson Sydney 1968, p. 43.
Kirkby's life-style would certainly have been supported by the strain of self-forgetfulness endemic to Keswick-type spirituality. (8)

Other promotional work involved Kirkby in the use of his considerable writing abilities. He continued as the Editor of the Society magazine The Real Australian and wrote for other religious journals. Up to this point in time, Kirkby was without paid secretarial help and was forced to rely on voluntary workers to answer the telephone, type and do the many other tasks associated with the office in Church House, Sydney. His sister, Mrs. Chapman, whom Kirkby had lived with and helped some years previously came in and supported her brother in this period. (9)

As a measure of Kirkby's abilities as a promoter, the financial record indicated a very healthy growth in the receipt of income over this two year period. Kirkby indicated at the Annual Meeting in April 1921 that income for January to March 1921 had surpassed 'in total, the amount received for the whole of 1920'. (10) There is no doubt that Kirkby's effective communication as a deputationist and a promoter accounted for the

10. The Church Record, 6 May 1921, p.7.
increase in support. His very full programme of visitation and preaching had its impact. People who can remember his B.C.A.S. deputation preaching, recall the power and compelling nature of his communication with his audiences. He was able to bring some of the flavour of the bush into many city churches by word and by his hand coloured slides. Kirkby was able to project his real sympathy for the outback people and arouse his hearers to act. (11) The income for 1921 amounted to £2,658 and outgoings were at £2,020 leaving a credit balance of £638. This was judged to be a very healthy financial result for the year. (By way of comparison, the highest income for a Sydney Parish of many years standing was about £1,200 while the average income for a Sydney Parish was around £370.) Thus the Society was being given strong financial support by many Christian people in Sydney and beyond. (12)

The task of Organizing Secretary not only involved promoting and raising finance for the Society, but giving leadership in the area of placing and supporting the field staff. This involved strategy and an awareness of how best to

meet the needs of outback people. When the Second Annual Meeting gathered in the St. Andrew's Cathedral Chapter House Sydney in April, 1921, Kirkby was able to outline some new developments and strategy in the Society's work. One of the highlights of the year was the establishment of a Hostel for school children at Wilcannia. The Meeting was told that Kirkby was convinced that such a place would help to support Protestant children in their faith, as well as meeting a real need for nurture and accommodation for these children. Hitherto Protestant children had been forced to stay in Catholic Hostels in towns, like Wilcannia, because there were no other alternatives. (Archbishop Wright of Sydney in January 1921 used the same reasoning when he wrote to gather support for a Hostel in Wollongong.) (13) At the Annual Meetings of the B.C.A.S. in Melbourne and Sydney in May 1920, a building programme was suggested and a fund opened for the establishment of Bush Hostels. The Fund was given a tremendous boost by a man who left £20 in the Sydney office shortly after the Appeal was opened. This anonymous giver greatly encouraged Kirkby and, in a way, laid the foundation of the hostel work. (14)

14. S. J. Kirkby, op.cit., p.23
Harveys arrived in Wilcannia as pioneer workers in 1920, they rented a small cottage which served as a Rectory as well as a Hostel. But the cottage proved to be unsuitable. On Christmas Day 1920 the temperature in the dining room stood at 46°C. This first attempt led to criticism, with the charge that the Anglican Church had failed again. In 1921, as the result of bequests and other donations, a suitable building was purchased in Wilcannia. (15) The Hostel was staffed by Mrs. Harvey, wife of the Missioner and her sister-in-law Miss Hilda Harvey. The work at the Hostel soon developed and was to provide a useful service for outback people for almost a quarter of a century.

Kirkby and his Councils had been working very hard to encourage country bishops to open up areas to the B.C.A.S. in 1920, the Dioceses of Riverina and Bathurst accepted missioners, Harvey and Hawkins and in 1921 Kirkby was further rewarded by an invitation from the Bishop of Willochra, Gilbert White, to provide a missioner for the Far West Mission area. This area was vast - stretching over much of the South Australian part of the Great Australian Bight. The Trans Continental Railway ran through the mission area. The missioner was

15. Ibid., p. 24
to live at Ceduna on the Murat Bay. The Parish embraced a largely semi-arid area, sparsely inhabited with little water and very hard roads. The sparse population comprised railway fettlers with some sheep and cattle station workers. The Rev'd Neville Haviland, a recently ordained man, offered and was farewelled early in April 1921. Haviland travelled to his base at Ceduna and with the aid of a vintage Ford, moved around the vast Parish. Services were held in a wide range of buildings from schools to woolsheds. At the Annual Meeting in 1922, it was reported that the Rev'd C. W. Wilson had taken up work in Griffith, within the Diocese of the Riverina, where he was involved in a piece of pioneer work in the growing irrigation area. There were no Church Buildings or Rectory, which meant that Wilson began with nothing. Ministry in the various post-war construction camps in Victoria had been going ahead. The Society was largely responsible for work at Torumbarry Lock (in the Bendigo Diocese) and in several other camps in Victoria. The Society had provided grants-in-aid to enable ministry to be established in these areas.

A different sort of aid was provided for the Cann River area in the Gippsland. Kirkby recruited
Sister Allmond, a nurse who had served in France in World War I. She provided medical care in this isolated area for some years. The Organizing Secretary felt that there was a wonderful opportunity for qualified Christian women to work in some of the remote areas of Australia, alongside the ordained ministry, in providing for the needs of settlers. While Bush Deaconesses were not unknown in the nineteen twenties, Kirkby repeatedly encouraged women to develop and exercise a ministry in the Australian outback. In seeking women for the outback, he was to be at odds with the common post-war attitude that women should stay in the home. In the August 1921 issue of *The Real Australian* Kirkby appeals for Christian women of the cities to respond to the needs of their country sisters. (16) He pointed out that men, no matter how experienced, were frequently unable to minister in the way a trained woman could in the outback. Women in the bush are often isolated for months and cry out for some female companionship. The Organizing Missioner confessed that, although for two and a half years the Society had appealed for Australian women, there were none in training or ready to go out. On the other

hand, there were English women who were prepared to engage in Bush work. 'Are our Australian women deaf to the call of mothers and girls? Responses are pitifully few', Kirkby complained. (17) Given the isolated and uncomfortable lifestyle experienced by many outback dwellers and the prevailing attitude to women, the dearth of female applications was hardly unexpected. Nevertheless, this strategy was to be developed and became an important part of Kirkby's overall planning.

Associated with the growth of the B.C.A.S., was the expansion of its staff. This, in turn, committed Kirkby to spend an increasing amount of time in pastoral care of the staff. Kirkby included in his interstate and state preaching tours, time with the missioners and other staff. Such visitation had two benefits. Valuable material was gathered for his deputation work and he was able to encourage and support his isolated mission personnel. In June 1921 Kirkby visited Haviland and spent time with him in Ceduna. He travelled across part of the Nullabor Plain in the missioner's ancient Ford. (18) A constant feature of Kirkby's early years with the B.C.A.S. was his willingness to identify with the

17. Ibid.
18. B.C.A.S. Diary, June 1921.
missioners in their rough and difficult lives. Journeys such as the one across the Nullabor Plain, enabled him to build up a strong relationship with his missioners, as well as gain first hand knowledge of the conditions and opportunities of the work. After leaving Haviland, Kirkby travelled back to Sydney via Wilcannia and Cobar and was able to spend time with the other missioners. Early missioners testified to the quality of pastoral care shown by Kirkby to them.

The years 1921-1922 were stormy years in respect to the place of the Society in the Australian Church. Kirkby, looking back on the Society's fortunes in 1930, comments 'Critics and croakers were numerous in the early days'. (19) Written material of the period 1921-1922 reveals Kirkby's growing sensitivity to criticism of the Society and its evangelical stance. One area which drew criticism was the question of the link that existed between the B.C.A.S. and C.C.C.S. The blurring of the role of the two Societies was possibly fuelled by articles which appeared in the Church press from time to time. One such article in The Church Record could have left readers in some confusion. This article

19. S. J. Kirkby op. cit., p. 7
referred to the Autumn Meeting of the C.C.C.S. in London. The Bishop of the Riverina, Ernest Anderson, represented the Australian Church and presented a picture of his vast diocese, stretching from the Victorian border through Hillston to Broken Hill. Anderson outlined the needs of the soldier-settlers in his Diocese and appealed for support to help them. He was already receiving financial help, but he wished that he could go back and say that the Society would support a man to minister amongst these returned soldiers for three or four years. (20) Efforts had been made to clarify the role of the two independent societies. In correspondence received by Kirkby in March 1921 from the C.C.C.S., a proposal concerning the links between the two Societies was presented. The C.C.C.S. was willing to work with the B.C.A.S. for the 'definite advance of the Evangelical witness in backblocks of Australia'. The English proposal was based on a six point plan. While the C.C.C.S. would return the present practice of receiving applications for help from Australian bishops, it would refer all such applications to the B.C.A.S. for its comments. If the B.C.A.S. approved the grant application, then that part of the C.C.C.S.

grant to the B.C.A.S. would be used to fund the
grant. Secondly, the B.C.A.S. would follow the
C.C.C.S. principle of giving present and diminishing
help to areas which were being opened up for
settlement and needing help, provided there was no
help available from local funds. Thirdly, when
the C.C.C.S. had personnel offering for service in
Australia, the C.C.C.S. would contact the B.C.A.S.
and seek advice in regard to training and the areas
of service. This was to be a very important issue
as the B.C.A.S., especially in its earlier years,
did recruit a significant number of Englishmen for
service in the outback. Fourthly, that, after due
notice had been given to the area or Diocese
receiving grants directly from the C.C.C.S.,
monies so directly distributed, be given to the
B.C.A.S. for distribution. The considerable amount
of £2,000 would be available if funds permitted.
Fifthly, that a statement of all proposed expenditure
be approved by the Councils of the C.C.C.S. and B.C.A.S.

Lastly, this agreement was to remain in place for
five years and then would be subject to review. (21)
The major import of this agreement was, in due time,
to give the B.C.A.S. considerable control over areas
where hitherto C.C.C.S. had funded ministry in Australia.

Greater scrutiny by the Organizing Secretary of the B.C.A.S. would be possible and non-evangelical or wasteful ministries could be quickly identified and dealt with. Bishops and others, who received grants from a Society based in London, would now feel far more threatened by a local Sydney controlled society which could tighten the purse strings at will. The connection with the C.C.C.S. had further given rise to the criticism that the B.C.A.S. was not its own master. In November 1921, in *The Real Australian*, Kirkby answered the Society's critics. (22) Kirkby pointed out that the B.C.A.S. was an autonomous body with power to appoint all its own officers and to spend its own funds. But, while acknowledgement was made that the C.C.C.S. was the parent Society, Kirkby trusted 'that this little indication of filial regard' will not give rise to any apoplectic outburst from some critics. Lest there be any doubt, he added, the connection with the C.C.C.S. merely involved the B.C.A.S. acting for it, in respect of some of its work, in some of the country dioceses. Money collected by the Society was spent totally in Australia for the Society's work. In the same article in November, Kirkby dealt with another area of concern. Apparently some detractors felt that

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the B.C.A.S. was guilty of ecclesiastical lawlessness. This charge was discussed by Kirkby, who claimed that all work was carried out with the approval of the Diocesan bishops. Since the Society was a group of loyal churchmen, it goes without saying 'that all men have the licence of the respective Bishop'. In addition, Kirkby found it necessary to emphasise the Australian character of the Society. While the Society welcomed Englishmen, it believed that the best work in the outback could be done by Australians. The Organizing Secretary admitted that many English clergy had served in the outback, but argued that their high rate of response was due to the fact that they had been subject to considerable and frequent appeals. Until the formation of the B.C.A.S. this had not been the case in Australia, but now the Society's slogan was 'Give Australians a chance'. (23) Kirkby seemed to be giving voice, in a somewhat subdued way, to the growing Australian nationalism after the Great War. He concluded his apologia by defining the Society's official nature. The Society had no official connection with any Diocese. It was not even a provincial organization, it was continental and would serve anywhere. He expressed his willingness

23. Ibid.
to face critics, but felt anger when people directed 'their feeble shafts at us from the hiding place afforded by the use of a nom-de-plume'. (24) This comment was somewhat harsh given Kirkby's refuge in the nom-de-plume, 'Spermologos'. Nevertheless, Kirkby showed himself to be a strong and able champion for the cause to which he was giving so much of himself.

The Annual Report of the Organizing Secretary for 1922, indicated a continuing opposition to the work of B.C.A.S. from some quarters. Kirkby commented in his Report that there was within that sober and healthy comprehensiveness of the Church of England, a place for a voluntary society. (25) It appeared that within the denomination there was pressure to have all functions and activities, neatly and clearly regulated by Diocesan bishops and their committees. Kirkby commented on this issue many years later 'critics, even friendly critics, may hesitate to approve of it because it is unofficial'. (26) But as far as Kirkby was concerned, its unofficial character was the very thing which guaranteed its usefulness and mobility. Kirkby felt diocesan and provincial boundaries to be a 'tight lace' which

24. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
hindered the Church in its mission. Repeatedly, Kirkby was forced to go 'into print' to argue that there was a place for voluntary societies within the Anglican Church and that members of these Societies were loyal earnest church people. The B.C.A.S., according to Kirkby, had elicited a 'hitherto untouched body of devotion, enthusiasm and sacrifice'. (27)

Another attack came to the Society early in 1922 in the form of a letter from the Bishop of Rockhampton, Philip Crick. The Bishop wrote to the Society proposing that its constitution be amended 'so as to include all schools of thought' (that is, theological schools of thought within the Anglican Church). This letter was experienced by Kirkby as yet another attack on the peculiar character of the Society. He called the Council together to consider the letter and its implications on 3 July 1922. (28) Various Anglo-Catholic Brotherhoods had worked for some years in Queensland and some parts of New South Wales, but were now declining in membership. Most of the members of the various Brotherhoods were recruited in England, and following the Great War, such was the English demand for clergy, there were

27. S. J. Kirkby, op.cit p.45.
28. S. J. Kirkby, B.C.A.S. Diary, 3 July 1922.
few who could be spared for outback Australia. With a lack of clergy, Crick might well have felt that the B.C.A.S. could now help by providing clergy, if only the Society were prepared to train and fund non-evangelical clergy. This was a serious challenge to the character of the infant society and Crick was probably voicing the views of a number of other Diocesans. Some years later, Kirkby wrote that 'by conviction and constitution it (B.C.A.S.) stands with particular loyalties to what is designated as the Evangelical school of the Church'. (29) There were other attempts to weaken the Evangelical character of the Society, this being the first surviving documented plea for change. The Council gave consideration to Crick's request but replied by saying 'after careful consideration it was unable to go further with the suggestion of the Bishop'. (30) The Bishop of Goulburn, Dr. L.B.Radford, proposed to move in the 1922 Provincial Sydnod that consideration be given to 'the widening of the basis of the B.C.A.S. to secure support of every Diocese and all church people'. (31) His effort was unsuccessful.

The character of the Society was clearly being moulded by the theological convictions of its first

29. S. J. Kirkby, op. cit. p.46.
Secretary, but there was another important influence being brought to bear by Kirkby. Kirkby's strong commitment to the needs of outback people was only rivalled by his commitment to the Evangelical school of the Anglican Church. In an article printed in *The Church Record* early in 1922, he demonstrates how deeply he felt for the plight of outback Australians. In this empathetic piece of writing titled 'Coaches and Coachmen', he explored the lot of a man who drove the horse-pulled coaches through the outback. There is a graphic description of the harshness of the drover's life coupled with the driver's real contribution to the lives of those who lived in isolated places.

The coachman deserves well at the hands of all folk. All the seasons finds him at his post, winter with its biting frosts or weak winds, summer with its dazzling glare and its blinding dust storms. Fair weather or foul, he is cheerful and of good heart. (32)

Kirkby was exploring and holding up for sympathetic consideration, the sort of life experienced by a representative of outback Australia. There was a keen sense of personal identification with the toil and hardships Australian outback people coped with. This deep sense of identification gave Kirkby an ability to

move others to join him in seeking to support country people.

The long months of toil were to give way to a pleasant overseas interlude. An invitation was received midway through 1922 for Kirkby to journey to England to take part in the C.C.C.S. centenary celebration. The English Society was prepared to pay for Kirkby's travelling and to fund him up to £500 in lieu of his stipend. The B.C.A.S. Committee encouraged Kirkby to accept this invitation, as it would give him some respite from his constant labours and provide opportunities for the recruitment of additional workers.

As the work of the Society expanded, Kirkby and his committee considered the long term stake the Society had in its mission areas. When Harvey resigned as missioner of the Wilcannia area, the B.C.A.S. wondered if the Society would retain its links with this area. This event raised a number of questions about the length of the Society's commitment and stake in its mission districts. Did the Society see itself holding on to mission areas it supported or established after the Parish was proven to be financially viable? Most Home Mission Societies saw their task as finishing when a Parish became self-supporting. There is
more than a hint in the question being asked in 1922, that this Evangelical Society, having developed 'beachheads' in non-evangelical dioceses, wished to continue to maintain its gains. Kirkby wrote to Bishop Anderson of Riverina asking for an assurance that when the Parish 'became vacant the B.C.A.S. would be given an opportunity of finding a suitable man for the spot'. (33) This was a difficult and touchy question. Non-evangelical Bishops would not really wish to create an evangelical area in an otherwise monochrome diocese. Yet, B.C.A.S. supporters would hardly be gladdened if a Parish were strongly supported and endowed with plant and then were to pass out of evangelical control. In a whimsical quip, Kirkby rightly pointed out to the Bishop that 'Wilcannia will not, at least for a long time, be sought as a preferment. It will be sought as a place for city clergy to gain experience.' Wilcannia was the first B.C.A.S. Parish and as such, would be seen as something of a test case. There is no record of the Bishop's reply, but as Wilcannia is to this day still a B.C.A.S. Parish, it can be assumed that Anderson agreed to the B.C.A.S. request to regard

33. Correspondence Kirkby and Bishop Anderson, 18 May 1922 (in B.C.A.S. file)
Wilcannia as B.C.A.S. special domain. Given the Bishop's great difficulty in securing the services of suitable clergy and his 'low church sympathies', it is not surprising that he was willing to allow the B.C.A.S. to provide for the Wilcannia Parish. (34)

In establishing the B.C.A.S. Kirkby found himself in the early years of the Society 1921-1922, struggling against ignorance, suspicion and 'party politics'. His efforts to establish a secure financial basis for the Society were rewarded, but there was still much prejudice aroused by the independent and Evangelical stance of the infant Society. In the 1920s when Evangelicals, within the Australian Anglican Church, were largely confined to the Dioceses of Sydney and Melbourne, their efforts to move further afield were treated with suspicion and concern. Kirkby was then largely burdened with the responsibility of demonstrating to non-Evangelicals, the good intention and the positive contribution the new Society could make to the Australian Anglican Church in its mission nationwide. This required that Kirkby possess, not only the skills of an administrator and promoter, but also those of the church diplomat.

34. L. Clyde, In a Strange Land Hawthorn Press Melbourne 1979, pp. 191 & 270.
Chapter 6

Defending an Evangelical
Diocese 1921-1922

While the fortunes and affairs of the B.C.A.S. occupied the major portion of Kirkby's energies over the years 1921-1922, he nevertheless was able to find time to contribute to the wider life of the Church. The dearth of candidates for ordination caused concern in the Church and Kirkby took up this debate in a leading article in The Church Record. (1) As Spermologos, he commented on issues which concerned the relationship between the Diocese of Sydney and other Anglican Dioceses in Australia. Relationships with some other Dioceses had been strained over issues such as the Nexus question, proportional representation in the General Synod and Sydney's continued Evangelical stance. Spermologos made other comments over 1921-1922 on issues such as, prayers for a dead pope, the use of the Service of Baptism and other somewhat less contentious questions.

A small article appeared in The Church Record in October 1921, which surveyed the supply of men for the ministry of the world-wide Anglican Church. (2) It

1. The Church Record, 4 November 1921, p.8.
2. Ibid., 21 October 1921, p.7.
was pointed out that many English and some American dioceses were finding it difficult to recruit men. One of the reasons given for this deficiency was 'the poverty of clerical homes from which the largest number of candidates used to come'. (3) The question concerned Kirkby who wrote, under his own name, an article which provided insights into his own thinking about the Christian ministry. These insights are a valuable aid to an understanding of Kirkby's personal motivation and sacrifice in his own ministry with the B.C.A.S. He acknowledged that there was a dearth of candidates for the Christian ministry, but felt that while it was a trend across all denominations, the matter ought not just be so accepted. Kirkby said the Anglican Church needed to make careful enquiry into the causes of the shortage. As far as he was concerned, there were three main causes for the lack of volunteers.

Kirkby believed that the lowered spiritual vitality of the Church, coupled 'with the frivolity of modern life', had resulted in fewer candidates for the Christian ministry. The Church must emphasise that Christian living involved sacrifice and heroism. These themes, as has already been noted, were a constant part of his thinking,

3. Ibid.
especially in relation to Christian work in the outback of Australia. The Church needed once again, to be given to prayer and fasting, with a willingness to hear the voice of God's Spirit. Secondly, Kirkby felt that the lack of candidates had to do with what he saw as a ministry which 'was not certain of its message'. He believed that preachers were not willing to declare the truth clearly and bravely. Rather, there was, he believed, a tendency to be so careful to present both sides of the argument, that what the Church believed was not clearly presented. He did not look for obscurantism, but conviction, in the pulpit.

In 1911 David Davies, a liberal Evangelical, had been appointed Principal of Moore Theological College, Sydney, and by 1921 the influence and views of Davies were felt, through his students, from many pulpits. While Kirkby was on the College staff, conflicts in respect to theological issues would have been unavoidable, given their differing theological convictions. Students of Davies remember him as being a careful lecturer who would not disclose his position on theological matters. He presented the arguments and left it for the students to come to their decisions. Kirkby may well have felt the Principal's non-committal
technique was being employed in the pulpit. Many of Davies' students would have been, by the 1920s, in important Parishes and therefore, the influence of the Principal might have caused concern for Kirkby. He pleaded: 'Let us show to the world that we have some things worth preaching about and others will want to preach about them also'. (4)

The third cause, Kirkby attributed to a lack of willingness on the part of Christians to call upon individuals to be converted to Christ. He wrote that if men are not brought into a conscious personal relationship with Christ, they will never realise their need to serve Him as Lord. Kirkby was calling for bold evangelism, typical of those preachers, who were so influential in his own spiritual development. The problem having been diagnosed, Kirkby then followed through with three main suggestions to redeem the situation. An organized appeal should be directed at the Christian youth of Australia. Young Australians, he argued, are courageous and are prepared to sacrifice should they be so challenged.

He also argued for young Australians to be allowed to exercise a ministry in what he called 'unconventional ways'. Kirkby acknowledged the value of the normal parochial ministry, with its

4. Ibid.
conventional round of Mother's Meetings and afternoon teas. But he pointed out that youth may not be attracted by such a model. He asked whether a band of men, duly ordained, could not be let loose to move around the country witnessing and soul winning.

In line with the mood of the decade, Kirkby seemed to have spoken out against some of the ecclesiastical trivia against which young people would have reacted. He wanted the Church to give young men a 'less-trammelled ministry' and asked the Church to trust men in such a ministry. Finally, Kirkby argued that more lay readers should be appointed. This system allowed theologically untrained laymen to exercise a ministry in a Parish under the supervision of a clergyman. While there is little indication that the Church at large heeded Kirkby, he was certainly willing to put into practice his own thinking within the B.C.A.S. He demonstrated a willingness for self sacrifice - in much difficult travel with long periods absent from home and family, heroism - travelling into sparsely populated and highly inaccessible areas of Australia, together with his willingness to leave his own pleasant and important Parish of Ryde for pioneer work. He was prepared to be unconventional
in his own use of men and resources. The unfolding story of the B.C.A.S. clearly demonstrated this observation.

The 1920s were to prove a difficult period for Evangelicals and the Diocese of Sydney. That there was a strong sense of isolation and rejection is evidenced by the contents of many articles which appeared in the evangelical Church Record of the period. Anglo-Catholics and their beliefs were often attacked in such articles. A line in The Record in July 1922, neatly summed up the feelings of many Sydney Evangelicals. 'The aggressive movement on the part of the present day 'Anglo-Catholic' is creating anxious thoughts, not only in the minds of Evangelicals....'. (5) Spermologos, in his column in December 1921, highlighted three issues which had threatened Sydney's relationship with other Dioceses and had caused bad feelings. That the Diocese of Sydney was different was an accepted fact, but its willingness to act and think independently became a source of much anger and pain within the Australian Church in the 1920s. Discussion about the so called Nexus question precipitated much of the conflict in that period. Linked with this issue were the questions of proportional representation at the

5. Ibid., 14 July 1922, p.1.
General Synod of the Anglican Church and the doctrinal stance (Evangelical) of the Diocese of Sydney.

The Nexus question had to do with whether or not the Australian Church possessed legal autonomy from the Church of England. This, in turn, was linked to the question of Constitutional Reform for the Australian Anglican Church. The question of whether the General Synod of the Anglican Church, which first met in 1872, should possess greater administrative and legislative powers, had concerned Australian Church leaders for some time. The first attempt to increase the powers of the General Synod took place in 1896, but this failed. One of the major areas of concern for Evangelicals had to do with the issue of Prayer Book Revision. Archdeacon H. T. Langley of St. Mary's Caulfield, Victoria, argued in 1898 at the Ballarat Church Congress, that a new Constitution could pave the way for changes to the Book of Common Prayer. (6) Evangelicals were fearful that any changes to the Prayer Book would be detrimental to Australian Evangelicalism. In 1900 the subject of Constitutional reform was raised again in the General Synod, which, when the issue was opposed,

agreed to canvass opinions from all its member Dioceses. The General Synod of 1905 found that as a result of the canvass, it was clear that the Australian Church was divided over the question of Constitutional Reform. The Diocese of Sydney asked whether 'independent action in respect to the Book of Common Prayer would destroy the relationship already existing with the Church of England in England'. (7) A Select Committee was formed by the 1905 General Synod which reported on the question in 1911. The Select Committee concluded that the Australian Church was bound by English laws and formularies of the Church of England in England. (8) Each Australian Diocese had a legal nexus with the Church of England and this meant any change in essential matters could render the Australian Church 'a new Church' and existing property could then be forfeited. Again the matter was raised in the 1916 General Synod when Archbishop St. C. G. A. Donaldson asked for a committee to be formed to investigate and report whether the legal position, as stated in 1911, was satisfactory. He asked the Committee to investigate what legal steps were required to make the Church of England in Australia autonomous. (9) The Report of

7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 275
9. Ibid., p. 277
the Committee was tabled at the 1921 General Synod Meeting. The Report had an appendix drawn up by a number of Committee members (mostly from Sydney) who differed from the main thrust of the Report. The Report proposed, amongst other measures, that the Anglican Church acting through its Synods, 'may from time to time make alterations on the name and style of such Church and in the standards and formularies of faith and order accepted above'. (10) It further suggested that any changes that are brought about by Synods must be accepted by 'not less than two thirds of Diocesan Synods in Australia'. (11) So as not to risk the loss of property, the Church should seek legislative acts from the State, Federal and Imperial Parliaments. The minority Report argued that if these suggestions were adopted, the nature of the Church of England in Australia could be changed by a minority of Anglicans in Australia. The smaller country dioceses, which contained small numbers of Anglicans, could, if they voted for this determination, bind the much larger Metropolitan Sees to measures they did not agree with. The Minority Report felt 'if proportional

11. Ibid., p.137
representation of Dioceses in Australia were established and constitutionally secured, then the majorities prescribed in the Report might be deemed sufficient safeguard'. (12) As a result of this objection from the Sydney Diocese, a central committee was formed to gather information and collate opinions from the Australian dioceses. (13)

Even before the Report was tabled at the General Synod, Archdeacon Davies (a Committee member from Sydney) in an article printed in The Church Record expressed some of the concerns of Sydney Evangelical Churchmen:

The real issue therefore comes to this. Is it expedient that the Church of England in Australia should revise or re affirm its present standards of doctrine and worship? In a word, should we have a new Prayer Book, a new confession of faith, new machinery to make any kind of change whenever a demand arises for an alteration? What safeguards will be provided against radical changes which will involve a break of continuity. (14)

Evangelicals feared that if changes were made, the Reformed tradition of the Australian Church could be lost and therefore approached the question with great caution. This caution was verbalised by Archbishop Wright of Sydney, when he addressed the

12. Ibid., p.141.
13. R. Border, op.cit., p.278.
14. The Church Record, 29 July 1921, p.7.
It is felt by many of us that changes in our standards and formularies of faith and order ought only to be introduced if it is the will of the majority of the Church people in Australia. One may be forgiven for pointing out that the present system of representation in the General Synod does not give the voice of the majority, nor does a majority even of dioceses necessarily represent a majority of Church people in Australia. (15)

When Wright addressed his own Synod in Sydney in 1922, he was more outspoken about changes in the Nexus.

We dare not shut our eyes to the fact that forces are at work in Church life which, consciously or unconsciously tend to disintegrate the Reformation structure of our Church and fling us back into pre-Reformation darkness and uncertainty. (16)

It was against this background that, in December 1921, Kirkby went into print and wrote, perhaps, his most biting Spermologos column. Spermologos commented on the proceedings of the Sydney Synod 1921 and praised Archbishop Wright for his willingness to highlight the problems the Diocese of Sydney faced over the Nexus and related questions. Wright, in his Presidential Address, delivered 'some necessary words by way of an apologia for the Sydney Diocese'. Kirkby

believed that the Archbishop's words, if published widely, might help to dispel ideas arising from ignorance or misrepresentation about the Diocese of Sydney. Kirkby argued:

fair comparison will convince the unprejudiced that for vigorousness in church life and effectiveness of Christian service, Sydney Diocese is as good as, if not better than, any other on the continent. (17)

Sydney Diocese had stirred up resentment in some quarters because of its opposition to rapid Constitutional change in the General Synod of 1921. Spermologos defended the Sydney Diocese for its willingness, in relation to the Nexus question, to assert its independence. In the Sydney Synod of 1921, there had been, in his judgement, a debate on the Nexus issue, characterized by calmness and fairness. But he would not say the same of the General Synod debate, where Spermologos felt 'bludgeons under the table' were used. Some country dioceses seemed to be particularly guilty and he guessed that their representatives came to the Synod with the instruction 'When you see a Sydney head hit it'. (18) 'But Sydney still survives and claims the right to consider the nexus question 'de novo'.

17. Ibid., 2 December 1921, p.7.
18. Ibid.
Spermologos also took up the associated question of Proportional Representation on the General Synod. Archdeacon F.G. Boyce had, in the General Synod of 1921, asked for a postponement of the question of Constitutional change until the question of Proportional representation had been provided for. (19) Wright also supported a move for such representation in his Presidential Address at the General Synod in 1921. Boyce argued his case in a letter to The Record where he cited two examples to highlight the position of the Dioceses of Sydney and Melbourne in the General Synod. The Melbourne Diocese, which had within its borders half of the population of Victoria, was allowed only twelve representatives on General Synod whereas, the other Victorian Dioceses were allowed thirty-four representatives. In New South Wales, the same sort of arrangement was present, Sydney had twelve seats and the other Dioceses were allowed fifty eight seats on the General Synod. (20) To add to the ecclesiastical tension, according to Spermologos, the General Synod sent a Determination to the Sydney Synod asking the Sydney Diocese to 'pay the largest share of the travelling expenses of the country representatives and of the Standing Committee of

19. Ibid., 7 October 1921, p.7.
20. Ibid.
that august body*. (21) But some of the Sydney clerics remembered that 'Sydney clergy had without scruple been cast out of office'. The youthful clergy demanded, in the Sydney Synod, that there should be no taxation without proper representation. However, the point was lost and Sydney Synod agreed to meet the General Synod's request. Spermologos felt it was a proper decision as it was 'the act of heaping coals of fire upon the enemy'. (22) Kirkby in the same December column, strongly defended Boyce and Wright's call for Proportional Representation, a call which the Sydney Synod also supported. He was convinced that to discuss the Nexus question without first settling the issue of Proportional Representation for Sydney was like considering 'the solar system without giving attention to the sun'.

Whether or not Kirkby was correct in his judgements, his comments are important in terms of understanding his loyalty to the Sydney Diocese, and the feelings aroused amongst Sydney Evangelicals in the wake of the General Synod of 1921. This was a difficult period in the history of the relationship between Sydney Diocese and the rest of the Australian Church. There was a deeply held belief that the

21. Ibid., 2 December 1921, p.7.
22. Ibid.
Reformed nature of Anglican formularies were at stake and that come what may, Sydney would stand against the rest of the Australian Church in defence of the Reformation Settlement. The conflicts and differences which arose in the 1921 General Synod were to surface often in the 1920s and 1930s. Kirkby continued to support the stand taken by the Sydney Diocese and was involved for a brief period in 1933-1934 in seeking to solve the difficulties surrounding constitutional reform. (A new Constitution was finally accepted in 1962 with, according to Border, 'diocesanism writ large'. (23) )

Spermologos over the years 1921-1922, contributed further comments on many other issues. His comments had to do with serious but less contentious subjects.

In the 24 March 1921 edition of The Church Record, Spermologos took up two issues. Traditionally, Kirkby wrote, the Anglican Church recognised three orders in ministry, 'bishops, priests and deacons' but lately in Australia, a fourth order has been added - the Organizing Secretary. Comments were made about the role and work of the Organizing Secretaries. 'They honeycomb our parishes and dioceses with guilds and societies, clubs, unions and committees, the like of

which has never been seen before on the earth or in the water under the earth'. Further, they visit parishes delivering their novel lecture (given for the one hundred and ninety seventh time) weighted down with 'the weight of lantern, sheet and slides and smelly carbide'. But they do have their good points; many a clergymen is able to take a holiday because they will come and fill in for the Sunday Services. Kirkby seemed to have been keen to defend the role of the non-parish clergy. He argued that there is a productive trade off between the parish clergy and the Secretaries, if only the Parish clergy and the Secretaries, could see it. (24) A more serious issue was the imposition, in 1921, of a stamp tax on marriage certificates. Kirkby mocked the clergy of New South Wales for reacting so furiously. His Majesty's Stamp Commissioner had raised an issue which was likely to cause the Boston Tea Party to pale into historic insignificance. But joy of joys, it was announced that the half crown stamp need not be used. Kirkby was appalled that the clergy were making so much of a trivial issue. Rather should not the church be concerned with the weightier matters such as the desecration of the Lord's day

and gambling mania. 'Royal Commission revelations of duplicity, corruption and uncleanness of living, amongst those in high places elicits no public rebuke and the voice of the Christian Church thereon is not heard.' (25) Kirkby often, as with the tax stamp issue, displayed a sense of impatience with clergy who were caught up with what he considered to be 'trivia'.

In August 1921, Spermologos took to task some reverend contributors to The Church Record who seemed to persist in glorying in the past achievements of clergy and denigrating the younger clergy. Kirkby made it clear that he did not regard the men of old 'as spiritual giants and the clergy of his day as pygmies'. (26) The comparison was odious and Kirkby wished that the writers might be willing to acknowledge that God never leaves His Church without men of ability in any age.

From a somewhat mild rebuke, Spermologos moved on with tongue-in-cheek to bemoan the fact that the Sydney Diocesan Year Book of 1921, was not to be published. Kirkby was known to be a 'blithe spirit' who enjoyed sending up the foibles of his fellow clergy. In his lighthearted discussion about the lack of the 1921 Year Book, he wondered 'to what

25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., 26 August 1921, p.9.
authoritative volume are they (clergy) to turn when they desire to ascertain the exact rules and regulations for the Exhumation and Removal of Corpses and for the transfer of bones to China'. (27) This valued piece of information, he declared, had never been denied to clergy in past years. (Information such as this, had been part of Sydney Directories in 1910s) He bemoaned the fact that for 1921 the clergy are to be left to 'their own benighted reasonings and their own feeble arithmetical reckonings'. (28) Sacrifice and heroism must be part of the Christian's character but, there is also ample room for mirth and harmless mischief. Both traits found a place in Kirkby's character.

Early in February 1922, Spermologos once more entered the area of controversy. He lamented the poor support given by clergy and lay people of Sydney for the Service to celebrate the First Christian Service in Australia. For some reason, this celebration was close to Kirkby's heart and he gave it lifelong support. (29) In the same column, Spermologos made some comments about the

27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., 10 February 1922, p.7.
'sin of baptism'. In his travels, Kirkby was in a good position to observe how various clergy dealt with the administration of Baptism. He castigated clergy, who baptised at times other than the public services of Morning and Evening Prayer. He concluded that such Baptisms were 'semi-clandestine'. Further, he argued that, the Font should be placed in or near the chancel. In that way, he reasoned, the Sacrament of Baptism, will be constantly brought before congregations and its importance emphasised. For various reasons some clergy baptised on Sunday afternoon or at other non-public service times. Kirkby was clearly against such a devaluation of the importance of Baptism. Spermologos continued his comment and took issue with an Anglican Bishop, who, having heard that the Pope had died, called upon Anglicans to pray for the Pope's soul. Spermologos printed out that whatever the Bishop thought, he was wrong to make an open plea. The Anglican Church had cast out Prayers for the dead and Kirkby considered it a pity that any Australian Bishop should make such a statement. (30) Prayers for the dead were a constant irritant to evangelicals. Finally, Kirkby attacked the wearing of mitres, as part of clerical

30. Ibid.
ritual garb. The Mitre, an episcopal hat, was supposed to symbolise the cloven tongues of fire which appeared on the Day of Pentecost. Kirkby argued, if this interpretation were true, then all believers should wear mitres, for all who are truly converted to Christ, must surely have the right to witness to the fact of their possession of the Holy Spirit. (31)

In his defence of the Evangelical Diocese of Sydney and Evangelicalism, Kirkby echoed many of the fears and concerns of the leading Evangelicals in Sydney. Conservative and liberal Evangelicals did not differ on such issues as the Nexus, Proportional Representation on General Synod. Differences did emerge when it came to the question of training men for the ministry and styles of preaching. When Kirkby wrote on these issues, he expressed many of the concerns and opinions of the conservative Evangelical leadership of the Sydney Diocese and beyond.

31. Ibid.
For Sydney Kirkby, the years from 1923 to 1927 were almost exclusively taken up in continued labour for outback people. But for the first time, the pressures of the work and his domestic situation began to show up. His Diary in this period, revealed some of his inner doubts and conflicts. His struggles were to be heightened by the appearance of a serious physical illness. His labours for the evangelical cause within Anglicanism, were furthered by a friendship he made in this period. The Rev'd T. C. Hammond visited Australia in 1926 and Kirkby formed a friendship with this outspoken and erudite Irish theologian. This friendship was, in part, to be responsible for changes in the Sydney Church in the mid nineteen thirties. These changes led to a strengthening of the Conservative Anglican Evangelical cause in Sydney and beyond.

By 1923, Kirkby's abilities as a preacher and pastor had been clearly demonstrated, but his middle years with the B.C.A.S. were to draw attention to another important ability. In these years, he showed himself to be an able administrator and
planner. Kirkby began 1923 by placing before the Society and its supporters, a clear, well argued, set of objectives. It was to be a year of advance. He reminded the Society that God had blessed the past efforts of the Society, but there was yet much to be achieved. There was a strong determination in his appeal. In The Real Australian, February 1923, he requested support in four specific areas. (1) Kirkby asked for prayer and the definite interest of all church people. Secondly, he wanted more men and women, ordained and lay, to volunteer to serve with the Society. It was suggested that a small working brotherhood would be recruited and sent into the West Darling, Wilcannia area. Further, there was a need for a man to take up ministry on the East West Railway in the Willochra Diocese. Lastly, the Society was looking for a free fund of £2,000. This fund would be used for special and emergency needs. Amongst such special projects, Kirkby mentioned the possibility of obtaining a mission motor van for work in the outback and continued support for the Wilcannia Hostel, which he described as 'a flourishing institution which saves our children

from the convents'. Further, he wanted to establish a Mail Bag Sunday School for the many outback children who could not get to a Sunday School.

As a good communicator and administrator, Kirkby worked hard to put clearly defined objectives before the supporters of the Society. Over the 1923-1927 period, Kirkby bent his efforts to the achievement of his stated goals.

By the Society's Annual Meeting in July 1923, Kirkby was able to report that at least some of the objectives of the 'Year of Advance' had been reached. Money for the mission motor van was available. Early in 1924 the van, manned by the Rev'd E.L.R. Panelli, commenced work. The van, a new sight for many in the outback, was free to move unhindered by Parish boundaries; all Australia was open to the missioner. Subject to the approval of the relevant Diocesan Bishops, he would move around Australia seeking to contact hitherto uncontacted people. The van was equipped with a residence for the missioner and carried an organ, a gramophone with records, books and a radio. The van ministry was enlarged in 1925 by the purchase of an additional van. Vans were used for many years and Kirkby, in 1920, judged that they had been of
great value in expanding the work of the Anglican Church especially in the outback. (2) (The van purchased in 1923 cost the Society about £405) The mail bag Sunday School was formed and became the means by which one hundred and sixty families and over four hundred children, were being helped in 1923. (3)

Deaconess Shoobridge of the Gippsland Diocese, spoke to the 1923 Annual Meeting and outlined her work amongst isolated families in the Gippsland bush communities. Kirkby had, in previous years, worked hard for the appointment of such a person, but it was not until 1925 that the B.C.A.S. was able to appoint its first Bush Deaconess. By December 1923, Mr. R.K. Hobden, a B.C.A.S. student at Moore College, was ordained and moved out to Wilcannia to join the Parish's new missioner, the Rev'd Len Daniels. Thus the nucleus of a small brotherhood, foreshadowed by Kirkby in his 1923 objectives, was taking shape in the West Darling area. (4)

Kirkby's unremitting toil in deputation and office work was interrupted in September 1923.

2. S. J. Kirkby, These Ten Years, B.C.A.S. Sydney 1930, p.20.
3. The Church Record, 8 August 1923, p.7.
4. S. J. Kirkby, op.cit., p.27.
Earlier, Kirkby, as the Organizing Missioner of the B.C.A.S., had been invited to travel to England to share in the Centenary Celebration of the C.C.C.S. At a public meeting in the Chapter House Sydney, on 3 September 1923, Kirkby was farewelled. Archdeacon Boyce presided at the meeting, attended by the Vicar General of the Diocese, D'Arcy-Irvine and other supporters. Kirkby was given a wallet of notes as a farewell presentation. He responded by expressing 'deep appreciation' and then called upon all present to 'rise and in God's might do still bigger things for the B.C.A.S.' (5) In Kirkby's absence, the Society had arranged for the Rev'd S. H. Denham (later Archdeacon) of Drummoyne to become the Acting Organizing Secretary. Denham, like Kirkby, was a convinced Conservative Evangelical and could be relied upon to support and develop Kirkby's policies.

On 6 September 1923, Kirkby farewelled his 'dear ones' and sailed for Canada. While in Canada, he preached a number of times before moving on to Dublin. During October, he was involved in preaching in Ireland and arrived in England in November. From November to early May 1924, he was constantly involved in travelling.

and speaking in cities and towns throughout England. His Diary indicated that apart from occasional days of illness, he was constantly involved in not only speaking for the C.C.C.S., but in interviewing prospective candidates for the B.C.A.S. Some surviving letters and manuscripts indicate something of the strain of those days. He was homesick and was missing his family. While the English experience had its negative side, Kirkby clearly enjoyed the English landscape. He celebrated the English autumn with a poem:

The words now flaunt their banners
  russet hues and gold
And o'er the winding pathway is a
  leafy carpet rolled;
In the fields so prim
Are the hayricks trim
And neat are the hedges bare;
On the distant hill
Stands a quaint windmill
With its lazy arms in the air. (6)

Many of Kirkby's poems of this period survive and show yet another side of this gifted man.

After ten months of great labour in the service of C.C.C.S., in England and beyond, he sailed for Australia. On 18 June 1924, he was met by his family in Melbourne. After a break of about two weeks, he was welcomed home at a meeting in the

6. Poem by S. J. Kirkby 'Autumn Scene' 1923
   (Held by family)
Sydney Chapter House. Immediately following his welcome, he plunged into his usual round of office work, interviewing and deputation work in Sydney and interstate.

In 1925, there was to be another development in the work of the Society which was to have valuable and long term consequences for outback residents. The most pressing problem for outback people in the 1920s, was the lack of medical facilities. The B.C.A.S. had established a mission area in South Australia, based in the small township of Ceduna. The Ceduna residents were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain and staff their much needed hospital. Finding nursing staff was very difficult. The B.C.A.S. was asked for help and Kirkby went to investigate. Kirkby joined the local missioner, N. Haviland, and after the necessary inquiries, made arrangements for the B.C.A.S. to take over its first Bush Hospital. The credit for the concept of running the Hospital must lie with others, but it was Kirkby who took the idea, developed it and was largely responsible for its implementation. In August 1925, Sister D. Percival of Sydney, began work as the Hospital's Matron. The original Hospital was in a farmhouse and was for some time, without proper fittings and equipment. Kirkby stirred up the
Society's supporters in Sydney and Melbourne together with the local residents, to provide what the Hospital needed. Proper hospital furniture, together with an operating theatre, were soon provided. (7) The B.C.A.S. moved into the Hospital work at a difficult time because the country around Ceduna was caught in drought and economic depression. (8) Nevertheless, the Hospital was soon providing proper maternity care and such were the demands made upon it that extra staff were appointed.

The appointment of Miss Edith Reece from England in 1925, was significant because she was B.C.A.S.' first Bush Deaconess. For sometime, Kirkby had been calling upon Australian women to volunteer for this work. Kirkby had, while in England, in 1923-1924, interviewed a number of women and was successful in obtaining Miss Reece's services. The Organizing Missioner was delighted with her appointment and described her as an English lady of ripe experience. 'She went to Croajingolong (part of the Gippsland Diocese) to work beside the Padre and the nurse.' Miss Reece lived in a tent and travelled by horse.

7. S. J. Kirkby, op. cit., p. 32f.
8. H. Carterer, Australians Outback, A.I.O.
In the same year, Sister Mabel Bostock also from England, went to work in the bush areas of the Bendigo Diocese. (9)

Although the middle years of Kirkby's experience with B.C.A.S., proved him to be a good administrator, the load was to a point where he desperately needed help. So in 1925, the position of Victorian Secretary was offered to the Rev'd F. Parsons. (10) This was a tangible recognition of the growth of the work and of Kirkby's physical limitations. There may also have been a recognition that Kirkby was suffering as a result of his extensive labours.

While Kirkby was concerned with advance in the years 1923-1927, he was also taken up with the need of continuity. The Cobar Parish became vacant in July 1925 and Kirkby wrote to the Bishop asking him whether he would accept another B.C.A.S. man. The Bishop said the Parish needed to be reorganized before a new appointment could be made. This must have been a disappointment for Kirkby. Bishop Gerard Trower of the Diocese of North West Australia, was approached by the Society but 'thought his needs would be filled from other sources'. (11)

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9. S. J. Kirkby, *op.cit.*, p.27
11. Ibid.
The vision Kirkby laid before the Society as part of his 'Year of Advance', was further realised in 1926 by the purchase and staffing of another mission motor van. Sister Grace Syms and Miss M. R. Lebilliere, left after Easter in a new van. The van was mounted on a Dodge chassis and would give 'speed and a measure of comfort'. (12) They were commissioned to work amongst women, girls and children. They planned to visit lonely settlements, sawmills and schools. This venture was seen as an experiment and Kirkby felt many would watch it with closest interest. This ministry was to embrace the physical as well as the spiritual needs of country women. Kirkby acknowledged that the 'men working in the outback have often realised the inadequacy of their ministry when they meet with lonely mothers and girls. Women are now being sent to women'. (13)

When Kirkby addressed what was described as a Great Rally in the Chapter House, Melbourne on 27 April 1926, he was able to report further progress in the realization of the aims of 'the Year of Advance'. Income for the year 1925, was a record (almost £4,000 was received). The income for 1921 was £2,658. In 1923, Kirkby asked for a free fund

12. The Church Record, 1 April 1926, p.6.
13. Ibid., 18 May 1926 p.2
of £2,000 and while it is not stated, it appears that some of the money for the free fund had been provided. (14)

In the Year of Advance Appeal, Kirkby asked for an increased number of men and women to volunteer to serve with the Society. In 1926, real progress in this area had been achieved. There were ten men training in the two Australian Anglican Evangelical Colleges (Ridley and Moore College). The Society was responsible for meeting the costs of tuition and living of the students. The men in return for such help, pledged to work in the outback for three or more years. In addition to the ten men in training, three others had applied to the B.C.A.S. after having been trained at their own expense. Although the cost of such training amounted to about £1,000 per annum, Kirkby regarded it as an essential investment. (15)

A review of the objectives set out in the Year of Advance in 1923 and the activities in the following years, indicate that many of those objectives were achieved. In early 1926, Kirkby updated those objectives with a revised set for the years 1926-1927. Amongst other things, he felt that the Ceduna Hospital required additional

14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
nursing staff and that the mission van should be recommissioned for general colporteur work in outback Dioceses. There were also new geographical areas to be considered as prospective mission areas. The District beyond Condobolin and areas in Western Australia should be considered.

As the Society moved forward into new Dioceses, issues of churchmanship surfaced and were referred to in the B.C.A.S. Minutes. In September 1926, the Minutes made reference to a discussion with the Bishop of Willochra. Kirkby had written to the Bishop about the 'use of lights and the eastward position in the Holy Communion Service'. Such practices were rejected by most evangelicals and such were an area of conflict. The Council Meeting was told that after a conference with the Bishop, he 'signified his willingness to accept B.C.A.S. men without imposing conditions'. (16)

Over the middle years, 1923-1927, Kirkby's pattern of extensive deputation work continued. Although there was a Victorian Secretary, who moved around Victoria, Kirkby simply transferred his workload in Victoria to concentrate more fully upon New South Wales.

The advance of wireless was another challenge

for Kirkby. In 1924, wireless sets were becoming more available and by 1928, with the introduction of the sealed set, licences greatly increased. (17) In July 1925, Kirkby went to see the Farmer's Organization to organize to broadcast on behalf of the B.C.A.S.. On 12 August 1925, he first spread the B.C.A.S.. story for a period of fifteen minutes on radio. (18) The Archbishop of Melbourne at the Great Rally in 1926 commented on the Kirkby verbal style. Dr. Lees said, 'he clothes his remarks in a typically pungent verbiage – often attractively alliterative. Mr Kirkby is well provided with a vocabulary in addition to his breezy optimism'. (19) Such was the ability Kirkby brought to his regular broadcasting for the B.C.A.S..

In Kirkby's middle years of ministry with the B.C.A.S., a new set of insights into this man began to surface. There are hints of an inner emotional struggle which seemed to have been absent hitherto. This, coupled with a physical breakdown in 1927, present Kirkby in a new light. Publicly up to this time he had been presented as almost a 'superman' who founded a Society almost single handed and

18. B.C.A.S. Diary 12 August 1926.
19. The Church Record, 12 May 1926, p.2
strode around the rough Australian country at will.

Kirkby's diary, up to 1924, had been free of any personal reflections; it was simply an engagement record. In 1924, for the first time, insights into the author's inner state are given. In September 1923, he left for a ten month period in Canada, Ireland and England. This was a difficult period for Kirkby separated, as he was, from family and friends. On 24 January 1924, his birthday, he wrote 'I think back to recall the text - I must work the works of Him who sent me while it is yet day - have I worked enough?' This was a strange question from a man whose toil was continuous and labours enormous. Maybe, the pressures of travel and homesickness caused him to experience doubt and to have a hint of guilt. He goes on in the Diary entry to comfort himself by reminding himself of the Scripture passages, 'The Lord is my Keeper', 'Thou will keep him in perfect peace'. (20) On 1 February, he confessed that he felt tired by the constant strain of lectures and on 4 February he said, 'letter writing is the only consolation I have'. (21) On 15 February he confessed to being 'a little unwell' and at other times he noted in his diary that he was feeling tired.

20. Diary, 24 January 1924.
21. Ibid.
He arrived back from England in July 1924, just one month before his youngest son died. Ronald Kirkby had been ill for a long time and had been hospitalised in a Ryde Hospital for much of his life. There are no other references to Ronald in any of the Kirkby's papers (except a poem for him) but his illness could only have been a source of pain to his father and family. Again, about a month later, Kirkby wrote in his Diary that he was 'greatly depressed'. He clearly identified some of the source of his depression in the Diary. One of the B.C.A.S. candidates, Simmons, who was in training at a theological college, had turned to Anglo Catholicism. He was released from any obligation to the B.C.A.S. but was required to repay training expenses. On the same day, Kirkby admitted to having spent time in the Melbourne Cathedral because he was 'much depressed'. (22)

'Much exercised about my work and feeling absence from home. God give me grace to continue'. (23)

The strain of constant travel together with directing this growing Society was clearly taking its toll in terms of Kirkby's emotional and physical wellbeing. The Diary entries immediately following the negative

22. *Ibid.*, 18 September 1924
September entries reveal the same hectic work load. A further sadness touched Kirkby when on 26 December 1924, Fred Harvey, one of the first B.C.A.S. missioners, died. Kirkby officiated at the funeral. Another issue gave Kirkby constant cause for concern. Mrs. Kirkby had been unwell for some years and the Diary recorded Kirkby's constant concern for her, especially when he was overseas. (24) Thus, the year 1924 introduced a new note; the many struggles and concerns previously not recorded, became apparent. This strong man was feeling the tremendous burden of the constant toil associated with his B.C.A.S. work and his family responsibilities.

Kirkby's 1925 Diary recorded the now usual busy and varied programme of deputation, visitation pastoral and administrative work. By August 1925, he confessed to having been 'very tired' but the work continued unabated. Even the holiday period at Kiama in December was a 'working holiday'. Kirkby lived in the Rectory and took Services in the Parish.

In 1926, the first Diary entry to refer to Kirkby's continued struggle with himself and the work appeared on 23 March. (25) He noted that the B.C.A.S. Council could not meet due to the lack of a quorum. Immediately following this note, he added the

24. Ibid., 31 December 1924
25. Ibid., 25 March 1926.
following remark. 'Much depressed by work and failure of men.' The Diary does not reveal the cause of Kirkby's depression. The lack of the Quorum for the Council Meeting could have disturbed him. There had been other occasions when the Council failed to get a quorum and there was no like comment. But given that there was a growing sense of anxiety within Kirkby, this happening might well have caused Kirkby to despair. It is not clear whether the Council membership realised that Kirkby was under a great strain at that time. A week later, 31 March, Kirkby wrote in the Diary that Haviland, who had been working in South Australia, 'disclosed affairs with me'. (26) Little more is said, but there could be a connection between Haviland's disclosure and Kirkby's depression. Characteristically, nothing more of Kirkby's inner struggles appears in his Diary in this 1923-1927 period.

What is clear from the fleeting references in his Diary, is that Kirkby was feeling the strain of the work. His absences from family weighed heavily upon him. All these pressures and tensions were building up within Kirkby and the result was disturbing and very serious.

26. Ibid., 31 March 1926.
Early in 1927, Kirkby's Diary noted a visit to Dr. McDonald who said that Kirkby was suffering from high blood pressure and that he should lighten his work load. (27) The following day the Council and friends met and advised him to take three months leave. On 1 April 1927, he left for a holiday of three months. He went, by ship, to Ceylon. Canon W.L. Langley wrote to The Real Australian subscribers in May 1927 to explain Kirkby's absence. He wrote to say that Kirkby was to go to Ceylon and that 'a number of clergy guaranteed his expenses to the B.C.A.S. and the Council pressed him to go'. (28) Langley wrote of Kirkby's great labours for the B.C.A.S. and judged 'it has been at the cost of the physical force and nervous energy of Mr. Kirkby'. The travels and labours in the office are referred to and the fact that 'often he arrived home after a long days work at the office and travel talk at night at nearly twelve o'clock'. He made slides, edited The Real Australian and wrote many letters. No wonder, Langley the Council Secretary concluded, that after nearly nine years, he was compelled to take a complete rest.

27. Ibid., 10 March 1927.
Langley, who had been close to Kirkby, perhaps with a hint of guilt, made it clear that when Kirkby returned to work, the Council must lighten his load. It was decided that a motor car should be found for Kirkby.

On 2 September 1927, Kirkby, having returned from his holiday, went to learn to drive a car. The Society had been given a 1924 Dodge Tourer which was passed on to the Organizing Missioner. Following his return, Kirkby continued much as before and the 1927 Diary does not record any hints of emotional and physical problems. Nevertheless, the physical problem which surfaced, was to be a continual burden for Kirkby.

The fight to maintain and defend the evangelical character of the Anglican Church in Sydney and beyond was never far from Kirkby's mind. One of the most significant events in this respect occurred in 1926. The Rev'd T. C. Hammond visited Australia for a lecture tour. He was described in *The Church Record* as 'one of the leading clergy of the Irish Church and a distinguished graduate of Trinity College, Dublin'. *The Record* saw him as 'especially qualified to speak on the doctrinal position of the Church, more particularly in relation to the Prayer Book'. (29)

The Australian Anglican Church continued to struggle with the question of Prayer Book Revision. Evangelicals continued in their fear that change would weaken or destroy the Reformed and Scriptural emphasis of the Book of Common Prayer. Hammond travelled around Australia, lecturing and defending Reformation principles. While in Sydney, Hammond spent at least part of three days with Kirkby. Hammond spoke at the B.C.A.S. Annual Meeting. The impact of the friendship and admiration that existed between Hammond and Kirkby, was to be very significant years later. A number of people have repeated a story in which Kirkby, T. C. Hammond and Archbishop Mowll are connected. In his dying days, Kirkby is said to have exhorted his new Archbishop to appoint T. C. Hammond to the Principalship of Moore College. As Kirkby was, at the time of his death, a member of the College Committee and is known to have been impressed by T. C. Hammond in 1926, the story does seem probable. T. C. Hammond was subsequently appointed as Principal of the College and became a great champion and defender of the Australian Evangelical cause for more than twenty years.

Spermologos took up his pen once again in November 1926, one of the few contributions he
made during Kirkby's middle years with the B.C.A.S. Representatives of most Anglican Dioceses had met in Sydney for a Church Convention and General Synod. The Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons and Canons, together with many lay representatives, joined together in a service of Holy Communion. When it came time for the congregation to partake of 'the elements', 'a feeble few drew nigh to take the Sacrament'. (30) Kirkby wondered why this opportunity to express unity around the Lord's Table should have been neglected. Excuses, both theological and practical, could have been offered, but as far as Spermologos was concerned, it was a lost opportunity for a display of solidarity. In the same column Kirkby took up one of his favourite causes which he described as 'the Sydney type of Churchmanship'. He wondered what people meant when they used such a phrase. Could they mean, it is the type of Churchmanship 'which is fairly prevalent in Sydney and which approximates to what may be called an Evangelical standard?'. If that is what people mean, let them know that this type of Churchmanship can be found in Canada, Ireland England and elsewhere. Kirkby was pointing out that such a phrase was hardly accurate as 'simple and dignified worship could be

30. Ibid., 11 November 1926 p.4
found wherever the Anglican Church is found, at least in a good proportion of Parishes'. Further, Kirkby pointed out that 'Sydney diocese still stands as a home of considerable freedom with a variety of ecclesiastical expressions not surpassed in any other part of Australia'. As a frequent traveller, Kirkby would have been in a good position to make a factual judgement but given his strong commitment to the Diocese of Sydney, his judgement might well have been over generous in respect to ecclesiastical tolerance in Sydney.

A further problem had arisen in respect to the membership of the Church Convention. Kirkby felt that there was a law in the Convention 'whenever you hear a Sydney argument, vote against it'. (31) Sydney members proposed a form of proportional representation based on church population rather than on the number of clergy in a Diocese. The scheme was 'rudely flung aside'. In the Meeting's desire to give a Bishop with two clergy in his Diocese, adequate representation, they had failed to recognise the need of an Archbishop with three hundred clergy. Sydney's plan involved looking at the population of the various Dioceses and then working out how many people should represent the Diocese. To make matters

31. Ibid.
worse for the Sydney supporters, the Bishop of Kalgoorlie, with ten clergy in his Diocese, 'made a clever thrust against Sydney'. He argued that the poor support given to the Archbishop of Sydney's Good Friday protest, indicated that, although there was a large population in Sydney, support for the Church was weak. Therefore Sydney's representations on Synod should not be increased. Spermologos turned the same argument back on Bishop Elsey of Kalgoorlie. He asked 'what sort of membership of the Church is expressed there (in Kalgoorlie) when we discover that that Diocese could not even find two (mark you two) laymen prepared to accept responsibility of representing it in the Convention and General Synod. Although fares and hospitality were provided, no one was willing to travel to Sydney.' (32)

The middle years saw real growth in the work of B.C.A.S. New ventures were undertaken to help outback people and to provide greater opportunities for Gospel ministry. A hospital and nursing staff were provided for Ceduna, mission vans were built, equipped and staffed for itinerant ministry. Women were recruited as bush nurses and bush deaconesses, and Kirky had an exciting and profitable time as a guest of the

32. Ibid.
C.C.C.S. Yet these years were tinged with doubt and inner conflict.

This was associated with Kirkby's perception of his work as the Organizing Missioner as well as a father and husband. The strain of the work and his inner conflicts came to a climax and resulted in a physical breakdown in 1927. Perhaps for the first time, the B.C.A.S. Committee recognised what the work was doing to Kirkby and set about to make his life easier.

For the Sydney Church, Kirkby's friendship and admiration for T. C. Hammond was to bring about a significant change in theological training and therefore in church life in the Sydney Diocese.

Labour and doubt together with his steadfastness to his evangelical commitment were the dominant issues of Kirkby's middle years with the B.C.A.S.
The years 1928 to 1932 saw a consolidation of the work of the B.C.A.S. to a point where Kirkby felt able to hand over control to another Organizing Missioner in 1932. As the products of modern technology became more available, he was able to adapt and use them for ministry in the outback. Although his health was failing, his commitment to the work of the Society and the cause of evangelical Christianity did not diminish over the closing period of his years with the B.C.A.S.

Kirkby's final years with the B.C.A.S. coincided with one of the severest economical recessions ever experienced in Australia. The great depression had its beginnings in 1927 with a decline in the level of manufacturing activity especially in the Eastern States. A drought which began in 1929 added to the burden of the primary industries which suffered further as the result of
falling wool and wheat prices. (1) Borrowings from London for public works, were seriously affected by the high interest rates charged. Economic conditions in Australia were steadily deteriorating and this meant a high level of unemployment or short time employment. As the depression deepened, the standard of living dropped, fewer telephones were in use, fewer cars were seen and attendances at entertainment activities were down. (2) In 1929, J. T. Lang was the leader of the N.S.W. Labor Opposition, while J. H. Scullin was the Labor Prime Minister. Scullin was to preside over a nation in a financial depression unknown in the history of the new Commonwealth. By 1930, J. T. Lang was Premier of N.S.W. and ushered in a period of political unrest and conflict. In 1930, Lang refused to meet the interest payment due on State Loans raised in London. The Commonwealth Government was forced to pay the interest bill. Worse was to follow for the Scullin Government when Lang, using his Canberra spokesman, J. Beasley, forced a division in the House of Representatives. Scullin lost, and a General Election was called. (3) The United Australian

2. Ibid., p.419
3. Ibid., p.428
Party (U.A.P.), led by J. A. Lyons, was voted into power in Canberra. After conflict between Lang and the Commonwealth Government in 1932, Sir Philip Game, Governor of N.S.W., dismissed Lang. In the following election in N.S.W., B.S.B. Stevens heading a U.A.P. and Country Party Coalition, won and took up power. (4)

Although Kirkby lived through these troublesome years, there were no references in his writings about these difficulties. Such a situation was in keeping with most Protestant clergy of the time. Most Protestant clergymen were more interested in denouncing the traditional sins of drunkenness, gambling and sexual vice, and rarely pronounced on the evils of unemployment and political infighting. (5) Kirkby, like other churchmen, was taken up with the internal conflicts in his denomination. Most evangelicals used their energies to help in a practical way; hence Kirkby's efforts for outback people in the establishment of hospital and nursing services. His involvement, on a political level, in social issues was to develop when he was in a position of leadership in the Anglican Church in Sydney in the early 1930s. For the most part, in

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.445
this period, Kirkby was immersed in his work for outback people.

A B.C.A.S. document called 'the Estimates for 1928', gives a useful summary of the work proposed for 1928 and beyond. Finance was required to support missioners at Wilcannia, St. Armand, Ceduna, Cummins, Croajingalong, Mungindi and the Eildon Weir. Salaries for Sisters were to be provided for in Wilcannia, Ceduna, Bendigo and Croajingalong. The Estimates also included the cost of two mission vans (£480), together with theological college fees for eight male students. Salaries for the Victorian Secretary and various clerical workers were included in the Estimates which amounted to £4,014. Apart from a sum of £500 granted by C.C.C.S. England, all funds for the work were to be raised in Australia. (6) A Comparative Statement of Receipts of the Society, drawn up in 1928 (as part of the Estimates) indicated that support for the Society under Kirkby's leadership, had grown steadily. In 1920, £747 was received, in 1924, £3,556 was collected and by 1927, £4,313 had been received. This budget or Estimate for 1928 of £4,014 was well within the Society's capacity to find.

After eighteen months, Miss M. de Labilliere and her colleague, Sister Grace Syms of the Women's motor van mission, returned to Sydney. Miss de Labilliere was able to share with the Sydney Feminist Club some of the trials and successes of the work. She highlighted the opportunities she had to help lonely and isolated women and children in the outback. Sunday Schools were started and children linked up with the B.C.A.S. mail bag Sunday School. Kirkby was obviously very pleased with the development of this work and often referred to its impact. (7)

In the post-war era of nationalism, the question of the level of Australian participation in the work of the Society appeared once again in 1928. In a review in The Church Record, the B.C.A.S. Annual Rally in Melbourne in 1928, reference was made to the number of English workers employed by the Society. (8) This was a constant concern for Kirkby, as he was committed to the view that the B.C.A.S. was an Australian Society and should be supported and staffed mainly by the Australian Church. Yet, the realities of the situation demanded that Kirkby should continue to accept a C.C.C.S. Annual grant and employ English volunteers. In a swift reply

7. The Church Record, 1 March 1928, p.5.
8. Ibid., 10 May 1928, p.4.
to the question raised in *The Record*, Kirkby calculated that of the field staff, there were fourteen Australians and eight English people. Of the eight English workers, four received part or all their training in an Australian Theological College. (9) Apart from feeling that the B.C.A.S. should be able to find Australians to win Australians for Christ, Kirkby was concerned about an associated problem. Some people, he felt, had been put off giving to the B.C.A.S. because they felt it was 'dominantly English in its composition'. (10) While many Australian men had heeded the call to serve in the outback, Kirkby was still, in 1928, disappointed with the 'inexplicable hesitation of young Australian women to take up the urgently needed work of Bush Deaconesses. Australian men are coming forward but Australian women hold back.' (11)

Another first had been recorded for the B.C.A.S. with the opening of the Church Building in the rugged area of Croajingalong on the Cann River, in the Diocese of Gippsland. Mission work had commenced in this pioneer area in 1922 with the appointment of a B.C.A.S. nurse. This appointment was followed by the placement of clergy in the area.

9. Ibid., 20 June 1928, p.3.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
To mark the B.C.A.S. important involvement in this work, Kirkby was invited to assist the Bishop of Gippsland, in the opening of the small wooden Church Building. This event marked a move from a temporary arrangement to a more permanent presence of a B.C.A.S. missioner in the area.

The Society, now about eight years old in 1928, had not suffered the loss of any of its workers, although they faced many physical dangers in the work. But at the end of 1928, B.C.A.S. was to suffer the loss of one of its missioners. The Rev'd Reginald Tuck was drowned in the Murray River on 26 December 1928. (Kirkby was very distressed by Tucks death.) Kirkby preached at the funeral and wrote an appreciation of his life in The Church Record. (12) The appreciation revealed Kirkby not only as a sympathetic pastor, but as a thoughtful observer of human nature. Tuck had been recruited by Kirkby in 1924 while he was touring England. He came to Sydney and trained at Moore Theological College before moving to Werrimul in the Diocese of St. Arnand, Victoria. He was a committed evangelical whom Kirkby admired. Nevertheless, Kirkby while approving of his spiritual earnestness, could recognise an aggressiveness which was sometimes a little pronounced. Tuck served in the Werrimul district for

12. Ibid., 3 January 1929 p.7
twelve months and his work found ready acceptance amongst the many British migrants in the area. He was able to bring consolation to them as they struggled with despair occasioned by drought. (13)

In this period with B.C.A.S., the acquisition of an aeroplane was a highlight for Kirkby and the Society. Kirkby described the use of an aeroplane as 'one of the greatest and most interesting ventures ever undertaken by the Society'. (14)

In 1927, the B.C.A.S. Council gave its approval to the Rev'd Len Daniels, the B.C.A.S. Missioner at Wilcannia, to travel to England to act as an Australian deputationist for the Society. He preached and lectured on the work of the Church in the remote Australian bush. Daniels served in World War I in the Royal Air Force and trained as a pilot. After the war, he trained for the Christian ministry in the Salisbury Theological College, England and was appointed to Wilcannia in 1923. For three years he drove over the almost non-existent roads of his vast Parish. After having given a lecture in Somerset, a woman suggested that an aeroplane would be a great asset in his work. She sent enough money for an advertisement to be placed in The Morning Post which read, 'Wanted a
moth plane for Church work in outback Australia. Parish as Big as England. Please Help.' (15)
One letter was received together with a number of reporters wanting material for newspaper articles. Daniels was put in contact with 'Sir Charles Wakefield, the oil magnate and patron saint of aviation in its early years'. The C.C.C.S. agreed to allow Daniels to use their meetings to raise money for the aeroplane and Wakefield made good the difference between what was collected and what was needed for a De Havilland One Cirrus Mark 2 Moth X. (16) Nothing succeeds like success Kirkby told Daniels and assured him that the 'B.C.A.S. would see him through'. (17)

The aeroplane arrived in Australia in February 1928, and on Daniel's first flight to Wilcannia he became lost and crashed landed the aeroplane, which was badly damaged. Daniels contacted Kirkby, who wired back 'don't worry - we'll see you through'. A mechanic arrived a month later to fit a new bottom right wing and a new propeller. (18) The aeroplane was as cheap to run as a car and enabled Daniels to move from station to station with great ease. Apart from the occasional rain and dust storms,

16. Ibid. p.25
17. Ibid. p.26
18. Ibid. p.27
flying conditions were good the year round. As far as Kirkby was concerned, the aeroplane not only gave his missioner greater mobility, but gave him a great story to tell on his preaching tours. Daniels wrote years later, 'When the plane arrived, he (Kirkby) was full of enthusiasm, for it was a great money spinner and appealed to many people as a worthwhile venture'. Kirkby stood by Daniels throughout the adventure and persuaded the committee to agree to the rather heavy cost of repairs. (19) His relationship to Daniels illustrated the relationship he established with the missioners on the field. Kirkby, according to Daniels, said 'Anything you want let me know. He never failed as he loved the work and the people of the outback'. (20) Other missioners also felt that Kirkby could be relied upon to support them on the field. (21) Len Daniels remained in Wilcannia and continued flying until he accepted the appointment as Rector of Lithgow in 1932. In case any B.C.A.S. supporter felt the use of the aeroplane rendered the missioner's job soft, Kirkby was at pains to point out that it rather lead to an intensification of activity, a richer ministration of the means of grace. (22) The next missioner,

19. Ibid., p.34.
20. Ibid., p.36
C. Kemmis, took over the aeroplane but unfortunately crashed it and it was written off. Daniels claimed that his use of the aeroplane moved Kirkby to explore the possibility of setting up a flying doctor service centred in Ceduna. (23) It is difficult to know whether this comment was accurate or otherwise, but the B.C.A.S. did operate a flying medical service from Ceduna from 1938.

The Ceduna Hospital had been functioning successfully since 1925 and this venture gave the Society encouragement to extend their hospital work. In 1927, Sister S. Bazelay offered for medical work and was posted at Penong. This small town was about sixty miles west of Ceduna. The Sister cared for people in their houses until the local community erected a model cottage hospital. (24) In 1928, the Penong Memorial Hospital was opened and given to the B.C.A.S. debt free. Sister Bazelay was appointed Matron and worked closely with Dr. G. A. Chambers who had been encouraged to serve in the area by Kirkby. The Hospital served the needs of the scattered population stretching to the West Australian border and to the coast at Eucla. (25) While Kirkby was at pains to emphasise his gratitude for the provision of

24. S. J. Kirkby, op.cit., p.34
25. Ibid., p.35.
good hospital buildings, he reminded the Society's supporters that the Sister did not live in any paradise. The nurses, because of the isolated nature of the communities, had to be almost self-supporting. Lack of water in the drought-prone area was a constant problem. Gas and electric light were not available and the nurses, like the missioners had to be prepared to be involved in a great deal of 'hard slog'. The Hospital at Penong, as well as the Hospital at Ceduna, were open to all and Kirkby made the point that 'the stricken aboriginal (our truly Australian brother for whom Christ died) is also welcomed and treated as freely and as tenderly as any white'. (26)

The Hospitals were greatly valued by the various communities involved and by the B.C.A.S. but the management of such ventures from Sydney provided real difficulties for Kirkby and added to the stress of the work. In June 1931, Kirkby was in Ceduna, visiting and encouraging the various mission workers. He took time to examine the books of the Ceduna Hospital as well as to officially open the Hospital. His Diary indicated that the Ceduna Hospital was in serious financial difficulty. (27) Nothing more was

26. Ibid.
27. B.C.A.S. Diary, 13 June 1931.
recorded in his diary and the Hospital continued on for many years under the B.C.A.S. Australian women did respond to Kirkby's appeals for work in the outback and he was able to supply nursing staff for the Hospitals.

Kirkby was clearly pleased with the development of the Hostel at Wilcannia. According to the Organizing Missioner, a bush country drover once described it as 'the finest institution in the Far West'. (28) So in 1929, after much consideration, Kirkby launched an appeal for the establishment of another Hostel. Mungindi, a remote little town on the N.S.W.-Queensland border, was seen as a good location for the new Hostel. As in past appeals, so Kirkby presented his concern about Protestant children having to live in Catholic Hostels. Our Church, he argued, must show its concern for children by providing a Christian home for them. The Hostel was to provide accommodation for twelve children and cost £800. A block of land had been given and there was a fund of £352. It was a project worthy of all 'friends of solid evangelical work because of its potential for Christian ministry to the children'. (29) In February 1930, the Hostel was opened by the Bishop of Armidale, John Mojes, with the assistance of Kirkby and other supporters.

28. The Church Record, 28 March 1929, p.5.
29. Ibid.
The building cost about £1,300 and when opened was debt free. Miss Ella Cheers who spent two years with the first ladies mission van, was appointed Matron and stayed with the Hostel till 1951. (30)

One of Kirkby's most enduring literary achievements, written in the closing days of his association with the B.C.A.S., was a short history of the Society's work from its beginnings. The tenth Anniversary of the foundation of the establishment of the Society was celebrated in August 1930 and to coincide with the end of a decade, Kirkby wrote a book called *These Ten Years*. Kirkby recorded the achievements of the Society and defended its evangelical character and independent stance. Tributes were paid to all who had served with the Society. Most of the included photographs were taken by Kirkby and the book illustrated the diverse contribution the Society made under his leadership. By 1930, Kirkby was convinced that the B.C.A.S. was now a permanent feature of the Australian Church. He regarded its unofficial character as the guarantee of its usefulness and mobility. (31) Further, Kirkby wrote that the evangelical character of the Society should be

maintained and should not be a barrier to its usefulness. 'No Diocese should be closed to it simply because its workers have convictions and the courage of them as well.' (32) There must be further use of aeroplanes; more hospitals and nurses would be needed. 'Novel unconventional daring enterprises are called for.' (33) These forward aims summed up much of what had guided Kirkby for his first ten years with the Society. Given the limits of finance and manpower, Kirkby had developed a society which had established an enduring place for itself in the Anglican Church in Australia by 1930.

Once again in 1930, the C.C.C.S. invited Kirkby to visit England for the Society. Despite his growing health problems, he accepted the invitation and left Sydney on 11 September 1930. This tour was to last until April 1931 and was, like all his previous visits abroad, very busy and very lonely. Given his health problems, such a trip appeared to be less than wise and was to indirectly lead to a decisive turning point in his life's work. To add to his problem, Kirkby was involved in a disagreement with the C.C.C.S. The Diary, 3 February 1931, indicates that Kirkby felt that the C.C.C.S. wanted a 'Society (B.C.A.S.) which

32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
will fritter away its endeavours on small work'. (34) A discussion with the C.C.C.S. followed a day later with Kirkby expressing disappointment 'at factions in the Colonial Committee'. (35) Over the years, there had been an uneasy relationship between the B.C.A.S. and C.C.C.S. but on this 1930-1931 tour, Kirkby seemed more disappointed than ever before.

After returning to Sydney, Kirkby plunged once again into the now established routine of office work, deputation but his work with the B.C.A.S. was nearing its end.

Despite the fact that the workload of the B.C.A.S. had increased and Kirkby's health was failing, he still maintained his active defence of the Evangelical cause within the Anglican Church. Spermologos took up many of the debates current in the years 1928 to 1932. In 1928, he referred to the concern within the Church, about proposed changes to Anglican Churches' Constitution. An unnamed preacher who visited Sydney and whose sermon was printed in a newspaper, had harsh things to say about Sydney's attitude to the proposed changes. The preacher railed against the Sydney Synod for what might have happened if the Synod had not adopted changes to the Constitution of the Church. (36) This question of

34. B.C.A.S. Diary, 3 February 1931
35. ibid., 4 February 1931
36. The Church Record, 12 April 1928, p.4.
changes to the Constitution was complicated, occupying the Australian Church for some years. It was bound up with the so called Nexus question. Legal opinion had been sought concerning the link between the Australian Church and the Church in England. The weight of legal opinion decided that the Anglican Church in Australia was so organised that it was an actual part of the Church of England. Further, the Anglican Church in Australia was subject to the same laws as were binding in the Church of England in England except for certain localised issues. In all matters of faith, doctrine and public worship, it was concluded that the Australian Church was subject to the same standards as were in force in England. (37) Therefore, if the Australian Church wished to effect changes in the Book of Common Prayer, a new Constitution would need to be accepted by the Australian Church. The issue of a new Constitution had been under consideration since 1890 by the Australian General Synod. In 1928, a Special Sydney Synod was held to deal with the Draft Constitution Bill referred to it and all other Australian Diocesan Synods. There were many with misgivings about the new Constitution in the Sydney Synod. Some believed that it imperilled the

essentially Protestant and Reformed character of the Anglican Church. (38) After much debate, the Sydney Synod accepted the Constitution but with three important modifications. These modifications included additional declarations on the character of the Church of England, the number of provisions which were capable of alteration only with the consent of the dioceses was increased and for the Diocese of Sydney there was to be no longer the right of appeal from the Diocese to the Supreme Tribunal. (39) These amendments were believed necessary by the Sydney Synod to preserve the Protestant character of the Anglican Church.

Some other Diocesan Synods agreed to accept the Sydney amendments and additions but there were others deeply troubled. The Diocese of the Riverina under the new Anglo-Catholic Bishop R. C. Halse, felt Sydney's stand was contrary to every principle of justice and equity. The Diocese of Carpentaria had like feelings with Riverina and asked Sydney that, for the 'sake of unity and concord, they may yet be willing to adopt that which has been wholeheartedly accepted by the Dioceses of Australia'. (40) Archbishop Wright, in his 1929 Synod Change, referred

38. Ibid., p.191
39. Ibid., p.192-3.
to the Draft Constitution issue and felt that Sydney had been almost accused of unrighteousness in venturing to criticize what the Convention had produced. (41)

Spermologos thought that the unnamed critic had greatly devalued the Sydney Synod's attempt to do justice to the Draft Constitution with 'all its complexity and alleged ambiguities'. (42) It is clear that many within the Australian Church felt Sydney's attitude in this matter was very irritating, but Kirkby strongly defended his Diocese and Archbishop.

An issue associated with that of the Constitution was the question of Prayer Book revision and in 1928, Spermologos wrote at length about this vexed issue. Prayer Book revision had been a source of great controversy in England and in December 1927, the House of Commons had voted, by a small margin, to reject the revised Prayer Book, known as 'The Deposited Prayer Book'. Once again in June 1928, the Commons rejected the Book. (43) This action by a similar gathering caused a storm of protest and encouraged some Australian Churchmen to redouble their attempts to break the Nexus with the Church

41. Ibid., 1929, p.294.
42. The Church Record, 12 April 1928, p.4.
of England. Spermologos wondered why the 'unnamed preacher' should attack Sydney Diocese - he asked 'why not go to the U.K. and lead a movement for disestablishment?' (44) Further, Spermologos took the preacher to task concerning 'reservation of the Elements'. This practice allows a priest who celebrates the Service of Holy Communion to reserve or keep some consecrated bread and wine for use in another service, some time later. He argued that it was this feature of the Deposited Prayer Book which contributed to the Book's rejection, together with the claim of the Bishops to allow reservation whenever they wished. Spermologos, like many other Evangelicals, valued the link between the State and the Church and used this link to help maintain the Reformed character of the Anglican Church. The action of the House of Commons was supported by Kirkby and he pointed out that Churchmen from the Archbishop of Canterbury down were willing, a few years ago, to leave the final judgement in the matter of Prayer Book Revision with the Parliament. (45) The advice given to the visiting preacher was to castigate the people who left the matter with the Parliament, not the members of Parliament. This strain of Erastianism was a typical characteristic

44. The Church Record, 12 April 1928, p.4.
45. Ibid.
of Evangelicals of the period who often used civil court to pass judgement in matters of doctrine and ritual. One of the most celebrated examples of this tendency in Australia was the so called 'Red Book case'. Some laymen from the Diocese of Bathurst took legal proceeding against A. L. Wylde, the Anglican Bishop of Bathurst, in the Equity Court in 1943. The laymen alleged that the Bishop had committed heresy by teaching false doctrine in a devotional book called 'The Red Book'. A number of prominent Sydney Anglican clergymen, argued against Wylde including Canon T. C. Hammond and the Rev'd D. B. Knox. (46) Spermologos would have clearly supported such action.

Another issue concerning the Prayer Book found Spermologos on the attack again in May 1928. The Archbishop of Melbourne, in anticipation that the 1928 Deposited Book would be accepted by Parliament, had approved its use in his Diocese. Now, asked Kirkby, where does he go? The Book had been rejected by the House of Commons, but Spermologos hoped that some of its contentious elements would be withdrawn so that 'true Revision and not a Reversion (a retreat to pre Reformation doctrines) would be presented to the House of Commons. But what of the Melbourne situation? Some people might advise the Archbishop

to continue with the 1928 Prayer Book - a fig for the House of Commons say they'. (47) Some people reason this way, but if they act this way they might well put the continued debate on the Constitution and Prayer Book reform into permanent confusion. Further, he took to task a writer in The Church Standard, a non-evangelical Anglican newspaper, for criticising the House of Commons. If the Archbishop of Canterbury can speak with moderation about the House of Commons, surely lesser mortals should also do so.

In August 1928, Kirkby writing under his own name, submitted an article to The Church Record on the problems of Church Reunion. (48) He wrote to record his reactions to a letter from the joint Australian Council of Churches which took up the question of reunion. Kirkby began by pointing out the folly of various denominations in country areas, with small populations, all trying to provide separate ministries. On his extensive country tours, he had witnessed the folly of a number of denominations seeking to maintain separate congregations in small outback towns. Therefore, he argued that church union made a great deal of sense especially in sparsely populated outback centres.

47. The Church Record, 12 April 1928, p.4.
48. Ibid., 2 August 1928, p.6.
Spermologos, in April 1929, took up an issue which followed the rejection of the 1928 Prayer Book. As a result of this rejection, some bishops decided to authorise the use of the 1928 Book despite its standing. Kirkby wondered whether some bishops were taking powers to themselves which were not rightfully theirs. Further, some people are 'beginning to voice their fears that no sound acceptable judgement can be given by any Supreme Tribunal unless that Court be composed entirely of Bishops'. (49) Like many evangelicals, Kirkby was concerned that bishops be not seen as, all-powerful.

Still in the mood for controversy, Spermologos in February 1930, called into question the use of the term 'father' to describe an Anglican minister. It is not a Prayer Book term, but rather has been copied from the Catholic Church and therefore, is to be rejected (50) In May 1930, acting a little uncharacteristically, Kirkby, under his own name, attacked the Bishop of Willochra, Gilbert White and others for using the term 'mass' to describe the Service of Holy Communion. He could not agree, that for the sake of brevity, its use is justified - 'should the Governor General be called the 'Gee-Gee' in the

50. Ibid.; 27 February 1930, p.4.
interests of brevity?' (51) Again in September 1930, he wrote about the work of Synods, under his name. He wished the critics might distinguish what Synods are meant to be and what they are, in practice. (52) Kirkby pointed out that although Synods may not be functioning as well as they ought (too much time spent on lesser issues) they are here to stay. While Kirkby's observation about the nature of Synods is important, perhaps more interesting, is his willingness to publicly defend his evangelical position. This openness is more pronounced towards the end of this period with the B.C.A.S.

In one of the last Spermologos columns produced by Kirkby, he took up a long letter written to The Church Record by the Rector of Broken Hill. J. H. A. Chauvel, together with his wardens, wrote defending the use of incense in Services in the Parish on 'some six days in the year'. (53) It is clear that the Editor of The Church Record asked Kirkby to refute the claims of the letter because both the letter and the refutation appear in the same edition of The Record. Point by point, Kirkby moved through the letter and answered Chauvel by the use of Scripture and Church History. It is a carefully argued defence of the

51. Ibid., 23 May 1930, p.3.
52. Ibid., 25 September 1930, p.11.
53. Ibid., 8 May 1930, p.9.
Protestant view and would have left readers in no doubt that Spermologos saw no valid reason for the use of incense. The use of incense is, according to Kirkby, 'beyond the formularies of the Prayer Book and the Articles'. (54)

In the last column produced by Spermologos in July 1931, he set about to defend the Thirty Nine Articles, which he claimed were under attack by the Romanists and the ultra-Puritans. (55) After listing some of the objections against the Articles and rejecting such objections, he concluded that the Articles had stood the test of time and reflected accurately the teaching of the Scriptures. In ecclesiastical controversy, Evangelicals constantly used the Articles, 'the authorised Statement of Doctrine', to defend their stance.

Throughout the nineteen-twenties and early nineteen-thirties, Kirkby had used the nom-de-plume, to consistently answer attacks upon Evangelicals and the Diocese of Sydney. He used his pen to present, a clear, sometimes humorous, often blunt, defence of the conservative evangelical position. Using this device, he was able to defend his position and yet was able to move around the Dioceses of Australia

54. Ibid.
55. Ibid., 30 July 1931 p.3
with ease. Had he used his own name, his work in
the B.C.A.S. would surely have suffered. He recalled
that Sydney Diocesan officials had counselled him not
'to beat the Protestant drum' when visiting in other
Dioceses. (56) His standing amongst other evangelical
leaders in Sydney had clearly been strengthened by his
clear and able articles in The Church Record over a
decade or so. The use of anonymity, was the only way
he could continue his role of champion of the
conservative Evangelical cause and missioner with the
B.C.A.S. - the two great concerns of his life and
ministry.

By 1928, the B.C.A.S. appeared to have been
accepted as a permanent part of the Anglican Church
in Australia. In October 1928, as a pointer to that
acceptance, Kirkby was invited to travel to Adelaide
to speak at Adelaide Church Congress. This was an
important occasion involving the Primate together
with bishops, clergy and lay representatives of the
Australian Anglican Church. Many issues of importance
were dealt with and Kirkby delivered a paper to the
Congress on 'the Bush Missionary'. (57)

Although Kirkby was now recognised, his 1929
Diary entries again reflect some of his growing
anxiety about himself and his work. There are two

56. Ibid., 12 April 1928 p.4
57. Ibid., 8 November 1928, p.6.
items towards the end of February 1929, which point to trouble. For two consecutive days he admitted to being 'very tired'. (58) On 7 March, he admitted to being 'much worried about the work' and wondered whether he should give up. (59)

In July 1929, the Archbishop of Sydney wrote to offer him the post of Diocesan Missioner. The 1928 Sydney Synod had set up a Board of Evangelism. (60) The Council of this new Board included some of Kirkby's closest friends - W. L. Langley and H. S. Begbie. A number of people close to Kirkby must have been aware of his health problem and perhaps knew something of his inner struggles. They might well have felt that this new job could have answered some of his problems and provided the Diocese with a good missioner. Kirkby did not accept the job, but he did discuss it with the Archbishop. Again in December 1929, he was forced to rest for a number of days. (61) By January 1930, he was well enough to take a prominent part in the C.M.S. Summer School at Austinmer. He was the Chairman and also delivered daily Bible expositions. Again, this was an indication of his standing in the Diocese. It is probable that few subsequent Organizing Missioners of the B.C.A.S. ever identified themselves

59. Ibid., 7 March 1929.
60. Sydney Diocesan Year Book 1928, p.153
61. B.C.A.S. Diary, 22, 29 December 1929.
so closely with the accepted institutions of the Diocese of Sydney in the way Kirkby did. (62)

The C.C.C.S. again invited Kirkby to speak in England and in September 1930, he left for the U.K. He followed his usual round of speaking and preaching engagements in many parts of England. The Council of the B.C.A.S. may have felt such a trip, with its enforced rest on the sea, would have been of benefit for Kirkby, health wise. But while in London, he was examined by Dr. Bedford in December 1930, who advised him to give up the B.C.A.S. work and live quietly because he had an 'heart enlarged'. On 20 December, Kirkby went to Dr. Churchill who gave him a reassuring report 're blood pressure'. A few days later, he felt fit but could feel his heart at times in 'a curious way'. (63) (This information was not given to his family.) Kirkby did speak to the C.C.C.S. Committee and shared the medical advice. On the basis of the advice, he left England on 27 February 1931, feeling disappointed that he left 'work unfinished'. (64) He travelled to Sydney via the U.S.A. arriving in Sydney on 12 March, in time for the marriage of his eldest daughter. There was no change in Kirkby's work pattern after he returned and he was soon very

62. The Church Record, 16 January 1930, p.5.
63. B.C.A.S. Diary, 20, 31 December 1930.
64. Ibid., 28 February 1931
busy with office and deputation work. It is clear that the B.C.A.S. and Diocesan leaders realised that Kirkby must be relieved of the B.C.A.S. post as it was slowly killing him. On 20 August 1931, Archbishop Wright offered him the senior post of Archdeacon of Camden. This Archdeaconry included Parishes in the outer south west of Sydney, the Southern Highlands, the Blue Mountains together with the coastal Parishes from Wollongong to Milton. Kirkby's reaction was summed up in two words 'most amazing'. (65) A week following this offer, Kirkby collapsed and was ordered to bed for a fortnight. (66) When he was well enough, he discussed the offer with his close friend, W. L. Langley. As a result of that discussion, Kirkby decided to resign from the B.C.A.S. He saw it as a fateful decision and wondered 'what it will mean'. (67) Following this fateful decision, he left for another tour of B.C.A.S. Parishes but on his return he was once again confined to bed. As the Archdeacon, he was involved in various duties which he appeared to have combined, for a period, with his B.C.A.S. duties. His predecessor, William Martin, combined his task as Rector of Neutral Bay North with his Archdeaconry duties. It is difficult

65. Ibid., 22 August 1931.
66. Ibid., 27 August 1931.
67. Ibid., 6 October 1931.
to understand what resignation meant for Kirkby because his 1932 B.C.A.S. Diary showed him still very much involved with the B.C.A.S. Instead of solving some of Kirkby's problems, this appointment may well have caused greater difficulties. Kirkby may not have been able to afford to resign from B.C.A.S. or the Archbishop might have been waiting for a suitable Parish to post him to. Whatever the reasons were, a radical change was to take place in the following year.

The death of the first Bishop Coadjutor of Sydney, Gerard D'Arcy-Irvine, in April 1932, had a dramatic bearing on Kirkby. The Archbishop offered Kirkby the post of Bishop Coadjutor on 27 May 1932 and after consultation with W. Langley, he accepted. This acceptance meant that a decisive break with the B.C.A.S. had to be effected. On 24 August 1932, Kirkby was consecrated by Wright together with a number of other bishops. He had to lay down the main burden of the Society which he had laboured so strenuously to bring into being.

Following a short delay, the Rev'd Thomas Terry of the Parish of Kembla, was appointed as Kirkby's successor. Kirkby's hand was in this appointment as he was a close friend of Terry. (68) Terry was related to Kirkby's mentor, H. S. Begbie, having

68. Sydney Diocesan Magazine, April 1933, p.13.
married one of Begbie's daughters. Thus, the leadership of the B.C.A.S. was left by Kirkby in the hands of a conservative Evangelical. (Sickness forced Thomas Terry to leave the B.C.A.S. in 1935 and he was inducted as Rector of Mulgoa in January 1935.) (69)

The question remains as to why Kirkby remained as the Organizing Secretary and did not leave the Society when illness first affected him. It might be suggested that Kirkby's great commitment to the outback settlers would have made it difficult for him to lay the task down. Some of the early missioners, W. Rook and L. Daniels, were clearly impressed by Kirkby's great sympathy and love for outback people. (70) In a speech presented to the Adelaide Church Congress in 1928, Kirkby gave his hearers a clear insight into the nature of his commitment to outback people.

Besides exacting sweating toil and patient perseverance, Nature often called in the settler to fare plague flood and drought, yet one of the finest things that he displayed was a splendid fortitude that enabled him to endure the worst of misfortune and the most devastating disaster. (71)

69. Ibid., February 1935 p.28
70. Interview with Canon N. Rook, May 1983.
71. The Church Record, 8 November 1928, p.7.
Kirkby's commitment to outback people and his concern to expand the influence of evangelical religion would have been important factors which might have kept him with the B.C.A.S. longer than was wise. Kirkby's knowledge of how serious his illness was may have been vague and perhaps he felt it would pass.

Although Kirkby left the Society strong and healthy, he was left much broken in health, but not in spirit.
PART 3
Chapter 9

Power and Influence 1932-1934

In the closing years of his life, Kirkby was involved in a number of key issues which were to be of great importance in the strengthening and development of the conservative Evangelical Party in the Sydney Diocese and beyond. His accession to power was swift and unexpected, but placed him in a position of great influence at a crucial time in the ongoing history of the Anglican Church in Australia. There are many issues arising from the years 1932-1934 which are important in any assessment of Kirkby’s role in those important years. Why was Kirkby chosen to be the new Bishop Coadjutor? How did he handle the vital Election Synod of 1933 and was he involved in any way in the pressure to elect Howard Mowll? How did the break up of the old Anglican Evangelical party affect the Diocese of Sydney? Further, a review of Kirkby’s general management of the Diocese as Bishop Administrator, must be undertaken together with an examination of the negotiations with the New South Wales State Government in respect to the St. Andrew’s Cathedral George Street site.
After a period of political turmoil in New South Wales, the Governor, Sir Philip Game, in 1932, dismissed the then Labor Premier J. T. Lang. In the following Election, B. S. B. Stevens, heading a United Australia Party and Country Party Coalition, gained power and a degree of political calm followed. (1) The Sydney Harbour Bridge was opened in 1932, but the construction of Sydney's underground rail system, which affected the St. Andrew's Cathedral site, was to drag on. From 1932 the various Australian governments gave themselves to a rehabilitation of the economy and by 1933, the number of unemployed began to fall. (2) While there were changes in the New South Wales political scene, there were, at the same time, changes afoot in the power structure of the Sydney Anglican Diocese. Kirkby assured leadership of the Sydney Church at a critical time.

After the death (in 1932) of Darcy-Irvine, Sydney's first Coadjutor Bishop, Archbishop Wright invited Kirkby to be his next assistant Bishop. This invitation was received by Kirkby on 27 May 1932. After discussion with his lifelong friend, W. L. Langley, Kirkby communicated his acceptance to Wright. This was a difficult appointment for both men. Wright, like

2. Ibid., p.435
the deceased assistant Bishop, was a liberal Evangelical; and it is rumoured that Kirkby's criticisms of Wright's theological position and of some aspects of his performance, were known to the Archbishop. Nevertheless, Wright seems to have had little room to move. Many of his senior clergy were able but were known conservative Evangelical party men, who had been trained by N. Jones. Such men as Sydney Langford-Smith and Herbert Begbie, might well have been frontrunners for the position but were known as men with decidedly firm conservative theological views. There were other men who had a more moderate stance but they were either too old (F. Boyce) or already committed to important tasks (Talbot and Davies). The Anglican Church League (A.C.L.) was very powerful in the 1930s and had Wright chosen a man other than one whom they approved, he would have created difficulties for himself and the new bishop. Wright was ageing and unwell and might have been forced to look for a compromise to suit the variety of views current in his Diocese. Kirkby, although a committed conservative Evangelical and a member of the A.C.L., had during his B.C.A.S. days kept a relatively low profile in ecclesiastical controversy. (3) His contribution in

controversy had been mainly through his Spermologos columns and his work on the Editorial Board of The Church Record. As the Organizing Missioner of the B.C.A.S., he had directed his energies in the placement of evangelicals in outback Dioceses. His commitment to evangelicalism was unquestioned and his proven record of working with non-evangelical Anglicans was well known. He was an able preacher and had demonstrated his abilities as an administrator and pastor during his B.C.A.S. work. Some of Kirkby's closest colleagues would have known of his health problems (especially W. L. Langley) and it is somewhat surprising, given his poor health, that Kirkby accepted the Archbishop's offer. But, given that the role of Bishop Coadjutor was far less demanding than it is in the 1980s, it may well have seemed to be the ideal solution. Wright could appoint a 'safe man' who was well received by most of his clergy, while Kirkby could step into a less demanding position. Wright was known not to favour the appointment of an assistant bishop and therefore would probably not have given such men a great deal of responsibility. This being the case, the move from the Organizing Missioner might well have given Kirkby the promise of an easier life with a great deal more time to spend with his family. In July 1932
issue of *The Sydney Diocesan Magazine*, Wright commented on Kirkby's choice.

I myself feel very happy in the choice of Archdeacon Kirkby. He brings to his task a deep spiritual impetus with a wide knowledge of men and a ready tact in dealing with them. As we all know, he is an indefatigable worker. (4)

Charles Wright, by the time Kirkby joined him as Bishop Coadjutor, was lacking in vigour, following a serious illness in 1920 and the Diocese was allowed to drift. (5) Further, the old Evangelical party was slowly destroying itself over matters of doctrine. The trend felt in England some years before, was now becoming an issue in Australia. Wright had been elected to the Diocese on the basis of his moderate evangelical views. (6) In 1906, Wright began a private study group in Manchester with the title 'The Group Brotherhood'. The group comprised a number of younger evangelicals who wished to free evangelicalism from what they experienced as an unduly conservative interpretation of Christianity. Members of the group were prepared to use the findings of science in theological studies. Later, in 1923, this private group became public, adopting

6. F. B. Boyce, *Four Score Years & Seven* Angus & Robertson Sydney 1934, p.142
the name 'Anglican Evangelical Group Movement'. (7) Rogers defined in his books, what he believed 'liberal evangelicalism' meant. He argued that liberal evangelicalism had its genesis in the great Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century but is 'at home in the modern world with its historical method, its philosophy of personality, its scientific view of the universe'. (8) Wright must be seen in terms of his own day and by his own associations as a liberal evangelical. His appointment of A.E. Talbot as Dean and D.J. Davies to Moore College, both liberal Evangelicals, gave a clear indication of his theological preference. R. Langshaw, a student of Davies, remembered him as 'a liberal who could not stand evangelicals'. (9)

The Liberal Evangelical was more accommodating of modern scientific findings and was therefore keen to engage in dialogue with the modern mind. He was more willing to restate the cardinal Christian beliefs concerning the atonement and the authority of Scripture in a way which was more accommodating of the modern mind. As one prominent Evangelical said:

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8. Ibid.
The designation of 'Liberal Evangelical' does not merely mean broad sympathies, considerativeness for those who differ from us, or the true brotherly hand for members of other churches. We all agree on this. It is the recognised designation of a group of men who while remaining within the Evangelical Circle hold liberal views with regard to the trustworthiness of Holy Scripture and the acceptance of the recognised doctrines of the Catholic faith. (10)

Whether this definition were true or not, it clearly summed up how the conservative evangelical viewed his liberal colleague. The same writer defined conservative or 'Evangelicals proper' as:

Standing by the trustworthiness of Holy Scripture and the doctrines as enshrined in the Catholic creeds. Protestantism is characterised as well by the affirmation of truth as by the rejection of error. (11)

It was at this point, that conflict and division began to destroy the evangelical party in Sydney.

By the 1930s, both liberal and conservative evangelicals, together with the smaller Anglo-Catholic party, were well represented in the Diocese of Sydney. N. Jones, the Principal of Moore College (1897-1911) had been a staunch conservative evangelical and by the 1930s, some of his former pupils had risen to occupy strategic posts within the Diocese. Men such as Langford-Smith, H. S. Begbie, A. L. Wade were in

11. Ibid.
places of influence and used their position to further the cause of the conservative evangelical party. Liberal evangelicals were also to be found in places of influence in Sydney. A. E. Talbot was the Dean of the Cathedral, D. J. Davies held the Principalship of Moore Theological College while A. H. Garnsey had been Warden of St. Paul's College within the University of Sydney since 1917. Loane argues that Kirkby's appointment in 1932, together with the appointment of S. E. Langford-Smith as Archdeacon of Cumberland, both conservative evangelicals, indicated a move in Wright's preference away from Liberal Evangelicalism. (12)

It could equally well be argued that Wright was too sick and tired to fight the growing power of the conservative evangelicals or that he wished to continue his practice of being even handed in his appointments. It could be further argued that both men were judged by Wright as the best available men for the respective positions.

On 24 August 1932, Kirkby was consecrated Bishop in St. Andrew's Cathedral, which was packed for the occasion. Canon W. L. Langley, Kirkby's great friend, preached and exhorted him to be a shepherd to Christ's sheep. As well as being Bishop Coadjutor, Kirkby was appointed Rector of

St. Philip's Church Hill, Sydney. He began his work at St. Philip's in September 1932. To enable him to carry out both tasks, a curate was appointed to St. Philip's. This old Parish had suffered as a result of a population movement, occasioned chiefly in the early 1930s by the construction of the Sydney Harbour Bridge. There was a small Sunday School with thirty pupils and a very small congregation. Kirkby reckoned that there were no more than eighty Anglicans in the Parish in 1932. Many of the worshippers, like many other city churches, lived in surrounding Parishes. (13)

Following his consecration and induction to St. Philip's, Kirkby spent the next few months learning the task of a bishop as well as settling into the Parish of St. Philip's.

Together with the regular round of Confirmations that fell to Kirkby, he became more and more involved in the various Committees of the Diocese. During his B.C.A.S. days, his involvement in Committee work had been restricted to the Moore College Committee but as a Bishop, he found himself a member of the more powerful committees and boards of the Diocese. The B.C.A.S. was not forgotten and his involvement continued with that Society as its President.

13. St. Philip's Diary, Kept by Kirkby, 1932-1935 (held by St. Philip's Church)
Particularly, his presence and influence upon the Society, was seen in the appointment of his successor, the Rev'd T. Terry, a friend and conservative evangelical, early in 1933. (14)

The work at St. Philip's developed to such an extent, that by Christmas Day 1932, Kirkby could report that the Services were the best attended for the past twenty-five years. The Watchnight Service on 31 December 1933, attracted a crowd of eighty people. The year ended with Kirkby commenting 'so closed the year — one of strong unexpected change in ministry'. (15)

The somewhat less hectic lifestyle was to be shattered late in February 1933. The Archbishop had travelled to New Zealand where he died on 24 February. This meant that the burden of leadership in the Diocese of Sydney, fell upon Kirkby. He became the Bishop Administrator and held that office until Wright's successor arrived in Sydney in 1934. Whatever Kirkby's criticism of Wright had been in life, he wrote with great affection and appreciation of him in death. 'I cannot close without expressing my deep personal indebtedness to him for fatherly guidance and

14. The Real Australian, April 1933, p.2.
counsel given particularly when I was able to serve him as Archdeacon and later Bishop Coadjutor.' (16)

One of Kirkby's first duties as Administrator, was to arrange for the convening of a Special Synod to elect a new Archbishop of Sydney. This was to prove to be one of the most divided Synods in the history of the Diocese. The Special Synod was summoned to meet on 4 April 1933 and was to continue for three days. (A day of Prayer was called for 31 March 1933.)

The various interest groups in the Diocese realised the great importance of the Synod and set out to gather support for their causes. The A.C.L. using their mouthpiece, The Australian Church Record, (formerly called The Church Record) made much of the importance of the election. In the 1930s, the Editorial Board of The Record included R. B. Robinson, John Bidwell, D. J. Knox and S. J. Kirkby. (17) In a leading article on 16 March 1933, The Record stated 'Of all the dioceses in Australia, Sydney has been outstandingly Protestant and Evangelical'. The leaders of the Sydney Diocese have striven consistently to stem any advance of Anglo-Catholicism in its midst.

But more importantly, the readers were warned about electing an Archbishop, who might be 'a man of tolerance or one who will ever consider the comprehensiveness of our church'. This was a reference to the outlook of the liberal Evangelicals, or how conservative Evangelicals of the day, viewed them. It was further pointed out that other Dioceses had been Evangelical but were no longer so. As if expecting a tendency within the Diocese to favour a liberal evangelical candidate, *The Record*, counselled its readers not to seek a new Gospel or be taken in by modernists. (18)

On 30 March *The Record*, in a further article about the forthcoming Election, gave support to four candidates. Howard Mowll of China, Thomas Gilbert, Arthur Rowland, Christopher Chavasse, all of England, were singled out as conservative Evangelicals who were worthy of support. In the same issue of *The Record*, there was a plea for unity of action amongst Evangelical Churchmen in the Election Synod. It was said that this unity was necessary because 'deliberate efforts are being made in the Church today by a well organised and militant party.....to reverse the reformed and Protestant character of our Church'. (19) The writer felt that the Sydney Church was in danger of a

19. Ibid., 30 March 1933 p.6
compromise with 'either the pretension of Anglo-Catholicism or with a withering modernism.' (20)
The Conservatives may well have had vivid memories of a defeat in a former election Synod when Wright was appointed. Boyce had, in the 1909 Synod, out-maneuvered the conservative evangelicals by putting up Wright, whom he described as an 'Evangelical but not an extreme one'. Wright's nomination gained support from the conservatives when their candidate was defeated earlier in the Synod. Leaders of the A.C.L. now issued a how-to-vote-ticket in which they repeated the argument published in The Record. The A.C.L. strongly advised synodsmen to support Howard Mowll as the first choice. Because the final ballot was important, two other names were suggested to accompany Mowll's. Voters should support H. Mowll, T. W. Gilbert and S. J. Kirkby. The ticket was signed by leaders of the A.C.L.

Kirkby had continued his association with the A.C.L. since he joined the executive in 1916. For a period 1917-1921, he had served as the League's Clerical Secretary, but during the B.C.A.S. days, references to his name are absent. In 1930, reference to his participation once again appeared and in

20. Ibid.
September 1933, he together with about thirty others, is named as a Vice President. (21) There is no mention of Kirkby's direct involvement in the activities of the League in this pre-election lobbying, but it would be hard to believe that he was not aware and in sympathy with the League's desire to appoint Mowll. Mowll visited Sydney in August 1931, and had spoken for the A.C.L. and was 'highly respected amongst conservative evangelicals'. (22)

The High Churchmen, led by the Rev'd Dr. P. A. Micklem of St. James' King-Street, Sydney, lobbied for Bishop J. S. Moyes of Armidale. Archdeacon Davies and Dean Talbot supported the liberal Evangelical cause and put forward as their candidate, Archdeacon J. W. Hunkin of Rugby England. A group calling themselves 'the Sydney Diocesan Reform Association' called a meeting to discuss the Synod. In their printed material, it was made clear that the aim in calling a meeting was discussion, not the promotion of any one candidate. The speakers at the Meeting were, Canon A. H. Garnsey and the Rev'lds O. V. Abram and H. N. Baker, all of whom would have represented a liberal evangelical position. Abram argued that the next Archbishop should be evangelical - 'There might be said to be two types of Evangelicals. The Keswick type belonging to a small and diminishing

22. The Australian Church Record, 20 August 1931, p.4.
group in the Church and the liberal type. It was an Archbishop of the latter type whom they hoped would occupy the See of Sydney.' (23) Howard Mowll had been closely associated with the Keswick movement having 'first gone up to Keswick for a Cambridge camp in July 1910 and each summer had found him back again'. (24) Whatever else Abram was doing, he was not supporting Mowll's nomination.

The Church Standard, an Anglo-Catholic newspaper with little sympathy for conservative Evangelicals, published an Editorial on 7 April, condemning some of the activities associated with the Election Synod. The Editorialist felt that 'all decency and dignity have been thrown to the winds'. The Church Record and the secular press were condemned for publicly promoting candidates. A caucus meeting, presumably run by the A.C.L., which produced a 'how to vote' ticket was also criticised. (25)

Such was the background to the Election Synod, which Kirkby was to preside over and which was to decide the theological direction of the largest Anglican Diocese in Australia. The Bishop Administrator

25. The Church Standard, 7 April 1933, p. 3.
invited Dean Talbot, a very senior clergyman, to preach at the Cathedral Service prior to the Synod, while Kirkby delivered the Presidential address. Neither Kirkby nor Talbot used the occasion for anything but to encourage the electors to seek the man of God's choosing. (26) On the first day of the Synod, Kirkby received twelve nominations, one of which was his own name. On several occasions he had indicated that he did not wish to be nominated. (27) But the A.C.L. needed him to ensure that all the names on the final ballot were conservative evangelicals. It was soon realised that an English nomination, J. W. Hunkin, Archdeacon of Coventry, a scholar and a man of wide pastoral experience, would prove to be the greatest threat to Mowll's nomination. Hunkin was the candidate of the liberal Evangelicals and was proposed by Principal Davies and seconded by Dean Talbot. It was understood if the High Church candidate J. S. Moyes, Bishop of Armidale, failed, then the High Church men would support Hunkin. Moyes' nomination was discussed on 6 April; he failed to gain a place on the Select list. Kirkby's name was also removed. With the loss of Moyes' name it was expected that Hunkin would poll well. On 6 April, Hunkin's...
nomination came up for discussion. Principal Davies and Dean Talbot had, at an early A.C.L. Meeting, proposed that the A.C.L. support Hunkin's nomination. The League had, since its inception in about 1909, held together liberal and conservative Evangelicals. But by 1933, the distinction between liberal and conservative Evangelicals was more apparent. In the conflict for control of the A.C.L., it was the conservatives who were victorious. The A.C.L. refused to support Hunkin's nomination and Davies and Talbot left the League and formed the Anglican Fellowship to gather support for Hunkin.

John Bidwell, a leading member of the conservative Evangelicals, claimed that he 'exposed Dr. Hunkin's modernism'. (28) Modernism was a general description of a movement which embraced some Anglican and non Anglican Churchmen which set out to restate Christian doctrine in the light of modern knowledge. Within this group, there were many who were prepared to deny the value of long accepted Christian doctrines such as the Virgin Birth of Christ. Modernism and liberal evangelicalism seemed to be synonymous in the minds of some of the conservative evangelicals of the 1930s in Sydney. Liberal evangelicals rejected this

connotation and saw themselves as liberal in the sense that they were prepared to use modern scholarship for the elucidation of the real meaning of the Scriptures. They did not reject the cardinal doctrines of the Faith. (29)

Theological developments in other denominations, may well have caused great concern for the Sydney conservative Evangelicals. Dr. Samuel Angus, of the Sydney Presbyterian College, had, since 1929, caused concern to conservatives because of his theological modernism. Australian Congregationalism had also felt the effects of progressive theological teaching. The Rev'd P. Watson, who was himself progressive in theology, claimed 'that the modern theology brought liberation to members of his congregation. But the person who turns to such new ideas is often lost to the church'. (30)

Given the atmosphere of suspicion concerning the effect of so called modernism; it is understandable that when John Bidwell, in the Election Synod, labelled Hunkin as a modernist, he was able to persuade many to vote against the English Archdeacon. In the Synod

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29. The Sydney Morning Herald, 31 March 1933, p.11. (The Article bears the initials D. J. D. which almost certainly indicates that it was written by Principal D. J. Davies)

debate, Bidwell was interrupted at least twenty times by Talbot, Davies, A. J. A. Fraser and others. (31) Bidwell quoted from a book, which contained a collection of essays, one of which was written by Hunkin. S. Judd has argued that the book used by Bidwell, was *Liberal Evangelicalism*, edited by T. G. Rogers. (32) The book was the production of the group which was formed originally by J. C. Wright. In the preface of the book, Rogers explained the 'esse' of liberal evangelicalism and defended its willingness to use modern knowledge in the interpretation of the Christian faith. Apart from a strong attack on Premillennial views and a plea for more involvement in social and moral issues, Hunkin's articles contained little that could have caused concern for conservative evangelicals. (33) Within the same book, was an essay by E. W. Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham. Barnes is chiefly remembered as a 'prominent modernist with views that included serious questioning of the historic Christian faith on matters such as the virgin birth and the Resurrection'. (34) Barnes in his essay wrote 'we must not worship the Bible as infallible'. (35)

This sort of statement and the linking of Barnes with liberal Evangelicalism, would have immediately caused great alarm for many Sydney conservative Evangelicals. The linking of Hunkin's name with that of Barnes might well have damned him in the minds of Synodsmen. Davies argued that Hunkin belonged to the 'more conservative wing of the Liberal Evangelicals among whom there is a wide variety of views'. (36) It is doubtful whether this distinction was appreciated by most members of the Synod. Notwithstanding the protests by Davies and others, Kirkby allowed Bidwell to quote from the book and to continue with his speech. The vote was taken and Hunkin's name was not placed on the final list. (There can be little doubt that the Synod was difficult to manage given the highly charged atmosphere.) The Herald on 6 April 1933, reported that 'there were spirited discussions among little knots of Synod representatives outside the Chapter House.....revealed clearly the untiring moves by party leaders'. (37) When the final vote was taken, Howard Mowll secured the support of Synod and was elected Archbishop of Sydney. The two keenest supporters of Hunkin, Davies and Talbot, moved a vote of thanks to Kirkby 'for the courteous,
businesslike and able way in which he had conducted the proceedings of this session of Synod'. (38) A. J. A. Fraser, who was active in the Election Synod and who proposed J. S. Moyes, commented on Kirkby's handling of the Synod. As Chairman, Fraser judged him to be fair, although Fraser believed that he would have supported Mowll. At the Synod, Kirkby did not indicate his preference. Fraser recalled that John Bidwell 'did quote from a book and Kirkby insisted that Bidwell disclose the name and author of the book'. When Fraser objected, a number of times, he said, 'Kirkby upheld his objection against Bidwell'. (39) The Rev'd M. G. Hinsby of Hunters Hill, was concerned with the tactics used by some of the 'party leaders' but wrote 'all must be grateful for the considerate atmosphere throughout the debate and for the godly example of the President which contributed so much to this happy state'. (40) Any suggestion that Kirkby's commitment to the conservative evangelicalism, caused him to give undue consideration to John Bidwell and any other A.C.L. members in the Election Synod, does not fit the facts.

38. Sydney Diocesan Year Book 1934, p.251.
40. The Australian Church Record, 13 April 1933, p.16.
Kirkby wrote in his St. Philip's Diary of the Synod which drew together four hundred and fifty people.

After three days of animated debate and frank discussion yet loyalty to the Chair, Mowll of West China elected by big majority. Believe the appointment of God. Synod was remarkable in demonstration of Protestant Evangelicalism. (41)

Although the Special Synod, through its President, sent an invitation to Mowll immediately after the Synod ended, it was not until 24 July, that cables were received from Mowll indicating his acceptance. Mowll was not able to leave China immediately but planned to be in Sydney in February 1934. Thus Bishop Kirkby was faced with the task of administering the Diocese for another year. Amongst the tasks which fell to Kirkby as the Bishop Administrator, was the day to day administration, enforcement of the laws governing the Diocese, chairing the many committees of the Diocese and speaking at the various gatherings. He was responsible for chairing Ordinary Synod in November. Further the Bishop was involved in ongoing discussion with the New South Wales Premier in respect to the Cathedral site. (42)

The daily running of the Diocese involved Kirkby in handling a great volume of correspondence and

41. St. Philip's Diary, 6 April 1933.
42. Correspondences, 1933-1934 (Sydney Anglican Diocesan Archives)
enforcing diocesan laws, as well as his involvement in settling Parish disputes. Many clergy from outside the Diocese, wrote asking for posts within the Diocese. The Bishop found himself explaining that due to the depression, some of 'our own clergy are without work'. (43) A retired clergyman had been offered work within the Parish of Austinmer but was reported to be using Eucharistic vestments in the Services. Kirkby wrote and directed the retired Archdeacon to respect the tradition of the Diocese. (44) The Oxford Movement in 1933, was planning to celebrate its Centenary and Dr. P. A. Micklem, of St. James' Sydney, wrote inviting Kirkby to be present. Although Kirkby and Micklem were on friendly terms, the Bishop declined on the basis that 'his convictions would prevent many giving cordial and conscientious approval of much for which the movement stood'. (45)

The first Ordinary Session of the Twenty Third Synod in November 1933, found Kirkby in the chair once again. Matters relating to doctrine, discipline and administration, were to occupy an important place in the Synod. The rift, occasioned by the Election Synod of 1933, was still evident and, despite Kirkby's

43. Ibid., 19 April 1933.
44. Ibid., 15 April 1933.
45. Ibid., 27 June 1933.
skill, conflict continued. The A.C.L. worked hard to secure support for its candidates on the various diocesan councils, as did the newly formed Anglican Fellowship, headed by Davies and Talbot. The Anglican Fellowship argued that there should be a 'comprehensiveness' in the members of the various Diocesan Committees. Men of ability and spirituality 'have been deliberately excluded from the councils because they did not reflect or re-echo the opinions of a dominant majority'. (46) Complaints were received about non-licensed people preaching in Anglican pulpits and a long debate focussed on the appointment of rectors. In February 1934, Kirkby wrote to the Rev'd A. G. Rix of St. John's Balmain and the Rev'd R. H. Bootle of Beecroft, chiding them for using unlicensed preachers without his consent. (47)

In July 1933, the Bishop was involved in arranging a conference for Heads of Churches on unemployment. In August 1933, he led a deputation to see Premier Stevens to discuss the unemployment problem. (48) The Bendigo Advertiser commented about Kirkby's involvement in welfare work.

46. The Sydney Morning Herald, 8 November 1933, p.9.
47. Correspondence, February 1934
(Sydney Diocesan Archives)
He planned and worked for the relief and encouragement of the great number of men and women out of work and depressed by the economic situation and he found deep happiness in the success of the Church's efforts for the welfare of these people. (49)

As Bishop Administrator, he did not forget his friends from the B.C.A.S. days. Len Daniels, now Rector of Lithgow, wrote often asking for help. Whatever the nature of the request, Kirkby seemed always willing to help. (50)

At the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Protection of Native Races in July 1933, the Bishop spoke against white exploitation of the Aboriginals. He had seen many things which caused him to bend his head in shame, especially so in relation to the 'squalid and tattered fringe of aborigines which hung around outback towns'. Kirkby pleaded for a stronger sense of responsibility on the part of white people in this matter. (51) Kirkby's attitudes to aboriginal people had been clearly declared in his B.C.A.S. days but now he had opportunity to publicly declare his feelings. The Rev'd H. Le plastrier of Enfield, a leader in the A.C.L. wrote to Kirkby to complain about the teaching of a curate in the nearby Parish

49. The Bendigo Advertiser, 13 July 1935.
50. Correspondence, 13 April 1933, (Sydney Diocesan Archives)
51. The Australian Church Record, 6 July 1933, p.8.
of Strathfield. The curate, V.E. Twigg, was alleged to have taught some girls that there were seven sacraments. The Thirty Nine Articles of the Anglican Church teach that, 'there be only two sacraments ordained by Christ'. Twigg was ignoring official Anglican teaching. The Bishop wrote to Twigg's rector and expressed his concern about the alleged teaching. (52)

Amongst what must have been a discouraging collection of correspondence, there were letters which lightened and encouraged Kirkby. In July 1933, Kirkby wrote to the Rev'd T. Quinton of Leopold Melbourne, thanking him for his fatherly concern for him. Quinton had, according to Kirkby's letter, stood by him over the years with encouragement and concern. (53)

Throughout the correspondence of those months, there were many hints of weariness and concern about his health. He was the only bishop in Sydney, and confirmations and other tasks, being the special responsibility, had to be kept going. Within the Australian Church there were few other evangelical bishops to whom Kirkby could turn for help. Finally, the link that Kirkby had with the Diocese of Bendigo

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52. Correspondence, 2 June 1933, (Sydney Diocesan Archives)
53. Ibid., 10 July 1933.
was re-established and its Bishop, Donald Baker, an evangelical, came to the rescue and filled in for Kirkby for a short period. The Bishop was able to travel to Lord Howe Island for a Confirmation Service and a well earned holiday.

The question of the site of St. Andrew's Cathedral brought Kirkby into contact with the New South Wales political leadership. The site had been subject to encroachment by local government over the years. In 1915, further encroachments were threatened in the construction of the city's underground railway. Again in 1924, the Lord Mayor of Sydney spoke to Cathedral authorities and proposed that the City Council resume the entire site. The Council had the statutory power to do so but was willing to offer compensation of £400,000 plus land to rebuild the Cathedral elsewhere. The proposal was not well received and lapsed. Again in 1925, the question of the underground railway was raised with the threat of resumption of part of the Cathedral grounds. (54) In the same year, the Archbishop led a Deputation to meet with Premier J. T. Lang. The Premier offered compensation of £500,000 together with land on Church Hill. A Special Synod was held in May 1926 to consider Lang's offer. The Synod agreed to accept the offer

if the money plus land in Macquarie Street, could be provided. Lang's Government agreed but before legislation could be passed, Lang lost power. The new Premier, T.R. Bavin told the Diocese that the St. Andrew's site was no longer required. The affair reminded Diocesan leaders of the injustices meted out to the Diocese in years past and they decided to seek compensation for past encroachments. (55) When B. Stevens came to power in 1932, the issue was still unresolved and many Synodsmen were now unhappy about the proposed move for the Cathedral. When Wright died, Kirkby was left with the negotiations unresolved and was forced to take the matter up with the Premier.

A joint Committee of the Synod had been established with Kirkby as its chairman. Early in 1933, the Bishop conferred with the Premier on some related important points. After thinking about the matters raised by the Premier, Kirkby returned to the Premier and reached a tentative agreement. The Deputy Premier, Col. Bru<er wrote to say that when the Government redesigned the eastern side of Macquarie Street, it would be recommending to the Parliament that a site be provided for a Cathedral in lieu of the George Street site. (56) In remarks

55. Ibid.
56. Sydney Diocesan Year Book 1934, p.302
to the Synod, Kirkby spoke of the courteous and sympathetic hearing the Premier and his officers had given to the Church. A year later, when Kirkby, once again the Bishop Coadjutor, was in hospital, Stevens sent a handwritten note to wish Kirkby well. (57) The Bishop had, in the course of business, built a good relationship with the Premier and must take some credit for the cordial relationship between Church and State.

When Mowll turned his mind to the Cathedral question, he decided that he wanted the Cathedral to remain in George Street near the centre of local government, the Town Hall and beside the railway station. In 1935, the matter was concluded, the original site was largely restored, the Government paid compensation of £100,000 and enacted legislation to prohibit further encroachment except by Act of Parliament. Johnstone noted that the negotiations had lasted eleven years and gives credit to the leadership given in the matter by Wright, Boyce, Talbot and Kirkby. He mentioned that Kirkby was able to rejoice in the finality of the matter a month or so before his death. (58) Following Kirkby's

57. Letter, 9 July 1935. (In possession of Kirkby's family)
58. S. M. Johnstone, op.cit., p.53
death, the Premier said 'the Bishop's death will leave a deep gap not only in the life of the Church of England... but also in the life of the whole state'. (59)

Although Kirkby's position meant that he must be seen to be above ecclesiastical party politics, (he was rarely present at A.C.L. Committee Meetings) Bidwell claimed that 'his heart was still very much with the conservative Evangelicals. One indication of Kirkby's continued loyalty to the A.C.L. and its objectives survives in connection with the Diocesan Board of Education. In 1932, a series of letters to The Church Standard highlighted the alleged problems with the Board's teaching manuals. The Rev'd P.W. Dowe of Lakemba, wrote attacking the Sunday School manual The Trowel, for modernism in its treatment of a healing miracle. Canon A. H. Garnsey answered Dowe in the letters column of The Church Standard and defended the approach taken by The Trowel. Garnsey was a clerical member of the Board's management committee. This issue attracted the attention of the A.C.L. leadership who, after inspection of the Board's membership, would have realised that the Elected members of the Board overwhelmingly represented the liberal evangelical

wing of the Sydney Church. The membership of the Board included A. [E. Talbot, D. J. Davies, A. Hä. Garnsey, A. J. A. Fraser and O. C. A. Abram, all of whom differed from the conservative evangelicals. (60) Kirkby was persuaded to allow his name to go forward and in 1933 he and another A.C.L. member were elected to the Board. Garnsey wrote taking Kirkby to task for allowing himself to be involved in 'party politics' when acting also as Bishop Administrator. (61)

Administration did not take Kirkby over completely; he was able to arrange a 'Quiet Day' for the clergy and involve himself in the preparation of men for ordination. On 21 December 1933, he priested thirteen men and made seven others deacons in the St. Andrew's Cathedral. This was all done while the Bishop carried on his ministry at St. Philip's Church Hill. The Wednesday lunch time services at St. Philip's blossomed and he commented at the end of 1933 'Wednesday Services had been wonderfully blessed with men and women seeking after righteousness'. (62)

Much had been achieved in his short period as Bishop Administrator but in one area he failed to
make headway. The election of Mowll and the various tactics used by the A.C.L. and others, had caused great disquiet in the Diocese and despite the Bishop's skill, he was unable to establish unity in the Diocese. The old Evangelical Party in Sydney split in 1933 when the A.C.L. declined to support the Liberal Evangelical candidate. Talbot and Davies formed the Anglican Fellowship to rival the A.C.L. and provide support for their candidates in the Synodical elections. The Anglican Fellowship however, was shortlived and did not seriously threaten the A.C.L. The rift between the two groups of Evangelicals remained and it was Mowll who was left to cope with its most serious repercussions. In 1938, Mowll received a document called the Memorial, which was drawn up by fifty active Diocesan clergy, detailing their grievances. They were concerned about what they saw as an unhealthy dominance in the Diocese of a 'rather rigid conservative evangelicalism'. (63) This movement was to trouble the Archbishop for many years.

Kirkby was able to carry out his role as the Bishop Administrator with skill and acceptability.

but on 1 March 1934, he was glad to welcome Archbishop and Mrs. Mowll to Sydney. Kirkby wrote in his Diary on 1 March 'a great man of spiritual power and Christian humility. As Archbishop already appointed me as his Bishop Coadjutor, Happy am I to serve with Him.' (64)

So ended for Kirkby a period of great responsibility and achievement. The old evangelical party was now in open conflict and changes were to be ushered in with a new Archbishop. The conservative forces were overwhelmingly dominant for the first time since the death of Bishop Frederic Baker in 1882. Yet, Kirkby was no less popular and was able to ensure that Mowll was given a united welcome in March 1934. This had been a period of enormous physical and emotional strain and perhaps hastened his untimely death in 1935.

64. St. Philip's Diary, 1 March 1934.
Chapter 10

Honour in Death

The final chapter of Kirkby's life was unexpectedly short but found him still involved with the two great concerns of his life - evangelical religion and the B.C.A.S. The B.C.A.S., although lacking a little since Kirkby's departure, was nevertheless still strong and growing. The Diocese of Sydney had a Chief Pastor whose spiritual and leadership qualities left little for Kirkby to desire. In death the Bishop was greatly honoured by every section of the New South Wales community.

On 13 March 1934, Mowll was enthroned as Archbishop of Sydney by Kirkby in a Service in St. Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, attended by over one thousand people. The Governor and Lady Game, together with Premier and Mrs. Stevens, were numbered amongst the many worshippers. (1) This was Kirkby's last official act as the Bishop Administrator of the Diocese. After Mowll's enthronement, Kirkby once more became the Bishop Coadjutor and therefore responsible to the younger Archbishop (Mowll was about twelve years Kirkby's junior). There is

1. The Australian Church Record, 22 March 1934, p.3.
nothing to suggest that Kirkby relinquished power grudgingly or that he resented the younger and less experienced Englishman (less experienced in handling the Australian Church) becoming his leader. He described Mowll's arrival in Sydney as 'a great day of rejoicing'.(2) For Mowll's part, there is ample evidence that he recognised the worth of Kirkby and did much to develop a working relationship with the older and sick man. On the day of his arrival in Sydney, Mowll said 'I am thankful to God that He has enabled Bishop Kirkby to carry on in the magnificent way he has and he and I are to be colleagues together in the common service.' In Mowll's speech, at the Town Hall Welcome, he said 'he felt strengthened in the knowledge that with him, was just the colleague he needed. Bishop Kirkby has the confidence of the diocese and the affection of the people.'(3)

In a letter to the Bishop of Rockhampton, on 23 March 1934, Kirkby commented 'I thought I knew what hard work was like but I have never worked so hard in all my life as I have since the day of his arrival. The job of this Diocese has been tackled in a most wonderful way.'(4)

3. The Australian Church Record, 22 March 1934, p.4.
4. Correspondence, 23 March 1934,
   (Sydney Diocesan Archives)
At the end of April 1934, a large number of clergy and laity gathered at Sargents Restaurant to honour Kirkby and his wife. The Dean presided and the Archbishop thanked the Bishop for his many labours. A presentation was made and Mowll said 'the attendance at no gathering since my arrival has given me more pleasure than attendance at this. The Bishop deserved all that was said and given and more.' The presentation concluded, Kirkby was sent off for three months holiday which took him to Queensland and Victoria.

Although publicly Mowll spoke of working in close partnership with Kirkby, there is little evidence to suggest that Mowll leant very much upon Kirkby. This state of affairs may have come about because of Kirkby's ill health and Mowll's unwillingness to press him. F. Shaw was the Archbishop's domestic chaplain; he lived at Bishopscourt, drove the car and did the typing. He was impressed by the way the two bishops related on a personal level, but said it was not to Kirkby that Mowll looked for his guidance. This lack of reliance upon Kirkby, was due in Shaw's opinion to Kirkby's poor health. Rather, Mowll turned to S.M. Johnstone, Rector of

5. The Australian Church Record, 20 May 1934, p.4
Parramatta, a man who had a good grasp of the Diocesan legal structure and its history. (6) M. L. Loane makes the same judgement in respect to Johnstone's relationship with Mowll. In 1949, Mowll was distressed to hear of the death of Archdeacon S. M. Johnstone who had been his closest colleague since he had first come to Sydney. Mowll was to say in the Johnstone funeral oration, 'His wonderful friendship and loyalty have been one of God's good gifts to me'. (7) Johnstone, according to Shaw, often came to Bishopscourt and finally lived there. Johnstone was used by Mowll to sort out difficult situations which defied others. Shaw remembered the case of a Parish which had lost its right to call the Rector of its choice. Kirkby was sent to speak with the Parish representatives but failed to move them and persuade them to accept the Archbishop's man. Finally, Johnstone was sent and the situation was resolved. (8) In April 1934, Kirkby resigned as Archdeacon of Camden and Johnstone was appointed as Archdeacon of Camden for five years. (9) In an interview in April 1984, Archdeacon S. M. Johnstone's son, Canon J. R. L. Johnstone claimed that Kirkby

6. Interview with the Rev'd Frederick Shaw, 2 June 1983.
8. Interview with the Rev'd F. Shaw, 2 June 1983.
introduced his father to Mowll and encouraged Mowll to trust him and rely upon his judgement. (10)

Early in 1935, the Anglican Bishops met to elect a new Primate. The title Primate is given to the Archbishop chosen by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Australian Church, to rank first among them. He presides on General Synod and acts as the first amongst equals. By tradition, the choice of a Primate was confined to the archbishops of the Australian Church. The Sydney Archbishop had, up to this point in time, always been elected as Primate. But in 1935, by one vote, the Primacy went to Perth. Mowll felt his rejection had to do with his evangelical conviction and the hostility to the Evangelical character of the Diocese. (11)

Kirkby was very unhappy and disappointed and wrote of the choice that there was little regard to history and the place of Sydney Diocese. Perhaps Sydney was being made 'to suffer because of its evangelical character'. (12)

With Mowll's arrival, Kirkby was able to give greater attention to the Church Hill Parish. The building of the Harbour Bridge was to affect the Parish in a number of ways. Houses were demolished

and parishioners moved to other areas. Portion of St. Philip's site was resumed to make way for the new road system for the Bridge. This issue took up much of Kirkby's time and energy but in April 1934, he was able to report that the Government paid the Parish £6,000 compensation plus an amount of £1,760 as interest. With a portion of this compensation, the Bishop was able to arrange for the dilapidated St. Philip's Rectory to be renovated throughout. (13) The question of memorial doors was raised in May 1933 and Kirkby was able to suggest to the Parish Council that they might erect doors in memory of his mentor and friend, Bishop John Langley. Langley had been a Rector of St. Philip's before moving to Bendigo. As the Parish minister, Kirkby was responsible for teaching scripture in Fort Street Girl's High School. He was able to establish a meaningful relationship with the school and after his death, the Kirkby family established a prize for scholars in Australian History. (14) As the Parish was set in the city centre, many needy people called at the Rectory for help. Many were given food, and Kirkby was able to make an arrangement with the Sydney City Mission to help these people on a long term basis. (15) The ministry of St. Philip's developed

13. Ibid., 4 April 1934
15. Ibid.
and influenced many people living outside the Parish. The Wednesday lunch time services grew in popularity as did the Sunday 8.00 a.m. service. Kirkby had a special affection for St. Philip's and in an article written in early 1933, he ranged over the nature of the ministry at St. Philip's. He wanted to help the needy as well as to establish St. Philip's as 'the great Evangelical centre of Sydney. This beautiful and dignified church must be the home of all that is best in our Reformed Communion.' (16)

This is a curious statement and it is difficult to know what Kirkby meant or how he would set about to accomplish his aim. Perhaps he felt that St. Andrew's Cathedral and St. James' King Street, were lacking in evangelical fervour.

Kirkby's link with the A.C.L. continued in the last part of his life. In a press release on 20 September 1934, he is listed as being a clerical vice-president of the League. (17) J. Bidwell, and vice-president, remembered that Kirkby did not attend League meetings but was nevertheless still a strong supporter. (18) Another clear indication of his

16. The Australian Church Record, 2 February 1933, p.3.
17. Press Release A.C.L. Elections, 12 September 1933 (A.C.L. Archives, Moore College)
18. Transcript of interview - J. Bidwell and D. W. B. Robinson, August 1972, (Held by S. Judd)
continual support for the League and its objectives was his willingness to speak at a Great Evangelical Rally in October 1934, on the subject 'Our Catholic Heritage'. This Rally was to be linked with Reformation Sunday which fell on 28 October. The other Rally, Speaker was Canon H. S. Begbie, the President of the A.C.L. (19)

The usual round of Confirmations, committees and preaching engagements continued for Kirkby until about April 1935. But he was showing clear signs of a marked deterioration in health. In April 1935, Mowll forbade his preaching more than once on Sunday and ordered him to rest as much as possible during the week. (20) For a man so active, this was a difficult course to follow. Finally, he was ordered to hospital for treatment and observation. Whilst in the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital, Sydney, he was told of the death of Principal Davies on 29 June 1935. Davies had taught at Moore Theological College for twenty-four years. There is a story associated with Davies' death and the appointment of the new Principal, T. C. Hammond which has been consistently linked with Kirkby. (21) Kirkby met and established a relationship with Hammond when he was visiting Australia in 1926 for a lecture tour. T. C. Hammond,

19. The Australian Church Record, 18 October 1934, p.8.
an outspoken conservative Evangelical academic, had greatly impressed Kirkby. It is said that while in Hospital, Kirkby urged the Archbishop to arrange for Hammond's appointment as the next Principal of Moore College. The fortunes and affairs of the College had always been close to Kirkby's heart. He realised how important the College was in developing and maintaining a strong conservative Evangelical movement in Sydney. If the story is true, Kirkby's final act was to be very important in the continuance of the Evangelical tradition which he loved and defended through his ministry.

Death came swiftly but before he died, Kirkby was able, at his last, to die in the faith he lived by and developed. Mowll, in the Kirkby Funeral Address, related some of the exchanges he had with Kirkby in his last days. The Bishop told Mowll:

> in the lonesomeness of the last night when I thought I was dying, I anchored my faith to the Rock. Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. I have such joy and peace in believing. (22)

On the last day he was conscious, he could just whisper, 'the Blood of Jesus cleanseth me from all sin'. (23) Kirkby died in Hospital on 13 July 1935.

22. Archbishop Mowll's Funeral Address, 15 July 1935, (Family Records)
23. Ibid.
of chronic nephritis, arteriosclerosis and uraemia, aged fifty-six years. (24) He died, comforted by the evangelical message of redemption in Christ by faith alone that he had preached and defended for over forty years.

The Bishop's Funeral was an impressive demonstration of regard and involved many sections of the New South Wales Community. The Bishop's body was taken to St. Philip's Church on 14 July, where it remained overnight. The next day, Kirkby's remains were taken to St. Andrew's Cathedral for a public Funeral. The Cathedral was filled to capacity and a great crowd lined the funeral route. Kirkby's remains, after the Funeral, were taken through the streets, lined with mourners, to St. Philip's Church Hill, where he was buried in a special grave. Mourners represented the wider Anglican Church, leaders of other denominations, a representative of the Governor together with the New South Wales Premier. The cortege, accompanied by a police escort, moved along George Street to St. Philip's Church. (25)

Tributes were printed in many secular and denominational newspapers following Kirkby's death and funeral. In an attempt to sum up the judgements made by those who worked with and knew Kirkby,

24. Death Certificate, 14 July 1935 (In family records)
information from a number of sources will be examined. Information, impressions, reflections will be gathered from Anglican and other denominational newspapers, the secular press and from people who knew and worked with Kirkby. He was remembered as a man of many parts with a personal depth not easily matched by his contemporaries.

In the funeral address, Archbishop Mowll, who was greatly distressed by the death of his colleague, spoke of his evangelical faith. Mowll told his audience, in the Cathedral, that this faith 'was the source of his strength'. (26) In an Editorial in *The Australian Church Record*, the Editor felt that Australia was vastly the poorer for the passing of the Right Rev'd Sydney James Kirkby. *The Record* was proud of this 'sturdy Protestant Evangelical'. (27) In a Sydney Diocese Standing Committee Resolution, August 1935, Kirkby is described as a 'true son of Evangelical religion'. (28) The Rev'd R. N. Langshaw who worked with the B.C.A.S. in the 1930s said 'we went out to fight for the evangelical tradition'. (29) This was the tradition

which Kirkby stamped on the Society. Together with Kirkby's strong and lifelong commitment to Evangelicalism, were many other aspects which marked Kirkby out. Mowll highlighted his essential humility.

As I worked with him, I was constantly humiliated by his humility. He never thought of himself; I never found him under any conditions touchy or jealous or proud. He was always so eager to help, always so ready to serve, always prepared to be in the second place - or to be forgotten altogether - so long as the work could be done and Christ could be proclaimed. (30)

W.L. Langley, a lifelong friend, wrote, 'His acceptance of the work of a Bishop was approached with genuine humility and as a matter of duty'. (31) Canon N. Rook, who worked with the B.C.A.S. in Willochra Diocese in 1930s, judged the most prominent characteristic of the Bishop was his 'outstanding humility'. When Kirkby was made a Bishop, Rook remembered that this did not change him, he remained humble. (32) Other contemporary writers recognised Kirkby to be a widely gifted man. The Editor of The Record described Kirkby as 'a gifted many-sided man'. (33) In the same vein, The Melbourne Sun

30. Archbishop's Funeral Address, p.3
31. The Real Australian, 4 September 1935, p.4
32. Interview with Canon N. Rook, 17 May 1983.
33. The Australian Church Record, 25 July 1935, p.1
reported that the Bishop's work with B.C.A.S. was 'eminently successful'. (34) The Archbishop of Brisbane felt that Kirkby had proven himself as a good administrator in his work with the B.C.A.S. and as Bishop in the Diocese of Sydney. (35) The Sydney Diocese Standing Committee recorded its gratitude for the powers of administration that he brought to his task. 'As Administrator, he won the confidence of all sections of the Church by his fairness and tact.' (36) Archbishop Mowll also made mention of Kirkby's gift of administration in his Funeral address. 'Those gifts of administration which he showed in his work for the settlers outback were soon realised in this Diocese where he became Archdeacon and then Bishop.....' (37) W. L. Langley also commented on Kirkby's abilities as 'a wise administrator'. (38)

A number of people made special mention of Kirkby's affectionate and human qualities. The Sydney Morning Herald said the announcement of Kirkby's death would be received with sincere regret by all sections

34. The Melbourne Sun, 13 July 1935.
36. Standing Committee Resolution, Sydney Diocesan Year Book 1936, p.353
37. Funeral Address, p.1.
38. The Real Australian, September 1935, p.2.
of the Commonwealth because he was a "popular person". He acted with tact and judgement during a trying period of diocesan history. (39) W. L. Langley said he was 'a very human and affectionate' man. (40) Mrs. E. Smith, a long time parishioner of the Parish of Ryde, remembered Kirkby as 'being very approachable and had an instant sympathy with children. It did not matter what his official position was, he was one with the rest of us - he was so friendly and so loving.' (41) Miss Irene Manning worked as Kirkby's secretary for many years, when he was Organizing Secretary of the B.C.A.S. She remembers him 'as a wonderful character who thought the best of everyone. He was thoughtful, kind and always going the extra step. He was a good boss.' (42) Canon Rook said Kirkby was approachable and could mix with all sorts of people, (43) while the Rev'd L. Lambert felt that Kirkby was an evangelical, but not a bigotted man, 'a man of broad sympathies'. (44) Both Miss Manning and the author of the Standing Committee Resolution, recognised another aspect in Kirkby's make-up - 'humour'. The Standing Committee Resolution comments

40. The Real Australian, op. cit.
41. Interview with Mrs. E. Smith, 10 May 1983.
42. Interview with Miss I. Manning, 28 March 1983.
43. Interview with Canon N. Rook, 17 May 1983.
44. Interview with the Rev'd L. Lambert, 8 April 1983.
'Keenly alive to the humorous side of life, never did he trifle with the duties of his sacred office.' (45) There is no doubt that Kirkby was very human and full of life and personality. He was described as having 'a radiant personality'. (46) So much was achieved for the B.C.A.S. and for the Diocese of Sydney because Kirkby was willing to use his gifts of personality in the establishment and support of the causes to which he was committed.

Other aspects of this many-sided person were remembered. Premier Stevens of New South Wales knew him as a result of negotiations about the St. Andrew's Cathedral site. He said:

He crammed into a few comparatively short years many achievements. There were few worthy movements in this State that were not richer because of his influence since he came among us a few years ago to fill so prominent a position. (47)

Given that the Premier might have been saying the expected about the death of a prominent citizen, it is especially interesting that he should highlight Kirkby's incessant work. W. L. Langley (who probably wrote the Standing Committee Minute) also identified this aspect of Kirkby's personality.

45. Standing Committee Resolution, Sydney Diocesan Year Book 1936, p.353.
46. Ibid.
47. The Australian Church Record, 25 July 1935, p.7.
The Bishop's years were not very many but he had lived life to the full. He seemed never for a moment to be still—preaching, writing, travelling, raising money and fighting the Lord's battle. (48)

Miss I. Manning was also very conscious of Kirkby's ceaseless activity. She remembers 'as Organizing Missioner he was a very hard worker who thought the world of his family but for whom work came first'. (49) Many Christian leaders of the Kirkby era would have adopted a similar lifestyle. Maybe this approach could be traced back to the influence of the Keswick Movement which placed great emphasis on total commitment to the work of the Church. Even when room is left for some exaggeration in the various interviewers' perception of Kirkby's work, it is clear that many of his contemporaries felt that he achieved a great deal in a short time and that he was a tireless worker. In fact, another theme which is repeated by many who knew Kirkby, linked his premature death to his great work load. The Sydney Morning Herald described Kirkby as a man who 'spared himself not at all'. (50) The Rev'd David Livingstone also was convinced that the Bishop 'killed himself with work'. (51) Mr. Livingstone knew Kirkby and worked with the B.C.A.S. The Kirkby family also were

48. The Real Australian, September 1935 p.2
49. Interview with Miss I. Manning, 28 March 1983.
50. The Sydney Morning Herald, 13 July 1935.
51. Interview with the Rev'd David Livingstone, 29 March 1983.
241.

convinced that Kirkby's ceaseless endeavours on behalf of the B.C.A.S. and the Diocese of Sydney, led to his premature death. (52)

Some sources make reference to the Bishop's social concern and efforts on behalf of the underprivileged. The Bendigo Advertiser led with the heading 'Distinguished Bendigman's death in Sydney'. In an insight into Kirkby's social concern, The Advertiser mentioned that when on a visit to Bendigo in 1934, the Bishop had spoken about 'the great problem of unemployment among the people in the cities of the Commonwealth as a subject nearest to his heart'. The newspaper went on to say that Kirkby found 'deep happiness in the success of the churches' effort for the welfare of these people'. (53) While it is true that Kirkby did have great concern for the needs of others, (hence bush nurses and hospitals and welfare help for callers to the St. Philip's Rectory, Sydney) this could hardly be seen as a major emphasis in Kirkby's ministry. The Rev'd R.N. Langshaw pointed out that most Anglicans in Sydney in Kirkby's era were caught up in internal ecclesiastical conflicts. The conflicts ranged around the 1928 Deposited Prayer Book and whether

52. Interview with the Kirkby family, 28 February 1983
53. The Bendigo Advertiser, 13 July 1935
or not there should be dancing and raffles in the churches. Social issues were not dominant. (54)

Kirkby's ability as a speaker, preacher and debater was remembered by a variety of people. The Sydney Telegraph believed that 'his contributions to Synodical debates on important Australian problems, were always listened to with respect and had much weight owing to the constructive suggestions which his speeches invariably contained'. (55) The Rev'd L. Lambert first remembered Kirkby as a preacher in 1920s, in St. Barnabas' Ingleburn. Kirkby, he recalled, described the work at Wilcannia in 'such a delightful way that one could listen to him for hours'. (56) Canon N. Rook said he was a plain talker, blunt and straight to the point. He caught the Australian spirit of the day and could communicate well his love and concern for the Australian outback. (57) Miss I. Manning remembers Kirkby as a very eloquent preacher who usually preached without full notes. (58)

Another facet of Kirkby's character, remembered by those who knew him, was his ability to conduct penetrating interviews. Langshaw and Livingstone both remarked, independently, on the power of Kirkby's

55. The Sydney Telegraph, 13 July 1935.
56. Interview with the Rev'd L. Lambert, 8 April 1983.
57. Interview with Canon N. Rook, 17 May 1983.
58. Interview with Miss I. Manning, 28 March 1983.
technique in the interview situation. Both men were interviewed by Kirkby before they were ordained. Langshaw commented that in the interview prior to ordination, Kirkby let it be known that if a man were not sure of his calling to the Christian ministry, he ought not to proceed to ordination. (59)

Finally, in reviewing the opinions held by those who knew the B.C.A.S. of Kirkby and the B.C.A.S. of other Organizing Missioners, many felt that the Society's image and contribution slipped a little, in the period following Kirkby's resignation. D. Livingstone is convinced that the B.C.A.S. was never greater than when it was under Kirkby's direction. (60) Lambert felt there 'have been good organizing missioners since Kirkby but no one approached Kirkby'. (61) Canon Rook agreed with the judgement of Livingstone and Lambert that the B.C.A.S. was the poorer with Kirkby's movement into administration within the Sydney Diocese. (62)

M. L. Loane, an Australian Church historian and sometime Archbishop of Sydney, summed his judgement of Kirkby very succinctly, 'Bishop Kirkby was a splendid man'. (63)

60. Ibid.
61. Interview with L.J. Lambert 8 April 1983.
62. Interview with Canon N. Rook 17 May 1983.
63. Correspondence with M. L. Loane 19 February 1983.
The tributes and judgements passed by both secular and religious leaders were augmented when the Sydney Synod next met following Kirkby's death. Mowll said 'although we were strangers to one another when I arrived in March last year, his humility, loyalty, unselfishness and wisdom made it possible for us at once to work together in the closest cooperation'. (64) As a lasting memorial, the Archbishop suggested to the Synod, that a worthy plaque be placed over Kirkby's grave. (65) Further, the Standing Committee of the Diocese promoted an Ordinance which provided for two hundred pounds per annum to be paid to Mrs. Kirkby. The Diocese also paid all funeral costs.

While allowing that the dead are often spoken well of, it is nevertheless, apparent that those people who remembered Kirkby and who worked with him, both respected and appreciated him for the many talents he brought to bear upon his life's work. With the passing of the years, that appreciation and respect has not diminished or changed. Sydney James Kirkby was clearly a greatly admired churchman and citizen of Australia. Since his death, a hospital named after Kirkby was

64. Sydney Diocesan Year Book 1936, p.294.
65. Ibid.
opened in Cook, South Australia, by Archbishop Mowll in 1937. (66) In 1970, the Parish of St. Anne's Ryde, opened a large block of residential units and in honour of an esteemed past Rector, called them Kirkby Gardens. Such is the admiration that those who knew Kirkby yet hold him in.

66. M. L. Loane, op.cit., p. 141
Kirkby in Melbourne 1935
Chapter 11

Conclusion

It is not a simple task to draw together threads of this study and offer conclusions. Kirkby was a many-sided man whose loss was felt deeply by Church and State. Nevertheless, two main issues dominated his relatively short life: his commitment to the conservative Evangelical Party within the Anglican Church and his great love and concern for the people of the Australian Outback.

His earliest contact with the Anglican Church was in Bendigo, where he sat under the ministry of a prominent and able conservative Evangelical, Dean J. C. MacCullagh. MacCullagh ministered in Bendigo for nearly fifty years and was the only Rector of St. Paul's Bendigo Kirkby knew as a youth. He moulded Kirkby's spiritual loyalties and convictions. Herbert Begbie, a curate of St. Paul's was also to leave his mark on the young Kirkby. Another influential evangelical, Canon N. Jones, trained Kirkby for ordination in Moore College Sydney. Jones' influence was very important and long-lasting. The first two bishops of Bendigo, brothers, H.A and J.Q Langley, were also convinced conservative Evangelicals.
and they, by their friendship and support, further confirmed Kirkby in the evangelical faith. Kirkby had been recognised as a leader of promise whose academic record at Moore College had been outstanding and thus, was prepared for leadership by men such as N. Jones and the Langley Brothers. Perhaps, Kirkby's first significant contribution to the preservation and defence of conservative evangelicalism in the Anglican Church came with an appointment as tutor in Moore College in 1911 under Jones, whose health was failing. Soon after, Jones died and Kirkby was appointed the Acting Principal. The importance of the role of Theological Colleges in maintaining the evangelical tradition in the Sydney Diocese was not lost to Kirkby. So, for a short time in 1912, he was able to contribute in a significant way to the training of men in this theological outlook. However, his influential contribution was to be short-lived, as Archbishop Wright appointed a liberal Evangelical in the person of John Davies to be the next Principal of Moore College. This appointment set up tension in the College, but Kirkby was able to escape for a period by going to Durham to finish an Arts degree. When he returned, tensions surfaced again, and he
and others, realised that he lacked the academic ability to remain in the College and accepted the important appointment of Rector of Ryde.

His move to Ryde roughly coincided with the early growth of the Anglican Church League. The League, in its earliest days, drew both liberal and conservative Evangelicals into its membership and became a very powerful ecclesiastical political party in Sydney. Over the years, 1917 to 1920, Kirkby acted as the Clerical Secretary of the League and addressed public meetings called to support the evangelical cause. Evangelicals, both conservative and liberal, were concerned to unite against modernism and tractarianism. Thus, Kirkby, very early in his ministry, was in the forefront of church politics. In his days at Ryde, he began to contribute to The Australian Church Record, writing a column under the nom de plume "Spermologos". In this regular column, he fiercely defended and argued for conservative evangelicalism. Such was his skill with words, that his column appeared for over fifteen years.

But there was more to be done to further the cause of conservative Evangelicals in the Australian Church. Rather than just defend, some evangelical
party men in Sydney and beyond, he recognised in the years after the first World War, that there were opportunities to attack, by sending evangelicals to non-Evangelical Dioceses. (Most Australian Dioceses were non-Evangelical) Thus, the B.C.A.S. was formed late in 1919 and Kirkby, a known, trusted and able younger evangelical, was chosen to head up the new Society. For twelve years he worked day and night to establish the infant Society. There was opposition and derision, but slowly there was acceptance by various bishops of the Australian Church. Although throughout his B.C.A.S. years, his public defence of the conservative Evangelical cause was muted, he continued, as Spermologos, to defend the Evangelical cause and the Diocese of Sydney. His placement of Evangelicals in other Dioceses and his own widespread ministry in 1920s, gave expression to the Evangelical stance in many places hitherto closed to evangelicals. While his contribution to the Evangelical cause was very significant in his B.C.A.S. work, perhaps even greater opportunities were to be presented to him as the Bishop Administrator of the Diocese of Sydney.

Soon after his appointment as Bishop Coadjutor in Sydney in 1932, the Archbishop died. This meant
that Kirkby assumed the leadership of the largest and most complex of Australian Anglican Dioceses. He presided over the Election Synod in 1933 which invited Howard Mowll, the 'prince' of conservative Evangelical bishops, to become the next Archbishop of Sydney. Although Kirkby did not openly declare his preference for Mowll, it was known that he supported Mowll's nomination. It is difficult to know how much Kirkby influenced the processes of the Election Synod but it is hard to believe that he was unaware of the tactics that the supporters of Mowll would adopt, at least in general terms. Kirkby would have known of the split in the A.C.L. and the determination of Talbot and Davies to bring a liberal Evangelical to Sydney as the next Archbishop. John Bidwell, a friend of Kirkby and a leading member of the A.C.L., said Kirkby did not attend meetings after his consecration, but continued to support the League. When the A.C.L., in 1934, decided to wrest control of the Diocesan Board of Education from a group of liberal Evangelicals, Kirkby allowed his name to go forward as a nominee to aid the League in its efforts. As President of the Election Synod, all sections of the Church praised Kirkby for his fair and just management of the Synod. A few days before Kirkby's death, and just after Davies' death, it is
said that Kirkby pleaded with Mowll to appoint T.C. Hammond, an Irish conservative Evangelical, to replace Davies as Principal of Moore Theological College. It is not possible to verify the truth of this story but it would be in keeping with Kirkby's desire for conservative Evangelicals to control the teaching at the College. While it is difficult to assess Kirkby's role in the election of Mowll and in the appointment of T.C. Hammond in 1935 to Moore College, it is significant that both appointments brought radical changes to the character of Diocesan leadership. Both appointments took place while, or soon after, Kirkby was in the place of greatest power and influence. The conservative Evangelical movement gave Kirkby much, but in return, he proved to be, over a lifetime, a faithful member and defender of the movement. While it is true that Kirkby did not possess the gifts to rise to the most powerful and influential position in the Diocese of Sydney (Principal of Moore College and Archbishop of Sydney) and therefore of the conservative Evangelical Party, he did enable other outstanding members of the Party to move to such positions. It may be that Kirkby should be best remembered as a catalyst who enabled others to further the cause of the conservative Evangelical party in Australia.
Any analysis of Kirkby's life must also include a review of his commitment to the needs of outback people. Perhaps, it is not difficult to trace the beginnings of that concern. He was raised in a provincial city and spent his early years of ministry in a number of rural parishes in the Diocese of Bendigo. He captured the spirit of the outback and was at home and enjoyed his frequent journeys through the scattered settlements in the outback. He gave himself unreservedly in an attempt to meet not only the spiritual but also the physical needs of outback settlers. Hospitals and hostels were built and staff was found by Kirkby for these institutions. Bush nurses and deaconesses were recruited and sent to bring comfort and help to outback women and children. He organised the sending of Christmas presents to deprived country families and gave encouragement and help to aboriginals. Undoubtedly, he accomplished much for outback people, because he really cared for them as people rather than as potential converts to his faith. Kirkby established a pattern of operation which the Society has not moved away from. The use of specially designed boxes for the collection of funds, Annual Rallies, extensive preaching tours and the publication
of *The Real Australian*, were part of Kirkby's strategy and still remain important aspects of the B.C.A.S. programme. The Rev'd R. Langshaw, who knew the B.C.A.S. in Kirkby's time and who later served as the New South Wales B.C.A.S. Secretary (1974-1976), believed that there is at least one significant change. Whereas in Kirkby's day, missioners went out to do battle for the evangelical cause, that emphasis, while still present, has been softened. (1) Certainly, the Society has never had since Kirkby, such a committed conservative evangelical party man at its head. Further, no Organizing Missioner, has even had such strong links with the Diocese of Sydney as Kirkby had. During his work with the Society, he was given a high level of support by many of the leading clergy of the Diocese.

Kirkby's achievements had endured in many areas and it would be easy to overlook him as a man. There is clear evidence that he was a humble person who was prepared to be overlooked or forgotten. He was able to move easily amongst the rich and powerful, yet, he was a friend to the poor and deprived. His Spermologos Column displayed,

1. Interview with the Rev'd R. Langshaw, 20 April 1983.
amongst other aspects of his personality, his sense of humour. But this sense of humour was never allowed to intrude upon his duties in an unhelpful way. He was a loyal friend and even when raised to high office within the Church, he stood with his lifelong friends in their struggles and plans. Hence, he was prepared to allow his name to go forward, when Bishop Administrator, to help the A.C.L. (his friends) secure control of the Board of Education. This action was probably unwise, but such was his loyalty to his friends, that he was prepared to take the risk involved.

It is difficult to point to flaws in Kirkby's character, but some of the interviewees did suggest that Kirkby was almost completely consumed by his work. It is known that Kirkby had a happy marriage and home life, but his work came before his family. Not only did his work come before his family, but his work came before his health. Even after receiving warnings that he should slow down, he continued to work at a tremendous pace. If there was a blind spot in his character, it would appear to be that he put work before everything. But before a judgement can be passed, Kirkby must be seen against his own age.
It was not unusual for Kirkby's clerical colleagues to accept the same sort of work commitment for themselves. The Keswick movement, with its teaching of the need for full surrender of all to the Lord's work, would have also shaped Kirkby's life patterns. With hindsight, it is clear that Kirkby worked too hard and brought upon himself sickness and premature death. His constant busyness robbed the Anglican Church, his family and his friends of a splendid man who, if he had lived, could have given so much more. Yet in his relatively short ministry, his vision and humanity enriched the lives of many of his fellow Australians.

Although Kirkby rose to lead, for a short period, the largest Australian Diocese and knew the rich and famous, he never lost his humility and faith in the God whom he believed saved him and enabled him to serve the people of Australia in both the city and outback.
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The Bibliography includes material listed in the footnotes together with a limited range of sources relevant to the issues referred to in the thesis.

The sources have been divided as follows:

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   (2) Published
   (3) Newspaper Collections
   (4) Interviews

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