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## **'THE RIGHT MAN IN THE RIGHT PLACE' W.T. Whitley in Australia (1891-1901)**

He impresses everyone as being the right man in the right place, and, in these days of broad theology, we may congratulate ourselves on having a teacher of such culture, combined with reverence for the inspired Word of God. <sup>50</sup>

This was how Victorian Baptists first assessed the Revd W.T. Whitley (1861-1947), who had arrived to be the founding principal of the Baptist College of Victoria in 1891. Ten years later not all supported the optimism of this first impression. Was Whitley 'the right man in the right place'? The answer requires an examination of the man and the place as well as the times, for those 'days of broad theology' also became days of financial crisis for the colony.

### I

When the Baptists of Victoria invited Whitley to be their founding principal they had every reason to be optimistic. 'Marvellous Melbourne' was a splendid city built from the benefits of the gold rush and the economic boom which it sparked.<sup>51</sup> Baptists were only a small community of forty-four churches in 1888 and, although about 20,000 claimed to be Baptist, only 4,736 were members of Baptist churches.<sup>52</sup>

Yet from such a minority group a magnificent financial resource had come. An anonymous donor had promised the twenty-fourth annual session of the Baptist Association in 1884 that he would give £25,000 on condition that Victorian Baptists gave a similar amount in the following five years. At the Jubilee celebrations in 1888 an excited gathering was informed that the Fund had been subscribed. Visiting preacher Dr Alexander Maclaren inspired the Baptists with his address in which he encouraged them to establish a form of congregationalism that was 'redolent of the soil' and not to 'starve your education for the ministry'. The Victorian Baptist Fund (VBF) was to be applied to establish the College, to help build new churches, assist struggling churches and support retired pastors. It was administered by trustees, mainly lay people with business and professional skills, who became influential if largely unseen forces in the destiny of the new College.<sup>53</sup>

Earlier attempts to provide training for pastors had been in association with individual ministers, such as James Taylor at Collins Street, Melbourne, or in co-operation with the Congregationalists. Presbyterians and Methodists had colleges associated with the University of Melbourne and some Baptists had dreamed of having their own college, even an intercolonial college. So when the VBF was established the decision to commence a college was hastily taken.<sup>54</sup>

Finances were secure, with an amount of £800 per annum available from the VBF, a constitution was adopted, a committee was appointed; but there was no

building, no library, only a handful of students. To establish the College as a reality was a daunting task. The first decision taken was to appoint a principal.

Very few in the colony had any real idea of what was involved in running a college. Most pastors had come from England and were graduates of Spurgeon's or Regent's Park or Bristol Colleges, with an influential group in Melbourne who had trained at Rawdon in the north of England. These men all thought of a college in the light of their own experiences. The leading minister was without doubt Samuel Chapman (1831-99) of Collins Street, consistently and affectionately known as 'the Baptist bishop'. He had been a leading figure in the raising of the VBF money and chaired the Fund.<sup>55</sup> He was a Rawdon man, whilst a younger recent arrival in the colony was the Revd F.E. Harry, also a contemporary and close friend of Whitley at Rawdon. Harry had been appointed the first secretary of the College Committee and it was he who raised Whitley's name. Chapman wrote to Maclaren, asking him if he could assist them in enquiries about Whitley.

Maclaren sought advice from the Revd William Medley, a tutor at Rawdon (Whitley's uncle, the Revd T.G. Rooke, was President of Rawdon College but was in very poor health, dying in December 1890 just as negotiations with Whitley were being completed.<sup>56</sup>). Medley replied to each of the questions raised by Chapman, reporting that Whitley was 'a quick working rapidly acquisitive type', who had worked hard to obtain the Fellowship of the Senatus Academicus of the Associated Theological Colleges in England and Wales. Whitley 'takes pleasure in teaching' and tutoring seemed 'his natural vocation', observed Medley. He was reserved in his comments about him as a preacher: conscientious, 'but originality, Force & Fire would be too much to expect amid such other gifts'. Pleasant to deal with, 'no self seeker', a master of detail and 'gentlemanlike in manner & ways', concluded Medley. No comment on his theological position seems to have been sought or offered but it is a remarkably accurate and honest depiction of the man who was invited to Melbourne.<sup>57</sup>

Whitley was not yet thirty when he left England for Australia on 24 April 1891. He was clearly a gifted scholar with his MA and LL M from Cambridge and had served as pastor at Bridlington, Yorks, from 1888-1891, as well as tutoring at Rawdon in Hebrew, Greek and Apologetics. He had been offered a salary of £400 p.a. (well above most Baptist pastors in Australia), an appointment for three years, and a first-class passage for his wife and himself, though 'his services for preaching should be at the disposal of the committee'.<sup>58</sup>

On the way out Whitley visited the Baptist mission in Ceylon and acted as accompanist to travelling music-hall singers. He was astonished to note that a deacon of Spurgeon's Tabernacle had participated in the daily sweepstake, and also observed that 'the interchanges at night between cabins gave a picture of life that was quite fresh in our experience'.<sup>59</sup> Clearly Alice and William Whitley were learning much about life away from the pastoral routines of Yorkshire. The

Whitleys were given a warm reception in Melbourne but a challenging task awaited the young principal and his sickly wife.

Soon after the Whitleys arrived there were disturbing economic developments. In 1892 the small land-banks and building societies began to fail. The land boom had burst. By 1893 things had become extremely serious and the main banks faced a crisis. Fortunes were lost, unemployment was rife. The banking disaster triggered a major depression. The decade that the Whitleys lived in Melbourne was one of the most difficult in the city's history.<sup>60</sup> The trustees of the VBF had managed to 'rescue' their money just in time.<sup>61</sup>

This was the economic and social climate in which the small Baptist community in Victoria had resolved to start an exciting new venture and they hailed W.T. Whitley as 'the right man in the right place'. But was it the right time?

## II

Whilst Whitley's leadership among Australian Baptists ranged over many aspects of denominational life, his prime calling was to be the first principal of the first college. This aspect of his work is reviewed first, although his wider denominational work was clearly of strategic relevance to the effectiveness of his college work.

Melbourne in the two decades before Whitley arrived had seen considerable religious controversy, reflecting in large part the serious intellectual challenges which the Western church was facing in response to the views of modern thinkers and scientists. Baptists in the colony pored over the reports in the British religious press about various theological controversies. Melbourne had experienced its own religious drama in the wake of a controversial address by Justice Higinbotham on 'Science and Religion' in 1883, which resulted in a serious split in the Presbyterian Church and the establishment of Charles Strong's 'Australian Church'.<sup>62</sup>

Baptists had been following reports of the Downgrade Controversy associated with C.H. Spurgeon and his followers in 1887. By that year there were forty-four graduates of Spurgeon's Pastors' College in Australia, far more than from any other college. Spurgeon was greatly admired in Australia for, as he put it, he had 'many spiritual sons in the Antipodes'.<sup>63</sup> There was much support for his stand. One Spurgeon's graduate in Victoria wrote to Spurgeon's paper, *The Sword and Trowel*, that his words about the downgrade 'are only more painfully and notoriously applicable here than anywhere else', although he had subsequently clarified that he was not referring to local Baptists but to the church scene generally.<sup>64</sup>

All this was doubtless in mind when the welcome to Whitley spoke about 'days of broad theology'. The same journal in announcing Whitley's appointment solemnly insisted: 'No position in our Denomination is of larger importance, because no man will have larger opportunities of moulding the ministers of the future than the Principal of our College'.<sup>65</sup>

The Victorian Baptists, in search of their new principal, had not turned to the more practical Spurgeonian pattern of theological education but to the more traditional and academic traditions of Rawdon. Their decision was a comment on the concern for quality in educational standards, for they wanted to prepare men locally who would have, as far as was possible, the same standards of education as 'back home'. They wanted to transpose the methods and curricula of England to Melbourne.

The problem for Whitley and for all who dreamed of such a college was that Baptists in Australia revealed all the diversities of British Baptist life and added some of their own! Whilst some wanted an educated and cultured ministry, many others, not least admirers of Spurgeon and graduates of his college, looked for evangelists and simple but earnest pastors. Some wanted leaders who would guide them in dealing with the new intellectual challenges of the age, whilst others preferred those who would uncritically preach 'old-fashioned' gospel and, indeed, were highly suspicious of education for ministers. Whitley, it emerged, was expected to prepare missionaries for India, and educate pastors for the discriminating city churches, as well as home missionaries who, with little or no formal education, were sent to remote places to evangelize and care for small churches.

Whitley made an enthusiastic beginning. The month after arriving he gave the inaugural lecture on 31 July in the lecture hall of the Collins Street Church. His topic was 'The Necessity for Ministerial Training' and was a carefully crafted statement.<sup>66</sup> He answered those who doubted the relevance of religion and critics such as 'a few German theologians' who were quite clear that Christianity was 'exploded'. Whitley then defended the need for preaching, especially against 'Ritualists', who taught that the sermon was no part of worship. If the need for preaching was conceded, then there was a case for the training of preachers. Whitley then answered 'several Strict Baptists' who saw no use in such training and advocated that the Holy Spirit would directly inspire such preachers with what they would say.

More positively, Whitley insisted on the inspiration of the Bible and that any minister needed to know the Bible thoroughly:

The Bible will be the great theme of our study here, for it is the source of such knowledge about God as includes and surpasses all other . . . And the more firmly we hold that in the Bible we have the word of God, the more anxious we shall be to study it in the language used by the holy men he inspired . . .

If the Bible and biblical languages were to be the primary focus, other subjects were also necessary: apologetics, biblical and dogmatic theology, homiletics, church history. To these 'technical' subjects should be added English literature, logic or mathematics, ancient classics and, 'lest the theologian get too out of touch with the trend of thought among educated men now-a-days', some study of science and philosophy. This broad curriculum reflected the general preparation which evangelicals thought appropriate in England.

Whitley also admitted the danger 'that intellectual growth may overshadow the spiritual' and that this would be countered by 'hours of sympathetic labour' in pastoral work. Moreover, the value of personal influence by 'someone of magic power', as was the case at Spurgeon's, was admitted; in the Baptist College of Victoria the impact of the President of the College (the very popular Samuel Chapman) would be far from nominal.

So this new College was to be modelled on Rawdon (his later home in Armadale was called 'Rawdon'). Whitley was doubtless greatly encouraged by the observation of the British *Baptist Magazine* that his scheme

so comprehensive in its range, so evangelical in its tone, and so devout in its spirit, while profiting by the experience of the older and honoured ministerial institutions at home, is in full sympathy with the aim of the Baptist Union  
 . . . .<sup>67</sup>

The detailed story of that first decade under Whitley's leadership has been well told<sup>68</sup> and needs only a summary here.

The Collins Street church hall was utilized for the classes and the housing of the meagre library, the nucleus of which was from the library of the late Revd Isaac New (1803-86). Rules for students were developed. Whitley gave a popular series of Friday evening lectures in the first year on the origin and history of the Bible, a series intended for 'Sunday School teachers, lay preachers, and all who are engaged in Christian work' and open to 'all young men and young women'.<sup>69</sup> Some two hundred attended and the lectures were published as articles in the denominational paper and the theme became a lifelong interest for Whitley.

Whitley and the College Committee set high standards of entrance, even though the standards of secondary education in the colony were very low. Out of the first sixteen applicants in 1891 only four were accepted. One student who could not make the grade was kept on for the remainder of the year in 1892, 'owing to the present serious depression in the commercial life of the colony & the difficulty for anyone to obtain good employment in business in Melbourne'.<sup>70</sup>

Ministers with appropriate skills were utilized in the classes to assist Whitley who also pressed the VBF to provide funds for the library. One significant innovation was the co-operation from 1895 in some classes with the Revd E.H. Sugden, Principal of the Wesleyan Methodist Queen's College, a form of co-operation not yet developed in England. Entrance standards were made even tougher. Student enquiries came from New South Wales, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania. Serious conversations developed over the possibility of making the Victorian College an Australasian College.

There were problems and distractions for Whitley. Some were of a personal nature. During 1892 he became seriously ill with diphtheria and was unable to give the evening classes or do any college work for several months.<sup>71</sup> Alice Whitley's health deteriorated and she died in October 1894. During 1895 Whitley and Silas Mead visited the Indian field where Australian missionaries were serving; the

College programme was maintained by visiting ministers and Sugden of Queen's. In January 1897 Whitley married Sarah Walker, daughter of a Presbyterian city alderman whom Whitley had met through mutual choral interests. Two children were born in Melbourne, Margaret Carey in October 1897 and John Theodore in April 1899.<sup>72</sup>

Whitley also completed a major thesis, 'The History and Theory of Federation', for which he was awarded the Doctor of Laws degree from the University of Melbourne in 1897.<sup>73</sup> He was from this time a member of the University Senate. The thesis is a rather tedious but comprehensive survey of all federations throughout history but it did positively advocate federation for Australia. Readers of his later works will not be surprised by the observation that there are not footnotes in the thesis despite its academic nature. He found great satisfaction in his belief that certain Australian politicians had utilized his material during the debate on Federation in the colonies.<sup>74</sup> He taught Hebrew at Queen's College 1897-1901 and clearly enjoyed the academic fellowship of these associations.

Not all Baptists were at ease with these academic activities and links. More seriously, various correspondents disagreed with some of Whitley's views, as will be discussed more fully below. Higher criticism was a frequent target for critics of the College, even though Whitley consistently rejected the more extreme theories.

Chapman died in September 1899 and a good friend and ally was thus lost to Whitley. The number of applicants was declining, not surprising in the light of the high educational entrance required and the economic difficulties. The College had agreed in 1898 to identify two quite distinct courses, a four-year course for 'candidates for full ministerial training' and a two-year course 'for candidates for mission work'. To progress from one course to the other, as had been done earlier, was now almost impossible.

Whitley had been given leave to travel to Canada during the summer of 1900-01. He visited seminaries in Canada and the United States. At a warm meeting to welcome him home he reported that American Baptists were divided theologically into 'Ultra-Conservative' or 'Ultra-Progressive' and argued that what was needed was an intermediate body, 'holding firmly to recognized Evangelical positions whilst accepting well-recognized advances'. A local application was clearly to be drawn. He came back with a different attitude from ten years previously: 'Then he had ideals which he had not realized. Now he came burdened with the sense of his high responsibilities and of his own insufficiency'.<sup>75</sup>

Within a few months Whitley had been obliged to resign and had left Australia. Before tracing the details of this hastened termination of his college service, it will be helpful to review his wider contribution to the denomination in Australia.

Whitley's contribution certainly went far beyond his work in the College but these activities were not without occasional controversy. Certain of his lifelong interests were first developed during his time in Australia and, as it happened, his subsequent career was not to be as a college professor but as historian, pastor and denominational leader.

Whitley was in demand as a thoughtful preacher. He travelled to the remote 'Home Mission' areas of Victoria and took a keen interest in the difficulties of pioneer settlers. His interest in home missions was consistent and he constantly sought to elicit funds for the work. He travelled to Adelaide and Sydney as well as around most of Victoria. His active participation in his local church, first at Collins Street and later at Malvern, which was subsequently merged with the new Armadale church in 1898, was important. Whitley was acting pastor, deacon, occasional church organist and a trusted counsellor in these churches.

He also served as secretary to the Victorian Foreign Missionary Society and regularly wrote earnest appeals for funds for this work. His family connections stimulated this missionary passion: his aunt, Agnes Rooke, was a Zenana missionary with the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) in India and visited Whitley in Melbourne<sup>76</sup>; his brother Harry was a missionary with the BMS in Congo.<sup>77</sup> Whitley's visit to Ceylon on the voyage out and his trip to India with Silas Mead are reflective of this interest. Their popular report, *Our Indian Trip* (1896), remains a fascinating account of this mission work. Whitley later became a life member of the BMS and wrote a history of missions, *Missionary Achievement* (1908).

Whitley thus played a central role in the life of the denomination at a crucial stage in the development of the work. Having learned the basic skills in the craft of printing whilst still at school in Hastings,<sup>78</sup> he edited the state monthly paper, *The Victorian Baptist*, in 1894 and was the founding editor (1895-96) of the *Southern Baptist* which served Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. He commented with a whimsical style, always courteous and striving to be balanced. His humour is well illustrated by an imaginary church report from 'Babylon', which included a report of a raffle conducted by the deacons to augment the pastor's salary<sup>79</sup> (this was intended to prompt church secretaries to submit regular church reports). He was a constant contributor to these papers during all his time in Australia so that a good source of his views on most contemporary issues is available to us.

His first published writing in Australia was a balanced and scholarly review of Sir Edwin Arnold's book, *The Light of the World*.<sup>80</sup> He endorsed the *Revised Version* in 1892, claiming that it 'gave a rendering much nearer the original mind of the Holy Spirit than the authorized version'.<sup>81</sup> After his return from Canada he wrote a series of articles popularizing the 'religious experience' studies of E.D. Starbuck in his *Psychology of Religion*.<sup>82</sup> The range of issues about which Whitley commented is remarkable and it was all good preparation for the later Baptist historian.



Naturally much of Whitley's writing addressed topics relating to Baptist theology and life. In 1891 at the annual festival of the Baptist Home and Bush Missions in the Melbourne Town Hall Whitley was introduced by the President, Revd E. Harris, who said he felt rather awe-struck by Whitley's attainments and 'the wonder was that one small head should contain so much'. Whitley argued that 'a firm grip of Baptist principles would urge a man to home mission work and help him in it'. His address was his first statement to Australian Baptists about the themes that were to dominate his subsequent scholarly career.<sup>83</sup>

He emphasized the absolute supremacy of Christ 'as the only Lawgiver'. This implied religious freedom and the need to obey Christ's commands exactly. The church could not alter its rites and thus baptism was for believers only and 'the spirituality of the churches' would be safeguarded by obedience in this matter. 'The first Christian churches held Baptist principles and were spiritual and active', he claimed. Subsequently sound teaching was lost and, after the Reformation, 'sound Christian principles - now nicknamed Baptist principles - led to the growth of modern missions'. He believed that Baptists 'were bound to be missionary' and they gave the Bible into the hands of hearers and urged them to obey Christ.

This theme was repeated in December 1892 at the Aberdeen Street Church in Geelong where he spoke on 'The Baptist revival in the sixteenth century'.<sup>84</sup> These uncritical statements of Baptist beginnings are interesting in the light of Whitley's later participation in vigorous debates about Baptist origins. The *Southern Baptist* in 1896 did report on the 'excitement' and controversy among Southern Baptists about the teachings of W.H. Whitsitt of Southern Seminary who had advocated that Baptists had only begun in the seventeenth century!<sup>85</sup>

In August 1895 Whitley wrote on 'Why am I a Baptist?'. He stressed 'The Crown Rights of the King' and argued that the right of private judgement was a corollary of New Testament teachings. The Church is a 'congregation of faithful (i.e. believing) men' [*sic*] and, whilst churches are formed into a 'confederation', none has authority over another. Moreover, 'Baptist Churches in the Middle Ages' had been persecuted for their missionary zeal. The priesthood of all believers was important and was the basis of the protest against 'sacramentarianism'. He quoted with approval Maclaren's view that 'baptism is a declaratory symbol and nothing more'. Baptism is for believers only and is by immersion.

Whitley then clarified that Baptist succession was in doctrine alone, as in all ages different groups had practised Baptist beliefs: 'a succession not of "sacerdotal drudges" but of prophets raised up by God'. Whitley regretted that 'in outward organization we stand aloof in our unity with them'. Unless believers' baptism was accepted, Baptists could not share in reunion schemes: 'Outward separation . . . is forced upon us by loyalty to God'.<sup>86</sup>

These views were more fully expounded in Whitley's *The Witness of History to Baptist Principles* (1897). In the preface he acknowledged that this line of research had been suggested by his uncle, T.G. Rooke, and that he was simply following up

hints that had been dropped. Here for the first time Whitley engaged in serious historical writing about Baptists. Unlike some of his later works, it has several footnotes: Whitley had immersed himself in such primary sources as he could locate. This first substantial work was simultaneously published in London and Melbourne.

The review in the *Southern Baptist*, whilst highly laudatory, was critical of one point, noting that not all Baptists would share his view on the sacraments. The 1689 Confession did seem to allow some efficacy to the ordinances and this had been republished by 'the greatest Baptist teacher that has ever lived [C.H. Spurgeon] . . . with a commendatory preface'. The reviewer insisted that Baptists are characterized by liberty of opinion on this and other topics. An issue of debate for British Baptists during the succeeding century had been signalled by this dialogue.<sup>87</sup>

Whitley had in fact published a small booklet of thirty-two pages in 1893, *Baptism and the Lord's Supper, or Gospel Teaching in Christ's Rites*. The familiar anti-ritual argument is here developed in detail. The sacraments are 'sermons to the eye'.<sup>88</sup> In his comments on baptism Whitley made a bold criticism of the Christian Endeavour pledge. CE was a growing popular movement of the day, especially among Baptists. His point was that other denominations who wanted to encourage young people to make a clear promise of loyalty to Christ needed such a pledge,

but for Baptists to accept such a human device in place of a Divine ordinance seems most strange. If a child however young can take the endeavour pledge, that child is a fit candidate for baptism; and if we faithfully expound its meaning, the pledge is quite superfluous, for baptism expresses all our Lord asks.<sup>89</sup>

Whitley did not avoid controversy with other denominations about baptism. There was a debate with his friend Sugden of Queen's College about the mode of baptism in 1893 and with the Presbyterians in 1896.<sup>90</sup>

Whitley also gave a strong lead to the denomination about pastoral ministry and especially on the meaning of ordination. Baptists in Australia were plagued by the problem of untrained and unsuitable people gaining access to churches and came to a centralized practice whereby the Union approved ordinations and only those ordained were commended to the churches.<sup>91</sup> This had happened in the 1870s in New South Wales and in 1888 the Victorian Association arranged for an ordination. In July 1895 J.C. Martin was ordained and the local 'senior deacon' led the service but Samuel Chapman and Whitley, representing the Union, were elected by the church as temporary 'elders' solely for the purpose of sharing in the ordination.

Clearly then the theology was that it was the local church which ordained and the Union's involvement was through the creative fiction that the representatives were elders of the church. Whitley later commented that, lest there be any misunderstanding about the competence of the local church to ordain in future, 'it would be wiser for any minister ostentatiously to quit the platform and leave the ordinary deacons alone to act for the church in the crucial moment'. This strange

stratagem was dropped and by 1899 the Union was directly involved in ordination services.

Whitley published an article on ordination in 1895 which explained the procedure adopted at the ordination later that year. He believed that ordination was like the ancient Roman ceremony whereby a magistrate was installed in his office, 'a formal and public inauguration of a man to an office to which he has already been elected'. In the New Testament it was evident that whenever an apostle or apostolic delegation was absent the local church 'managed its own ordination or installation as well as the election'. In no case did a local church invite members from other churches to ordain. The imposition of hands was 'scriptural and impressive' but was open to sacerdotal misunderstandings.

Whitley held that ordination was to a particular office. When not in that position the person was not a minister. No minister should usurp the right of a local church to ordain. He did concede that it might save time and be helpful for some 'trusted body' to commend a new worker. He was in effect making a distinction between ordination and accreditation. In a later comment he defended the propriety of a Union ordaining those who were appointed by the Union, such as foreign or home missionaries. Once again, these views on the ministry were to be contentious themes among British Baptists during the twentieth century.

Whitley was concerned about worship. This is most clearly expressed in his detailed review of the *Baptist Church Hymnal* of 1900. His later extensive reviews of Baptist hymnody had their beginnings here. His general conclusion was that the choice of hymns was 'unsurpassed' but that the music to them is 'below par, or perhaps too advanced for us Australians'. The chants are 'capital'.

Our larger churches can then have a capital musical service, including a Sanctus at the beginning, hymn, chanted psalm or other passage of Scripture, children's hymn, offertory sentences by all, or anthem by the choir, hymn, benediction verse. So we may improve our service of praise to God.<sup>92</sup>

It needs to be noted, however, that not many Baptist churches would have had a service like this and that the revivalist hymns of Sankey were extremely popular. As in so much else, great variety was present in the worship of Australian Baptists at this time.<sup>93</sup>

Whitley encouraged readers of the denominational papers to take an active interest in the social issues of the day. He was positive in his encouragement of the role women were playing in church and society. Women had pioneered the Australasian mission work in India, and in his warm review of missionary Ruth Wilkin's account of the Zenana work he praised the 'five Christian heroines' Baptists had sent.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, he welcomed the thoughtful paper by Lilian Mead (daughter of the Revd Silas Mead of Flinders Street, Adelaide), 'The Awakened Woman' (1896), which defended the propriety of women being educated and engaging in public life.<sup>95</sup>

Whitley, later to be involved in educational debates in England, also commented regularly on the education controversies in Victoria.<sup>96</sup> As would be expected in the light of his doctoral studies Whitley strongly supported the move for federation in the colonies.<sup>97</sup>

He wrote a positive account of the work of John Clifford, who visited Australia in 1897, hailing him as 'one of the greatest of London's citizens', whose 'brilliant career is unparalleled among Baptists, and rare among all men'. Baptists should greet such a man with great pride:

Since the visit of the late Professor Drummond in 1890 no such man of science and religion has visited our shores, and we hope for some stimulus, some wider vision, some burning words that will inflame our zeal for Christ.<sup>98</sup>

In the event, Clifford's visit and more particularly his theology sparked considerable controversy. In Tasmania the Baptist pastors did not attend the public welcome. After all, most of the Tasmanian ministers were Spurgeon's graduates. Socialism and liberalism were twin evils to many Baptists, though others not only agreed with Clifford but were dismayed at the public discourtesy extended to such a visitor.<sup>99</sup>

Whitley also encouraged positive relations with other denominations. As editor of the *Victorian Baptist*, he featured an extensive symposium on differences and agreements with the Churches of Christ in 1894.<sup>100</sup> Of course, he worked with other denominations in ministerial training. He was critical of the Salvation Army which 'presents a very strange sort of Christianity . . . its methods are far from apostolic.' It seeks to win people 'by worldly shows and attractions'.<sup>101</sup> Generally, however, Whitley was liberal in his relations with other traditions but was doubtful about reunion possibilities because of the baptism issue.

There were three other themes in which Whitley's views were at variance with some other leading Baptists.

Many Baptists were strong supporters of the 'faith' missions, notably the China Inland Mission.<sup>102</sup> Chapman's own daughter went as a missionary to China and her father was a strong supporter of the work. The Baptist missions did not adopt this policy. The Revd Seth Jones from New South Wales contrasted the two missions: 'The CIM says to God, "We will go to China if you send the money"; we say, "We will go to India, and find the money too". That is the kind of people we are.'<sup>103</sup> Whitley was a strong supporter of the Baptist mission policy.

A more sensitive and divisive subject was the Baptist response to the 'higher life' teaching associated with the Keswick movement. The year Whitley arrived in Australia, the first convention meeting in the holiness tradition was held in Geelong under the inspiration of visits to Australia by the Revd G.C. Grubb in 1890 and 1891.<sup>104</sup> Many leading Baptists were strongly supportive. In Victoria Samuel Chapman and Allan Webb, leading pastors and College presidents in Whitley's time, were part of 'the Band' of praying Melbourne men involved in the circle of evangelicals who supported the Keswick teachings.

The popular press reported the first Geelong meetings as 'scenes of wild delirium', which Webb as editor of the *Victorian Baptist* and minister in Geelong strongly refuted. Certainly about fifty men and women had responded to a call for missionaries and generous giving, including jewellery and watches handed in for their support, had followed. Indeed, Webb later wrote: 'Pentecost seems to have returned to the Church'.<sup>105</sup> He claimed that the majority of speakers had been Baptist. He proceeded to list important literature expounding the 'higher life' teaching and exhorted all ministers to proclaim it, claiming there was 'a beautiful coherence of all this line of teaching with our Baptist principles'.

This was a lively topic in the churches as numerous church reports reveal. Whitley was soon involved, preaching at the Williamstown church on 'The reception of the Holy Spirit'.<sup>106</sup> After becoming editor of the denominational paper in 1894, he wrote a gentle but pointed article: 'What is the lower life?' His conclusion was crystal clear:

There are not two classes of Christians, the saved who have only lower life, and the perfectly obedient who have also higher life. There is only one class, the saved, who because they have life are trying to obey.<sup>107</sup>

He gently characterized the risk of such convention meetings:

Sometimes we soar up and up into the empyrean; then when too tired we come down flop! Smith, Cook, MacNeil, Burke, Talmage, Langley; who is sufficient for these men? He who feeds daily on highly spiced fare presently loses his taste for plain broth and brose. Are our churches fuller for these meetings, and are people fresher or jaded?<sup>108</sup>

He presented a critical view of John MacNeil's *The Spirit-Filled Life*, claiming that its position was unscriptural in its teaching on a separate experience of being 'filled with the Spirit'.<sup>109</sup> In opposing the 'second blessing' teaching, Whitley was going against a powerful stream of religious enthusiasm as subsequent letters to the paper show. During 1896 he published a symposium on 'After Pentecost' in which both perspectives were presented. Webb and Whitley maintained a cordial dispute in the paper, Whitley's contributions being 'Is a man a Christian without being baptized in the Holy Spirit?', and 'What is regeneration without the gift of the Holy Spirit?'.<sup>110</sup> The Baptist Association meeting in the country centre of Ballarat was devoted to the topic 'The Baptism of the Holy Spirit' and articles continued through 1896.

At the end of the year Whitley resigned as editor and was succeeded by Webb and the public debate came to an end. Webb thanked Whitley for his 'ability and fairness'. In the first issue under the new editor a report of the retirement of the Revd Silas Mead from the Flinders Street Church in Adelaide, after a ministry of thirty-five years, noted that one of his disappointments was that the proclamation 'of the great truths of what is called the higher life had not met with a fuller response',

even though 'since 1868 he had not failed to declare the whole counsel of God on this matter'.<sup>111</sup>

Whitley had acted with patience and civility but his pastoral and exegetical judgements had prompted him to oppose the new movement even though influential colleagues disagreed with him. Apart from the significant case of the Revd F.B. Meyer, very few leading Baptists supported the Keswick movement in England so Whitley's stance was consistent with the judgement of Baptists 'back home'.<sup>112</sup>

Another issue of controversy was felt with greater passion and created deep suspicions about his orthodoxy. In the consideration of this, we return to the question of why Whitley's term came to such a premature end.

#### IV

Whitley's liberal attitude in discussing controversial themes such as evolution or biblical higher criticism in the *Southern Baptist* was met with a more aggressive response in his last year as editor.

For example, in January 1896 he had published an address by Principal A. Gosman of the Congregational College on evolution in which it had been claimed that from a religious perspective 'evolution is simply the method of the Divine government'.<sup>113</sup> This was met with a vitriolic reply from an influential layman, D.S. McColl, who threatened 'to do all in my power to limit the circulation' of a paper which in the past had defended the word of God.<sup>114</sup> Whitley gently observed that this was not the way 'either to put down error or uphold truth' but there seems to have been a greater degree of shrill negativity appearing in the letters of that year, perhaps fuelled by reports of controversies already brewing in the USA.

There was some criticism of the Wesleyan Sugden teaching Baptist students and, although the College Committee asserted that as Sugden 'possessed the full confidence of such an orthodox and conservative body as the Methodist Church' there were no grounds for alarm, not all were convinced.<sup>115</sup> Some leading Victorian Baptists, such as A.W. Webb, editor of the *Southern Baptist* and President of the College Committee, and T.J. Malyon, a fiercely conservative though well educated minister, later to be Principal of the Queensland College, launched regular tirades against higher criticism which Whitley tried to counter, but there was much conservative suspicion being aroused.<sup>116</sup>

In 1895 Whitley spoke on this very theme at the opening of the theological hall at Queen's College. He claimed that higher criticism was simply a method: 'Higher criticism has got a bad name because of some bad higher critics'. He rejected the conclusions of those who had a clear bias against all possibility of miracle or the supernatural but he welcomed the work of men like Robertson.<sup>117</sup>

This was an issue that would not go away and during Whitley's last full year in Melbourne (1900) it was a constant feature. Webb clearly was on the offensive. In December 1899 as examiner he had taken exception to an answer given by one

of Whitley's students.<sup>118</sup> In an editorial, 'Science - Falsely So-called', he opposed evolution and all theological novelties:

Baptist principles are germane to our strong Biblical evangelicalism, and when that ceases to be characteristic of us, our very *raison d'être* has ceased . . . our principles will not suffer adjustment with new forms . . . they are at irreconcilable variance with any evolutionary theory of religion.<sup>119</sup>

Thus it was reported in March that Whitley (not Sugden) would teach biblical criticism and Webb expressed confidence that this would be along the lines 'approved by the vast majority of those who aided in founding the institution' and that the 'justifiable fears' which many had raised would be at an end.<sup>120</sup> Here there is a clear hint of financial supporters expecting to receive their due in the type of teaching to be given. Webb then included his own statement attacking the higher critics. Notwithstanding Webb's position as editor and president of the College, Whitley begged to differ, pointing out what was owed to 'sober and reverent' critics. This prompted a further flurry of letters, including a major paper by T.J. Malyn in which Whitley was attacked and it was claimed that many of 'our more thoughtful people' were not satisfied with Whitley's position.<sup>121</sup>

Whitley replied with courtesy and again insisted that we are called on to discriminate certainly but ought not to reject a method because of those who misuse it. We have 'the duty' of thinking for ourselves: 'Caution is needed, unsafe guides may be known by their fruits; but to decline to enter on the path because there are unsafe guides is disloyalty to the Spirit of truth'.<sup>122</sup> His approach was sober, reasoned and perhaps too subtle for many a reader. Certainly whilst Whitley and his young family were away in Canada, the debate continued. The Revd J. Blaikie of Tasmania deplored the loss of old landmarks and rejected claims made by 'inspired scholarship'. A Spurgeon's man, his language and arguments anticipated the worst of the later 'fundamentalist' disputes. 'The new Bible "made in Germany" will be much smaller than the smallest yet produced . . . Regenerated and consecrated scholarship is of God, but German rationalism is of the devil'. This tone was maintained to a powerful conclusion: 'A revised Bible by some of the Higher Critics would mean practically no Bible at all. This is not the Bible for the Baptists'.<sup>123</sup>

A vigorous exchange continued throughout 1901. The unity achieved by three states in combining to publish the *Southern Baptist* was threatened. The Revd J. Paynter of South Australia pleaded for a greater moderation: 'This perpetual cry of unorthodoxy is the most short-sighted and suicidal cry of the Church'.<sup>124</sup> The differences were well revealed in two reviews of George Adam Smith's *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*. Charles Bright of Adelaide was most favourably impressed by it<sup>125</sup> but F.J. Wilkin of Victoria was 'pained and dismayed beyond measure'. The end of it all, he declared, was extremely sad:

We have no Bible, or if we have a Bible, it is one from which the Divine has been so eliminated that we are reminded of Richter's startlingly weird figure of a black, bottom-less eye socket where once was the Divine eye.<sup>126</sup>

This was the religious climate into which Whitley returned after his time away and in which certain representative Baptists were called upon to make important decisions about the College.

Shortly after his return in July 1901 Whitley was disappointed to report that there were no new students and probably only one remaining at the end of the year. The College Committee and the VBF trustees met and decided drastic action was needed. It was resolved to cancel all arrangements in regard to the 'management' of the College. Whitley was not present at this meeting and was clearly marginalized by the process. At one stage he was offered a position at half his present salary as lecturer in theology and church history, while other 'scholarly men' in the denomination would be utilized 'so as to give students the great advantage of intellectual contact with different minds'<sup>127</sup> - presumably minds that would offer a more acceptable range of views than Whitley offered. The arrangement with Queen's (and the suspected Sugden) was to be concluded, but the Committee presumptuously added: 'In cases of special subjects or any emergency we [will] avail ourselves of the use of other colleges'.

All this was clearly unacceptable to Whitley. The trustees of the VBF were hard-headed businessmen and were persuaded by economic reasons. An unsigned scribbled note (possibly by Webb) found in the College minute book is revealing: 'Trustees have taken a strong view of things. We did not intend cancellation of College and [they] now recommend Dr Whitley be discontinued as Principal.' The trustees suggested to the Committee that they request that Whitley be granted a year's salary as compensation for loss of office. This became the agreed solution.

What had happened? The Committee had not rejected the high academic visions of the College: 'The best policy is to have regard to quality rather than quantity', the Committee reported in August 1901, and retained university matriculation as the normal entrance requirement. Low numbers were a real problem, but there was no real problem with financial support if the Trustees could be persuaded that this was only a temporary aberration. There were genuine possibilities with other States wanting to send men. Only a few months after Whitley left, the College was restarted with part-time tutors. The inescapable conclusion is that Whitley had lost the support of some key figures who blamed him for the decline in numbers and who linked this with the related anxiety about the more liberal and ecumenical approach which Whitley had adopted. They were not now persuaded that he was 'the right man in the right place'.

This conclusion was harsh in the extreme. He had been given a difficult task and the barest of support. During his time eighteen ministers had been fully trained: nine were serving in Victoria, two in New Zealand, three in New South Wales, and one each in Tasmania, Western Australia, South Australia and Queensland.<sup>128</sup> In



terms of the acceptable services its graduates were rendering, the Victorian College had met an intercolonial need. As one correspondent noted in October 1901: 'There has not been a single failure among them'.<sup>129</sup>

This anonymous correspondent, 'Alpha', suggested that it would be preferable to lower the unreasonable entrance standards which he believed were the main reason for the paucity of students. To think of losing Whitley was shocking, since his 'scholarly attainments and strong Baptist convictions command the esteem and respect of all true-hearted Baptists in the Commonwealth'. Indeed, this writer proposed that the Assembly should look to appoint a new College Committee and widen the range of those appointed as trustees of the VBF.

Whitley himself noted that the college education had been given at a most economical rate and he was pleased to think that the ecumenical learning at Queen's would create a 'spirit of brotherhood and not suspicion'.<sup>130</sup> He saw out the year, editing and publishing a catalogue of the library, but the fulfilment of his dream was to be without his physical presence.

There were many who were greatly disappointed at his departure. 'Alpha' recorded his 'profound disagreement' with the decision.<sup>131</sup> The final College session in November 1901 was the 'largest ever' gathering at a College function and Whitley was thanked profusely by students and other denominational figures. At a hastily arranged farewell in January, called after Whitley had advised he was leaving for North America, his long-time friend, the Revd E.H. Sugden of Queen's, professed his regret at losing 'a profound scholar' and one with 'rare teaching abilities'. His true friend of seventeen years, Fred Harry, spoke feelingly of Whitley's departure and Whitley responded with grace and with thoughtful comments about the future of Baptist work in Victoria. He believed that the changes were 'too kaleidoscopic'.<sup>132</sup>

These reflections were amplified in an extended essay he was asked to contribute to the *Southern Baptist*. Here again only controversy ensued. Whitley had written that what was desperately needed was a clear policy. He believed that the most basic needs were three: Education, Consolidation, and an effective Leader. His criticisms were measured and realistic.<sup>133</sup> Inevitably critics reacted negatively and Whitley later wrote that he had perhaps not written as clearly as he might have wished and intended no disrespect to any contemporary leaders. Others applauded the wisdom of Whitley's judgements.

Some thoughtful Baptists reflected on the period of the College's brief history. G.P. Barber, one of the trustees of the VBF, believed that the College must be deemed a failure and that it had been commenced fifty years before its time. There were insufficient churches to justify the venture and it would be more practical to use money to send suitable men to train overseas.<sup>134</sup> Similarly, C.W. Walrond argued that the establishment of the College was 'essentially a "boom" project, totally unwarranted by the circumstances of the denomination and its slowly progressive growth'.<sup>135</sup>

All of this is to suggest that Whitley had indeed been the right man in the right place, that is, eminently suited for the establishment of a new college in a new land, but that it was not the right time. Whitley's friend, Fred Harry, recalled that when Whitley had been considered Chapman had asked for a man who would be 'a master of detail, willing to undertake any denominational task'; a 'factotum for the denomination', added Harry. He believed that the denomination had given too many tasks to Whitley, 'and it does seem unkind to penalise him for doing them so well'.<sup>136</sup> In assessing his contribution to Australian Baptists, this more general work needs to be carefully noted and Harry hints that these wider works detracted from the College work.

Back in 1891, when Webb had reported the beginning of the College, he had recalled that 'once upon a time a fine grant on the University Reserve bearing the name "Baptist" invited occupancy'. The opportunity had been lost. If we had that land, observed Webb, the constitution of the College would have had to be widened to take in 'secular students'.<sup>137</sup> Whitley, for his part after visiting North America, deplored the absence of a Baptist University College.<sup>138</sup>

As Whitley left he retained a keen vision for the College:

The College is cast down, but it has scattered abroad good seed, and in every Australasian land this has rooted and is bearing fruit. May we not hope that there shall yet come forth a shoot out of the stump, or that on to it may be grafted that which shall become in every sense Australian and not Victorian alone?<sup>139</sup>

Whitley paid a short visit to Australia in 1928 and was encouraged by the welcome given to him and by what he saw of the developments in the colleges in Melbourne and Sydney.<sup>140</sup> The possibility of Melbourne becoming a national college had been thwarted by the terms of the trust.

In 1965 the Baptist College of Victoria moved to a site near the University, altered its constitution, and became an affiliated residential College of the University of Melbourne. In what was surely an inspired decision, the College was renamed 'Whitley College: The Baptist College of Victoria'. The Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, told the crowd at the official opening of the new College: '. . . its name is an honourable name, the name of a great pioneer in this field'.<sup>141</sup>

This at last was the right time and place for Baptists of Victoria to acknowledge the vision and leadership of the gentle scholar who began the work of theological education among the Baptists of Australia.

## NOTES

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| <p>1 <i>Victorian Baptist</i> (hereafter <i>VB</i>), December 1891, p.224.</p> <p>2 G. Serle, <i>The Rush to be Rich</i>, Melbourne, 1971.</p> | <p>3 R. Otzen, <i>Whitley: The Baptist College of Victoria 1891-1991</i>, South Yarra, 1991, p.9. For full statistics of religion in Australia see W.W. Phillips, 'Religion' in <i>Australians</i>:</p> |
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- Historical Statistics*, ed. W. Vamplew, Broadway, 1987.
- 4 D.M. Himbury, *Centenary History of the Victorian Baptist Fund 1888-1988*, Melbourne, 1988.
  - 5 For details of earlier attempts, see Otzen, *op.cit.*, ch.1; J. Maung-Lat, 'The Historical Development of Theological Education among Victorian Baptists (1862-1988)', DTheol thesis, Melbourne College of Divinity, 1989, ch.1; for developments in theological education in Australia, see G. Treloar, ed., *The Furtherance of Religious Beliefs: Essays on the History of Theological Education in Australia*, Sydney, 1997.
  - 6 For Chapman, see K.R. Manley, 'Chapman, Samuel' in *Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (hereafter *ADEB*), ed. B. Dickey, Sydney, 1994, p.70.
  - 7 For details about Medley and Rooke, see J.O. Barrett, *A Short History of Rawdon College*, London 1954.
  - 8 Medley to Maclaren, 25 September 1890 (Whitley College Archives).
  - 9 College Minute Book, 29 July 1890. For Whitley, in addition to the companion essay in this journal by Dr Sellers, see E.A. Payne, 'Dr W.T. Whitley, MA, F.R.Hist.S.', *The Chronicle*, XI, 1948, 81-83; S.J. Price, 'William Thomas Whitley', *BQ* XII, 1948, 357-63; and Whitley's typed 'Reminiscences', 1947 (copies in Whitley College and the Angus Library).
  - 10 See 'Reminiscences' for personal details.
  - 11 For a popular account of this period, see G. Blainey, *Our Side of the Country*, Hawthorn, 1984, ch.9.
  - 12 So Whitley in 'Reminiscences'.
  - 13 I. Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, St Leonards, 1993, pp. 91-6.
  - 14 *The Sword and The Trowel*, 1881, p.305. For Spurgeon's influence in Australia, see M. Petras, 'Charles Haddon Spurgeon: His influence upon Australia', *Our Yesterdays* (Victorian Baptist Historical Society), 1, 1993, pp.91-6.
  - 15 *Sword and Trowel*, 1888, pp.44, 300.
  - 16 *VB*, August 1891, p.3.
  - 17 Printed in the First Annual Report of the College, 1891, pp.14-20.
  - 18 *Baptist Magazine*, 1892, p.348. This article was accompanied by a fine photographic portrait of Whitley.
  - 19 Otzen, *op.cit.*
  - 20 *VB*, August 1891, p.151.
  - 21 College Minute Book, 4 August 1892.
  - 22 *ibid.*, 31 May 1892; *VB*, June 1892, p.103.
  - 23 Details from 'Reminiscences' and College Minute Book.
  - 24 Copy in Whitley College.
  - 25 'Reminiscences'.
  - 26 *Southern Baptist* (hereafter *SB*), 29 May 1901, p.124.
  - 27 'Reminiscences'. For Rooke, see *Missionary Herald*, 1924, 18.
  - 28 'Reminiscences'; B. Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society*, Edinburgh 1992, p.124.
  - 29 'Reminiscences'.
  - 30 *VB*, April 1894, p.88.
  - 31 *ibid.*, July 1891, p.129.
  - 32 *ibid.*, December 1892, p.223.
  - 33 *SB*, July 1901, and following issues.
  - 34 *VB*, August 1891, p.164.
  - 35 *VB* January 1893, p.19.
  - 36 *SB*, 13 August 1896, p.170. For the Whitsitt Controversy, see H. L. McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, Nashville, 1987, pp.446-7, and W. B. Shurden, *Not A Silent People*, Nashville, 1972, pp.21-33.
  - 37 *SB*, 15 August 1895, pp.183-4.
  - 38 *SB*, 29 April 1897, p.105.
  - 39 *op.cit.*, p.16.
  - 40 *ibid.*, p.12.
  - 41 *VB*, July 1893, p.147; *SB*, 14 May 1896, p.103.
  - 42 For a full review of this and sources for what follows, see K.R. Manley, 'Ordination among Australian Baptists', *BQ* XXVIII, 1979, 159-83.
  - 43 *SB*, 30 October 1901, p.243; 13 November 1901, p.256.
  - 44 K.R. Manley, 'The Way We Were: Worship in Australian Churches in 1900 - The Baptists', *Australian Journal of Liturgy*, 1, 1980, pp.155-58.
  - 45 *VB*, December 1891, p.240.
  - 46 *SB*, 16 January 1896, p.2.
  - 47 *VB*, March 1894, p.61; *SB*, 1 January 1898, p.12.
  - 48 *SB*, 15 June 1899, p.122.
  - 49 *SB*, 29 April 1897, p.103.
  - 50 The issue was featured throughout 1897 in *SB*. For Clifford's reflections on his Australian tour, see J. Clifford, *God's Greater Britain*, 1897, and a full account is found in C.T. Bateman, *John Clifford*, 1904, ch.xv.
  - 51 *VB*, March 1894, pp.56-8, 109.
  - 52 *SB*, 21 January 1895, p.26.
  - 53 S. Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World*, 1996, pp.71-2.
  - 54 *SB*, 1 October 1896, p.206.

- 55 D. Paproth, 'The Upwey Convention and C.H. Nash', *Lucas: An Evangelical History Review*, 16, 1993, pp.23-42.
- 56 *VB*, October 1891, pp.183, 191.
- 57 *VB*, November, 1891, p.213.
- 58 *VB*, May 1894, p.101-2.
- 59 *VB*, September 1894, p.195.
- 60 *VB*, October 1894, pp.224-5.
- 61 *SB*, 2 April 1896, pp.70-1; 30 April 1896, pp.86-7.
- 62 *SB*, 4 February 1897, p.17. See a succession of articles in *Truth and Progress* (the South Australian Baptist paper): 1869, 33-5, 48-53, 97-8; 1874, 90-1. I am indebted to Miss R.M. Gooden for these references.
- 63 J.H.Y. Briggs, *The English Baptists of the Nineteenth Century*, Didcot, 1994, pp.292, 324.
- 64 *SB*, 2 January 1896, pp.291-2.
- 65 *SB*, 16 January 1896, p.12.
- 66 College Minute Book, 19 February 1900.
- 67 For Webb and Malyon, see *ADEB*.
- 68 *SB*, 18 July 1895, p.161. 'Robertson' may be a reference to William Robertson Smith.
- 69 College Minute Book, 13 December 1899.
- 70 *SB*, 18 January 1900, p.18.
- 71 *SB*, 1 March 1900, p.50.
- 72 *SB*, 15 March 1900, p.72; 29 March 1900, p.84; 12 April 1900, pp.94-5.
- 73 *SB*, 3 May 1900, p.108.
- 74 *SB*, 13 December 1900, p.283.
- 75 *SB*, 17 January 1901, p.19.
- 76 *SB*, 31 July 1901, p.173.
- 77 *SB*, 14 August 1901, p.191.
- 78 College Minute Book, 18 September 1901.
- 79 *SB*, 11 December 1901, p.288.
- 80 *SB*, 2 October 1901, p.228.
- 81 Otzen, *op. cit.*, p.38.
- 82 *SB*, 15 January 1902, p.24.
- 83 *SB*, 29 January 1902, p.29.
- 84 *SB*, 30 April 1902, p.102.
- 85 *SB*, 16 April 1902, p.96.
- 86 *SB*, 30 April 1902, p.100.
- 87 *SB*, 11 June 1902, p.144.
- 88 *VB*, August 1891, p.151.
- 89 *SB*, 29 May 1901, p.124.
- 90 Otzen, *op. cit.*, p.38.
- 91 'Reminiscences'.
- 92 Otzen, *op. cit.*, p.128.

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**THOMPSON LISTS** Dr D.L. Wykes of the Department of History, University of Leicester, Leicester LE1 7RH, tel: 0116 252 2802, is preparing an introduction to the Thompson List for a microfilm edition to be published by Dr Williams's Library. This is taking some time to produce because there are so many versions of the List. Dr Williams's has four, the British Library another, and Bristol Baptist College yet another. He has so far failed to locate the copy which was at the Bunyan Meeting, Bedford, in the late 1940s. He would welcome any information on the location of Thompson manuscripts and details about Thompson himself.

### Obituaries etc of Dissenting Ministers in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the Eighteenth Century

Alan Ruston, Editor of the *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, describes his latest publication, a side-product of an earlier book, as 'not a major piece of research but could prove useful to historians of the Three Denominations in the eighteenth century'. Most entries are for Presbyterians but the Baptists are second in numbers, especially the ministers of the Maze Pond Church, with Independents well behind. In terms of social standing the Baptists were not really in the purview of the editor of the élitist and Anglican *Gentleman's Magazine*, so it is surprising how many Baptist ministers appear. Copies may be obtained from Alan Ruston, 41 Hampermill Lane, Oxhey, Watford, Herts WD1 4NS, phone and fax 01923 232110, price £2-85 inclusive.