

**ACROSS THE FRONTIER AND AROUND THE FRINGE:
BAPTIST GROWTH IN AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA**

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Thesis Abstract

This thesis examines why Baptists in America from their origin in 1639 to the post-Civil War period have prospered to the extent they have while in Australia since Baptist beginnings in the early 1830s they have remained relatively small. Baptists in America during this period were affected by the two Great Awakenings, the Revolutionary War, westward migration known as the frontier movement, the Civil War and the emergence of African American churches containing 'freedmen' or emancipated slaves. The story of Baptists in Australia has proved to be much less spectacular. In many ways it was a constant struggle with limited resources and faced with a much smaller, more sparsely-settled population. In assessing all reasons for what assisted or militated against growth and expansion this study examines a wide range of factors: population size, migration to these countries, the denominational affiliation of the population, characteristics of Baptist preachers in both countries, notably those deeply moved by the First Great Awakening. It also looks at significant individuals and the development of church organization. It takes into account the cultural differences between the two countries such as individualism and collectivism in Baptist activity and the Australian reliance upon English assistance and the retention of English practices and traditions. The thesis looks at these reasons for growth and expansion with reference to the Baptist ministry, the constitution, location and expansion of new churches, the importance of evangelism and revivalism and the methods employed and finally, the issue of Baptist church governance or Baptist polity relating to church organisation and united church action. Connected to this have been issues relating to the conditions of church membership.

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I wish to confirm that the thesis being submitted by me has not previously been submitted to any other university or tertiary institution.

.....
(Michael John Petras)

Introduction to Thesis

Baptists have been historically the largest Protestant denomination in the United States and these Baptists have been rather conspicuous and assumed places of fame and great prominence in public life. For instance, since the Second World War three American Presidents have been Baptists: Harry S Truman (from Missouri), Jimmy Carter (from Georgia), and Bill Clinton (from Arkansas). Prominence has not been confined to politics. Some of America's most well-known and influential recording artists were or are Baptists: Chuck Berry (from Missouri), Buddy Holly (from Texas), Johnny Cash (from Arkansas), Whitney Houston (from New Jersey), and Aretha Franklin (from Tennessee), the daughter of a Baptist minister, are among them. Then there is the popular crime author John Grisham, a Baptist lawyer from Mississippi, and just to show that not all American Baptists were as nice as apple pie, the outlaw Jesse James and his brother Frank (from Missouri), once Confederate soldiers, were the sons of a Baptist minister, originally from Kentucky. What nearly all these people have in common is that they were or are from the South where Baptists have traditionally been numerically very strong. There is also one other important observation to be made. There are a number of African American singers whose careers began singing gospel songs in a Baptist church choir. This should be no surprise as many African Americans in the post-American Civil War years embraced the Baptist faith with its relative informality, less ritualism in Christian worship and democratic form of church government where local churches made their own decisions free of outside control that engendered great appeal.

In the United States of America there are over 39 million Baptist church members belonging to a range of different Conventions. However there have never been figures available for the number of Baptist adherents. Unlike Australia this has never been counted when compiling decennial census data but it may be safely assumed those who call themselves Baptists would easily surpass twice the present total population of Australia. In this regard it needs to be borne in mind that church membership for Baptists is not by birth but by religious conversion and in most cases by baptism or immersion in water as a Christian believer. Baptists in America might also be divided today into two main divisions. The first group of church members are those who belong to Conventions affiliated with the worldwide body, the Baptist World Alliance, who number in the latest figures available (2014) 23,621,780 and are found in 79,011 churches. This number is almost the same as the current population of Australia that in 2016 is 23,783,500. The other major group of Baptists belong to the Southern Baptist Convention which has disassociated itself from the Baptist World Alliance, but in 2014 had a membership of 15,499,173 and 46,499

churches.¹ This number of church members in 2014 accounted for 12.089 per cent of the American population.

In Australia the Baptist denomination has been present but remained largely insignificant in public affairs. In days long passed it might even have been considered by some to be a somewhat obscure religious sect. The term ‘bush Baptist’ rather than, say ‘bush Methodist’ or ‘bush Presbyterian’, for instance, has been reserved in Australian slang for someone of indeterminate religious persuasion or a person not educated in any particular religion. In the compilation of census tables Baptists were placed sixth behind the other larger denominations until the beginning of the twentieth century when they supplanted the Congregationalists. In New South Wales they were not listed separately until 1871. Most recently at the 2011 national census Baptist adherents numbered 352,499 and according to the latest figures available (2014) there were 986 churches and 70,712 church members in Australia.² This number of churches, by remarkable coincidence, is the same number there were in America in 1790 at the end of the colonial era. The number of church members in 2014 accounted for just 0.297 per cent of the Australian population.

There are very few Baptists in Australia who have achieved national public fame or notoriety or been part of the country’s popular culture. Very few, if any, would know, for example, that the first motor vehicle manufactured in this country, the Holden, takes its name from a Baptist layman James Alexander Holden (1835–1887), a leather and saddlery businessman who was a member of the Flinders Street Baptist church in Adelaide and later the suburban Norwood church. Today the most prominent Baptist would be the Rev Tim Costello, the current CEO of World Vision Australia and a social commentator.

These church statistics indicate a significant difference in the size of Baptists in both countries that calls for some enquiry. Why have Baptists prospered in America but not to any such extent in Australia? How does one account for the enormous differences between the two countries? This thesis then is primarily concerned with answering this one central and rather obvious question.

¹ *Baptist Press*, 10 June 2015

² Figures supplied by Crossover Australia, Australian Baptist Ministries, Epping NSW 2121

The scope of this study

The European settlement of the United States of America precedes that of Australia. It is not surprising therefore Baptists who originated in America in 1639 long preceded that of Australia by almost two centuries or, more precisely 192 years. It might be thought also that owing to their relative size Baptists originated in America. Their origins, however, may be traced to 1609 where a number of religious refugees of different persuasions congregated in Amsterdam in Holland. Some of these refugees led by Thomas Helwys (1575–1616) returned to England where they slowly grew in number under intense scrutiny.³ Their unique contribution and signature message was simple: in an age obsessed with religious conformity they claimed there should be religious liberty for everyone and that is why a few of them and others went to America.⁴ The English had first arrived in Jamestown, Virginia in 1607 although the Dutch, the French and the Spanish had already settled in America. The Pilgrim Fathers, some of whom who had been meeting with Baptists in a village in Nottinghamshire, landed in Massachusetts in 1620. The first Baptist in America, Roger Williams (1603–1683) established a church at Providence, Rhode Island in 1639 after being evicted from Massachusetts. Soon after, John Clarke (1609–1676) both a physician and Baptist minister, organised a church at Newport, also on Rhode Island. So Rhode Island colony quickly becomes a refuge for all those seeking religious liberty.

During the first century of their existence in America Baptists remained divided in theology and practice and very small in number and size. They divided along the traditional theological lines of Calvinism and Arminianism. There were Particular Regular, Freewill, General Six Principle and Seventh Day Baptist groups. Six Principle Baptists held to the practice of the laying on of hands of baptized believers based on the biblical passage of Hebrews 6:1-2. Seventh Day Baptists made Saturday God's Sabbath as their day of worship. It was the Particular Regular Baptists that became the dominant group and later were commonly referred to as Regular Baptists. It was not until the second half of the eighteenth century and beyond, following the First Great Awakening and later the Second Great Awakening (sometimes known as the Great Revival) that Baptists began to grow in numbers and size. As the American frontier expanded westward so did Baptists and growth and expansion for them remained constant throughout the nineteenth century. This thesis seeks to identify where this growth in numbers occurred and the reasons for it. An important event to consider during this period was the American Civil War that lasted from 1861

³ B R White, *The English Baptists of the Seventeenth Century*, The Baptist Historical Society, London, 1983, pp. 25-27

⁴ Michael Petras, "The Baptist Contribution: Religious Liberty for all", *The Baptist Recorder*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Number 109, February 2010, pp. 1-10

to 1865, not least because of its effect upon emancipated slaves. Baptists were to have a great impact upon the African American population. African Americans had long been a part of Baptist church life but emancipation gave new impetus for the expression of their spiritual needs. The democratic system of Baptist church government and the relative informality of Baptist worship, its absence of overt ritualism, proved to be most appealing to them. It was another expression of their new-found freedom. It is undeniable the outcome of the Civil War had a huge effect upon the African American population so that it should be included within the scope of this study.

In these circumstances it is somewhat difficult to make a neat comparison of the growth of Baptists in America and Australia when it is not contemporaneous. The origin of Baptists in both countries is an obvious starting-point. Then there are the issues of the availability of statistical information. In the case of America there is a long gap at the beginning of the nineteenth century for which information about Baptists is non-existent. In Australia one wished to take advantage of published census material. There were national censuses in Australia during the twentieth century conducted at intermittent periods (1911, 1921, 1933 and 1947) although after 1954 they were held at more regular intervals. At the same time important religious and political events in America such as the First and Second Great Awakenings, the Revolutionary War and the American Civil War all had a bearing on the growth of Baptists and needed to be considered. In Australia, on the other hand, there have never been such dramatic events as America experienced except perhaps its involvement in two World Wars.

When a comparative study is not contemporaneous it becomes readily apparent there are aspects that are not synchronous that make it difficult to compare. The development of the Baptist ministry is a case in point. Attitudes to ministerial education in America during the First Great Awakening in the mid-eighteenth century were vastly different from what they were a century later, both in America and Australia. It was the same with the differences in the nature of Baptist organisation with local and colonial associations and State Conventions. A third example would be the Baptist societies that appeared in nineteenth century America to carry the Gospel message across state borders, something noticeably absent in Australia. Both countries have a different religious and political history that has had a different impact upon Baptists. It is not possible therefore to make a neat comparison against the backdrop of common origins and similar shared experiences as much as one would wish to do so.

Any choice of how long a comparative study should cover can be the subject of intense debate. There are, however, the strictures of available census and denominational statistical material. There is the assessment of significant events in a nation's history as just mentioned that make it necessary to cover a longer period. Importantly, there are the limitations imposed by virtue of thesis length so that decisions need to be made about what will unwillingly be excluded and should more appropriately be the subject of further scholarly study. What follows therefore is the rationale given for this period of comparative study.

In determining the end date for this study there were several possibilities to consider. The Reconstruction Period ended in 1877. During the Civil War and immediately afterwards no updated church statistics were available. This did not occur until 1869 but it took a number of years before the impact of the Civil War could be assessed. The year 1872 suggested itself because a Comparative Table that appeared in *The Baptist Almanac* for 1852 was a synopsis of Baptist growth at previous twenty year intervals since 1792. Thus a date of 1872 permitted a longer review that encompassed the post-Civil War years. At the same time one Table will appear where the decade 1865 to 1875 is used as a means of contrasting the change that occurred in the pre-war and post-war eras. In some ways a precise end date is immaterial because the purpose of this post-Civil War period is to show what differences occurred in the growth of Baptist numbers. It might also be pointed out the Southern Baptist Convention most commonly today associated with Baptists in the South, was established in 1845 comprising Baptists from nine states, but was essentially a late nineteenth and twentieth century phenomenon and therefore outside the scope of this study.

Australian Baptist history, as indicated, began almost two centuries later. The first known Baptist church service was held in Sydney in April 1831 and the first church was established in Hobart, Tasmania in 1835, over a year before the first in Sydney. From the outset Baptist unions developed separately in each colony although there was limited involvement between the states as they became after 1901. The federation of Baptists between the states, long discussed, did not come to fruition until 1926 with the creation of the Baptist Union of Australia although some organisational changes had been made beginning in 1913 concerning foreign missions and a Baptist newspaper.

As a consequence of the difference in the origin of Baptists in both countries it is not possible to contemporaneously compare or chart their growth and development. This study concludes in

1947 or in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. This was a census year so that is helpful in utilising census data. In the 1950s and beyond relations between America and Australia, previously quite limited changed in different ways. Perhaps the most significant cultural change followed the introduction of television into Australia in 1956 and having no local television industry Australia was heavily reliant on American programmes. A kind of cultural imperialism followed that introduced Australians to many aspects of American life. Connections between American troops and chaplains stationed in Australia during the war led to deepening relations between the two countries in post-war decades. American evangelists and ministers visited Australia that led to cross-country evangelistic ‘crusades’ and Australians became most interested in American methods such as the All-Age Sunday school. Exploring the nature and extent of this development is considered to be entering a new phase and worthy of separate study. Owing to the constraints imposed by thesis length this aspect has been deemed to be outside the scope of this study.

Methodology for research:

This is a comparative study of the fortunes of Baptists in the two countries. In seeking to determine why Baptists in America have prospered to the extent they have, the questions are threefold that need to be asked. When did this growth occur? Where did it happen? What were the reasons for this continued growth and expansion? Numbers and the part played by individuals are very important in such a study. At the same time it needs to be shown the extent of the environmental, cultural and practical differences between Baptists in America and those in Australia. Concerning Baptists in this country the author had written extensively on many aspects of Australian Baptist history. His Master of Arts thesis (1982), later published, concerned the growth of Baptists in New South Wales during the period 1900 to 1939.⁵ It was reviewed by the late Professor Robert Gardner of Georgia.⁶ The author co-wrote *The First Australian Baptists* (1981) and edited *Australian Baptist Past and Present* (1988) and *Australian Baptists and the First World War* (2008).⁷ He has also written multiple journal articles on Baptist identities such as Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834–1892) to mark the sesquicentenary of his birth (1984), the

⁵ Michael Petras, *Extension or Extinction: Baptist Growth in New South Wales 1900-1939*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1983

⁶ Robert G Gardner, *Baptist History and Heritage*, Vol XX, April 1985, No. 2

⁷ Ken R Manley and Michael Petras, *The First Australian Baptists*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1981; Michael Petras (ed.) *Australian Baptists Past and Present*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1988; Michael Petras, *Australian Baptists and the First World War*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Macquarie Park, 2008

centenary of his death (1992) and his influence upon Australia, particularly through his sermons.⁸ Other topics have ranged from including the secession of Baptist ministers to the Presbyterian Church.⁹ In short, he has drawn on his extensive knowledge of Australian Baptist history to understand and explain what has occurred among fellow-Baptists in America.

This study is divided into six topics. The first chapter examines the growth of Baptists in America. It is remarkable no known published Table exists or is readily available of American Baptist statistics that covers this period of study. The author has compiled one from various sources and this appears as Appendix 1. The first aspect that needs to be considered relate to a number of historiographic issues concerning the use of American Baptist statistics. The first concerns census data. There is very little religious information available since the first decennial census was introduced in 1790. The number of Baptist adherents was never recorded. The only information we have is the number of churches collated in both 1850 and 1860. The second issue concerns Baptist record-keeping that was virtually non-existent until the nineteenth century. The third issue concerns the availability of information as there was nothing published between the 1790s and 1833. After this date there are still gaps. The fourth issue concerns the accuracy of the information as compilers of annual returns were ever dependent upon updated information from local associations and it was frequently commented that it was either dated or missing. During the American Civil War no statistics were forthcoming from the Confederate States.

This chapter also discusses the development of a theory of church growth in helping explain the differences between the two countries. It makes reference to two well-known church growth theorists, Donald McGavran (1897-1990) and Robert Currie (1940-2012) in formulating such a theory. Both talk of external and internal factors that directly or indirectly affect the course of the Church's progress.

The study of the growth of Baptists in America has been divided into three phases. The first century of Baptist history that ends in 1740 is considered relatively unimportant as Baptists remained very small in number. The second phase spanning the next fifty years proved to be pivotal in the denomination's life as it was in the nation's life. It began with the First Great

⁸ Michael Petras, "Charles Haddon Spurgeon: his influence upon Australia" in *Our Yesterdays*, Victorian Baptist Historical Society, Volume 1, 1993, pp. 55-70; Michael Petras, "Charles Haddon Spurgeon's sermons n Australia," *St Mark's Review*, No. 230, December 2014, pp. 31-39

⁹ Michael Petras, "The Second Exodus: Australian Baptist Ministers who joined the Presbyterian Church, 1885-1970", *The Baptist Recorder*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, February 2005, pp. 3-29

Awakening and concludes with the Revolutionary War, the end of the colonial era and the framing of the American Constitution. Baptists suddenly became actively engaged in the religious and political events of the time. Their numbers began to increase dramatically and their future seemed assured. The third phase concerns the nineteenth century that in many respects is a continuation of what has already begun. The study ends in the post-American Civil War in order to assess what effect the end of the conflict had upon emancipated slaves.

This chapter also examines the regional distribution of Baptists in order to identify where they were the most populous as the Frontier Movement took hold. There is also reference to the place of Baptists when compared to the other Churches.

The second chapter is concerned with the growth of Baptists in Australia. An evident starting point is to identify some of the obvious differences between America and Australia that would have some bearing on Baptist history. These relate to population size, the origins of the migrant population who came to each country and the pattern of settlement. These demographic features will show that Australian Baptists did not enjoy some of those advantages that greatly assisted American Baptists.

A useful starting point in understanding Australian religious history during the latter nineteenth century is the observations of English visitors to Australia at this time. The comments of this group of aristocrats, writers, journalists and ministers of religion shine considerable light on contemporary Australian Christianity and help to explain some of the features of contemporary Baptist church life.

It is proposed to look at each of the six colonies individually. Each of the colonies, different in size and population, were affected by different circumstances. In determining what factors assisted the growth and expansion of Baptists in each colony three elements collectively was paramount. First, the presence of dynamic and inspiring ministerial leadership; second was wealthy and influential individuals and churches who provided necessary finance and thirdly, any organisation such as the Home Mission Society that oversaw the needs of small and struggling Home Mission churches. When these three elements were present progress was made; when they were absent Baptists struggled to make headway.

Reference should be made here to available Australian sources that have been utilised during the whole of this study. Denominational accounts in the form of minutes such as Baptist Union executive or Home Mission Society meetings are notoriously bereft of detail. It is often the case the views of any protagonist or opponent in any debate largely remain unknown. Denominational sources such as newspapers or magazines are similarly unilluminating. Extensive use has been made therefore of Trove, a digitization project of the National Library of Australia instituted in 2008 that has made available online metropolitan, regional and suburban newspapers Australia-wide dating back to 1803. Newspapers in the nineteenth century and thereafter covered events such as the annual and half-yearly assemblies of Baptists in each of the colonies and later States. Their coverage was sometimes acknowledged and appreciated. During assembly debates these newspaper accounts often identified speakers and reported their opinions. This has greatly enhanced the opportunity to more fully and adequately explain Baptist views and actions. It should also be acknowledged at this point that there has been a website similar to Trove, initiated in 2002 by Jim Duvall of John Leland Baptist College, Georgetown, Kentucky. He has made available to the reader thousands of original documents for perusal relating to American Baptists, many accessed from Southern Baptist Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, that was founded in 1859.

The third chapter focuses on the Baptist ministry in both countries. The ministry has traditionally provided important pastoral leadership and direction for local Baptist churches and the denomination as a whole. The circumstances in which the ministry developed in both countries proved to be radically different. The American ministry evolved during the First Great Awakening and was often characterised by poorly-educated itinerant bi-vocational Baptist preachers who were normally American-born and who were not remunerated until about the beginning of the nineteenth century. Australian Baptists, by contrast, never wished to disown their British heritage and actively sought and relied upon English-born and English-trained ministry although some expressed their misgivings about this reliance for the future of Baptists in the country. This proved to be a mixed success as so many came for health reasons, some died soon after their arrival or returned home after just one pastorate. Longevity was generally not a feature of the Australian Baptist ministry.

The chapter also discusses the means by which there were attempts to provide an educated clergy in circumstances in both countries where Baptists because of their socio-economic status were not the recipients of a high standard of education. This sometimes became a contentious issue for those who saw an educated clergy as a threat to Scriptural fidelity.

The fourth chapter deals with the Baptist churches in both countries. The number of churches is a measurement of the growth and expansion of any denomination. What this will show is that while there were only 65 Baptist churches in America after their first century, this number escalated dramatically in the next fifty years and beyond. From such small beginnings there were no less than 19,620 Baptist churches by 1872. This chapter explores how these churches originated, where they were located and the means or the agencies used to expand the denomination. It indicates there was a strong sense of individualism in the manner by churches began at a time when there was no or limited organisational structure in the form of local associations, State Conventions or home mission societies. Part of this expansion was due to the activities of the American Baptist Home Mission Society that originated in 1832 and transcended state borders. Peripatetic home mission agents performed a wide range of duties in extending the borders of the denomination.

Baptists in Australia lacked the individualism that characterised Baptists in America. Victoria and South Australia held certain initial environmental advantages by virtue of the effect of the gold rushes upon the Victorian population and South Australia was from the outset a colony where Nonconformity was strong. This meant Baptist churches were formed before any association was existent. But eventually all the colonies were reliant upon inspired resourceful leadership, wealthy and influential churches and laymen and an organisation such as the Home Mission Society. This is shown in the case of New South Wales where significant growth and development did not occur until the first decade of the twentieth century.

The fifth chapter is concerned with evangelism and revivalism. The former term is perhaps more commonly used in Australia and the latter more commonly associated with American religion. Both, particularly, the latter, have been the subject of precise definition. Denominations grow by the active recruiting of converts through the proclamation of the Christian message. While Australian Baptists more commonly spoke of evangelism and missions eighteenth and nineteenth century American Baptists frequently spoke of revival. What constitutes revival has sometimes been open to interpretation. In the case of Baptists in America in this period of study any upsurge in a local church numbers, whether the number of baptisms or additions to church membership, was attributed to a revival that extended for varying periods of time. Differences between the two countries existed in the means of evangelism utilised that was usually determined by prevailing circumstances. Camp meetings, associated with the Second Great Awakening, were utilised by

Baptists in the South along with other Churches such as the Methodists and Presbyterians but were unknown to Australian Baptists though they were sometimes used by Australian Methodists. In America, unlike in Australia, there were no overseas evangelists where they became a fixture from the 1870s. Evangelism was instead carried on by local Baptist preachers. Whereas Australian Baptists tended to rely on special evangelistic efforts undertaken by overseas evangelists in missions involving all Evangelical Churches or fellow-Baptist ministers engaged in what were called simultaneous missions, American Baptists maintained a tradition where evangelistic preaching was usually the preserve of the local Baptist minister.

The final chapter is concerned with Baptist church governance and deals with two subjects. The first involves the forms of organisation developed by Baptists in both countries and how successful they were. Baptists worldwide have a congregational church polity based on the self-rule of an independent, autonomous local congregation. Any co-operation with others must be of a voluntary nature. This independency or self-rule often frustrated Baptist leaders in attempting to realise denominational ambitions. Other factors were at work such as a relatively small and widely-scattered constituency, ministerial shortages or small home mission churches struggling to survive. The question that arose was what the best form of organisation was to overcome these obstacles. While English Baptists adopted a county-based association as the basis for any united action, Australian Baptists followed this model except that it was colony-based. In America it was local associations that became the centre of corporate Baptist life. They grew steadily in number throughout the nineteenth century so that often there were dozens in the one state. Local associations in Australia were never a strong force apart from one or two exceptions.

The second major difference between the two countries concerns what is known as open and close baptism and open and close communion. American Baptists consistently practised close communion and close membership that is communion was restricted to baptized believers and baptism as a believer was a necessary prerequisite to church membership. There was a strong rejection of infant baptism. The practice of close communion and close membership may have appeared to make Baptists in America look very sectarian. There was criticism of the exclusivity concerning close communion because critics maintained the Lord's Supper was designed to be a symbol of unity. Criticism was muted however concerning baptism as a prerequisite to church membership quite possibly because its symbolism. The practice was seen as a symbol of attachment and appealed to the American mind. It was an act of choice that distinguished Americans from those countries where membership of the Church was by birth or custom. In

Australia, however, while most churches practised close membership with the notable exception of South Australia where there were many open membership churches, all Australian Baptist churches permitted open communion. What is known as close membership and close communion was limited to the minority Strict and Particular Baptists who were intensely Calvinistic in theology and regarded as being sectarian for their refusal to join with mainstream Baptists.

The significance of this study

This study breaks new ground. It is not a critique of any known previous or current study. There has never been a prior attempt to compare the development of the history of Baptists in Australia with those in America. The reasons for this are probably threefold. First, contact between the two countries remained very distant until the Second World War when American troops and chaplains were stationed in Australia during the war in the Pacific. While many Australian Baptists were aware of and enthused over the enormous number of Baptists in the United States that were periodically published in newspapers, they did not nevertheless actively seek assistance for themselves. Part of the difficulty would have been also to know where to apply. Secondly, American Baptists would have had little, if any interest in Australian Baptist affairs. There was no exchange of ministers and the only occasion they would have met when delegates met formally at meetings of the Baptist World Alliance, the first held in London in 1905. Thirdly, Australians remained firmly attached to their British heritage, unlike American Baptists who struck out and attempted to forge their own identity. They preferred to look to their British origins for help and assistance in meeting their needs even though this, on balance, generally proved a great disappointment.

The second point to be made is that there is no known similar study of any other Australian Church. A very useful comparative study would be that of the Methodist Church because they, like the Baptists, were also very active and numerically strong in the American South. A comparison of both denominations, their similarities and their differences, particularly their different form of church government, would prove most illuminating.

Thirdly, while Baptists in both countries share a common heritage in their congregationalism as the accepted form of church government, it will be shown that despite this they differed markedly in the nature of their organisational life. In America, after individual churches local associations became the centre of united Baptist church life. In this they were greatly assisted by the relatively

small size of many American States particularly in the South where they were at their strongest. Some half of the American States are less than twice the size of Tasmania, at 68,401 square kilometres Australia's smallest State, and ten are less in size. This smallness of size and a denser population enabled them to more easily propagate the Baptist faith where by the end of our study there were over a thousand Baptist churches in each of the Southern States and in the case of Georgia, over two thousand churches. In Australia Baptists insisted on retaining a colony or State-wide union of churches as the main centre of denominational activity. This was fraught with difficulty given all the limitations of population size, a small constituency and limited resources. The very limited achievements of local associations and the reluctance of local Baptist congregations to modify traditional patterns of organisation, despite the repeated pleas of denominational leaders, has proved to be indicative of the mindset of Australian Baptists.

Fourthly, this study offers an interpretation of Australian Baptist history. One useful method in considering how a denomination's history might be interpreted is to compare and contrast it with others, whether they are in different states or different countries. There have been a number of histories written on Australian Baptists at a local, regional, state or national level. All of these have sought to tell some aspect of the story of Baptists in Australia but none has consciously sought to compare them with Baptists overseas or define them by reference to their achievements and failures. There have been a number of instances where Baptist weaknesses have been pointed out. The only non-Baptist attempt to offer an interpretative account of Australian Baptist history has been by the historian, David Bollen in his *Australian Baptists: A Religious Minority*.¹⁰ More recently Ken Manley has produced an all-embracing two volume account *From Woolloomooloo to 'Eternity': A History of Australian Baptists* that chronologically and methodically charts the history of Baptists in Australia with attention to Baptist personalities and Baptist church life in all its forms and endeavours. Australian Baptists, he finally concludes, remain in parts deeply conservative but in other parts are seriously looking to find an authentic identity within Australian culture.¹¹

Finally, it should be noted that such a study helps to explain some of the cultural differences between the two countries. America had more of a religious foundation than did Australia and, as Baptists have demonstrated, they lived in a more mobile and diverse society where there was a

¹⁰ David J Bollen, *Australian Baptists A Religious Minority*, Baptist Historical Society, London, 1975

¹¹ Ken R Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to 'Eternity': A History of Australian Baptists*, Volumes 1 and 2, Paternoster, Milton Keynes, 2006, p. 770

strong sense of individualism and republicanism. Australia was a much more homogenous society with the overwhelming majority of the population migrating from England and Ireland. Baptists initially seemed wedded to their British past until it was realised that the key to the future lay within. Australian Baptists have never demonstrated the bold self-sufficiency of their American counterparts. There has instead been a prevailing 'dependent mentality' where organisational assistance rather than individualistic effort was always needed to advance the interest of the denomination.

Chapter 1 - The Growth of Baptists in America

The vast difference in the number of Baptist churches and church members between America and Australia is highlighted in the review of the author's published MA thesis, *Extension or Extinction: Baptist Growth in New South Wales, 1900–1939* that was published in 1983.¹ In its review in *Baptist History and Heritage* Professor Robert G. Gardner of Shorter College in Rome, Georgia contrasted the scope of this work with any similar study of American Baptists. He wrote in part:

Back off for a moment and get your calculator. Michael Petras has spent 160 pages describing and analysing one aspect of Baptist life in NSW, 1831–1939, culminating in a body of 126 churches with 10,233 members. In 1939 Southern Baptists alone had 25,018 churches with 4,949,714 members. Equal attention to detail would produce a series of 484 volumes. Can you imagine a 77,384 page history of Southern Baptists from 1845 to 1941 organized regionally at the rate of one to seventy volumes per state, detailing and trying to account for numerical growth (while at the same time relating a host of matters concerning key Baptists and secular persons, organisations and events to the central theme)? At the end of such a staggering project, many of us would surely know more about ourselves than we really wanted to know. But it would be there for us to know. We certainly cannot use Petras' labours as an example slavishly to follow. We can adapt, however, his scope, methodology, industry and enthusiasm to our own geographical areas.²

This review highlights the wide disparity in the number of Baptists in both countries. Another importance difference for this study is that Baptists originated in America nearly two centuries before they did in Australia in entirely different circumstances to what occurred in Australia. The Baptist faith that can be traced to English religious refugees meeting in Amsterdam, The Netherlands in 1609 was still in its relative infancy when the first Baptist congregation met in Providence, Rhode Island in the New England region of America. Here it was part of the evolving religious scene in seventeenth century America that saw thousands of English religious refugees migrate from the Old to the New World. According to Henry S. Burrage between 1630 and 1640 at least twenty thousand Englishmen migrated from the mother country to

¹ Michael Petras, *Extension or Extinction: Baptist Growth in New South Wales 1900 – 1939*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1983

² *Baptist History and Heritage*, Vol. XX, April 1985 No. 2, pp. 57-58

Massachusetts Bay.³ Among these emigrants was Roger Williams credited with initiating the Baptist cause in America who arrived in Boston on 5 February 1631.⁴

Purpose of this chapter

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: first, it is to analyse the growth of Baptists in America during their history that began in 1639 until 1872 during the middle of the Reconstruction Period that followed the American Civil War of 1861-1865.⁵ The choice of this year is somewhat arbitrary. In 1852 a statistical Table was published giving the number of churches and church members at twenty year intervals since 1792. This end date extends the period of comparison to eighty years. More importantly, however, it permits the historian to gauge the effect the Civil War had upon emancipated slaves with particular reference to Baptists.⁶

The second purpose is to offer some explanation for the growth of Baptists during this period although this is also more fully discussed in other chapters. In all, there were four main reasons for this remarkable growth. The first was the passionate evangelistic endeavours of itinerant Baptist preachers who took a simple gospel message to fellow-countrymen wherever they might be, and when conversions occurred organized them into small churches. The second was the willingness of Baptists to move to new Territories as the frontier expanded and be among the first permanent settlers. In this way Baptists were often the first to establish new churches. The third was their dominance in the South where with a lack of competition from other Churches, except Methodists, they were particularly strong. The fourth was the attraction Baptists held for emancipated slaves or 'freedmen' following the Civil War. Implicit in these reasons were other important environmental, personnel and organizational factors that will be later expounded. This chapter will largely focus on the first and fourth explanations.

As will become clearer, this long timeframe is best examined in three stages: 1639–1740, 1740–1790 and 1790–1872 or, more generally, the nineteenth century. It will be argued Baptists remained largely latent for the first century of their existence. By 1740 there were only 65 churches and 3,164 church members in the whole country. The catalyst for their growth and expansion was the First Great Awakening that began in the mid-1730s. This led to a wave of

³ Henry S Burrage, *A History of the Baptists in New England*, American Baptist Publishing Society, Philadelphia, 1894, p. 12

⁴ Ibid., p. 13

⁵ The Reconstruction Period is usually designated 1865-1877

⁶ Since the 18th century different terms have been used in reference to Baptists of African American descent. These include Negroes, coloured Baptists, black Baptists and freedmen.

evangelical revivalism throughout the country, particularly in Virginia the most populous of all the thirteen colonies and where there were 210 Baptist churches by 1790. During this period, there was a series of political and religious events confronting Baptists such as persecution and imprisonment for unauthorised preaching, their engagement in the Revolutionary War, the spirited quest for religious liberty for all persons a metamorphosis in social standing that transformed them in such a way it brought status, confidence and vibrancy to the denomination. It will be further argued this transformation carried on into the nineteenth century. Baptist growth then may be attributed to the same evangelistic zeal that characterised earlier Baptists and saw the proliferation of associations, new churches and other forms of church organisation that began to appear, mostly from the 1820s. With the internal migration that began in the late eighteenth century and opened up the Frontier, Baptists became part of this westward push that witnessed the emergence of new states. An examination of where growth occurred will show Baptists were most prolific in those states in the south-eastern corner of the country that had a large slave population, something that became increasingly evident from the middle of the century, particularly in the aftermath of the American Civil War.

As mentioned, in analysing this growth of Baptists it is possible to see three distinct phases: These periods of significance are 1639–1740, 1740–1790, and the nineteenth century. It will be shown how each period was remarkable not only but also for the extent of the growth or otherwise in churches and church members. In light of this it will be argued that Baptists in America were the beneficiaries of a wide range of external and internal factors or circumstances which directly or indirectly affected their growth. In the next chapter it will be shown that these same factors did not similarly benefit Australia and Baptists in that country had to rely almost entirely on what they could achieve themselves.

Issues relating to American Baptist statistics

Before examining this pattern of growth mention should be made of the issue of the nature, availability and reliability of American Baptist statistics. The first point concerns the nature of the statistical information, notably government census data and Baptist annual reports. Beginning in 1790 the American government conducted a decennial federal census. Unlike Australia where religious affiliation has remained an integral part of census data, there is a paucity of religious information, quite possibly due to deference to the notion arising from the framing of the Constitution that witnessed the separation of Church and State. It was not until the 1850 and 1860 censuses therefore before the number of churches according to each State was counted and the

1870 census recorded the number of church sittings. As a consequence of this there is no provision for determining the religious affiliation of the whole population and therefore we cannot ascertain what proportion of the American population were self-described Baptists, or for that matter, any other religious denomination.

The second issue in relation to religious affiliation concerns what information can therefore be gleaned. In the absence of any opportunity to determine the number of Baptist adherents the only figure maintained by Baptists themselves was the number of church members. As a consequence of this it is not possible therefore to draw comparisons between both countries on the number of Baptist adherents, rather only church members.

A third issue relates to the availability of statistical information for American Baptists, particularly as it relates to the first half of the nineteenth century. The availability, incompleteness and reliability of material during the colonial period has been fully discussed by Professor Robert Gardner as recently as 1983 in his comprehensive study of the growth of Baptists in colonial America: *Baptists of Early America: A Statistical History 1639–1790*⁷ It is Gardner's meticulous research that will be relied upon here concerning Baptist statistics for the colonial period. There was also a contemporary census conducted at the end of the colonial period by the Swedish-born nomadic Baptist, John Asplund (d. 1807) who claimed to have walked seven thousand miles in eighteen months and recorded his findings in his privately published *Annual Register of the Baptist Denomination in North America to the First of November, 1790*.⁸

In the early nineteenth century Robert Semple (1769-1831), the historian of Baptists in Virginia and West Virginia, and David Benedict (1779–1874) published histories in 1810 and 1813 respectively that included statistical information but as Gardner pointed out, both are sometimes based on sources no longer available.⁹ *Haynes' Baptist Cyclopaedia or Dictionary* compiled by

⁷ Robert G Gardner, *Baptists of Early America: A Statistical History 1639-1790*, Baptist Historical Society of Georgia, Atlanta, 1983

⁸ John Asplund, *The Universal Register of the Baptist Denomination in North America for the years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793 and part of 1794*, Boston, 1794

⁹ R G Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 7; Robert B Semple, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia*, Richmond, 1810; David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and other parts of the World*, Vols. 1 and 11, Boston, 1813

Thomas Haynes in 1848 provided, among other things, a chronological chart of Baptist churches in America constituted before, during and in the immediate post- Revolutionary War period.¹⁰

With the passing of the colonial era there is a significant interval before it is possible to ascertain the number of churches and church members. This long silence on the record of Baptist progress was lamented in *The Christian Review*, the magazine commenting how anyone who had had occasion to make any inquiries respecting individuals and churches had found, to his mortification, how scanty the records were. One cause of this neglect, it was observed, was the absence for a long period of any extensive societies which might have drawn together the statistics of the denomination. It was further observed associations had rapidly multiplied to the point there were now 365 but they were local, they did not all print their minutes and these minutes were not preserved except by a few individuals. It concluded:

There was no method of collecting statistics, except by laborious and expensive personal efforts until the associations and State Conventions afforded some aid.¹¹

American Baptist church statistics in the nineteenth century were contained in a mixture of variously named registers, almanacs and year books. Initially the publisher was the Baptist General Tract Society first instituted in Washington on 25 February 1824 but moved to Philadelphia two years later. In 1840 the Society became known as the American Baptist Publication and S School Society and this new Society retained the publishing role. The first register to appear was *The United States Baptist Annual Register for 1832* that was incorporated into *The United States Baptist annual register and almanac for 1833*. The report of the Baptist General Tract Society contained in the Annual Register for 1832 referred to the monthly *The Tract Magazine* published by the Society. It stated an annual table of all the Baptist Associations in the United States showing the number of ministers, churches and members with the number baptized in each.¹² No record can be found of the existence of *The Tract Magazine*.

¹⁰ Thomas Wilson Haynes, *Haynes' Baptist Cyclopaedia or Dictionary*, Samuel Hart, Charleston, 1848, pp. 297-325

¹¹ James D Knowles (ed), *The Christian Review*, Volume 1, Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, Boston, 1936, p. 409f

¹² *Proceedings of the First Ten Years of the American Tract Society instituted at Boston 1814*, The American Tract Society, 1824, p. 206

The 1833 *Baptist Annual Register* was followed by a second one three years later, *The Triennial Baptist Register No 2 – 1836*. Both *Registers* were compiled by the Rev Ira M. Allen, an agent of the General Tract Society. Thereafter there was another gap of five years before the *Almanac and Baptist Register for the year of our Lord 1841* appeared. This was published by the American Baptist Publication and S School Society, the successor of the General Tract Society. Thereafter the Baptist Almanac and Register appeared for most years (1841–1846, 1848, 1850–1852 and 1857–1868 although there were subtle changes to the name.¹³ It was variously known as *The Almanac and Baptist Register for the year of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (1842–1846), *The Baptist Almanac and Annual Register for the year of our Lord* (1847–1850), *The Baptist Almanac for the year of our Lord* (1851–1853), *American Baptist Register for 1852*, *The American Baptist Almanac for the year of our Lord* (1857–1868), and *The American Baptist Yearbook* (1868, 1870–1871, 1873–1876, 1883–1901). As the foregoing shows, after 1841 there were relatively few gaps until the end of the nineteenth century. As this list shows, our knowledge of Baptist statistics in the nineteenth century remains incomplete.

After availability, the second major point concerns the accuracy of the information. Compilers of denominational records were always reliant on the submission of returns from individual associations who, in turn, received their information from member churches. The failure to provide current membership figures contradicted the accuracy of the information. As the New England Baptist scholar Edward T Hiscox (1814–1901) observed in 1894: “It must be borne in mind, however, that the figures given are always less than the facts would warrant, since complete returns can never be obtained from Churches and Associations.”¹⁴ This is borne out in successive issues of *Registers* and *Almanacs*. In 1836 the editor of the *Triennial Baptist Register* complained that all the records from Kentucky were very deficient in statistical matter.¹⁵ It was further complained that not less than fifty churches in associations and about two hundred unassociated churches had not been counted and therefore an estimate of ten thousand additional members was made.¹⁶

In the first *Almanac and Baptist Register* published in 1841 the majority of the figures provided from the associations are for the years 1839 and 1840. In the absence of updated returns from

¹³ *The Baptist Almanac for 1853* does not contain any statistical information.

¹⁴ Edward T Hiscox, *The New Directory for Baptist Churches*, Kregel Publications, Grand Rapids, 1970, p. 515

¹⁵ I M Allen, *The Triennial Baptist Register No. 2 – 1836*, Baptist General Tract Society, Philadelphia, 1836, p.242

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 308 .

churches there were many instances of where the figures supplied stretched as far back as 1825.¹⁷ However in the following year the compiler stated the returns for the eastern, middle and western states were more perfect than they have ever been before. In the absence of current information from associations in the Southern states figures of several years ago were used. It was noted there had been recent revivals and although the total number of church members given was 573,702 it was concluded the total could be 'safely estimated at not less than 600,000 members.'¹⁸ A year later there was a similar complaint: not only were the figures from associations for churches in the East several years old, some had neglected to send any returns. The total number of church members appeared as 611,527 but it was 'moderately estimated' the number should have been 700,000.¹⁹ Other examples of complaints about some states failing to secure the returns of all the associations exist.²⁰

In some cases compilers provided estimates in the absence of actual returns. This was a problem not confined to America or Australia. In the English Baptist Manual of 1852, for instance, that included an accompanying Table, it was stated the figures in the Table were for a total of 1,895 churches but as no figures had been provided by 504 churches (that is, 26.6% of the total) estimates for these churches were made in the same ratio as those churches reporting.²¹

The outbreak of the American Civil War brought its own particular problems in record-keeping. The problem of obtaining current statistics from the confederate states was first publicly identified in the returns for 1860 although in the previous year's return there were sporadic references to figures for earlier years for some associations. It was admitted they had been compelled in a great many instances to give figures for previous years.²² During the Civil War the problem only worsened. In the *Almanac* of 1863 it was conceded 'the great Rebellion' had made it impossible to collect statistics for 1861 from the southern states so those for 1860 were used instead.²³ The same applied for the following year and while no individual Tables for states appeared in the 1865 *Almanac*, *The American Baptist Almanac for 1866* conceded it had been impossible to procure the statistics for 1864 for thirteen southern states that were identified. The

¹⁷ The number of occasions figures are given for these preceding years are as follows: 1840 – 54, 1839 – 57, 1838 – 24, 1837 – 23, 1836 – 21, 1835 – 41, 1834 – 11, 1833 – 8, 1832 – 10, 1831 – 2, 1830 – 2, 1828 – 1, 1825 – 2

¹⁸ *The Almanac and Baptist Register*, 1842, American Baptist Publication and S School Society, Philadelphia, p. 27

¹⁹ *The Almanac and Baptist Register*, 1843, p. 29

²⁰ See, for example, *The Baptist Almanac*, 1851, p. 381

²¹ *American Baptist Register*, 1852, p. 469 citing the English Baptist Manual of 1852

²² *The American Baptist Almanac*, 1862, p.36

²³ *The American Baptist Almanac*, 1863, p. 36.

details of the associations in each of these states were therefore omitted but in the concluding summary the figures for 1862 were given for these thirteen states.²⁴ However in *The American Baptist Almanac* for 1867 that provided Baptist statistics for 1865, the final year of the Civil War, it was again admitted it had not been possible to obtain the minutes of all Baptist associations in the country which meant it had not been possible to give even an approximate view of the present condition of the Denomination in most of the southern states. For these nine states that were identified the figures for 1860 were included as they were regarded as the latest reliable figures that could be secured.²⁵ The same applied the following year.²⁶

A related issue concerns the statistics for 1868. This year witnessed the last issue of *The American Baptist Almanac* and the advent of *The American Baptist Year Book*, both published by the American Baptist Publication Society based in Philadelphia. Both provided a statistical summary for the number of churches and church members for 1868, *The Almanac* stating there was 1,088,910 members while the *Year Book* gave the figure as 1,109,926, a difference of 21,016. There was no acknowledgment of the difference in the new publication or an attempt to reconcile the differences. There was a wide discrepancy in the figures for some states that in the absence of source material it is extremely difficult to account for these differences. It is possible the compiler of the new publication, *The American Baptist Year Book* had access to updated figures following the end of the Civil War.

A further matter relating to the accuracy of total Baptist numbers in America concerns the inclusion of all different Baptist groups in any statistical return. The overwhelming majority of American Baptists were known as Regular Baptists and constituted nearly every return. The first separate Tables for other groups first appeared in 1844 and were as follows: Six Principle Baptists (17 churches, 3,055 church members), Seventh Day Baptists (4 associations, 48 churches, 5,141 church members), Free Will Baptists (1,057 churches, 50,634 church members), and Anti-Mission Baptists (184 associations, 1,622 churches, 61,162 church members). In the same year the number of mainstream or Regular Baptists was 684,264 and together these other groups numbered 11,992 or 17.54 per cent of this total.

²⁴ Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia *The American Baptist Almanac*, 1866, p. 41

²⁵ *The American Baptist Almanac*, 1867, pp. 34-35

²⁶ *The American Baptist Almanac*, 1868, p. 46

It is concluded then that overall the statistical data concerning Baptists in America remains imperfect due to its incompleteness and the absence of current data for each year. Despite this it is still possible to demonstrate adequately the degree to which Baptists in America have greatly prospered in church and church membership numbers.

Formulating a theory of Church Growth

In attempting to explain such a huge difference in the number of Baptists in both countries it needs to be determined whether it can be explained by reference to some theory of church growth. The subject of church growth became popular in the latter decades of the twentieth century as judged by the amount of published material available. Writers on the subject nearly always presuppose a modern society and pattern of church life far removed from that of seventeenth and eighteenth century America and nineteenth century Australia. Nevertheless, what appears as the most appropriate theory for this study was expounded by an American missionary in India in the 1930s, Donald McGavran (1897–1990), the first exponent of church growth theories.²⁷ Similar views to his have been expounded more recently by a British church theorist Robert Currie and others.²⁸ The difference lies in their using different terms to describe the same phenomena. According to McGavran three types of church growth can be identified. The first is biological, that is, those born into Christian families. Baptists in either continent have never accepted this as a legitimate form of church membership. The second is by transfer when there is an increase in a certain congregation at the expense of others. This has been always a recurring experience in Baptist church life as church members moved from one locality to another. It is not only indicative of the mobility of a population but sometimes internal dissension within a local congregation that has led to a mass exodus of church members. The third category, according to McGavran, are those additions brought about by conversion when those outside the Church “come to rest their faith intelligently on Jesus Christ and are baptized and added to the Lord in his church.” This has always been the main avenue for entry into Baptist churches in both countries.²⁹

Church growth theorists like Donald McGavran and Robert Currie have suggested the growth of churches can be explained by reference to a series of external and internal factors that have

²⁷ Donald A McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, 3rd edition, William B Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1970

²⁸ Robert Currie *et al*, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977

²⁹ Donald McGavran, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72

prompted this growth although both have given different names to them. These factors or influences may be direct or indirect and it is the historian's task to identify them and assess what weight can be placed upon each of these influences. In addition, both McGavran and Currie have claimed there is a third factor that is pertinent in providing any explanation for any church growth. McGavran speaks of internal factors or influences as being 'institutional', that is, what a church or denominational can control. Robert Currie, on the other hand, refers to autogenous growth by which he means what is produced or created within something without any external help or influence.

Concerning external factors or influences McGavran designates these as 'contextual', meaning they are political, sociological, and environmental factors over which the Church has no control. Similarly, Robert Currie ascribes to these influences exogenous growth, that is, what originates outside a system.

The third factor or influence offered by McGavran is spiritual in nature and states the Holy Spirit is sovereign and is not subject to these institutional or contextual factors. In offering any other explanation Currie prefers to use a more generic term by referring to alloigenous growth, or different in nature or kind.

Any theory of church growth formulated must recognize there are from time to time impediments to continued growth such as war and famine that remain outside the control of churches or individuals or phenomena such as internal dissension that is within its grasp.

In formulating a theory of church growth relevant to this study, it will be argued Baptists in America were the beneficiaries of a wide range of external and internal factors or influences unique to that country and these, directly or indirectly, greatly assisted their growth in numbers. Initially, it did not appear this was going to be the case. After an unspectacular first century that ended with only 65 churches and 3,164 church members in existence, the next fifty or so years proved to be so dramatic and eventful, setting course for a more prosperous future. In just a few decades Baptists who had been initially dismissed as being ignorant and illiterate, were transformed by national religious and political events they either sought to influence or were affected by. At the same time they were so inspired by the effect of the First Great Awakening that they had become exceptionally evangelistic by preaching to small groups and organizing converts into new Baptist churches. This brought intimidation, persecution, and even

imprisonment. Their patient acceptance, however, together with the absence of any popular opposition to their cause brought respect and admiration and some conversions when prisoners preached from county prison cells. In the nineteenth century therefore Baptists grew in confidence and size expanding throughout the spreading frontier as the population inexorably moved further and further west from the original thirteen colonies. Religious revivals, a sustained evangelistic fervour, indefatigable energy and commitment, and their organisational structure of myriad associations became the hallmarks of their success.

Conversely, Baptists in Australia have had to be almost entirely reliant upon internal factors. From their origins in the early 1830s they remained fragmented, separated by the tyranny of huge distances, small and struggling to grow and survive in a foreign land that was far less contiguous than the thirteen American colonies. The one event outside of their control that indirectly favourably affected their fortunes occurred in 1851 when gold was discovered in Victoria. The gold rushes in Victoria brought migrants with capital and undoubtedly some entrepreneurial skills. This led to a rapid increase in the colony's population in the ensuing decades. Victorian Baptists showed themselves to be the most financially prosperous of all the colonies. In one sense, as the historian David Bollen observed 'they are the measure of what evangelical religion could achieve unaided in colonial Australia.'³⁰

The methods of McGavran and Currie are considered to be the most suited to this type of historical study. Both are concerned with historical issues rather than adopting a sociological or theological approach to the subject of church growth. Proponents of these approaches have been more readily apparent mostly since the 1970s. Upon McGavran's retirement in 1990 his successor, Peter Wagner, began to steer the church growth movement in the direction of prayer and spiritual warfare.³¹ Currie's book covers the period beginning 1700 and is therefore coincident with this study. While American Baptist history began in 1639 it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century Baptists began to grow in numbers and expand in size. The approach of Robert Currie and his co-authors is to be preferred to that of McGavran. Currie clearly highlights some of the external influences on church growth such as secularization, economic and political

³⁰ J D Bollen, *op. cit.*, p. 5

³¹ Gary L McIntosh (ed.), *Evaluating the Church Growth Movement 5 Views*, Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2004, p. 20

factors and war, and in addition, gives a detailed statistical summary dating back to 1700.

While Currie may be primarily concerned with the British Isles, both Australia and America to a lesser degree derive their religious heritage from here, McGavran provides no statistical basis for his arguments or is as specific so the methods employed by Currie are therefore considered the more relevant to this thesis topic.

The Growth of Baptists in America

In accounting for the dramatic growth of Baptists in America and bearing in mind this did not occur until well over a century after they originated in the country, the most suitable approach is to divide the period of time into three intervals. These are 1639 to 1740, 1740 to 1790 and the nineteenth century. While they are uneven in their length of time they are, nevertheless, important divisions for what did or did not occur in each period and the nature of those factors or influences that affected church growth.

1639 -1740

Baptists originated in the colony of Rhode Island in 1639 when Roger Williams (*ca* 1603-1683) who originally arrived in Boston on 5 February 1631 formed a church at Providence consisting of twelve persons although he left them a few months later.³² By the following year the number had doubled to twenty four.

Robert Gardner noted that the rate of growth in the colonial period was largest in the 1640s and the 1780s and in each case Baptists doubled in size. In the case of the former decade it must be qualified that Baptists grew from a very low base and as Gardner has observed, Baptists were virtually lost within the larger population of the continent throughout most of this period.³³

Gardner identified eleven different Baptist groups in North America during the colonial period stating many lacked any form of organisation and some cannot be assigned to any one of these groups.³⁴ In their first century Baptists remained small in number, generally divided by theology and practice. By 1740 there was an equal number of churches of the two major groups: twenty three 'Particular Regular' churches (who subsequently became the major group) with 1,375 church members and the same number of General Six Principle churches with 1,125 members.

³² Robert Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Henry Burrage, *op. cit.*, p. 13

³³ Robert Gardner, *ibid.*, p. 15

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29

The former group stressed the sovereignty of God that resulted in unconditional election, a limited or 'particular' atonement, an irresistible grace and the perseverance of the saints.³⁵ Particular Baptists were united with the formation of the prominent Philadelphia Baptist Association in 1707 and others later that century.³⁶

The General Six Principle Baptists in America originated from the General Baptists in England and were present from the outset. They held to a conditional election, general atonement, human freedom and the possibility of falling from grace. The dominant 'General' group in America made the imposition of hands upon baptized believers in adherence to Hebrews chapter 6, verses 1 to 2 a requirement for church membership and its absence a bar to communion.³⁷ In 1652 this group was sufficiently numerous in the Providence, Rhode Island church to force the Particular Baptists to leave and form another congregation. At the other Island church at Newport the reverse occurred. Largely confined to New England this group in about 1670 formed the Rhode Island General Meeting or Association.³⁸

The third major group of this period was the Seventh Day Baptists constituted by those who held either Calvinistic or Arminian views but felt compelled to make Saturday as their day of worship. They originated with the arrival at the Newport church in about 1664 of an English Seventh Day Baptist who was eventually able to persuade others to accept his views. By 1740 there were only eight churches consisting of 449 church members.³⁹

It should be also pointed out there are many variations in the total number of existent Baptist churches during the colonial period. In 1840 Hosea Holcombe claimed one hundred years after the first settlement of America only seventeen churches had been organised and nine of these were in New England.⁴⁰ Much more recently Iain Murray made a similar claim.⁴¹ If Holcombe and Murray are using the settlement at Jamestown in Virginia, begun in 1607, as their starting-point there were 36 churches by 1710.⁴²

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 38

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44, 63

⁴⁰ Hosea Holcombe, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Alabama*, King and Baird, Philadelphia, 1840, pp. 35-36

⁴¹ Iain H Murray, *Revival and Revivalism: The Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism 1750 – 1858*, The Banner of Truth Trust, Edinburgh, 1994, p. 302

⁴² Robert Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 20

The rate of growth in churches and church members during the first century of Baptist existence in America may be seen from the following Table.

Table 1: Number of Baptist churches and church members in America, 1640 – 1740

Year	Churches	Church Members
1640	2	29
1650	6	82
1660	7	111
1670	11	211
1680	15	342
1690	23	580
1700	31	872
1710	36	1,356
1720	37	1,742
1730	51	2,458
1740	65	3,164

Source: Robert G. Gardner, *Baptists of Early America: A Statistical History, 1639 – 1790*, Baptist Historical Society of Georgia, Atlanta, 1983, p. 20

During the colonial era the thirteen original colonies were divided into three regions: New England, the middle colonies and the southern colonies. The distribution of Baptist churches in these three regions during the first century of their existence is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Geographic distribution of Baptist churches in America, 1640 – 1740

Year	New England	Middle Colonies	Southern Colonies	Total
1640	2			2
1650	5	1		6
1660	6	1		7
1670	7	3	1	11
1680	10	4	2	16
1690	12	9	2	23
1700	13	15	3	31
1710	17	15	4	36
1720	16	17	4	37
1730	24	19	8	51
1740	31	22	12	65

Source: Robert G. Gardner, *ibid.*

Note: New England colonies – Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island
 Middle Colonies – Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania
 Southern Colonies – Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia

During this period there was an uneven distribution of Baptist churches in America. As Table 2 shows, the majority of local churches were predominantly in New England and the middle colonies. By 1740, of the thirty one New England churches fifteen were on Rhode Island and ten in Massachusetts. In a total of twenty two churches in the middle colonies there were ten in both New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Even after a century, and hardly a portent of what was to come, there were only a dozen Baptist churches in the South.

A similar picture existed concerning church membership. The distribution of church members during the first century is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Distribution of Baptist church members in America, 1640 – 1740

Year	New England	Middle Colonies	Southern Colonies	Total
1640	29			29
1650	76	6		82
1660	105	6		111
1670	195	11	5	211
1680	312	19	11	342
1690	434	121	25	580
1700	560	247	65	872
1710	797	443	116	1,356
1720	985	645	112	1,742
1730	1,420	832	206	2,458
1740	1,754	1,110	300	3,164

Source: Robert G. Gardner, *ibid.*

By the end of this period, as shown in Table 3, the thirty one Baptist churches in New England had gathered a total church membership of 1,754; the membership of the twenty two middle colonies churches was 1,110 and the remaining twelve churches in the southern colonies accounted for only 300 members. By 1700 there were only thirty one churches and 872 church members and after a century this total had risen to only 65 churches and 3,164 church members in the whole of America.⁴³

We might conclude therefore in light of the church growth theories propounded by McGavran and Currie there were no external or internal factors or influences that helped promote the growth of Baptists during their first century.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 63

1740 -1790

It was this period that witnessed such a remarkable transformation in the fortunes of Baptists that it was to alter the course of their history forever. First, as with the previous period there are variances in the statistical information available concerning the number of churches and church members. According to the Tables of the Rev Morgan Edwards (1722–1795) there were apparently 137 churches in existence in 1768.⁴⁴ The Yorkshire-born Baptist pastor and author Thomas Armitage (1819-1896) who of his own volition came to New York in 1838 gave the number in 1740 as 37 churches and less than three thousand church members. He further claimed the number of churches in 1770 was 97 and that by 1784 there were about 35,000 Baptists in all the thirteen colonies. By 1790 these numbers had risen to 872 churches and 64,975 church members. Robert Gardner has determined, however, by 1770 there were already 281 Baptist churches and so it will be Gardner's figures relied upon here.⁴⁵

During this second designated period, 1740 to 1790, there was a remarkable change in the fortunes of Baptists. In short, the number of churches escalated in fifty years from 65 to 986 and the number of church members rose from 3,164 to 67,475. The numerical and decennial percentage rate of increase of both churches and church members for each decade over this period is shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Number of Churches and Church Members and Decennial Percentage Increases, 1740 - 1790

Period	Churches	Increase	Church Members	Increase
1740	65		3,164	
1750	105	40 (61.5%)	5,146	1,982 (62.6%)
1760	171	66 (62.9%)	8,916	3,770 (73.3%)
1770	281	110 (64.3%)	15,029	6,113 (68.6%)
1780	523	242 (86.1%)	26,596	11,567 (77.0%)
1790	986	463 (88.5%)	67,475	40,879 (153.7%)

Source: Robert G. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 63

What the above Table shows is that in this fifty year period the number of churches grew by 921 (1,416.9% or 28.3% per annum) and the number of church members by 64,311 (2,032.6% or 40.6% per annum). Admittedly, these percentage increases seem so high because they begin with a relatively low base. However, the thirty year period between 1760 and 1790 witnessed the most dramatic increase of this period, particularly the last two decades, an era that saw a remarkable

⁴⁴ Edward T Hiscox, *op. cit.*, p. 515

⁴⁵ Robert Gardner, *op. cit.*, p.63

shift in the social status of Baptists, the imprisonment of Baptists in Virginia during the period 1768 to 1774 for unauthorised preaching, and the Revolutionary War from 1775 to 1783. What this shows is that neither imprisonment nor war proved to be detrimental to the prospects of Baptists. They had built a momentum that left them ebullient about their future.

Before discussing this phenomenal growth further it would be helpful to first show where it occurred. Tables 2 and 3 above showed the largest number of churches and church members were in New England followed by the middle colonies but Tables 5 and 6 below will show these two geographic regions were eclipsed by the southern colonies during this period. Another feature was the emergence from the 1780s of newly-established territories such as Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Illinois and Ohio.

A third feature was that the Revolutionary War did not appear to have a disruptive effect upon the fortunes of Baptists. During the eight year course of the war (1775–1783) no less than 192 new churches originated. Nearly half of these (88) were in the South, the majority in Virginia (35), followed by North Carolina (20) and South Carolina (14). In the New England colonies 77 new churches originated the majority in Massachusetts (23), followed by New Hampshire (19), Vermont (14), and Rhode Island (12). There were only 23 new churches in the middle colonies, half of them (11) in New York.⁴⁶

The geographic distribution of Baptist churches during this period and the percentage of the total number for each region are shown as follows in Table 5.

Table 5: Geographic and Percentage Distribution of Baptist churches in America according to Region, 1740 – 1790

Year	New England	Middle Colonies	Southern Colonies	Territories	Total
1740	31 (47.7%)	22 (33.8%)	12 (18.5%)		65
1750	54 (51.4%)	28 (26.7%)	23 (21.9%)		105
1760	70 (40.9%)	39 (22.8%)	62 (36.3%)		171
1770	113 (40.2%)	60 (21.4%)	108 (38.4%)		281
1780	179 (34.2%)	77 (14.7%)	258 (49.3%)	9 (1.7%)	523
1790	301 (30.5%)	138 (14.0%)	475 (48.2%)	72 (7.3%)	986

Source: Robert G. Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21

⁴⁶ Thomas Wilson Haynes, *Haynes' Baptist Cyclopaedia or Dictionary*, Samuel Hart, Charleston, 1848, pp. 339-341

Note: New England colonies – Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont

Middle Colonies – Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania

Southern Colonies – Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia

Territories – Illinois, Kentucky, Ohio, Mississippi, Tennessee

Table 5 shows that up to 1770 while New England encompassed the greatest number of churches, the number in the South was steadily increasing so that by that year there was less than two per cent difference between the two regions. However, there was a remarkable change during the 1770s so that by 1780 the southern colonies had significantly drawn ahead by 15.1% and there was a further increase to 17.7% by 1790. By 1790, as well, the number of churches in the new territories was beginning also to make a difference.

There was a similar distribution during this period of the number of church members as shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Geographic and Percentage Distribution of Baptist church members in America according to Region, 1740 - 1790

Year	New England	Middle Colonies	Southern Colonies	Territories	Total
1740	1,754 (55.4%)	1,110 (35.1%)	300 (9.5%)		3,164
1750	2,478 (48.2%)	1,523 (29.6%)	1,145 (22.2%)		5,146
1760	3,157 (35.4%)	1,962 (22.0%)	3,797 (42.6%)		8,916
1770	4,754 (31.6%)	3,104 (20.7%)	7,171 (47.7%)		15,029
1780	9,321 (35.1%)	3,478 (13.1%)	13,756 (51.7%)	41 (0.1%)	26,596
1790	17,397 (25.8%)	8,248 (12.2%)	37,806 (56.0%)	4,024 (6.0%)	67,475

Source Robert G.. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 21

It was seen from Table 5 that whereas the number of churches in the South did not surpass those in New England until 1780, it occurred much earlier with the number of church members. As Table 6 shows, by 1760 the southern colonies led New England by 7.2% per cent and this percentage progressively grew during the next three decades (1770 – 16.1%; 1780 – 16.6%; and 1790 – 30.2%). This latter figure, compared to the previous two, illustrates how dramatic was the growth in church membership numbers during this last decade.

The first federal census was conducted in 1790 at the end of the colonial era. The American population had by then reached 3,893,874 but it was unevenly distributed. Nearly half the population, or 1,793,904 (46.07%) was in the five southern states while most of the rest of the population was fairly evenly distributed between New England (1,009,206, 25.92%) and the

middle states (1,017,087, 26.12%). The new territory of Kentucky was the only other place listed and its population of 73,677 accounted for just 1.89% of the population. Virginia, with a population of 747,550 was by far the most populous state (19.20%), followed by Pennsylvania (433,611, 11.14%), North Carolina (395,005, 10.14%), Massachusetts (378,556, 9.72%) and New York (340,241, 8.74%) These five states accounted for nearly three-fifths of the total population in the newly-emerging states and territories.

Using the statistics compiled by Robert Gardner the number of Baptist church members was 67,475 and in the total population of 3,893,874 Baptists accounted for 1.73 per cent of the total population. Table 7 gives the six states with the highest proportion of Baptist church members.

Table 7: Colonies and Territories with highest percentage of Baptist church members in 1790

State	Church Members	Population	Percentage
Rhode Island	3,462	69,112	5.01%
Kentucky	3,209	73,677	4.36%
Georgia	3,245	82,548	3.93%
South Carolina	7,943	249,073	3.19%
Virginia	20,851	747,550	2.79%
Vermont	1,796	85,341	2.10%
Massachusetts	6,189	378,556	1.63%

Source: Robert G. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 21

The above Table shows that the most populous Baptist areas were evenly divided between New England and the South. It also shows how Kentucky, which achieved statehood of Virginia in 1792, was growing rapidly following the exodus of many settlers from Virginia.

Virginia was not only the most populous colony generally but became the most populous for Baptists although their numbers did not substantially increase until the 1780s. The growth of churches and church members is shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Number of Baptist churches and church members in Virginia, 1740 – 1790

Year	Churches	Church Members
1740	2	73
1750	2	40
1760	8	382
1770	26	2,002
1780	127	7,073
1790	210	20,851

Source: Robert G. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 21

How populous and potentially important Baptists were in Virginia in 1790 can be seen when the number of church members is compared with the other colonies.

Table 9: Colonies and Territories with more than 3,000 Church Members and Percentage of total number of Baptists in 1790

Colony	Church Members	% of Total
Virginia	20,851	30.9
North Carolina	7,943	11.8
Massachusetts	6,189	9.2
South Carolina	4,505	6.7
New York	4,149	6.2
Rhode Island	3,462	5.1
Connecticut	3,298	4.9
Georgia	3,245	4.8
Kentucky	3,205	4.7
Total	56,847	84.3

Source: Robert G. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 21

Note: These nine colonies and territories total 84.3 per cent of the total number of 67,475 church members

The issue of the number of Baptist churches in the South will be explored further in this thesis, particularly in respect of the number of churches as found in the 1850 and 1860 federal censuses but it appears not only did the South account for about half the population and thus make it fertile ground for Baptists but other Churches were not really represented anywhere near the degree to which Baptists were in the South. Their only real opposition later came from Methodists who started later than Baptists in the South.

This period, 1740 to 1790, was characterised by a series of religious and political events that had a dramatic and transforming effect upon the rather small Baptist numbers. Some of them will be discussed more fully in later chapters. An enumeration of these events will illustrate the extent to which external and internal factors or influences shaped the course of Baptist history during this period and beyond. In more or less chronological order they were first, the First Great Awakening, the religious revival that affected a number of Churches and was most apparent for Baptists in the colony of Virginia. Secondly, there was the change in the social standing of Baptists from one of ridicule, derision and perceived ignorance to acknowledged respectability. Thirdly, there was the harassment, persecution and imprisonment of Baptists, mainly in New

England and specifically in the period 1768 to 1774 in Virginia. Then, fourthly, Baptists enthusiastically participated in the Revolutionary War joining the militia groups or as chaplains and, fifthly, there was their passionate call for religious liberty for all that was later enshrined in the American Constitution. Their patient endurance in the face of persecution and imprisonment brought them influential support. Their changed status caused them in the early 1770s to call for the abolition of the Established Church in Virginia. Their unqualified support for and participation in the Revolutionary War had both political and religious implications. Throughout all this flowed their evangelistic fervour, demonstrated religious zeal and indefatigable energy, particularly of the Separate Baptists, as they sought to win fellow-Virginians to faith and establish new churches.

The First Great Awakening

What stirred Baptists out of a century of somnolence that became the catalyst for this dramatic change was a religious revival, generally referred to as the First Great Awakening. It initially did not directly affect Baptists but in the words of Albert Henry Newman, ‘they reaped a significant numerical harvest.’

Baptists may well have been the principal beneficiaries in America of the Great Awakening. Even after the Great Awakening’s spiritual dynamics subsided, Baptists continued to enjoy spasmodic and regional revivals which resulted in steady growth.⁴⁷

It originated with the revivalist preaching of Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), a Congregational theologian and preacher from Northampton, Massachusetts. There were several other similar preachers, such as the Presbyterians Gilbert Tennent (1703–1764) and Samuel Davies (1723–1761), the Dutch Reformed Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen (*ca* 1691–*ca* 1747) but most notably the English Anglican George Whitefield (1714–1770) who had studied at Oxford University with the founder of Methodism, John Wesley (1703–1791). He had visited America on seven occasions between 1738 and 1770 and was referred to by some Baptists influenced by his preaching as ‘that son of thunder’.⁴⁸ What characterised this type of preaching, as their near-contemporary Robert Semple put it, was for those who supposed religion consisted of nothing more than the practice of its outward duties there became the necessity of feeling conviction and

⁴⁷ Albert Henry Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches of America*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1915, p. 27

⁴⁸ Aaron C Seymour, *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Rev George Whitefield*, Thomas P Skillman, Lexington, Kentucky, 1823, p. 297

conversion.⁴⁹ It particularly affected Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Baptists dividing them into pro- and anti- revivalist forces. Congregationalists divided between New Lights and Old Lights, for Presbyterians it was the New Side and the Old Side and Baptists, initially dividing into New Lights and Old Lights later segregated into what became known as Separates and Regulars. How the preaching of the so-called First Great Awakening affected Baptists was that a small number of men, formerly Congregationalists, were changed by this powerful preaching and subsequently became Baptists on the basis of a change of views concerning believers' baptism. The powerful impact of Whitefield's preaching was still remembered decades later.⁵⁰

Baptists separated into two groups known as Regulars and Separates, divided by theological emphases, attitudes to authority and church worship practices. The first prominent Baptist whose life was transformed by the preaching of George Whitefield was Shubal Stearns (1706–1771), a Boston-born Congregationalist whose family came from Tolland, Connecticut. In 1745 he heard George Whitefield preach and joined the 'New Lights' of the Congregational Church. Soon after he felt a divine compulsion to preach and began to do so. By 1751 he had changed his views concerning the ordinance of baptism and his church became a Baptist one. He was baptized by Elder Wait Palmer of Stonington, Connecticut who with Elder Joshua Morse formed a presbytery to ordain him to the Baptist ministry on 20 May 1751. His church was a Separate Baptist and after a few years the restlessness of wishing to preach the Word in destitute parts of the country drove him with some friends to trek south to Virginia. There was a Baptist congregation at Opeckon Creek in Berkeley County where he remained for a while before travelling to North Carolina where he permanently settled. At Sandy Creek in Guilford County he built a church meeting-house and a church was constituted there with sixteen members. This number soon swelled to 606 church members.⁵¹ Stearns was accompanied by his brother-in-law Daniel Marshall (1706–1784) who was remembered by Semple as not possessed of great talent but indefatigable in his endeavours.⁵² As a Separate Baptist his attempt to seek ordination as a Baptist preacher highlighted the chasm that currently existed between Separate and Regular Baptists. As it was the practice for two or three Elders to be present to form a presbytery in any ordination in the absence of any other Separate Baptist elders, the request to Regular Baptists was sternly refused. What irked Regular Baptists was that the Separates permitted women to pray in public, allowed every 'ignorant man' to preach who chose, and encouraged noise and confusion at

⁴⁹ Robert B Semple, *A History of the Rise and Progress of Baptists in Virginia*, Richmond, 1810, p. 2

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1

⁵¹ John B Taylor, *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers*, Yale and Wyatt, Richmond, 1838, pp. 9-14

⁵² Robert B Semple, *op. cit.*, p. 4; John B Taylor, *Ibid.*, p. 14-21

meetings.⁵³ The Separate rather than the Regular Baptists were more noticeable and in the popular mind, as Wesley Gewehr put it, held a very definite social status. 'They had the reputation of being the meanest of the mean – a poor illiterate ignorant and awkward set of enthusiasts.'⁵⁴

In seeking to explain the reasons for the rising fortunes of Baptists in the period 1740 to 1790 and particularly after 1760, the colony of Virginia assumes greatest importance not only for Baptists but for the future of the nation. Many of the influential Founding Fathers came from Virginia such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, James Monroe, James Madison and Patrick Henry and in the first thirty six years of the Republic all but one of the Presidents of the Union came from that state. Jefferson, Madison, Mason and Henry all became thoroughly convinced of the desirability of religious liberty. Introduced by Mason and amended by Madison the Virginia Convention in 1776 incorporated the philosophy of religious liberty into law as Article Sixteen.⁵⁵ Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and Patrick Henry, in particular, were good friends of the Baptists. Jefferson was in the habit of attending the Baptist church in his neighbourhood and, scrutinising its polity, is alleged to have said that he gathered many of his ideas of what the Republic should be from the polity of this church. Baptist doctrines on religious freedom, Jefferson confessed to others, had enlightened him and fixed his principles in relation to the subject.⁵⁶

After six years of the persecution and imprisonment of Baptists in Virginia James Madison wrote to a friend in 1774:

That diabolical, self-conceived principle of persecution rages among some and to their eternal infamy, the clergy can furnish their quota of imps for such business. This vexes me the worst of anything whatever. There are at this time in the adjacent county not less than five or six well-meaning men in close jail for publishing their religious sentiments, which, in the main, are very orthodox. I have neither patience to hear, talk, or talk of anything relative to this matter; for I have squabbled and scolded, abused and ridiculed, so long about it, to little purpose, that I am without common patience.⁵⁷

⁵³ Robert B Semple, *ibid.*, p. 5

⁵⁴ Wesley M Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia 1740-1790*, Peter Smith, Gloucester, Mass, 1965, p. 115

⁵⁵ William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950, p. 190

⁵⁶ Robert Boyte Crawford Howell, *The Early Baptists of Virginia: An Address*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1857, p. 93

⁵⁷ William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the Frontier: The Baptists 1783-1830*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1931, p. 14f.

A youthful Patrick Henry had regularly listened to the Delaware-born Presbyterian preacher of the First Great Awakening, Samuel Davies (1723-1761). Evidently inspired by this fearless apostle of religious liberty Henry later interceded on behalf of those imprisoned for consciences' sake by paying their fines or defending dissenters in court. He also won the right for non-Anglican clergymen to preach to the Revolutionary troops. When he famously cried in St John's Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia 'Give me liberty or give me death!' the liberty he sought was for both body and soul.⁵⁸

As Tables 5 and 6 above illustrated, the fortunes of Baptists changed from about 1760.

When Baptists first appeared in North Carolina and Virginia, says Robert Semple, they were viewed by men in power as beneath their notice. 'None but the weak and wicked join them; let them alone and they will soon fall out among themselves and come to nothing'.⁵⁹ Events were to prove otherwise.

Opinions differ when this change actually occurred. Walter B. Shurden saw a change emerging in the growing number of Baptists prior to the beginning of the Revolutionary War as they were affected by the 'spiritual dynamics' of the First Great Awakening. He stated that

What was also responsible for Baptist growth was their changed reputation following the Revolutionary War. Before 1776 Baptists were often regarded as ignorant, illiterate and a poor and contemptible class of people.⁶⁰

Whilst agreeing with this assessment of the status of Baptists, Wesley Gehewr differs in its timing. In his *Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740–1790* he states in 1760 Baptists in Virginia were few in number, unimportant and practically unnoticed but within a few years they were receivers of the revival and by the time of the Revolution numbered ten thousand members and then doubled by 1790.⁶¹ It is presumed Gewehr is referring to the whole of America when he provided figures for the number of Baptists at the time of the Revolutionary War (1775–1783) and in 1790. Even so, this is at odds with the numbers given by Robert Gardner of 26,596 in 1780, during the course of the War and 67,475 in 1790.

⁵⁸ Edwin Scott Gaustad, *A Religious History of America*, Harper & Row, New York, 1966, p. 119.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14

⁶⁰ Walter B Shurden, *Associationalism among Baptists in Virginia 1707-1814*, Arno Press, New York, 1980, p.40f.

⁶¹ Wesley M Gewehr, *op. cit.*, p. 106

The persecution of Baptists in Virginia and New England

One of the most challenging external factors Baptists faced in Virginia in the 1760s was the opposition of the Established Church and civil authorities. This was particularly so for the revivalist Separate Baptists. They were obliged to get official permission to preach from the Episcopal Church but this was mostly ignored, many such Baptists claiming their only authority came from the Scriptures. Separate Baptists have been called ‘the most freedom-obsessed and individualistic of all Baptist parties.’⁶²

In the absence of any particular law in Virginia authorising imprisonment for preaching, the law for the preservation of peace was interpreted for this purpose. Accordingly, when a preacher was apprehended a peace warrant was used.⁶³ At court they were arraigned as disturbers of the peace.⁶⁴ They were offered release if they declined to preach in the county for a year and a day but this offer was mostly declined.

The first instance of imprisonment in Virginia occurred in June 1768 when Elders John Waller, Lewis Craig and James Childs were arrested in Spottsylvania County on a charge of ‘preaching the gospel contrary to law.’ Placed before the magistrate on 4 June 1768 the prosecuting attorney informed His Worship these men ‘cannot meet a man on the road without ramming a text of Scripture down his throat.’⁶⁵ According to records examined by Lewis Peyton Little in his *Imprisoned Preachers and Religious Liberty in Virginia from 1760 to 1778* there were at least 153 instances of serious persecution involving 78 Baptists that led to 56 custodial sentences (jailings) for 45 different Baptist preachers. In identifying where this occurred in Virginia he made the observation most occurred in that part of Virginia that produced the Founding Fathers, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and George Mason.⁶⁶

Imprisonment only fuelled the eagerness of Baptist preachers to continue preaching which they did through the grates of the prison windows. The crowds attracted by this led to some conversions.⁶⁷ Robert Semple says the furthest county in Virginia persecution extended to was

⁶² Robert B Shurden, *op. cit.*, p. 36

⁶³ Robert B Semple, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15

⁶⁵ William Cathcart, *The Baptists and the American Revolution*, S A George and Co, Philadelphia, 1876, p. 12; Wesley M Gehewr, *op. cit.*, p. 122f

⁶⁶ Quoted by Stephen Waldman, *Founding Fathers: Providence, Politics and the Birth of Religious Freedom in America*, Random House, New York, 2008, p. 101

⁶⁷ Robert B Semple, *op. cit.*, p. 17

Chesterfield and there was no county where Baptist principles prevailed more extensively.⁶⁸

The difficulty of knowing what to do with these persistent and ubiquitous Baptists was summed up by their historian Robert Semple: 'Imprisonment did not stop their preaching and only caused their numbers to increase.'⁶⁹ The Episcopalian parson James Craig agreed: In his letter to Commissary Dawson he wrote: 'They pray for persecution, and therefore if you fall upon any severe method of suppressing them, it will tend to strengthen their cause.'⁷⁰ Craig also believed the Baptist movement would have 'only fatal' consequences for his Church when he warned 'unless the principal persons concerned in that delusion are apprehended, or restrained from proceeding further.'⁷¹

In New England (except Rhode Island) Baptists were compelled to pay taxes to support the Congregational clergy and were frequently arrested for not doing so. Resistance by Baptists led to the confiscation of their property whether household wares or livestock and its sale, often for trifling prices, to meet these outstanding debts. Nowhere was this more apparent than in Sturbridge, Massachusetts where 'the sacred tax collectors' took 'pewter from the shelves, skillets, kettles, pots and warming-pans, workmen's tools and spinning-wheels; they drove away geese and swine and cows, and where there was but one it was not spared.'⁷² William Cathcart concludes:

Bordering on Revolutionary days persecutions were more general than ever before, and the testimony of Baptists against the crime of obeying sinful laws was in the very air and floating on the sunbeams of every morning, and when George III resolved on taxation for the Colonies without representation, the example of the Baptist became contagious, and resistance to this despotical (*sic*) doctrine became the engrossing thought of the Colonists of America.⁷³

The harassment and persecution Baptists suffered, we may conclude, proved to be counter-productive. Instead of cowering in defeat they grew in stature in the eyes of the population.

The significance of the Revolutionary War for Baptists

With the outbreak of conflict imminent recent Baptist experiences shaped the collective attitude of Baptists to the impending Revolutionary War. In short, they were enthusiastic advocates The

⁶⁸ *Ibid*

⁶⁹ Robert B Semple, *op. cit.*, p. 271

⁷⁰ Wesley M Gehewr, *op. cit.*, p. 126

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 129

⁷² William Cathcart, *The Baptists and the American Revolution*, p. 17

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 18

Baptist General Association of Virginia notified the Convention the people of Virginia had considered what part they would take in the ‘unhappy contest’, and had determined they ought to make a military resistance to Great Britain in her unjust invasion, tyrannical oppression, and repeated hostilities.⁷⁴

Baptist ministers or elders helped raise militias or became Baptist chaplains in the Continental Army. Elder M’Clanahan raised a company of soldiers in Culpepper County in Virginia for whom he acted as both their chaplain and captain. The patriotic ardour of the scholarly Rev Dr Hezekiah Smith of Haverhill, Massachusetts was such it compelled him to become a chaplain and his nature was such he earned the highest respect of senior army officers and became a confidant of George Washington himself.

The Tables above show the war proved to be no deterrent to their growth and expansion. Perhaps the effect of the War and its immediate aftermath is best summed up by Thomas Kidd in his *God of Liberty; A Religious History of the American Revolution*, He wrote:

The distractions and exigencies of war inevitably hindered the activism of evangelical churches, but the conflict hardly sent them into decline. Instead, the period between 1776 and 1783 saw periodic outbursts of revival across North America, with a particularly intense paroxysm engulfing New England in 1780 -1782. Then, in 1785, pent-up spiritual energy seemed to discharge under the combined force of the war’s end and disestablishment with Virginia seeing the most spectacular results. Because of the end of the war and the coming of disestablishment a great evangelical empire began to arise in America.⁷⁵

The first Continental Congress was held in Philadelphia on 14 October 1774 to hear the grievances of colonists. Foremost among those in attendance was a delegation of Baptists from New England, officially commissioned by the Warren Association in Massachusetts, appealing for assistance in securing relief from religious taxes. This delegation was headed by the Rev. Isaac Backus (1724-1806), a former Congregationalist who became a passionate advocate and lobbyist for religious liberty. During and after the First Great Awakening many Congregationalists in

⁷⁴ J T Headley, *The Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution*, Charles Scribner, New York, 1864, p. 250

⁷⁵ Thomas S Kidd, *God of Liberty: A Religious History of the American Revolution*, Basic Books, New York, 2010, p. 188

Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire became Baptists, leading George Whitefield to remark on one of his return visits to that area: 'All my chickens have become ducks.'⁷⁶

This period is explored further in subsequent chapters but it may be concluded that the key to understanding the origins of the growth and transformation of Baptists may be traced back to the outworking of the First Great Awakening.

Baptists in the Nineteenth Century

The growth in the number of churches and members that began in the second half of the eighteenth century continued into the new century. The course of this growth during the first three decades however cannot be charted as *The Baptist Annual Register and Almanac* was not published until 1833. The next source of statistical information, the *Triennial Baptist Register No 2* appeared three years later. Thereafter, as stated earlier, the yearly statistical information is available intermittently until 1857 following which there was continuity until the end of our period of study. Despite these gaps in our knowledge the overall picture remains clear. Baptists continued to grow at a steady rate during each decade although there was a surge at the end of our period that coincided with the emancipation of slaves following the Civil War period. Meanwhile throughout this century the size of 'settled' America expanded from the original thirteen colonies as the growing frontier movement gathered momentum.

In the *American Baptist Register for 1852* a Comparative Table appeared tabulating the total number of churches, ministers and church members at twenty year intervals from 1792 to 1852. When similar figures are included for 1872 the growth of Baptists may be gauged over an eighty year period covering nearly three-quarters of the nineteenth century. These figures are shown in Table 10. The source of the figures for 1812 is unknown as there is no known publication for that year extant. The contemporary Baptist historian David Benedict stated in his history that in 1812 there were 2,633 churches, 2,143 ordained ministers and 204,185 members. This is quite at variance with the figures published in 1852 for 1812.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Derek H David, *Religion and the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Contributions to Original Intent*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, p. 125

⁷⁷ Edward T Hiscox, *op. cit.*, p. 515

Table 10: Number of States, Associations, Churches, Ministers and Church Members, 1792 to 1872

Year	No. of States	Associations	Churches	Ministers	Members
1792	17	41	993	1,264	69,967
1812	20	78	2,226	1,922	174,674
1832	27	172	5,344	3,647	387,106
1852	35	479	9,552	7,393	770,839
1872	46	843	19,620	11,892	1,585,142

Source: J. Lansing Burrows (ed.), *American Baptist Register for 1852*, p. 407; *American Baptist Year-Book for 1873*, p. 83

Notes: (1) There are some clerical errors in the published figures: 1792: churches – 993 (not 1,000) and church members 69,967 (not 70,017); 1812: churches 2,226 (not 2,433), church members 174,674 (not 189,345); 1872: churches 19,620 (not 19,720), church members 1,585,142 (not 1,585,232)

(3) The published Comparative Table did not include the number of associations

(4) This Table made no distinction between ordained and licensed ministers but the 1872 figure only designates ordained ministers

(5) The 46 states in 1872 also includes the ‘Indian Territory’

The above Table shows that over this eighty year period while the number of states more than doubled in number from 17 to 46, Baptist associations increased at the rate of 24.45 per cent per annum. Similarly, churches grew at the rate of 23.45 per cent, ministers at the rate of 10.51 per cent, and the number of church members by 27.07 per cent. In other words, there was annual increase in the number of associations, churches and church members of roughly one-quarter. As this analysis shows, the rate of growth of ministers was not commensurate with that of the number of churches. This issue of the shortage of ministers will be discussed later in Chapter Three.

Another method of examining this growth is by outlining the progression or otherwise of the regional distribution of Baptists during this period as shown in Table 11. This distribution has been expressed as a percentage. This permits one to see where Baptists were either under-represented or over-represented and the changes that occurred during this period. In helping to focus for where Baptist growth was most conspicuous a distinction has been drawn between those nine frontier states that appeared mostly south of the original five southern colonies and the twenty-three states that were in a more westerly direction. The identity of these states is listed below.

Table 11: Regional Distribution of Baptist Churches and Church Members according to Region, 1792 to 1872

	<u>YEARS</u>								
	1792			1812			1832		
	Ch	Mem	Pop	Ch	Mem	Pop	Ch	Mem	Pop
New England	29.81	26.01	25.92	21.25	22.08	20.92	14.17	17.29	15.29
Middle States	14.20	12.51	26.12	17.03	15.33	29.66	15.57	19.52	28.66
Southern States	48.44	55.18	46.07	36.30	40.27	36.61	29.62	36.67	27.33
Frontier - South	7.45	6.25	1.89	20.48	19.95	9.50	23.65	18.12	16.12
Frontier - West	0.10	0.05	-	4.94	2.37	3.28	16.99	8.40	12.60

	1852			1872		
	Ch	Mem	Pop	Ch	Mem	Pop
New England	9.45	11.84	11.83	4.68	6.92	9.14
Middle States	13.12	16.89	25.98	7.79	11.61	23.42
Southern States	26.41	31.86	19.30	26.13	29.82	13.02
Frontier – South	29.19	25.14	19.05	36.12	32.39	18.51
Frontier – West	21.83	14.27	23.84	25.28	19.26	35.91

Sources: *American Baptist Register for 1852*, p. 407; *American Baptist Year-Book for 1873*, p. 77

Notes: (1) Ch = Churches, Mem = Members, Pop = Population (Baptist)

(2): New England States: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont

(3): Middle States: Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania

(4): Southern States: Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia

(5): Frontier States (South): Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia

(6): Frontier States (West): California, Colorado, Dakota, District Columbia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Indian Territory, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming

The first general observation to make is that the percentage of Baptist church members as a proportion of the population more than doubled over this eighty year period. In 1792 the national proportion was 1.80 per cent that rose to 2.51 per cent in 1812, 3.03 per cent in 1832, 3.34 per cent in 1852, and finally to 4.15 per cent in 1872. In other words, over this eighty years Baptist church members increased by 2.35 per cent as a proportion of the total population. From this it can be deduced that all those who called themselves ‘Baptist’ such as children or those but were not church members represented an even greater proportion of the population.

The second observation is that in the above Table an important distinction is made between the two geographic regions relating to the frontier because it better clarifies where Baptists were more in evidence. As the Table shows Baptists were more numerous in those eleven frontier states designated ‘South’ than in what has been termed the ‘West’.

Looking at each region in turn, the figures for New England in the above Table show that the percentage of churches and church members in this region decreased markedly over this eighty year period. The percentage rate of decline in the number of churches was 25.13 per cent and that of church members was 19.09 per cent. This was to a large degree a reflection of the change in the proportion of the population living in New England which declined in the same period by 16.78 per cent. Overall, it may be concluded the decline in the proportion of Baptist church members was generally commensurate with that of the population.

In the middle states Baptist church members were traditionally under-represented during this period. While there were fluctuations, generally Baptist church members represented about half the proportion of the general population except in 1832 and 1852 when there was some improvement.

It is in the southern states, however, that Baptists were traditionally strongest being over-represented during the entire period, even more so after 1852. In 1792 Baptist church members represented 9.11 per cent of the population but by 1852 this figure had risen to 12.56 per cent and was even more pronounced by 1872 when it had grown to 16.80 per cent.

In those nine states designated 'Frontier – South' eight of which came into existence during this period Baptists were consistently over-represented. In 1792 Baptist church members represented 4.36 per cent of the population and by 1852 the figure had climbed to 6.09 per cent but in the next twenty years it had more than doubled to 13.88 per cent.

When these two southern regions consisting eventually of fourteen states are considered together the proportion of Baptist church members living there accounted for some three-fifths of the total Baptist constituency: 61.43 per cent in 1792, 60.22 (1812), 60.32 (1832), 57.00 (1852), and 62.21 (1872). At the same time the proportion of the general population living in this part of the country gradually diminished over this period, from 47.96 per cent in 1792, 46.11 (1812), 45.45 (1832), and from then even more markedly, from 38.35 per cent in 1852 to 31.53 per cent by 1872.

In the twenty three states and territory designated 'Frontier – West' that emerged during the nineteenth century Baptists remained consistently under-represented. This region was virtually non-existent in 1792 but from 1812 the percentage difference between Baptist church members

and the general population doubled each succeeding two decades: 0.91 (1812), 4.20 (1832), 8.57 (1852) and 16.65 (1872). As this Table shows, by 1872 just over one-third of the American population was living in these frontier states.

Any attempt to determine the effect of the Civil War upon Baptist growth, one of the 'external' factors affecting church growth McGavran mentions, is problematic. The Confederate states did not supply any information during the course of the conflict and dated figures from 1860 were usually used in the subsequent *Year Books*.

Numerically speaking, Baptists dominated the Confederate states of the Civil War or in what might be called the 'slave states'. All contained a large African American population. These were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The proportion of slaves who lived in these states, compared to all other states, accounted for over 93 per cent of all slaves recorded in the 1790 census to over 99 per cent in 1860.⁷⁸ The number of slaves in each state was counted as part of the overall population between 1790 and 1860 and ceased before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. Their proportion of the total population slowly diminished during this period, from 17.80 per cent in 1790 to 12.67 per cent in 1860.⁷⁹

As has been previously mentioned the only form of denominational affiliation we have for Baptists is the number of church members. The proportion of Baptist church members in the total population grew from 1.73 per cent in 1790, to 3.01 per cent (1830), 3.38 per cent (1840), 2.98 per cent (1850), 3.32 per cent (1860) and finally 3.72 per cent in 1870. This shows that with one decennial exception (1840), Baptists, proportionately speaking, grew progressively so that in the post-Civil War years they had reached their zenith in this period of study.

The following Table 12 shows those states where Baptist church members were above the national average, some to a considerable degree. There are no figures for earlier decades in the nineteenth century but it shows that from 1830 to 1870 there were some states such as Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, South Carolina and Virginia where they were consistently above the national

⁷⁸ 1790 – 93.07%; 1800 – 93.72%; 1810 – 97.24%; 1820 – 97.79%; 1830 – 99.65%; 1840 – 99.85%; 1850 – 99.92%; 1860 – 99.95%

⁷⁹ 1790 – 17.80%; 1800 – 16.97%; 1810 – 16.07%; 1820 – 15.16%; 1830 – 15.54%; 1840 – 14.61%; 1850 – 13.88%; 1860 – 12.67%

figure. It also shows that while some of the New England states featured in the early period, by 1870 all were southern states and all had been what might be termed ‘slave states.’

Table 12: States with the Highest Proportion of Baptist Church Members, 1830 to 1870

1830 (3.01%)	1840 (3.38%)	1850 (2.98%)	1860 (3.32%)	1870 (3.72%)
Georgia 7.43	Georgia 6.66	Kentucky 6.37	S. Carolina 8.95	Georgia 11.34
Kentucky 4.96	Kentucky 6.17	S. Carolina 6.23	Georgia 8.00	S. Carolina 10.24
S. Carolina 4.90	S. Carolina 6.05	Georgia 6.09	Kentucky 7.06	Virginia 9.97
Virginia 4.48	Rhode Is. 5.07	Virginia 5.72	Virginia 6.63	N. Carolina 8.33
Maine 3.76	Virginia 4.92	Rhode Is. 4.82	Alabama 6.35	Mississippi 7.54
Vermont 3.75	Alabama 4.39	Alabama 4.72	N. Carolina 6.10	Kentucky 6.78
Alabama 3.70	Maine 4.16	N. Carolina 4.23	Mississippi 5.26	Arkansas 6.19
Missouri 3.54	N. Carolina 4.04	Mississippi 3.75	Florida 4.62	Florida 6.18
Connecticut 3.37	Tennessee 3.86	Tennessee 3.46	Tennessee 4.20	Tennessee 6.15
Rhode Is. 3.37	Connecticut 3.80	Maine 3.42	Missouri 3.80	Alabama 5.93

Sources: *United States Baptist Annual Register and Almanac, 1833*, p. 221; *Almanac and Baptist Register for the Year of our Lord 1841*, p. 29; *Baptist Almanac and Annual Register 1851*, p. 25; *American Baptist Almanac 1862*, p. 48; *The American Baptist Year Book 1871*, p. 80

Notes: (1): The percentage of Baptists in the total population in all states appears in brackets next to each year

(2): The church membership figures given for 1830 are those for 1832 as published figures for 1830 are non-existent.

Baptist Growth and the American Civil War

The outbreak of war brought a temporary halt to record-keeping, particularly in the Confederate states. It is not possible therefore to accurately quantify the total number of associations, churches, ministers and church members for the 1860s. Current figures did not appear again until 1869. What is clear, however, is that the post-war decade saw a dramatic increase in all the categories: the number of associations, churches, ministers and church members. This may be shown when compared with a Table that appeared in *The Baptist Almanac* of 1859 illustrating the growth that had occurred in the previous ten years. The following Table shows the rate of increase for the pre-war decade 1848 to 1858 compared to that of the immediate post-war decade of 1865 to 1875.

Table 13: Increase in Number of Associations, Churches, Ministers and Church Members, 1848-1858 and 1865-1875

Year	Associations	Churches	Ministers	Church Members
1848	421	8,205	4,950	667,750
1858	565	11,600	7,141	928,198
Increase	144	3,395	2,191	255,418
	(34.20%)	(41.38%)	(44.26%)	(38.25%)
1865	592	12,702	7,867	1,040,303
1875	925	21,255	13,117	1,815,300
Increase	333	8,553	5,250	774,997
	(56.25%)	(67.34%)	(66.73%)	(74.50%)

Sources: *The Baptist Almanac*, 1859, p. 30; *American Baptist Almanac*, 1865, p. 36; *American Baptist Yearbook*, 1876, p. 74

In the Table that appeared in *The Baptist Almanac* of 1859 there were 34 churches and the Indian Territory. In 1865 there were 38 states and the Indian Territory and a decade later the number of states had grown by seven to 45 with Colorado, Dakota, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Washington and Wyoming having joined the Union.

The above Table shows first, in a decade leading up to the Civil War the number of associations grew by about one-third but in the decade immediately after the War the rate of increase was over one-half or 56.25 per cent. Secondly, the rate of increase for the number of churches prior to the War was about two-fifths but after the War this figure had risen markedly to two-thirds. It was a similar increase in the number of Baptist ministers. The rate of increase for church members, however, was more remarkable in that it rose from just under two-fifths in the pre-War decade to just below three-quarters in the immediate post-War period. Clearly, there was a renewed sense of purpose following the devastating impact upon the South during the Civil War.

It is clear the greatest proportion of this growth in numbers occurred in what might be called the 'slaves states', that is, what has been previously designated the twelve 'Frontier (South)' states. These twelve states accounted for 210 (65.63%) of the increase of 320 associations; a total of 5,744 (66.95%) of the 8,553 new churches; 3,056 (23.12%) of ministers and 526,915 (68.28%) of the increase of 771,659 new church members. In other words, these twelve states accounted for approximately two-thirds of the increase in the number of associations, churches and church members but less than one quarter of the increase in the number of ministers.

Table 14: Numerical and Percentage increase in the number of Churches and Church Members in the Twelve 'Slave States', 1865 - 1875

State	Churches	Church Members
Alabama	375 (46.58%)	13,387 (21.87%)
Arkansas	628 (195.64%)	35,119 (309.66%)
Florida	114 (85.07%)	10,807 (166.70%)
Georgia	999 (100.50%)	89,976 (106.40%)
Kentucky	476 (50.42%)	62,636 (76.73%)
Louisiana	402 (192.34%)	41,249 (401.88%)
Mississippi	660 (110.37%)	51,912 (124.76%)
N. Carolina	591 (84.91%)	52,882 (87.36%)
S. Carolina	315 (66.74%)	32,259 (51.22%)
Tennessee	444 (66.97%)	53,628 (115.17%)
Virginia	504 (75.45%)	64,296 (61.81%)
W. Virginia	236 (229.13%)	18,764 (384.98%)

Source: *American Baptist Almanac*, 1865, p. 36; *American Baptist Yearbook*, 1876, p. 74

We may conclude from this that in order to explain the extent of the growth in the post-War years there needed to be an influx of new church members of some kind, particularly as the Civil War had a destructive effect upon southern society. This came with the entry into the Baptist denomination of a multitude of emancipated slaves.

Baptists and the African American population

Contemporary writers and historians of this era and even those of a much later period have used various terms to describe African American Baptists. These include Negroes, coloured Baptists, black Baptists and after the Civil War, freedmen. Their importance is such that they are one of the reasons Baptists prospered, particularly in the post-Civil War period.

In attempting to account for the influx of African Americans into the Baptist fold it is easier to speak of its existence than to account for the extent of the growth. What is problematic is the availability of information. Illiteracy and the consequent lack of record-keeping among the African American population prior to the outbreak of the Civil War make it difficult to give a clear picture. J A Whitted summed this up in his history of African American Baptists in North Carolina.

Since communication among the Negroes before the war was altogether verbal, confined to narrow limitations, and since no record was kept of his doings as a churchman, it is impossible to get anything like an

accurate statement of his history prior to the emancipation.⁸⁰

T. O. Fuller in his *History of the Negro Baptists of Tennessee* expressed a similar frustration in writing their history.

The slaves were not permitted to have books nor to keep records only in exceptional cases, and even these meagre accounts found much difficulty in reaching the era of freedom.⁸¹

The second problem, previously mentioned, was the failure of associations in the Confederate states to provide returns to the editor of *The Baptist Almanac*. After the Civil War there were still considerable delays with at first none, then only a meagre number of returns being received. As a consequence much earlier figures dating back to 1860 were used for the Confederate states. It wasn't until the *American Baptist Year Book for 1870* appeared that updated figures were used.⁸²

There are isolated references to the origins of 'coloured' Baptist churches. In Georgia, for example, the first was organized in Savannah in 1788 following a period of severe persecution. In four years the membership rose from 80 to 250 while a further 350 were applicants for membership.⁸³

In the case of Kentucky, slaves were brought there by their owners and Baptists among them enjoyed fellowship with white members in the churches that were organized. It was normal practice for a section of the church, usually a gallery or the rear ends of the church, to be reserved for 'coloured members' and their families. While they took part in the worship and the sacraments they were denied the right to vote on the basis that being under the control of their owners they might be influenced by him to the detriment of the church. In some cases they outnumbered white members such as the First Baptist church, Owensboro where it was reported they had 184 Negro members and only eighty whites.⁸⁴

The first and only occasion there was a tabulated report on the number of African Americans was in the *American Baptist Register for 1852*. The published Table of 'coloured members' was for nineteen states but it was stressed the Table was very incomplete and only represented those

⁸⁰ J A Whitted, *A History of the Negro Baptists of North Carolina*, Edwards and Broughton, Raleigh, 1908, p. 7

⁸¹ T O Fuller, *History of the Negro Baptists of Tennessee*, Edward Haskin, Memphis, 1936, p. 14

⁸² These updated figures may have appeared the year before but *The American Baptist Year Book for 1869* is not extant.

⁸³ Albert Henry Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States*, Christian Literature, New York, 1894, p. 320

⁸⁴ Frank M Masters, *A History of Baptists in Kentucky*, Kentucky Baptist Historical Society, Louisville, 1953, p. 342

states that so far had reported. The total number of associations in that year was 336 although less than one third, one hundred, had furnished reports. The number of 'coloured' members reported totalled 89,695.⁸⁵

We can generalise that in the immediate post-Civil War period there was an intense interest by Baptists in the welfare of African-Americans, notably by organisations such as the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS) and the colportage programme of the American Baptist Publication Society. Educational needs were paramount. The Raleigh Institute in Raleigh, North Carolina, for instance, was established in 1865 through the efforts of an ABHMS missionary, the Rev. Henry Martin Tupper (1831-1893) with half a million dollars contributed by the Society as well as more from other sources.⁸⁶ J. A. Whitted adds that the ABHMS missionary was required to not only go into towns and cities but rural sections. His work was not only to preach in churches already established but to go where there were no churches and establish them. Like the missionary colporteur of the Publishing Society he was instructed to hold special revival services with the pastors and churches and through this way many thousands were added to the churches through conversions at these meetings.⁸⁷

In the post-War period in Alabama the Alabama Coloured Baptist Convention was organized on 17 December 1868 with about fifty 'coloured' churches in all the leading towns and cities of Alabama. In 1875 there were about twenty associations and according to William Cathcart in 1881 there were fifty associations, 600 churches, 700 ordained preachers, many licentiates and about 90,000 church members.⁸⁸

In Georgia, according to Cathcart, where the total Baptist church membership in 1880 was 219,726, 27 of the 83 associations, 912 of the 2,063 churches with some 98,000 church members showed how African-American Baptist membership had also grown.⁸⁹ These Baptists had also grown rapidly in North Carolina in the post-War period. According to Cathcart there were now thirty associations with about 750 churches and a membership of about 80,000.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ *American Baptist Register for 1852*, p. 408

⁸⁶ J A Whitted, *op. cit.*, p. 19

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23

⁸⁸ William Cathcart (ed.), *The Baptist Encyclopaedia*, Louis H Everts, Philadelphia, 1881, p. 17f

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 443

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 855f

The following Table is an attempt to illustrate the extent of the influx of new members into Baptist churches in what might be called the thirteen 'slave states'. The disruption of the Civil War and the absence of returns from the Confederate states makes it more difficult but when the pre-War figures are compared with those in the immediate post-war years and again with those one decade after the end of the conflict it will be seen how dramatic was this increase and points to a great influx of African Americans into Baptist churches.

Table 15: Number of Churches and Church Members for the Frontier (South) States for 1860, 1869 and 1875

	1860			1869			1875		
State	Ass	Ch	Mem	Ass	Ch	Mem	Ass	Ch	Mem
Alabama	29	608	61,219	34	821	58,196	50	1,183	74,606
Arkansas	16	321	11,341	27	499	28,911	36	949	46,460
Florida	5	134	6,483	6	137	8,522	14	248	17,290
Georgia	38	904	84,567	74	1,478	104,066	78	1,993	174,543
Kentucky				47	944	81,631	59	1,420	144,267
Louisiana	10	209	10,264	14	326	31,296	28	611	51,513
Mississippi	22	598	41,610	26	282	28,587	47	1,258	93,522
N. Carolina	27	696	60,532	40	528	76,169	50	1,287	113,414
S. Carolina	18	473	62,984	22	540	63,194	26	788	95,243
Tennessee	24	663	46,564	27	482	53,704	46	1,107	100,192
Texas	22	456	19,089	28	602	25,168	45	1,047	59,637
Virginia	22	622	116,526	23	764	107,584	25	1,172	169,310
W. Virginia	8	220	12,774	9	276	16,899	15	339	23,638
Total	241	5,903	533,953	377	7,679	683,927	519	13,402	1,163,635

Sources: *The American Baptist Almanac for 1868*, p. 48; *American Baptist Year Book for 1870*, p. 74; *American Baptist Year Book for 1876*, p. 74

Notes: (1) It is unclear how the number of churches and church members for Mississippi declined in 1869.

(2) The lower number of churches for Tennessee in 1869 may be an administrative error.

What the above Table shows is that between 1860 and 1869 when apparently updated figures were provided the number of church members had risen by about 150,000, an increase of 30.09 per cent in the number of churches and 28.09 per cent in church members. However between 1869 and 1875, or ten years after the end of the Civil War and all its destructive effects, the number of churches increased sharply by 75 per cent and the number of church members by 70 per cent. It is concluded therefore that despite the lack of record-keeping in the pre-war period, and the absence of information during the course of the war, the emancipation of slaves had a liberating religious effect in the former Confederate states with such a rapid growth in churches and members.

It has been extremely difficult to obtain statistical information within the designated timeframe of this study. As a final point it might be concluded Albert Henry Newman claimed in 1893 that since the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845 the membership of the Convention now stood at 2,654,297 and of this number 1,291,046 were 'coloured.'⁹¹ This represented 48.64 per cent of the total. We can reasonably conclude therefore that roughly in one generation African American church members accounted for nearly half the membership of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Conclusion

Since the beginning of the religious revival known as the First Great Awakening movement, constant momentum has signified the story of Baptists in America. Intensely evangelistic, itinerant Baptist preachers in the colonial era, particularly in the South and most notably Virginia, took the gospel message to those in their own county or colony and beyond. The message was also taken by those who became the first to permanently settle in the emerging territories of the frontier. This began a momentum so that Baptists continued to grow in number to the point they dominated certain regions of the country. This was particularly so in those states that contained a large slave population. Baptists welcomed 'coloured' Americans into their churches and once emancipated or freed, these same people found a spiritual home in Baptist churches attracted by its democratic nature and the freedom to worship in their own traditional style.

⁹¹ Albert Henry Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States*, Christian Literature, New York, 1894, p. 459

Chapter 2 - The Growth of Baptists in Australia

The growth of Baptists in Australia was never destined to mirror the successes enjoyed by those in America. While Baptists originated in Australia nearly two centuries after they did so in America it was in a different era and in very dissimilar circumstances. An inkling of how different the future for Baptists in the two countries might be can be gauged in this excerpt from an address to the Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales by Anglican historian, Associate Professor Kenneth Cable in 1994. He stated:

Churches are always growing, always shifting, always on the move. They are never quite the same however static you might think they are. History is always getting at any form of religion, particularly the Christian religion, pushing it around, shoving it, making it move, making it adjust. There is always movement and you have to see the forces at work in your own tradition. And a lot of forces have been at work in the Baptist movement. And there is one that always strikes me as of being of great importance, and one that you Australian Baptists, deriving your chief inspiration from Britain, must always bear in mind. From the 17th century on the Baptist Church in Britain has always been fairly small. Numerically speaking it has sometimes been larger than others but, basically speaking, it has never been in the big league, never in the biggest three or four, in football terms, in the first division. It has been there and it has been significant but it has never been very large, nor has it been very large numerically in Australia since it arrived in the 1830s.

Could you say, therefore, that there is something in the nature of the Baptist Church that keeps it small? Of course you can't! Look at North America. The Baptists weren't the first to arrive there and when they did the other Puritans clobbered them somewhat disgracefully. It was very unpopular living in Massachusetts and being a Baptist in the early days. The Presbyterians and the Congregationalists got very snooty indeed about it. Despite this the Baptists took root in the American colonies, as did a number of other churches. But then a strange thing begins to happen in the late 18th century, and continues to happen with increasing rapidity right through the 19th. The Baptists not only start to grow, they virtually explode. An exploding Baptist is a pretty awful phenomenon but nevertheless there is the fact that the Baptist Church numerically explodes and it is not because millions and millions of Baptists come in from Europe and Britain to live in America. There weren't that many to come over. The explosion occurred because they made other people Baptists. People in America or who came to America, who either had no faith or very little faith became Baptists. You

could see it happening.¹

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the growth and expansion of Baptists in Australia. As implied by Kenneth Cable their story in Australia appears far less dramatic than that of America. There was little apparent 'snootiness' or Established Church to combat nor did they encounter intimidation and persecution in any form or imprisonment from church and civil authorities. In order to gain some perspective it is appropriate to first briefly enumerate the differences between the two countries that will be further examined in this and in succeeding chapters. Following this the observations of nineteenth century English visitors to Australia will be surveyed. In attempting to explain Baptist growth in each of the six states it will be argued that Baptists in Australia seemed to do well when three elements were present in unison or, astronomically speaking, three planets were in alignment. In organisational terms what was necessary was first, dynamic, inspiring ministerial leadership that gave direction and initiated planning for church expansion. The second was influential and wealthy churches and individuals, particularly the latter, that could provide financial support to overcome the sometimes parlous state of general Baptist giving to home missions. The third component was that Baptists needed cohesive administration and organisation in the form of a Home Mission Society. Such societies represented a form of central control. Without all three they usually foundered and made little progress. Sometimes not all three elements were present and in each state there were periods when one or more of these elements was missing. Sometimes there were other factors outside their control such as a relatively small widely-scattered population, dire economic conditions or the social upheaval caused by war. While home mission enterprise never proved to be an easy task, when these elements were missing were times Baptists struggled.

Differences between America and Australia

Most notable among environmental factors was the huge difference in the size of the population. While the landmass of Australia may only represented 78 per cent of the size of America's 9.857 million square kilometres both countries are hugely expansive but have been settled in different ways. While initially there were thirteen American colonies in its colonial era this number grew rapidly with the westward emigration known as the frontier movement. Three-fifths of the American states are less than twice the size of Tasmania, Australia's smallest state. Australia developed with five mainland states, each state containing coastline clinging capital cities that were all separated by huge distances and a countryside that was sparsely populated. Importantly,

¹ Paper given to the Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, May 1994 (copy held by author) See also *The Baptist Recorder*, July 1994, pp. 7-10

another difference was that America was more closely settled. Another aspect of population size was its mobility. The Australian population was never as versatile as that of America. The original thirteen American colonies approximated New South Wales in size and from there Baptists came to be among the first to permanently settle in the emerging new Territories in what is known as the frontier movement. Australia, meanwhile, never experienced any similar emigration changes. Census data indicates any significant change was largely limited to the lure of gold in Victoria in the 1850s and Western Australia in the 1890s.

There were cultural differences between the two countries. In eighteenth century America Baptists were among those who sought to disown their British past from the time of the Revolutionary War in the mid-1770s. They showed their colours when they joined the Patriots in various colonial militia units to fight against the British. Australians, conversely, always sought to retain their British inheritance. For many, Britain still remained their 'home'. The population of America was far more diverse with immigrants predominantly from the British Isles, Europe and Africa while Australia was far more homogenous with England and Ireland supplying the overwhelming number of newcomers to this country. Baptists in New England railed against a form of Established Church which they had to financially support, and in Virginia it was the Episcopalian Church that brought the antipathy of Separate Baptists influenced by the First Great Awakening. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Baptists in America became the champions of religious liberty for all. In Australia there was no Established Church and religious liberty for Dissenters was hardly ever an issue. State aid for all *bona fides* denominations was legislated for in the Church Acts of 1836-37. Baptists in America were embroiled in a Revolutionary War and a Civil War; Australia was generally a quiet continent and involvement in military conflict overseas was of other people's making. In Australia there were no great religious movements such as the First and Second Great Awakenings, or religious revivals of a magnitude that was experienced in America. Following the First Great Awakening the Baptist ministry evolved from enthusiastic, untrained itinerant Baptist preachers who willingly took a simple gospel message to the remotest parts. Baptists in Australia initially depended upon, showed a preference for, and actively sought English born and trained ministers to fill their pulpits. This reliance was always problematic. Some came with health problems, some died prematurely, others returned home when health was restored or after just one pastorate.

The geography of Baptist growth differed for there was no place in Australia where Baptist churches dominated as they did in the American South. Outside the metropolis in Australian

cities Baptists, like other Churches, found the countryside sparsely-populated. How Baptists united among themselves also differed markedly. Baptists in Australia initially established colonial associations, one in each colony to meet that colony's spiritual needs, while in America local associations became the tour de force of Baptist organisational life before and while state conventions appeared from the early 1820s.

There were other factors that directly or indirectly had a bearing on Baptist growth. Australia was a sparsely populated country very distantly located from Great Britain and Europe. In America English colonists established a settlement they called Jamestown in Virginia in 1607. America was already occupied by the Spanish, the French and the Dutch. By contrast European settlement in Australia began in 1788 as an English penal colony established following the demise of the transportation of felons to the American colonies at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1775. In ensuing decades, unlike America, there would be no great influx of immigrants to Australia from these two large centres of population. Any enterprising individual in Great Britain or Europe who wished to improve their prospects in life would have chosen the New World over the Australian colonies as a more encouraging prospect. For the traveller it was not only quicker, it was much cheaper, and it was far less perilous. In the 1830s the cost of a steerage passage from Europe to North America was £5 but to Australia it was £40.² Whether a person had the necessary capital to pay their passage and sustain themselves upon arrival would have depended on their socio-economic status before they left.

The situation Australian Christianity and Baptists in particular, faced has been well summed up by Kenneth Cable. In reference to Baptists in colonial New South Wales he observed:

For all these reasons, then, the Baptists in the United States of America had become extraordinarily varied but (*sic*) extraordinarily widespread. It makes the work of the Baptists in New South Wales seem a bit small, but on the other hand remember it was much harder to promote religion in Australia than it was in America. There was nothing to make religion go in Australia unless you made the effort to make it go. Among convicts and poor white migrants who were a long way from home there was no religious vitality. There were a few earnest people struggling very hard against quite appalling physical conditions and with not always much help from the authorities back home. A small struggling Church like the

² R B Madgwick, *Immigration into eastern Australia 1788-1851*, Sydney University Press, 1969, p. 60; Kenneth J Cable, *Religion in Colonial New South Wales*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1993, p. 18

Baptist was fortunate to survive.³

Another important difference between the two countries was that America had some kind of religious foundation.⁴ The colony of Maryland is considered the birthplace of religious freedom in America after George Calvert the 1st Baron Baltimore (1579–1632) made the colony a haven for persecuted Roman Catholics fleeing from England. The Pilgrim Fathers who landed at Plymouth in Massachusetts in late 1620 were religious refugees and they were followed by a steady stream during the next two decades who settled in the New England region. It is estimated some twenty thousand settled there between 1629 and 1640 before there was a sharp decline with the outbreak of the English Civil War. Thirdly, William Penn (1644–1718) the proprietor of Pennsylvania actively sought political and religious refugees from Europe to populate his colony. By contrast, the British government made little provision for the religious needs of a convict society that were the first settlers in Australia. The first and only group of religious refugees came to South Australia in November 1838 were Lutherans from Prussia sponsored by the Baptist businessman and philanthropist, George Fife Angas (1789–1879).⁵ South Australia, sometimes referred as the ‘Paradise of Dissent’ had no convicts and a preponderance of non-Anglicans, making it possibly the most religious of all Australian colonies.

Kenneth Cable drew attention to another aspect of the idea America was a haven from religious persecution and why people migrated there.

Many of them came to get away from what they thought were the religious practices of the Old World. Therefore America developed a society which liked to emphasise its difference from Britain and Europe. Australia never liked to emphasise its difference from Britain. America always did and always was conscious that it was different and therefore better than the Old World. Therefore, in religion the Americans tended to favour those forms of Christianity which on the whole had not been dominant in the Old World, or were in a minority in the Old World or were persecuted in the Old World. It is not that many of those who came out were Baptists because there were not too many Baptists to come. But to America, looking at the British religious scene, the Baptists seemed to be an attractive element because they had been persecuted, because they were a small group that had persevered against the Establishment. Therefore in that sense it was a kind of Christianity that the Americans tended to admire and

³ Kenneth J Cable, *ibid.*, p. 31 This book is the transcription by Hubert Watkin-Smith of the Annual Lecture to the Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales delivered in April 1989

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27

⁵ David Schubert, *Kavel's People: From Prussia to South Australia*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1986. The author's great-great uncle, Johann Gottlieb Petras and his family were among these migrants.

thought it was important.⁶

The Population of America and Australia

The essential starting-point in assessing demographic differences is the population of both countries. As Table 16 shows, the population of Australia only ever reached a small proportion of that of America, between 1790 and 1960 never exceeding six per cent.

Table 16: Numerical and percentage size of the population of Australia compared to America, 1790 to 1960

Year	Australia	America	Percentage
1790	2,056	3,893,874	0.05
1800	5,217	5,236,626	0.10
1810	11,566	7,036,509	0.16
1820	33,543	10,086,015	0.33
1830	70,039	12,785,928	0.55
1840	190,408	16,988,733	1.12
1850	405,356	23,054,152	1.76
1860	1,145,585	31,183,744	3.67
1870	1,647,756	38,155,515	4.32
1880	2,231,531	49,371,610	4.52
1890	3,151,355	62,116,811	5.07
1900	3,765,339	74,607,245	5.05
1910	4,425,083	91,641,195	4.83
1920	5,411,297	105,273,049	5.14
1930	6,500,751	122,288,177	5.32
1940	7,077,586	130,962,661	5.40
1950	8,307,541	149,895,723	5.54
1960	10,391,920	178,554,916	5.82

Source: [www.abs.gov.au/Australian Bureau of Statistics](http://www.abs.gov.au/Australian%20Bureau%20of%20Statistics), 3105. 0.65.001 – Australian Historical Population Statistics, 2006

The contrast could hardly be starker. When Americans conducted their first federal census in 1790 the American population numbered 3,893,874 while the European population of Australia was boosted to slightly more than two thousand with the arrival of the Second Fleet in June 1790. The first Australian census, conducted in November 1828 in the colony of New South Wales showed the population consisted of 36,598 made up of 20,870 free settlers and 15,728 convicts.⁷ At that stage there were very small British settlements at Port Phillip Bay and in Van Diemen's Land whose name was changed to Tasmania in 1856. During the 1830s when Baptists first

⁶ Ibid., p. 27f

⁷ Malcolm R Sainty and Keith A Johnson (editors), *Census of New South Wales; November 1828*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1980, p. 15

originated, New South Wales was evolving from a convict to a free society.⁸ Transportation to New South Wales ceased in 1840.

The most significant decade in the nineteenth century concerning Australia's population was the 1850s and coincided with the gold rush era that first began in New South Wales and six months later in Victoria in 1851. In 1851, the year it separated from New South Wales, the population of Victoria was 77,345. A decade later it had grown nearly sevenfold to be the most populous colony with 538,628 inhabitants. In the same period the population of New South Wales doubled from 178,668 to 350,860. The gold rush attracted those with initiative and enterprise and some capital, similar to those who left Europe for America.

The significance of this disparity in population was that in such a large continent as Australia there would be many remote areas that were isolated and sparsely populated and the question would always remain of what resources were available for Baptists to provide for the spiritual needs of this widely scattered population. Once again, this was in sharp contrast to America. As Kenneth Cable has observed:

Moreover it must be remembered that America has a much more closely settled population. The American countryside was always fairly closely settled and was so fairly early and if there is a settled countryside religion will do much better and sit more comfortably than it does in the vast outback of Australia where you get fifty miles between one house and another. The outback of Australia is about the worst place in the world to try to propagate religion because of the sheer loneliness and separation. America did not have that kind of disability. There were far more people in roughly the same area – a much more heavily populated countryside – with lots of small towns. It was an area in which religion was much more likely to flourish.⁹

Immigration to America and Australia

Cable's summation is borne out in the 1872 address to the New South Wales Baptist assembly by the newly-elected President of the Union, the Rev. A. W. Webb, when he declared: 'We *will* not, we *can* not forget we are British Baptists.'¹⁰ Webb went on:

Our numbers would be greater if those professing our principles

⁸ Ken R Manley and Michael Petras, *The First Australian Baptist*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1981, pp.

⁹ K J Cable, *ibid.*, p. 28

¹⁰ *The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser* (NSW), 7 September 1872, p. 298

were staunch in their adherence to the cause they once espoused;
but the wealthier Baptists have too often forsaken their own
churches and united with those whose temporal condition
comported more thoroughly with their own improved status.¹¹

This raises the question of what type of immigrant could afford to come to Australia. Convict transportation to eastern Australia continued to 1840 but in the preceding decade New South Wales was increasingly becoming a place for free settlers. To meet labour demands various assisted migration schemes were introduced between 1832 and 1850. By 1850 around 187,000 free settlers had arrived in Australia, most having come under an assisted migrant scheme. As this was ending, the population was suddenly boosted with the discovery of gold in New South Wales and Victoria in 1851 when hundreds of thousands of prospectors from overseas flocked to these two colonies, particularly the latter, to seek their fortune.

Both America and Australia are migrant countries. The second environmental factor to potentially affect the growth of Baptists was immigration, particularly the country of origin of the immigrants. The main difference between the two countries was that the Australian population has come almost entirely from the British Isles. It was more homogenous. The greatest contributors were England and Ireland. In the case of America the countries of origin were more diverse. In addition to the United Kingdom a considerable proportion had come from both Europe and Africa. From the latter continent these migrants were slaves and by the first federal census in 1790 slaves numbered 693,249 and accounted for close to eighteen per cent of the American population that numbered 3,893,874.¹²

The country of origin of American migrants and the composition of the American population in 1790 is given in the following Table. The first column is the total number who arrived in the country before 1790. The compiler of this Table points out this represents immigrants over a period of some 130 years as found in the 1790 census. The second column is the total of each foreign-born group as at the first decennial census conducted in 1790. There appears to be some approximations here. One figure for the African-born at the 1790 census is a more precise 693,249 but the same source gives the total as 3,893,874. Despite this, the diversity in the origins of the population cannot be denied, particularly when it is compared to Australia.

¹¹ *Ibid*

¹² Total population in 1790 was 3,893,874; slave population 693,249 (17.80 per cent)

Table 17: Migration to America prior to 1790 and the composition of the American population in 1790

Country	Immigration before 1790	Population 1790
Africa	360,000	790,000
England	230,000	2,100,000
Ulster-Scot-Irish	135,000	300,000
Germany	103,000	270,000
Scotland	48,500	150,000
Ireland	8,000	
Netherlands	6,000	100,000
Wales	4,000	10,000
France	3,000	15,000
Jewish	1,000	2,000
Sweden	500	2,000
Other	50,000	200,000
British Total	425,500	2,560,000
Total	949,000	3,900,000

Source: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/history_of_immigration_to_the_united_states

The provenance of the Australian population during the second half of the nineteenth century according to census data is shown in Table 18. This Table gives the percentage for each country and also shows that apart from the British Isles only a very small number came from two other countries, Germany and China.

Table 18: Birthplaces of the Australian Population and Percentage of the Population, 1861 to 1891

Country	Years			
	1861 (%)	1871 (%)	1881 (%)	1891 (%)
Australia	428,954 (37.2)	889,266 (53.5)	1,422,533 (63.2)	2,166,259 (68.24)
England	342,861 (29.8)	351,324 (21.1)	367,570 (16.3)	456,723 (14.39)
Wales	9,467 (0.8)	11,088 (0.7)	11,340 (0.5)	14,922 (0.47)
Scotland	97,211 (8.4)	99,831 (6.0)	99,296 (4.4)	125,043 (3.94)
Ireland	177,405 (15.4)	23,765 (12.9)	214,771 (9.6)	229,156 (7.22)
British Isles	630,107 (54.7)	679,557 (40.9)	696,692 (30.9)	829,495 (26.13)
Germany	27,599 (2.4)	32,925 (1.9)	37,837 (1.7)	45,320 (1.43)
China	38,742 (3.7)	28,662 (1.7)	38,381 (1.7)	36,049 (1.14)
Others	26,704 (2.3)	32,180 (1.9)	54,631 (2.4)	97,269 (3.06)
Total	1,152,106	1,662,590	2,250,074	3,174,392
Population				

Source: Wray Vamplew (ed.), *Australian Historical Studies*. p.8

Note: Isle of Man and Channel Islands are both included in the total for the British Isles.

Table 18 shows, first, that from 1861 to 1891 the proportion of the Australian-born population increased from 37.2 per cent to 68.2 per cent while the total proportion who came from the British Isles declined by just over one half, from 54.7 per cent to 26.1 per cent. Secondly, while this information is only available from 1861 when the population was over 1.1 million, it could be reasonably concluded that prior to then the proportion of immigrants was more as it includes the gold rush era.¹³ Thirdly, this Table also shows that apart from the British Isles only a very small number came from two other countries, namely, Germany and China. In the case of the former, in November 1838 a total of 537 Germans (or, more accurately, Prussians) arrived in Adelaide, the first religious refugees to come to Australia and were sponsored by the Baptist, George Fife Angas. As H. R. Jackson has pointed out, North America was much closer so there had to be a special reason to undertake the long and costly journey south.¹⁴

Chinese migration coincided with the gold rushes of the early 1850s. Migrants from other countries were very small in number although this percentage did begin to grow in number as the nineteenth century wore on. We may conclude therefore, unlike America, the population of Australia was very largely made up of people who came originally from the British Isles and of these the majority came from either England or Ireland. As neither of these countries had a preponderance of Baptists among their population it was highly unlikely there would be any significant influx of Baptist migrants to this country.

Demographic aspects of America and Australia

The third environmental factor concerns the pattern of settlement in the Australian colonies. The original thirteen American colonies occupied an area that was in size a little more than the combined size of New South Wales, the fifth largest of Australia's States and Territories and within its borders the Australian Capital Territory.¹⁵ While there is no census data to support the assertion, myriad accounts of the histories of colonial American Baptists suggest the movement of the population between colonies was quite common. This is clearly evident in the accounts of itinerant Baptist preachers during the colonial period that could be likened to individuals, families or small communities moving around New South Wales. In America toward the end of the colonial period the population was beginning to move from the thirteen colonies generally

¹³ H R Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930*, Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1987, p. 19

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18; David Schubert, *Kavel's People: From Prussia to South Australia*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1986

¹⁵ The area size of the original 13 colonies is 878,674 square kilometres; the combined size of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory is 811,802 square kilometres (92.39%)

southward and westward, in ever-increasing waves of migration. What became known as the frontier movement was the ever-moving, ever-growing westward settlement of the population. In explaining this phenomenon the prominent religious historian of the colonial era, William Warren Sweet, emphasised the great accomplishment of the United States, the conquest of the continent.¹⁶ In Australia with its vast size, small diffuse population, arid landscape and limited means of transport this was never the case.

In Australia settlement was much more scattered with its quite small population that originally radiated out from six relatively small cities dotted around the Australian coastline and widely separated from each other. Not only was the settlement of the population more scattered it has been much less mobile than America. Whereas Americans frequently moved from one colony to another Australians have generally preferred to stay put. The tyranny of distance has proved too great. This is borne out in the censuses of 1861 and 1901. According to the 1861 census the total number of Australian-born (428,954) whose colony of birth remained the same as when the census was taken was 399, 578 or 93.15 per cent of the total number. In other words, until 1861 only 29,376 persons (6.85 per cent) of the population had moved from one colony to another since their birth. The colony to which there had been the greatest influx was Victoria (19,516) which accounted for two-thirds (66.44%) of those who moved. The reason for this was most probably the gold rushes at the start of the decade that brought prospectors to the goldfields. The reluctance for people to move may well be attributed to work opportunities, the available means of transport, and the long distances involved.

In the 1901 census, the other year such information was published the proportion of the population that had moved from one colony to another had risen to 10.59 percent or 308,513 in an Australian-born population of 2,913,997. The State with the highest mobility rate but numerically smallest, was the newly-expanding Western Australia where in a population of 127,133 nearly three-fifths (74,369 persons, 58.50%) had been born elsewhere. The major factor for the population moving may well have been the hope of finding gold in Kalgoorlie or Coolgardie during the 1890s.

We may conclude therefore that while both countries are large in size there were vast differences in the size of their population, the country of origin of its citizens, the nature of the settlement,

¹⁶ William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier: The Baptists 1783-1830*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1931, p.18

especially the manner in which migration occurred within the country. In the case of Australia there was no such phenomenon as a frontier movement.

Characteristics of Australian Christianity

What then has characterised Australian Churches in general and Baptists in particular?

A useful starting-point would be the observations of visitors to this country. There were a number of English visitors, including aristocrats, writers and journalists and prominent Baptist and Congregational clergymen who visited these shores during the second half of the nineteenth century and beyond, later recording their impressions of, among other things, the religious life of the country. Their cumulative insights underscore just how British were Australian society and the emerging pattern of church life that had developed by the second half of the nineteenth century.

One of the first was the young English aristocrat, Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke (1843-1911), who arrived in late 1866 after first visiting America. He claimed he could discover nothing American about Melbourne except the grandeur of its public buildings and the width of the streets. Its people were more thoroughly British, he claimed, than the citizens of its rival capital, Sydney. Australian society resembled English middle-class society, he thought, in matters of literature and religion, their tastes and feelings were those that pervaded Birmingham and Manchester.¹⁷ Other visitors were taken by the extent of the deep emotional attachment held for Britain. The English Congregational leader Robert William Dale (1829–1895) of Birmingham who visited the Australian colonies in 1887 later explained the hospitality and kindness shown to him as due to the strength and the depth of the love Australians held for the old country. He went so far as to describe their affection for England as a ‘passion.’

Their affection for England leads them to endeavours which have in them an element of pathos to reproduce under those distant skies the sights and the joy and the customs of “home”.¹⁸

Dale also noted how every Englishman that comes to Australia comes from ‘home’. It does not matter from what part of England he comes. Similar sentiments were expressed by a former President of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, the Rev. E. G. Gange, who visited the Australian colonies in 1906. He remarked on how people were always talking about ‘home’ and

¹⁷ Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, *Greater Britain: A record of travel in English-Speaking countries during 1866-67*, J P Lippincott and Co, Philadelphia, 1869, Volume 11, Part 111, p. 24

¹⁸ R W Dale, *Impressions of Australia*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1889, p. 14

about the intensity of the love the children showed for the Motherland. As he ruefully remarked, it was generally the other way about. He was, he added, rather afraid that the mother did not care for her children as the children cared for her mother.¹⁹ As if to illustrate this point as late as 1939 when the Rev F. J. Wilkin published his centenary history of Victorian Baptists, he still spoke affectionately of emigrants coming from 'the old land we still call Home'.²⁰

A second observation by English visitors was the extent to which English church life was being replicated in this country. As far as I could learn, remarked R. W. Dale, all the Churches have too faithfully reproduced in new circumstances the customs and institutions of the mother country. The Congregationalists of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide hold the same number of religious services on Sunday as the Congregationalists of London, Liverpool and Manchester and the same number of religious services in the week. Notwithstanding the difference in climate they hold their services at the same hours. In summer they were held at half past ten or eleven o'clock when the day is becoming intolerably hot and at half past six or seven o'clock on Sunday evening before it has become cool. Further, these church services are of the same kind. They sing the same hymns to the same tunes.²¹

The most expansive of all these English visitors, Dale noted how no hymn had come into general use that had caught the colour and inspiration of the new country and the new environment of church life. The answer, he considered, was that the new environment had not produced any serious effect upon church life itself. Congregationalism in Australia was hardly to be distinguished from Congregationalism in England and it was the same for other denominations, Baptists included. They were deeply anxious about events surrounding Charles Haddon Spurgeon relating to the 'Down Grade' controversy and his possible secession from the Baptist Union.²²

A third observation drew attention to the differences between religion in Australia and that of America. Sir Charles Dilke whose primary interest was the study of Australia's political system, considered that there was no country in the world where eccentricity, both moral and religious, was as ripe as it was in America, nor was there a country where individuality was so strong. In the Australian colonies he could find no trace of the multiplication of creeds which characterised America. Nothing was heard of the sects that had sprung up in New England: Hopkinsians,

¹⁹ *Malvern Standard* (Victoria), 13 July 1907, p. 6

²⁰ F J Wilkin, *Baptists in Victoria: Our First Century 1838-1838*, Baptist Union of Victoria, Melbourne, 1939, p. 1

²¹ R W Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 163f

²² *Ibid.*, p. 218f

Universalists, Osgoodites, Rogerenes, Come-Outers, Non-Resistants and the like. In Australia, Dilke found, there was an absence of enthusiastic religion: the Australian democrat liked to pray as his father prayed before him and was strongly conservative in his ecclesiastical affairs.²³

In his *An Australian Ramble: Or, a summer in Australia* (1890) the journalist and travel writer, James Ewing Ritchie (1820–1898), recounted the formation in Melbourne of what was called the Australian Church in 1885. Established by the former theologically liberal-leaning minister of Scotch (*sic*) Church, Dr. Charles Strong, Ritchie stated: ‘I see no evidence in Australia that the people are discontented with the old ways, or are ready for change.’ Despite Strong’s popularity Ritchie could not see his followers as fanatics in favour of their new denomination. Besides, he questioned whether there was sufficient population in Melbourne to be developed into anything worthy to take the somewhat ambitious title of the Australian Church.²⁴

This religious conservatism manifested itself in different ways. R. W. Dale noted how the Church with which a man connects himself in the colonies was, in most cases, if he has a choice, the Church he was connected to at home.²⁵ By way of illustration he referred to the Presbyterian in Scotland or Northern Ireland who remained a Presbyterian in Victoria. When a dozen Scotchmen settled within reach of each other they built a church. It was the same, he said, for other denominations. Apart from being a natural thing to do Dale saw it leading to ‘very serious evils’. When there was a population hardly large enough to form one good congregation it was divided between a Presbyterian Church, a Congregational Church and a Wesleyan Methodist church. Sometimes there happened to be two types of Methodists. The effect of this was that in one district there may be more church accommodation than is likely to be needed for twenty years to come while in other parts of the colony the population was so sparse there was no accommodation at all.²⁶ It can only be wondered what Dale would have said of the South Australian copper mining town of Moonta, sometimes known as Australia’s little Cornwall, where in 1899 there were sixteen churches and only two of them not Methodist.²⁷

It was Methodism that greatly impressed a churchman like R. W. Dale. He showed by statistical analysis how in each of the colonies but, particularly in Victoria and South Australia, Methodism

²³ Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, *op. cit.*, p. 52

²⁴ J Ewing Ritchie, *An Australian Ramble or A Summer in Australia*, T Fisher Unwin, London, 1890, pp. 87- 88

²⁵ R W Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 241

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 241f

²⁷ Oswald Pryor, *Australia’s Little Cornwall*, Rigby Limited, Adelaide, 1962, p. 104

in all its various divisions has shown magnificent vigour. It was very apparent, he concluded, there is something in the organization, the creed, and the characteristic spirit of Methodism that makes it a great religious force in a British colony. By contrast, he continued, Congregationalists and Baptists had drawn to themselves only an inconsiderable number of the population. Both were most numerous in Victoria followed by South Australia. In the year following Dale's visit in 1887 Baptists in Victoria celebrated their golden jubilee with the visit of Dr. Alexander Maclaren (1826–1910) of Manchester. Concerning how the sizeable Jubilee Fund was to be spent he recommended they should use it in 'consolidation, education and consecration. Anything that would bind together the churches in a closer bond of unity was to be considered invaluable.' Appearing to have perceived a weakness in Baptist organisation in the colony he then rhetorically added to great applause: 'Why should not they in this new country work out a congregationalism redolent of the soil?'²⁸ The task of finding such a form of congregationalism suitable for a small widely-scattered constituency was to prove an almost insurmountable hurdle for Baptists in Australia. Their history showed they were resistant to any changes in church polity to overcome leadership shortages or to better utilise their limited resources in a geographically uncompromising environment.

English visitors also found there was something equivocal about Australian attitudes to the practice of their religious faith. The English novelist Anthony Trollope (1815–1882) who spent a year in Australia during 1871–72, observed how the people were fond of building churches and proud of having these in their villages but less addicted to paying annually for their clergymen than defraying the cost of these churches. He recalled small townships containing ostensibly little in the way of buildings beyond the four public-houses, the blacksmith's shop and the bank, but where there were as well three places of worship.²⁹

Attention has been drawn to the religious aspect in English colonization and its contrast to other nations. An article appeared on the religious needs of the colony in the *Sydney Herald* on 16 October 1840. Gleaned from the June issue of the *Colonial Magazine* it chastised Great Britain, despite her high privileges and pre-eminence as a Christian nation, as having been lamentably mean in the propagation of her faith. The Irish-born British diplomat and statesman Lord Macartney (1737–1806) was quoted in support.

²⁸ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 14 November 1888, p. 10

²⁹ Anthony Trollope, *New South Wales and Queensland*, Chapman and Hall, London, 1874, p. 24

The English never attempt to disturb the worship or the tenets of others
& they come to China with no priests or chaplains with them, as other
European nations have³⁰

It was this attitude, the article continued, that characterised the settlement of New South Wales and explains the trials suffered by the first chaplain the Rev. Richard Johnson (1753-1827) who accompanied the First Fleet.

We may conclude therefore from the views expressed by these English visitors spread over some forty years that the Australian population though relatively small and widely scattered over a vast continent, still remained deeply emotionally tied to its British past. There was no apparent wish, unlike America, to renounce its British past and to forge a new identity in a new environment. Nineteenth century Australian Churches wished to preserve all the traditions and practices that were familiar to them even in such changed circumstances. Unlike America there had been no proliferation of sects and perhaps, most important of all, there was no observable individualism.

These observations of visitors characterise a fundamental part of Australian church life in the nineteenth century that included Baptists. Australia was not the New World like America as some envisaged but part of Greater Britain. It remained rooted in its British past. As shall be later shown in this study there were continuous appeals made to English Baptist institutions and individuals for assistance to fill Baptist pulpits in Australia or to assist in the carriage of the Church's mission.

The point was made by R.W. Dale, as previously stated, that 'the Church with which a man connects himself in the colonies is, in most cases, if he has the choice, the Church he was connected at home.' This seems to be the case as there is a correlation between the 1851 census of church attendance in Great Britain with subsequent censuses conducted in Australia. The Churches in Australia retained the same ranking order as they had done in the past. The total number of attendants in the 1851 United Kingdom census is shown in the following Table.

³⁰ *The Sydney Herald* (New South Wales), 16 October 1840, p. 2

**Table 19: Census of Religious Worship 1851 and 1861 in the United Kingdom:
Total Church Attendance at the major Christian Denominations**

Church of England	6,184,878	(32.59%)
Roman Catholic	4,973,184	(26.20%)
Methodist	2,825,878	(14.89%)
Presbyterian	2,095,363	(11.04%)
Congregational	1,480,300	(7.80%)
Baptist	1,087,808	(5.73%)

Source: Robert Currie et al, Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977, pp. 216 - 222

Notes: (1) The figures for Ireland and Northern Ireland are for 1861

(2) As this census related to church services that were held in the morning, afternoon or evening it was recognized that some people may have been counted twice as they had attended more than one service.

These six denominations (bearing in mind the Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists consisted of various splinter groups) totalled 18,647,411 persons and accounted for 98.25 per cent of the total attendees of 18,979,478 at church services on the day of the census.

At the same time in Australia and in subsequent decades the six denominations accounted for a very high proportion of the total number of adherents and in the same proportion except that Presbyterians and Methodists interchanged as did Congregationalists and Baptists. The proportion of adherents for each denomination in the Australian colonies from 1861 to 1947 is shown in the next Table.

Table 20: Proportion of adherents of the six major Churches in Australia of the Total Population, 1861 to 1947

	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1933	1947
Anglican	41.50	38.70	35.91	38.89	39.71	38.39	43.66	38.69	39.01
Catholic	22.14	24.55	22.95	22.49	22.68	22.37	21.57	19.44	20.71
Methodist	8.75	11.61	11.53	12.60	13.36	12.30	11.64	10.32	11.50
Presbyterian	12.61	12.06	10.96	11.09	11.30	12.53	11.72	10.76	9.81
Congregational	2.50	2.58	2.23	2.29	1.99	1.66	1.37	0.98	0.83
Baptist	1.15	1.99	2.10	2.27	2.37	2.18	1.94	1.60	1.50
	88.65	91.49	85.68	89.63	91.41	89.43	91.90	81.79	83.36

Source: Wray Vamplew (ed.), Australians: Historical Statistics, pp. 421-427

Unlike America, the number in the Australian population who claimed some form of allegiance or connection with Baptists was recorded in census data. The colonies conducted their own censuses at various times until it became more co-ordinated by 1871. It is unfortunate a comparison cannot be made with the American population concerning denominational affiliation according to adherents. .

The Struggle to make Progress

In the remainder of this chapter those factors that assisted or militated against the growth of Baptists in Australia will be examined and the fortunes of Baptists will be discussed in each of the six states separately.

At the customary forums, the yearly or half-yearly meetings of each Association or Union, denominational leaders frequently discussed the denomination's advancement and offered varied reasons for any seeming lack of progress. One such occasion early in the history of Victorian Baptists was the annual meeting of the Baptist Association of Victoria in 1870. The new President, the Rev James Martin, BA (1821-1877) of the Collins Street church, tendered three reasons for why the denomination was not properly represented in the colony.³¹ The first, he said, was this: 'we have never had the benefit of the *compact organisation* of our Wesleyan or Presbyterian brethren' and the incalculable difficulties of a new colony were not suited to the 'uncertain guerrilla warfare of Independency.' This was an admission the Baptist system of church government was not well suited to colonial conditions. The second reason he gave was that Baptists had never had the benefit of *State Aid*. The third issue was the complaint 'we have never been systematically assisted by our churches at home.' His admission was that 'it matters little to the colony whether the Baptists are many or few.'³² .

Among these reasons State aid was probably the most contentious issue. Baptists generally refused State aid although there were a few aberrations of principle. The first churches in Sydney and Melbourne, Bathurst Street and Collins Street, were built on land given after representations were made to the respective colonial governors in 1832 and 1845.³³ Launceston church in

³¹ On Martin, see Dr Ian Breward, "Dr James Martin: a great Baptist scholar", in *Our Yesterdays*, Victorian Baptist Historical Society, Volume 4, 1996, pp. 5-17

³² Ken R Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to Eternity: A History of Australian Baptists, Volume 1*, Paternoster, Milton Keynes, 2006, p. 78f

³³ ³³ Ken R Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to Eternity: A History of Australian Baptists, Volume 1*, Paternoster, Milton Keynes, 2006, p. 78f

Tasmania was also built on land given by grant. In Western Australia Crown land was given to Baptists in South Perth in 1901 after the Commissioner of Crown Lands had noted in December 1896 how Baptists among the different Churches had been latecomers in requesting Crown land grants.³⁴ Part of the explanation for the Bathurst Street grant by Governor Sir Richard Bourke (1777-1855) was that all those who made representations were not Baptists but nevertheless sympathetic to the Baptist cause and thus did not share similar views with Baptists regarding State aid.³⁵

The issue in Victoria became so contentious it led to the formation in 1871 of a rival association, calling itself the Baptist Union of Victoria and led by the Rev William Poole.³⁶ There was already an Anti-State Aid Society championed by the Rev George Slade, minister of the Fenwick Street Baptist church in Geelong that lobbied for the abolition of State aid to religion. However when the majority Association and minority Union officials together with their legal representatives made representations to the Victorian government there was an unwillingness to support the 'Union's' case for State aid and as a consequence the newly-formed 'Baptist Union' ceased to exist.

The Particular Baptist minister the Rev. J. J. Mouritz claimed that if the denomination was polled probably half would say 'take all you can get.' When the Particular Baptist minister the Rev. John Turner (d. 1895) arrived in the colony in January 1850 he made application a few months later for a grant of land of one acre in order to build a Particular Baptist chapel on the corner of Lonsdale and Exhibition Streets, Melbourne but was instead granted half an acre. His argument was that so long as a portion of general revenue, to which all sects contribute, is appropriated to the cause of religion, it is right and proper to give to all those who apply for it. His application for a government stipend, however, at that stage had not been forthcoming.³⁷

In Tasmania, the first Baptist minister the Rev. Henry Dowling (1769–1855), who arrived in the colony in December 1834, became an 'unrestricted catechist' under the oversight of the Anglican chaplain to the convicts, Archdeacon Rowland Davies, holding divine services for the chain

; Ken R Manley and Michael Petras, *The First Australian Baptists*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1981, p. 12; For Collins Street, Melbourne see D Mervyn Himbury, *The Theatre of the Word: Traditions, Ministry, Future of the Collins Street Baptist Church, Melbourne 1843-1993*, n.p., n.d., p. 6

³⁴ Memo from the Commissioner of Crown Lands to the Under Secretary of Lands, dated 7 December 1896

³⁵ Ken R Manley and Michael Petras, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-33

³⁶ There is no reference to this event in the histories of Frederick Wilkin, Basil Brown and Ken Manley.

³⁷ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 7 July 1856, p. 6

gangs and road parties. For this he was paid £100 in 1836–37 and thereafter £150.³⁸ Dowling's cheerful acceptance of this payment sparked public comment and he justified this unsolicited sum paid to him, 'fixed as a grant to a Baptist minister' because the island was a penal settlement and it is the duty of ministers of the Crown to provide religious instruction for 'our unfortunate fellow subjects who are resident here under the penalty of the law.'³⁹

Baptists and Denominational Affiliation

The denominational affiliation of the American population remains unknown as it was not collected in census data. It seems Baptist preachers made those of little or no faith Baptists who, very likely, had no previous or denominational allegiance or if so, very loose ties. Australian census data shows first, that the proportion of denominational allegiance of respondents reflected that of the 1851 British church attendance census where Baptists were sixth in ranking order. Second, Table 20 (page 14) showed Baptists supplanted Congregationalists after 1901. However, as the following Table 21 shows, this happened much quicker in Victoria where it had occurred by 1881. The denominational distribution is illustrated in Table 21 as it affects Victoria, the most populous colony during this period.

Table 21: Adherents of the Six Major Churches in Victoria as a percentage of all Christian Churches and the Total Population, 1851 to 1901

Churches	Years							
	1851	1854	1857	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Anglican	37,433	99,978	158,036	206,149	251,838	299,652	401,604	424,011
Baptist		4,727	6,412	9,001	16,311	20,373	27,883	32,648
Catholic	18,014	45,111	76,500	109,829	170,620	203,480	248,591	263,710
Congregational		7,791	10,761	12,777	18,191	19,878	22,110	17,141
Methodist	4,988	15,284	27,988	46,511	94,220	115,053	158,040	180,272
Presbyterian	11,608	42,235	65,151	87,103	112,983	132,591	167,027	191,503
Total	72,043	215,126	344,848	471,370	664,163	791,027	1,025,255	1,109,285
Population	77,345	236,798	410,766	540,322	731,528	862,346	1,140,355	1,200,881
% Churches	94.35	93.96	93.08	95.91	96.32	96.11	94.34	95.52
% Population	93.14	90.85	83.95	87.24	90.79	91.73	89.91	92.37

Source: Wray Vamplew *Historical Studies of Australia*, p. 422

Notes (1): Baptists and Congregationalists were not identified separately until the 1854 census.

(2) Baptists overtook Congregationalists in the number of adherents from the 1881 census.

(3) Presbyterians were far more numerous than Methodists but the gap was closing by the end of the century.

³⁸ Laurence F Rowston, *Baptists in Van Diemen's Land*, Baptist Union of Tasmania, Launceston, 1985, p.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23

The above Table shows the six largest denominations accounted for over ninety per cent of all the Christian Churches between 1851 and 1901. In five of the eight censuses undertaken during the same period they represented a similar proportion of the whole population. In other words, over ninety per cent of the population of Victoria claimed some affiliation with one of these six Churches. Australia, unlike America, did not spawn numerous religious sects. They were not innovative and preferred to worship their God, as Sir Charles Dilke noted, in the same manner as their fathers had done.

The Growth of Baptists in the six Australian Colonies

The remainder of this chapter examines the growth of Baptists in each of the six Australian states. If a theory of church expansion or extension is to be advanced concerning Australian Baptists in each state it might be there needed to be three elements present. First, dynamic, inspired ministerial leadership was required to give direction to planning; second, influential and wealthy churches and individuals to financially support church extension and third, cohesive administration and oversight in the form of an organisation such as the Home Mission Society. In order to conquer the tyranny of distance this centralized form of organization represented what was needed by Australian Baptists. They generally lacked the kind of individualism that characterised eighteenth century Baptists in America where, in the absence of any denominational structures, churches were organized by individual Baptist preachers. Union involvement seemed paramount.

In his *Australian Baptists A Religious Minority* (1975) David Bollen advanced his view with particular reference to New South Wales, South Australia and Victoria as these three colonies constituted the majority of Baptists. His argument was that the fate of Baptists rested on a series of responses to what he considered to be the symbol of their sectarianism, or as he called it, 'their own special doctrine,' the practice of believers' baptism.⁴⁰ His argument was that in the 'favourable circumstances' of the nineteenth century South Australia and Victoria 'attempted to escape their English past' and pursued a course of liberal co-operative denominationalism, unlike New South Wales where Baptists were much weaker. However, when fortunes changed and growth ceased and the burden of smallness increased, withdrawal, restorationism and aggressive evangelism became the markers of advance.⁴¹ In the process New South Wales became the

⁴⁰ J D Bollen, *Australian Baptists A Religious Minority*, The Baptist Historical Society, London, 1975, p. 6

⁴¹ *Ibid*

dominant state. Bollen's thesis rests on certain assumptions. When he refers to Victoria and South Australia escaping their English past and exhibiting an undefined 'liberal co-operative denominationalism' he seems to imply both colonies practised open church membership thus making them more amenable to non-Baptists. He has mistakenly assumed open membership was widely practised in both colonies. While this was the case in South Australia in Victoria despite a small vocal minority for its advocacy, only one church, Fenwick Street, Geelong, is known to have practised open membership.⁴²

Bollen's thesis also hinges on a particular attitude to the rite of believers' baptism and it is undeniable some expressed certain antipathy to open church membership or any serious consideration of organic church union when it was ever broached with the Congregationalists or the Churches of Christ. This feeling was usually directed toward the more open-minded South Australian Baptists. This is discussed further in Chapter six.

Victoria

From the outset Victorian Baptists enjoyed several advantages over the other colonies. The first Circular Letter of the newly-formed Baptist Association of Victoria was published in the July 1863 issue of *The Baptist Magazine* in England. This Letter, adopted at the first Association meeting held in November 1862 showed there were nineteen churches, twelve out-stations, 1,186 church members and the cost of eighteen chapels had been £30,301/17/6 for which there was a debt remaining of £6,791/19/6. *The Baptist Magazine* commented from this Letter that over one half of the total number of church members belonged to the two Melbourne churches and they accounted for more than half the outlay in chapel buildings (£17,800) and two-thirds of the remaining debt (£4,600). When the apparent spaciousness of the chapels at Geelong and Ballarat were also included, the magazine took issue with the claim in the Letter that associated churches "are embarrassed and impeded for want of funds." In short, the magazine felt the current status as evidenced by the details of these four churches was incompatible with the plea of poverty, mentioning also that ten of the nineteen churches had been established since the arrival of the Rev. Isaac New (1803–1886) who came to the colony in 1858 and the Rev. James Taylor (1814 – 1896).⁴³

⁴² *Geelong Advertiser* (Victoria), 29 October 1906, p. 3

⁴³ *The Baptist Magazine*, July 1863, pp. 442-445

The year Victoria separated from New South Wales, 1851, coincided with the onset of the gold rushes that brought hundreds of thousands to the colony making it the most populous and wealthiest until around the turn of the century. These gold prospectors were not assisted migrants and brought some capital to sustain them as well as initiative and enterprise. Eight city and eleven country Baptist churches were established in Melbourne and on the goldfields and surrounds. By the time the Baptist Association was formed in 1862 a number of individual Baptists had demonstrated sufficient initiative to organize themselves into churches. From the inception of the association in 1862 until 1900 a further twenty three suburban and twenty four country churches were formed.

The Baptist Home Mission Society was formed in 1871 at the suggestion of the Rev. David Rees (1804–1885), prompted by his earlier visit to country districts.⁴⁴ Half the membership came from Collins Street church and the other half from the Albert Street church.⁴⁵ Rees became the driving force as did the Rev. James Martin (1821-1877), minister of the Collins Street church until his untimely death in 1877. His successor at Collins Street the Rev. Samuel Chapman (1831-1899) continued to provide inspiring leadership. This was continued with the appointment of the Rev. Frederick John Wilkin as Home Mission Superintendent in the 1890s. In his Presidential address in 1894 Wilkin related the necessity of organization based on his prior experience that had ‘covered the north with a network of Baptist causes.’ His address had reportedly contained an earnest plea for the adoption of those methods on a larger scale.

He pointed out that outside Melbourne the old plan of Independency had not planted a single new church in ten years, whereas the Home Mission methods have found ample work for thirteen paid missionaries at some fifty stations.⁴⁶

There were also two influential city churches Collins Street and Albert Street that attracted wealthy and influential laymen as evidenced in the first Circular Letter. The cause of church extension was helped considerably when an anonymous person in 1884 offered to give £25,000 if a similar amount could be raised by the denomination. This was accomplished and became the Baptist Jubilee Fund.⁴⁷ Victorian Baptists in the nineteenth century therefore had the three elements necessary for successful growth and expansion.

⁴⁴ Basil S Brown, *Members One of Another: The Baptist Union of Victoria 1862-1962*, The Baptist Union of Victoria, Melbourne, 1962, p. 59

⁴⁵ F J Wilkin, *The Romance of Home Missions*, np., 1927. p. 6 f

⁴⁶ *The Kerang Times* (Vic), 23 November 1894, p. 6

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-81

There were always other forces at work. At the jubilee celebration in 1888 Mr. John Collins maintained progress had not been very great as they had no extraneous aid unlike the Congregationalists with their Colonial Society that provided money and men. He also believed that as 'so small a stipend could be given, it deterred many men from coming here from the old country.'⁴⁸ By the last decade of the century difficulties were emerging. Recognition was made of the 'very serious financial depression' in 1892 and the following year the trustees were able to salvage most of the invested funds in a bank that went into liquidation.⁴⁹ At the same time the Union President, Mr. G. P. Barber, noted many churches were without pastors and how a system of grouping small churches might be beneficial.⁵⁰ The Baptist Union President in 1894 the Rev. F. J. Wilkin contended more attention needed to be paid to inland towns and a Baptist agent was needed in each one. At the same time some alterations were inevitable in Baptist polity, he said, changes from congregationalism to some system more adapted to the necessities of colonial life.⁵¹

In 1895 the annual assembly learned that of 31 churches in the metropolis, fifteen were without pastoral charge. At the same time there had been during the past year a net decrease of 122 in total church membership. These losses, according to the Rev. S. Howard were attributable to the lack of pastors. He also alluded to the augmented number of those baptized but not admitted to the church. He feared this was indicative of a growing distaste to take the responsibilities attached to church membership.⁵² Problems continued into the new century with drought. In 1911, after nineteen years as Home Mission Superintendent and over thirty years engaged in home mission work, Wilkin retired from the position.⁵³ The era of inspired, dynamic leadership and dominating churches and wealthy individuals seemed to be over.

Throughout this period of study Victoria became more urbanised. In 1861 the population of Melbourne accounted for 22 per cent, 40 per cent in 1901 but by 1947 had reached 60 per cent. Similarly the rural population declined from 56 per cent in 1861 to 28 per cent in 1947.⁵⁴ In order to meet this changing demographic the denomination needed to be building more churches in the

⁴⁸ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 16 November 1888, p. 6

⁴⁹ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 17 November 1892, p. 3; *The Ballarat Star* (Vic), 17 November 1893, p. 4. Only £146 remained in the bank when it went into liquidation

⁵⁰ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 15 November 1893, p. 3

⁵¹ *The Kerang Times* (Vic), 16 November 1894, p. 4

⁵² *The Argus* (Melbourne), 19 November 1895, p. 3

⁵³ *The Ballarat Star* (Vic), 25 November 1911, p. 6

⁵⁴ W Vamplew, *Australian Historical Statistics*, p. 41

metropolis. At the 1909 annual assembly the Rev. F. W. Norwood read the report of the denominational extension committee appointed at the previous assembly to inquire into the state of religion in Baptist churches. The unanimous feeling was that it was not adequately represented in the metropolis where almost half of the population of the state was located and present methods of advance were not rapid or sure enough. As a result it was first resolved for an accredited minister be appointed the organizing pastor of the Baptist Union of Victoria with his special work 'the establishment of new or resuscitation of languishing causes' and the appointment to be for three years at a salary of £300 per annum. The second resolution was that the Home Mission and Church Extension Committee be asked to advise some suitable locality in a populous district for establishing a new cause or resuscitating a cause with a view to placing an organising pastor there upon his election by assembly for one year or longer at the discretion of the Committee. At the same time it was reported both the Victorian Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the Victorian Baptist Home Mission Society faced financial difficulties but whereas the first had been extricated by generous donations of large amounts, these difficulties still hampered the second Society.⁵⁵ This situation suggests foreign missions held greater romantic appeal. It further suggests the era of the dominant individual leader had come to a close and the denomination instead needed to rely upon the efforts of a committee to further its interests in church expansion.

An analysis of Victorian Baptist churches shows there was a fairly even distribution of city and country churches. By 1947 the number in Melbourne and its suburbs was 57 while there were 52 in country districts. As smaller, sometimes struggling country churches usually required higher maintenance this would have potentially placed a greater strain on denominational resources. Appendix 2 shows the number of Baptist adherents, churches, church members and the population during this period of study.

South Australia

South Australia among Australian colonies was unique in certain respects. The first was that it was never a penal colony. The plan of its founders that included the Baptist businessman and philanthropist George Fife Angas (1789-1879), was that it would be the ideal embodiment of the best of British society and there would be no religious discrimination or unemployment. Secondly, it is often referred to as the 'Paradise of Dissent' because of the preponderance of

⁵⁵ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 26 November 1909, p. 5

Dissenting or Nonconformist Churches such as the Methodists were particularly strong.⁵⁶ Thirdly, Baptists in the colony sought to downplay any denominational distinctiveness. When the denominational magazine *Truth and Progress* was first published in January 1868 it was given an undenominational name because it was said no particular advantage was to be gained in having the name 'Baptist' impressed upon the title page.⁵⁷ Fourthly, five months after its inception the magazine's editors were openly advocating organic union with the Congregational Church.⁵⁸ A final difference centred around the spirit of co-operation rather than competition Baptists sought to engender by an open membership polity.

The type of unassisted migrant the South Australia attracted usually possessed initiative, drive and energy. This helps to explain that by the time of the establishment of the South Australian Baptist Association there were over one dozen churches and twenty by 1868. There were 57 in 1891 and 72 in 1911 but by 1947 this number had risen to only 88. The number of Baptist adherents (21,765 of 6.07 per cent of the population) reached its zenith in 1901. This percentage was the highest of any colony. In the new century there was no continuing leadership as that provided by Mead.

The impetus for the denomination's growth came from the inspiring and dominating leadership of the Rev. Silas Mead (1834-1909) who founded the Flinders Street church in Adelaide in 1861 and by a decade later had 410 active members. Mead continued at Flinders Street until January 1897. After his removal there was no one of his stature to maintain the necessary leadership.

There were a number of wealthy businessmen who assisted the denomination. Foremost among them was George Fife Angas. His benevolence extended to supporting and initiating denominational and interdenominational objectives. These included both individuals and local churches. In 1869 he donated £150 to the colonial Baptist Association and the following year £350 to its Building Fund.⁵⁹ In 1872 he promised £500 for the Aged and Infirm Minister's Fund if a similar amount could be raised.⁶⁰ A similar promise of £200 was made for three years for the Adelaide Theological College, a joint venture with Congregational and Presbyterian Churches if

⁵⁶ Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia, 1829- 1857*, Longmans Green, London, 1957

⁵⁷ *Truth and Progress*, January 1868, p. 1

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, May 1868, p. 89

⁵⁹ *Truth and Progress* May 1869, p. 98; August 1870, p. 93

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, May 1872, p. 55

a similar amount was raised.⁶¹ This offer was gladly accepted. He donated £500 to the building of the Kapunda chapel, £125 to the Norwood church for the purchase of additional land and £200 to the North Adelaide church to help defray its church building debt after initially offering £400 on the condition the church raised a similar amount.⁶² In some cases he offered a church a certain sum if a similar amount could be raised: Magill (£100), Morphett Vale (£100)⁶³ He gave £30 to struggling Moonta church for the minister's stipend and when the Rev. Silas Mead travelled to England and Europe in 1874 £100 was given toward his travel costs.⁶⁴

South Australian Baptists did not have its own Home Mission Society, its functions apparently the responsibility of the Baptist Union executive. At the same time there were other factors at work to assist or disrupt growth and expansion. In 1885 South Australia experienced a severe economic downturn that lasted for the rest of the century. In the annual report for 1904 it was revealed there were only 32 ministers for the 59 churches. It was noted many of these churches had been formed with the Union's assistance and for over twelve the Union was directly responsible. This emphasises how much Baptists in Australia were dependent upon centralized support.⁶⁵

South Australia became increasingly urbanised during this period of study. In 1861 only 14.50 per cent of the population lived in Adelaide and 79.64 per cent in rural areas. This progressively altered so that by 1947 Adelaide's population accounted for 59.35 per cent of the total while the rural population had been reduced to 30.42 per cent. Many country churches were constituted in South Australia. In 1880 twenty-one of thirty-two churches were in the country and by 1940 of the 83 churches 37 were in the city and suburbs and 46 in the country.⁶⁶ This period also witnessed the closure of eight country churches. Appendix 3 gives the number of Baptist adherents, churches, church members and the population during this period of study.

New South Wales

The growth of Baptists in the premier colony occurred rather belatedly. Following the establishment of the Baptist Association in 1868 there was little impetus given to denominational

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, September 1869, p. ; September 1870 , pp. 99-100

⁶² *Ibid.*, June 1868, p. 125; May 1869, p. 98; November 1872, p. 148; November 1871, p. 112

⁶³ *Truth and Progress*, May 1868, p. 91;

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, May 1874, p. 59; August 1874, p. 85

⁶⁵ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 16 June 1904, p. 8

⁶⁶ H E Hughes, *Our First Hundred Years: The Baptist Church of South Australia*, South Australian Baptist Union, Adelaide, 1937, pp. 308-323

expansion. The statesman-like the Rev. Frederick Hibberd (1835-1908), the so-called ‘father of New South Wales Baptists’ was not an enterprising, dynamic personality.⁶⁷ There was no single outstanding denominational figure to provide visionary leadership and direction in planning. There were no influential and wealthy churches and individuals apart from the later knighted Hugh Dixson who in 1884 first offered the denomination £500 on the condition a similar amount was raised. This was accomplished the following year.⁶⁸ In 1886 to mark the jubilee of the first church in the colony Dixson made a similar offer of £5,000 for a Home Mission Fund but while £2,205 was promised at the celebratory meetings the full sum was never realized.⁶⁹

Two other important elements were missing. There were never any wealthy churches of this era except possibly Petersham which was only constituted in 1884. The first church formed in Bathurst Street, Sydney constantly faced the exodus of its members to the suburbs. The first Home Mission Committee was formed on 24 November 1870 following a resolution at the previous assembly. Initial funds came from the now-defunct Colonial Mission Society first established in 1855. Its administration was a function of the Executive Committee of the Baptist Union but in 1891 a separate committee was formed and at the following year’s assembly the ‘First Annual Report of the Baptist Home Mission Society of NSW’ was produced.⁷⁰

The impetus for denominational expansion finally came in 1904 with the appointment of the Rev. Arthur John Waldock to the position of secretary of the Home Mission Society.⁷¹ Waldock enthusiastically set about transforming the position instituting a roving commission to visit parts of New South Wales to locate ‘missing’ Baptists in order to initiate new causes. Waldock enjoyed the confidence of three wealthy denominational benefactors, Hugh Dixson, William Buckingham and the White family. William White was a bread manufacturer and all three benefactors came from either the Stanmore or Petersham churches. Neither of these two churches, the largest in the state, was noted for their contribution to home mission work. When the Home Mission Society intended to start a new cause in suburban Drummoyne in January 1908 the nearby Stanmore church, the largest with 417 church members, was invited to supply

⁶⁷ See my “Reverend Frederick Hibberd: The Forgotten Father of NSW Baptists” in Ray Case (ed.), *A Man of God: Essays in honour of Principal Ron Rogers*, Eastwood, 1990, pp. 137-150

⁶⁸ Alan C Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 121

⁶⁹ *Ibid*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126

⁷¹ On Waldock see Roy B Henson, *And One was a Doctor: A Life of Rev Dr A J Waldock*, Baptist Historical Society of NSW, Eastwood, 2003

workers, begin a Sunday school and provide general oversight but it declined regretting its inability to do so.⁷²

Waldock was appointed Home Mission Superintendent in 1908 and continued in that position until 1924. During his tenure he had the support of Dixson and Buckingham. When a special Home Mission Superintendent's Fund was launched to fund his position Dixson (£1,600) and Buckingham (£1,150) contributed seventy per cent of a total of £3,964. The White family contributed a further £225.⁷³ Between 1900 and 1926 Dixson donated £7,016 to the General Fund and £4,671 to the Church Extension Fund. Buckingham meanwhile, during the same period gave £2,025 to the General Fund and £720 to the Church Extension Fund. The total contributions of the White family were respectively £2,310 and £1,730.⁷⁴ Annual reports show how the Home Mission Society had become a formidable organization. What Waldock evidently brought to the position was a dynamic that created a sense of cohesion and commitment. Following his return to the pastoral ministry he was followed by two able successors in Frederick J. Dunkley (*ca* 1875-1946) and W. Cleugh Black (1883-1940).

What greatly assisted the growth of Baptists in New South Wales was the increase in the number of new churches in the interwar years. What the denomination was able to capitalise upon was the growth of Sydney and its surrounds. Between 1920 and 1940 sixty new churches were commenced.⁷⁵ By 1940 70 of the 126 Baptist churches were in the Sydney metropolitan area. Appendix 4 shows the growth in the number of Baptists adherents, churches, church members and the population during this period of study.

Queensland

When visiting from Brisbane on the occasion of the Victorian Baptist jubilee celebration in 1888 the Rev. William Whale (1842-1903) stated that in his own colony there was a small population and a large territory so they had to be content with small results.⁷⁶ This was despite the population of Queensland between 1881 and 1891 growing from 211,836 to 391,463, an increase of almost 85 per cent. Over thirty years later little had changed. At the Third Australasian Baptist Congress in 1922 when the various states reviewed their home mission work the Queensland representative, the Rev. T. U. Symonds (1863-1937) lamented that only a small proportion of

⁷² Home Mission Society Minute Book, December 1907, p.141; April 1908, p. 155; May 1908, p. 161f

⁷³ Michael Petras, *Extension or Extinction: Baptist Growth in New South Wales 1900-1939*, p. 57

⁷⁴ *Ibid*

⁷⁵ Michael Petras, *Extension or Extinction*, p. 98

⁷⁶ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 16 November 1888, p. 6

Queensland's population of 800,000 were Baptists. The lack of money was the greatest obstacle, he said, of the progress of the Church in the state.

Owing to meagre salaries promising young men turned their backs on a ministerial career. Consequently there was a dearth of male workers. Missionaries were sent to the backblocks instead of first entering the many new towns where Baptists being neglected were losing touch with their church. To check this, denominational work would have to start in all cities.⁷⁷

Queensland mostly lacked the three key ingredients that had helped spur Baptist growth and expansion in other colonies. There were no dominant ministerial leadership, no influential and wealthy churches and individuals and no strong organisational structure. Twelve new churches were begun during the 1880s but as has been pointed out these were as the result of the initiative of two churches, Wharf Street, Brisbane and Jireh.⁷⁸ There were other forces at work. The first was its size. Queensland is the second largest state in Australia and much larger than Alaska, the largest American state in the Union, by nearly 135,000 square kilometres.⁷⁹ During the 1880s its population became the third largest behind Victoria and New South Wales. But it also had a very large rural population. The capital Brisbane is located in the south-eastern corner of the state. In 1861 nearly half the population lived in rural Queensland and in subsequent decades this proportion fluctuated, reaching 57.64 per cent in 1871 then declined to 30.40 per cent in 1901 but by 1947 had risen to 40.16 per cent of the total population. In the 1880s there were four widely scattered country churches: Charters Towers and nearby Townsville were both over 1,300 kilometres from Brisbane while Gympie and Maryborough were only several hundred kilometres away. By the late 1880s all these churches were seeking financial assistance from the Baptist Association.

While a Home Mission Society was formed in 1883 Queensland did not have any single person overseeing church extension. It was not until 1910 the Rev. T. U. Symonds was appointed Home Mission Organizing Secretary (although his position was later referred to as Home Mission Superintendent) with the brief to supervise the agents on the field, co-ordinate the various aspects of the work, press the claims of the Mission on the churches and 'watch for

⁷⁷ *The Age* (Melbourne), 19 August 1922, p. 16

⁷⁸ Ken R Manley, *op. cit.*, p. 157

⁷⁹ Queensland is 1,852,642 square kilometers and Alaska 1,717,854 square kilometres

opportunities to advance.' He was to be paid £150 per annum plus expenses. Symonds remained in the position until 1924.⁸⁰

Unlike other colonies there were no benefactors or patrons to underwrite the purchase of church sites or the erection of church buildings. The one opportunity the denomination may have had was when the Hon. James Swan MLA, the proprietor of the *Moreton Bay Courier* died in 1891 and left an estate valued at £36,461 with £25,000 bequeathed to the Queensland Baptist Association. The annual budget of the Association at the time was £400. But a legal technicality deemed Swan's will invalid because it had only been witnessed by two instead of three signatures and therefore Queensland Baptists were deprived this valuable inheritance.⁸¹

In 1933 nearly half of Baptist adherents (47.73%) lived in the Brisbane metropolitan area, the highest for all the Churches (followed by the Congregationalists on 41.28%), while the general population accounted for 31.63 percent, similar to all the major Churches.⁸² This indicates Baptists and Congregationalists were the most urbanised of all the Churches. By 1940 in a total of 59 churches twenty-seven were located in the city and suburbs and thirty-two in country areas. Appendix 5 shows the number of Baptist adherents, churches, church members and the population during this period of study.

Tasmania

When the Rev. Thomas Harrington, former President of the New Zealand Baptist Association visited Tasmania in July 1884 his visit occurred shortly after the constitution of the Baptist Union of Tasmania that had occurred a few months earlier. Tasmanian Baptists finally formed their first association after nearly fifty years of existence. The first Baptist church in Australia had been formed on 14 June 1835 and a church built in Harrington Street, Hobart Town. Harrington observed, 'This church has been in the hands of the Hyper-Calvinists for a considerable time, and consequently has made little or no progress.'⁸³

⁸⁰ John E White, *A Fellowship of Service: A History of the Baptist Union of Queensland 1877-1977*, Baptist Union of Queensland, Brisbane, 1977, p. 95

⁸¹ *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld), 28 August 1891, p. 5; Ken R Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to 'Eternity': A History of Australian Baptists*, Volume 1, p. 165

⁸² Queensland Year Book, 1940, p. 47 Figures for other Churches were Church of England 32.46 %; Roman Catholic 30.03%; Presbyterian 32.11%; Methodist 32.26%

⁸³ *The New Zealand Baptist*, Vol. 4, No 9, September 1884, p. 1

The reason for the protracted delay in forming an association was partly the insularity of the single Hobart church with a distinctive theological outlook and, secondly that most of the first churches were located in the north of the colony and were not begun until the early 1860s beginning with Perth in 1862. A third reason was that there no ministerial leadership that provided the necessary momentum for the expansion of the denomination. The first Home Mission Superintendent, the Rev. Frederick J. Dunkley was not appointed until 1909.⁸⁴ The second Baptist church established in Hobart that formed part of the Baptist Union only commenced on 20 February 1884. The Baptist Union of Tasmania was officially formed on 27 May 1884 in Launceston.⁸⁵ Baptists in Tasmania were only able to satisfy one of the three key components necessary for their growth and expansion. Their achievements were extremely limited. In the 63 years after 1884 only twelve new churches were established so that by 1947 there were only nineteen Baptist churches. Any progress came through the devoted interest and generous financial support of a wealthy pastoralist, William Gibson (1820–1892) and his wife, Mary Ann (1829–1903). In his study of the Gibson's Greg Luxford identified ten churches for which they provided financial support in different forms.⁸⁶ Ken Manley claimed there were fifteen but does not identify them.⁸⁷ William Gibson's magnanimity extended to the building of churches (commonly referred to as Tabernacles in deference to the Metropolitan Tabernacle in London), chapels, plus the maintenance and support of ministers and buildings. He supported the colporteur William Luke who distributed religious material in the Bracknell District and also donated to Baptist Union funds. In addition he provided the passage money for some graduates of the Pastors' College founded by Spurgeon in London to come to Tasmanian churches. Gibson's links with Charles Haddon Spurgeon can be traced to two sources. His wife Mary Ann was an avid reader of Spurgeon's writings and Spurgeon's son Thomas visited the family during five visits he made to the island between 1878 and 1890 when he came to Australia to repair his health.⁸⁸ The extent of Gibson's generosity has been difficult to tabulate, however estimates vary between £40,000 and £70,000.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Ken R Manley, *op. cit.*, p. 115

⁸⁵ *Launceston Examiner* (Tas), 28 May 1884, p. 2

⁸⁶ Greg Luxford, *William & Mary Ann Gibson*, Perth, 1984 Churches identified are Perth, Deloraine, Longford, Launceston, Blackwood Creek (Bracknell District), Hobart, Devonport, Latrobe, Sheffield and Burnie

⁸⁷ Ken R Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to Eternity: A History of Australian Baptists*, Volume 1, Paternoster, Milton Keynes, 2006, p. 115

⁸⁸ Laurence F Rowston, *Spurgeon's Men: The Resurgence of Baptist Belief and Practice in Tasmania 1869-1884*, Baptist Union of Tasmania, Launceston, 2011, p. 2f

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59; Ken R Manley, *op. cit.*, p. 116

The organisation of home mission work did not begin until the annual assembly in April 1895. There were representatives present from only six churches.⁹⁰ Following the reading of a paper on the subject and the ensuing discussion three ministers and one layman, William Gibson, were appointed the Home Mission and Extension Committee. All four were also appointed to a Board of Examiners at the same meeting.⁹¹ In spite of this the denomination remained very small. Much has been made of the fact that graduates of Spurgeon's college filled all Tasmanian pastorates but the history of the length of these pastorates is that they were generally very brief and only two men Robert McCullough and Harry Wood remained for at least ten years⁹² As the pastoral ministry is based on interpersonal relationships the disruption of relatively brief pastorates did not enhance the prospects of denominational growth. The longest serving minister was the Rev. Robert McCullough (b.1853), a Pastors' College graduate who like many others came to Australia to restore his health. He initiated a new church at Longford where he remained (1880–1883) and then the same at Hobart where he stayed from October 1883 to March 1894 before leaving for South Australia.

Appendix 6 shows the growth of Baptist adherents, churches, church members and the population during this period of study. The smallness of the Baptist cause is highlighted by the fact that nearly all the southern states in America are less than twice the size of Tasmania yet by 1872 all had over one thousand Baptist churches in their state. The proportion of Baptist adherents reached its highest peak with 2.84 per cent in 1881 although explaining the sudden increase during the previous decade is problematic and quite possibly an error lay with census compilers. From 1881 to 1947 the percentage of Baptist adherents in the total population slowly declined from 2.84 to 2.09 per cent. The growth of both churches and church members was quite slow. By 1900 there were only nine churches although by 1910 this number had reached fourteen. During this decade churches had begun to appear in towns on the northwest coast (Burnie, Devonport, Penguin, Latrobe, Sheffield and Ulverstone) which was the third area of settlement on the island. By 1947 there were still only nineteen Baptist churches. There were some small variations in the number of church members during this period. When the Union was formed in 1884 there were 305 church members and by 1900 this number had reached 725. It took over four decades to 1947, the end of this period of study for this number to double. It took some six decades for the population in Tasmania to reach just over a quarter of a million by 1947. After 1901 it had the

⁹⁰ *Tasmanian News* (Hobart), 18 April 1895, p. 3

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 19 April 1895, p. 2

⁹² Greg Luxford, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

smallest population of all Australian states. For most of this period, 1881-1947, much of the Tasmanian population was regarded as rural. In 1861 two-thirds of the population lived in rural Tasmania (66.87%) and by 1947 it shared with Queensland the highest proportion of rural population although it now accounted for only two-fifths of the population (40.97%). Church extension in rural Australia was never easy because areas were generally sparsely-populated, the Baptist constituency was generally small the membership of a church was subject to the vagaries of economic conditions, together with the educational and employment needs of its members and there was usually competition from other Churches.

Western Australia

In April 1885 the Rev. Silas Mead rhetorically asked his fellow-South Australians how it was that his colony, New South Wales and Victoria had not joined to support a minister for three years in Western Australia to establish a Church there.⁹³ He might have asked why nothing had occurred since European settlement began at Swan River in June 1829.

Western Australian Baptists were the last of the colonies to form an Association which occurred on 2 December 1896.⁹⁴ The reasons for this were largely twofold; first, its remoteness from the rest of Australia and secondly, its very small population. The size of Western Australia approximated that of the nine western states of the United States of America.⁹⁵ The capital, Perth is 2,133 kilometres from Adelaide, the nearest capital city, or very similar to the distance Dallas, Texas is from New York. Its population remained very small until the last decade of the nineteenth century when it jumped from 49,782 in 1891 to 184,124 in 1901, an increase of 270 per cent, owing to the discovery of gold in Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie. The smallness of the Baptist cause in such a huge place is highlighted in the 1891 census when Baptist adherents numbered just 283 or 0.20 per cent of the population. By 1901 this figure had risen to 2,914 or 0.58 per cent. Even then they were still smaller than the Churches of Christ, the Salvation Army and other minority Christian groups. It was during this decade the first Baptist churches appeared within months of each other and a colony-wide Union originated consisting of three city and suburban churches and one very distant country church at Katanning.⁹⁶

⁹³ *Banner of Truth*, May 1885, p. 68

⁹⁴ Richard K Moore (ed.), *Baptists of Western Australia: The First Ninety Years*, The Baptist Historical Society of Western Australia, Perth, 1991, p. 32

⁹⁵ Western Australia covers 2,529,875 square kilometres; Oregon, Montana, Washington, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah and Idaho equal in size 2,577,111 square kilometres

⁹⁶ Richard K Moore (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 27-33 :

The immediate issue for Western Australian Baptists was whether they could be self-supporting or were to be dependent upon the goodwill of others. The latter quickly proved to be the case. Some thirteen years after Mead's initial question the Baptist Union of Western Australia in dire need of finances appealed to the Baptist Unions in each of the eastern colonies and to Baptists in Great Britain for financial assistance but received no response. A personal visit to the eastern colonies by the Rev. A. S. Wilson of the Perth church however reportedly resulted in the receipt of about £40 and the promise of £50 per annum to follow for the Union Extension Fund.⁹⁷

It was also reliant upon men from other states to fill church pulpits. It transpired church pastors came from Victoria and South Australia but herein remained a damaging threat to the unity of the denomination. Men from Victoria were used to 'close' membership churches while those from South Australia were usually from 'open' membership churches. The issue first became apparent when two distant country churches at Katanning and Wagin on the Great Southern Railway wished to be 'open' membership churches to attract local residents. While the Baptist Union in its deliberations attempted to remain neutral, some individuals strongly objected.

The issue of open and close membership caused deep divisions but also wonderment. The English-born but Victorian trained the Rev. Samuel T. Pitman (1862-1945) who had previously served in Victorian and New South Wales churches wrote a letter to *The Baptist* in 1904 after six months in the pastorate of the William Street, Perth church. He felt compelled to say his was the only church in Perth conducted along the lines of New South Wales, that is, close membership. Open membership people were ahead of us, he added, in point of influence and of numbers.⁹⁸

The Baptist cause in Western Australia lacked singular dynamic ministerial leadership to give it direction and there were no wealthy and influential churches or individuals to provide financial support. It is not even clear whether a Home Mission Society was ever established. The Baptist Union executive appears to have made all related decisions. There was however an element of individualism reminiscent of eighteenth century American Baptist preachers in the person of the Rev. William Kennedy, originally from Victoria who was responsible for the commencement of churches on the Great Southern Railway line. There is further reference to him in Chapter four.

⁹⁷ *The West Australian* (Perth), 28 January 1898, p. 3

⁹⁸ *The Baptist*, 30 June 1904, p. 7

In 1912 the Rev. F. C. Spurr, pastor of the Collins Street church in Melbourne visited the state and subsequently reported on his visit to the Victorian assembly. The high cost of living in Western Australia, the impoverished condition of church finances made it iniquitous, he said, to ask a married minister to go there. He suggested instead young men leaving college go there for two years and that once every two years a prominent Victorian minister visits the place while at the same time the Baptist work in the state be practically made a branch of Victorian home mission work. He felt religious difficulties rose mainly because of the mixed population. The goldfields attracted a class of people who did not work for work's sake but to get rich quickly. The greatest rival to the Churches in Perth on Sundays was the Swan River. The Church, he said, must capture the goldfields, the capital and the bush for Christ. When the Third Australasian Baptist Congress in 1922 reviewed home mission work in all the states the Western Australian representative, the Rev. E. H. Hall, admitted that of 330,000 people in Western Australia, Baptists could only claim 1,309 as church members, two thousand Sunday school children, 37 churches, fourteen ministers and two student pastors. During the previous year £5,822 was raised for church purposes.⁹⁹ The number of churches and members that Hall gave are inconsistent with later tabulations. Richard Moore gave the number of church members as 1,175 in 1923.¹⁰⁰

In 1901 demographers divided the state into four geographic divisions. Nearly half of the Baptist constituency (1,382 or 47.43%) were located in the metropolitan region that encompassed the city of Perth, its suburbs and the nearby port of Fremantle. Baptists were over-represented here as the proportion of the general population was 36.62 per cent. In the chief agricultural and timber regions and the goldmining areas the number of Baptist adherents was more equal to the general population. What Western Australia showed in common with other states was that with an increasing urban population Baptists needed to focus on the metropolis in order too recruit more members. There were of course other forces at work such as the onset of war. During the course of the First World War the number of church members slipped slightly from 1,187 to 1,175 and between 1936 and 1945 the number dropped from 1,601 to 1,501. In 1911 they represented 1.75 per cent of the population but by 1947 this had been reduced to 1.22 per cent. Appendix 7 gives the number of Baptist adherents, churches, church members and the population during this period of study.

⁹⁹ *The Age* (Melbourne), 19 August 1922, p. 16

¹⁰⁰ Richard K Moore, *'All Western Australia is my Parish'*, p. 221

Conclusion

Baptist fortunes in the six states varied as this account illustrates. Baptist gains in this country paled into insignificance when compared with that of Baptists in America. Any achievements in this country were largely determined by what Baptists could attain themselves. There was not a large closely settled population to draw upon, no great religious revivals, nor was there any section of the community for whom Baptists might hold special appeal. Australia never experienced any events that might have shaken any national religious lethargy although the Great Depression years proved fruitful in New South Wales. There were no internal military conflicts that might have shaped the nation's identity as did the Revolutionary War. Environmental factors such as a small mainly homogenous and an increasingly urbanised population was faced by all Churches. At the same time, as English visitors observed, there was an inclination to hold on to all semblances of their British past. In these circumstances what was necessarily required was ministerial leadership, the philanthropy of wealthy laymen and a cohesive denominational organization engaged in church extension. All played crucial roles in denominational growth and expansion. In spite of this, as census data shows, Baptists still ranked fifth or sixth in numerical size among Australian Churches.

Chapter 3 –The Baptist Ministry

The pastoral ministry has played an important role in the history of Baptists in both countries. Baptist ministers have been preachers, teachers, evangelists and pastors and provided leadership, initiative and direction to both local congregations and the denomination as a whole. There has always been a general dependence upon them and desire for their leadership. Yet there have been significant differences in the origins, the nature and the educational development of the ministry among Baptists in America and Australia.

This chapter will identify the issues Baptists faced and outline any similarities or differences to show how prevailing circumstances shaped the Baptist ministry in both countries. From this it can be demonstrated the role the ministry has played in the growth and expansion of the denomination in both countries.

The origins of the ministry in America

The first area of interest concerns the origins of the ministry. One of the most distinguishing differences between the origins of the ministry in both countries concerned the initial source of supply. While there were only sixty-five Baptist churches in the whole of America by 1740, some of these ministers had come as religious exiles from the British Isles during persecution by Charles II after he came to the throne in 1660. However, with the dramatic increase in the number of churches following the First Great Awakening and the fracturing of relations with Britain because of the Revolutionary War of 1775–1783 Baptists needed to be self-reliant in their quest for pastoral leaders.

The First Great Awakening produced divisions among Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians separating them into pro-revival and anti-revival groups. They came to be known as ‘New Lights’ and ‘Old Lights’ although Baptists were referred to as ‘Separates’ and ‘Regulars’ until they united in different places around the end of the eighteenth century. Thereafter, mainstream Baptists were referred to as Regulars although in Kentucky they became known as United Baptists when they joined in 1801.¹

¹ William Cathcart (ed.), *The Baptist Encyclopaedia*, 1881, p. 651; William Dudley Nowlin, *Kentucky Baptist History, 1770-1922*, p. 66

The origins of the ministry in Australia

From the outset nineteenth century Australian Baptists demonstrated a dependency upon and distinct preference for British-born and trained ministry in preference to Australian-born aspirants, best judged by the number of appeals made to England for them to come to this country.² Baptists in Australia for the most part, wished to retain as much as possible of their British heritage and traditions. If Americans saw themselves part of the New World then Australians still wished to remain part of the Old World. This was evidenced in the previous chapter in the observations of English visitors to the colonies like R. W. Dale. Australian Baptists actively sought English and Welsh-born theologically educated Baptists to supply their ministerial needs. This approach did not always meet universal approval mainly because it disadvantaged the colonially-born. The perennial problem for them was always lack of education, lack of training, and lack of experience. Apart from those who were actively sought, there were those in addition who came to Australian shores of their own accord, mainly for health reasons.³ Over forty men have been identified who came to repair their health or that of their spouse.

Unlike America at the time when Baptists had been in existence for over a century, Baptists in Australia were fresh arrivals from Britain with a yearning for a church life that was all still so familiar. The problem in New South Wales, at least in the middle of the nineteenth century, was that there was no local supply of trained ministers. This was highlighted in a letter by the deacons of the Bathurst Street church written to *The Baptist Magazine* in 1854, six months after the arrival of the Rev. James Voller to the church. The letter stated that ‘several brethren Sabbath by Sabbath proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation at various stations on the outskirts of Sydney.’ But what concerned the deacons in anticipation of a rapid increase in the population of the city was ‘the great deficiency of means to supply the spiritual wants of our people.’ So as to overcome this, the deacons appealed for ‘more men with a larger display of faith, energy, zeal, and knowledge; and we also want largely increased funds.’ New arrivals in Sydney from time to time, it was said, came with their resources exhausted. Among those who had been in the colony longer none were men of wealth. It was hoped therefore ‘Christian baptists (*sic*) in Britain will be led to feel the importance of affording aid to their brethren at the antipodes, and that we shall have that prompt and efficient assistance from them.’⁴ Such an appeal largely fell on deaf ears.

² New South Wales Baptist Association Minute Book, p. 12, 16

³ Laurence Rowston, *Spurgeon's Men: The Resurgence of Belief and Practice 1869-1884*, Baptist Union of Tasmania, Launceston, 2011, chapter five

⁴ *The Baptist Magazine*, December 1854, Vol. XLVI, p. 757-758

The plight of local young men was most clearly outlined in the annual address delivered by the President of the Baptist Union of New South Wales, the Rev. David Fenwick in 1876, who, perhaps out of a sense of frustration, later entered the Presbyterian ministry in 1890. Exacerbating the difficulties encountered in attempting to induce young men to offer themselves for the ministry, he said, was the way in which colonial men were looked upon in comparison with importations from other countries. Simply put, it was this: 'If a man hails from England he immediately takes precedence in the estimation of our Churches.'⁵

This issue had been discussed in South Australia five years earlier at the annual meetings of the South Australia Baptist Association in 1871. This exchange of views at an open conference on church extension highlights prevailing attitudes and expectations concerning overseas-born and local ministers. The Rev. John Price had proposed that three or four ministers of established churches, their positions temporarily filled by others, should undertake twelve months evangelization in new areas. The minister would spend two or three Lord's days in the neighbourhood, holding meetings in different places and visiting from house to house in the intervening weeks. In some ways this was reminiscent of the self-sacrificing efforts of eighteenth century American Baptist preachers in Virginia. The Rev. H. L. Tuck did not think this plan could be carried out. It would make divisions in the churches which would compromise the work and some could not leave their families for some months to visit outlying districts. He thought an evangelist might be appointed instead to travel the country and see where congregations might be formed and ministers supported. Mr. James Kentish voiced his disapproval of sending to England for ministers. Similarly, the Rev. Wilton Hack of Hilton church said he didn't like the idea of importing an evangelist as this person would be disappointed in the nature of the work. He thought that there were young men in the colony who could do what was required. He deprecated cold water being thrown on such as were willing to do the work as had been the case.⁶ Another layman, Mr. C. Birks, replied to those who objected to the importation of ministers by pointing out if they were placed in small townships where there was a great amount of travelling to do, little sympathy and many disadvantages, and because they did not produce flourishing churches, people would complain of the lack of results. He thought if ministers from England were placed in churches already formed the changes would not be so great.⁷ Mr. W. Kent believed city ministers would be willing to visit country churches but the only thing preventing this was the

⁵ *Banner of Truth*, 18 October 1876, p. 7-10

⁶ *South Australian Register*, 25 October 1871, p. 7

⁷ *Ibid*

extreme selfishness of the town Churches. The Rev. Silas Mead appears to have offered a compromise suggesting it would be well to get about four ministers from England during the next year and that about half a dozen young men should enter the ministry from colonial churches.⁸ He concluded by earnestly advocating the uniting of Christians of different denominations in the common work of winning souls to Christ.

Unwittingly, these views highlight one of the essential differences between the ministers of both countries. Baptist preachers in America often demonstrated tremendous ardour, self-sacrifice, indefatigable energy and intense evangelistic zeal to go anywhere to preach the message of hope. British-born ministers in Australia were never as willing or seldom able to face the rigours of outback life where the means of travel were limited, distances were great and population small.

Australian appeals for overseas assistance

There were appeals made to the Baptist Missionary Society, the *Baptist Magazine*, the principals of English Baptist colleges or other prominent Baptist ministers and laymen, most notably Charles Haddon Spurgeon in London.⁹ Another type of approach was visits to Britain by individuals or delegations to secure ministers for the different colonies. A third type of approach was the formation of the Colonial Baptist Missionary Society in Sydney in 1855.¹⁰

For Australian Baptists there was no agency in existence that would have provided strong and continuing support for colonial mission work. The Baptist Missionary Society only existed from 1792 and its initial interest was in the heathen in countries such as India.¹¹ Local associations did not originate until the second half of the eighteenth century: Northamptonshire Particular Baptist Association (1765), Kent and Sussex Association (1779), Lancashire and Yorkshire Association (1787) are some examples. It would be doubtful anyway whether these local associations were greatly interested in Baptist church life in colonial Australia. The Baptist Union of Particular Baptists was not formed until 1813 and has been described as ‘a symbol but not a manifestation of unity.’ Fifty years after its inception 60 churches sent a subscription giving it a total income of £90.¹²

⁸ *Ibid*

⁹ See JD Bollen, “English-Australian Baptist Relations 1840-1860” in *Baptist Quarterly*, Vol, 25, No, 7, 1974, pp 290-292

¹⁰ Alan C Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 58

¹¹ JD Bollen, *op. cit.*, p. 292

¹² JD Bollen, “English-Australian Baptist Relations 1830-1860”, *The Baptist Quarterly*, Volume 25, No. 7, 1974, p. 291

The initial source from which help was sought was the Baptist Missionary Society. When the first Baptist minister in Sydney the Rev. John McKaeg (1789-1851) fell from grace because of his personal failings the small group of Baptists meeting there immediately wrote to the Rev John Dyer, secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society seeking a successor. This led to an encounter between Dyer and the Rev. John Saunders (1806–1859) who initially aspired to follow in the footsteps of William Carey to India but instead sailed for Sydney forming the first Baptist church in Bathurst Street on 17 November 1836.¹³

Over two decades later two Victorian churches, Collins Street, Melbourne (1856) and Aberdeen Street, Geelong (1857) made appeals to the Baptist Missionary Society for ministers. Collins Street church wrote to both the Baptist Missionary Society and the *Baptist Magazine* seeking their help in securing a suitable minister. The Society replied it was sending the Rev. James Taylor as its agent. His ship would set out in February 1857 and he was called to the pastorate in May.¹⁴ Soon after his arrival in the colony Taylor was in Geelong where on 13 May 1857 a meeting of reportedly one thousand people gave £100 to be sent to the Baptist Missionary Society to enable a Baptist minister to be sent to Aberdeen Street to permit it ‘as the parent Baptist church in this district to provide for the spiritual requirements of those who are scattered throughout the interior of this country.’ The request was quite prescriptive: the minister required was ‘to possess sound, clear Calvinistic views, with large Christian experience, undoubted natural talent and a liberal education.’¹⁵

Another potential source was English colleges and prominent individuals. The South Australian Baptist Association (1865) and Collins Street Melbourne (1869) appealed to the principal of Regent’s Park College while Bathurst Street Sydney in 1852 requested the aristocratic Anglican-turned-Baptist Baptist W. Noel. (1799–1873) to consult with several others, including the Rev. John Saunders that resulted in the arrival after a shipwreck en route of the Rev. James Voller (1813–1902) in 1854.¹⁶

¹³ Alan C Prior, *Sone Fell on Good Ground: A History of the Baptist Church in New South Wales*, Baptist Union of New South Wales, Sydney 1966, p. 29, 41; Ken R Manley and Michael Petras, *The First Australian Baptists*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1981, p. 65

¹⁴ D Mervyn Himbury, *op. cit.*, p. 9

¹⁵ Geoff Holland, “Baptist Beginning in Geelong”, *Our Yesterdays*, Volume 2, 1994, Victorian Baptist Historical Society, p. 21

¹⁶ David Parker, *James Voller: Pioneer Baptist Minister of Australia*, Baptist Historical Society of Queensland, Brisbane, 1997, p. 17

In South Australia the approach was the same. At the annual meeting of the South Australian Baptist Association in 1865 it was resolved that three ministers be sought from England for three churches – Moonta, Kapunda and Mount Gambier. A sum deemed sufficient for passage money had been sent to England and a fair stipend guaranteed for one year. The committee had rendered material aid for this passage money and very considerable assistance for the stipends, but the choice of the three men was to be left wholly in the hands of the Rev. William Brock (1807-1875) and the Rev. William Landells (1811-1871) of London.¹⁷

But the person who most turned to for assistance was Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834–1892) of the Metropolitan Tabernacle in London. This was because in 1856 Spurgeon had established his own college for the training of pastors for the Christian ministry. The first approach to him was made by the congregation meeting in William Street, Woolloomooloo that led to the first graduate from Pastors' College, the Rev. Frederick Hibberd (1835–1908) arriving on 29 October 1863.¹⁸ West Melbourne church made a similar approach to Spurgeon in 1879 resulting in another Pastors' College graduate, the Rev. A. J. Clarke, leaving home.¹⁹ In Queensland in 1882, on the advice of Edward Isaac, an evangelist from Pastors' College currently in Toowoomba, the deacons of the Toowoomba church wrote to Spurgeon leading to the arrival of the Rev. William Higlett (1857-1944).²⁰ In the same year Ipswich church wrote to Spurgeon, resulting in the arrival of the Rev. Charles Padley.²¹

Finally, it was in Tasmania that the presence of Spurgeon's men was most clearly evident. William and Mary Ann Gibson, a wealthy pastoralist from Native Point near Launceston became avid supporters of Spurgeon through Mary reading his sermons. In 1868 their son, William Gibson Junior, made a personal visit to Spurgeon to seek a minister for the Perth church, assuring him that all associated costs would be met. As a result the Rev. Alfred William Grant came.²² He was followed by a succession of ministers brought out by Gibson who entered into a number of what usually eventuated to be brief pastorates in Tasmanian churches. All the churches built in Tasmania by Gibson bore the name Tabernacle reminiscent of Spurgeon's own Metropolitan

¹⁷ *The South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 27 October 1865, p. 5

¹⁸ Alan C Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 83

¹⁹ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 31 October 1879, p. 3; F J Wilkin, *Baptists in Victoria: Our First Century 1838-1938*, Baptist Union of Victoria, East Melbourne, 1939, p. 76

²⁰ David Parker, 'A True Pastor': *The life and ministry of William Higlett*, Baptist Historical Society of Queensland, Brisbane, 2002, p. 21f

²¹ *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald & General Advertiser* (Queensland), 30 March 1882, p. 3

²² Laurence F Rowston, *Spurgeon's Men: The Resurgence of Belief and Practice 1869-1884*, Baptist Union of Tasmania, Launceston, 2011, p. 57

Tabernacle in London. This attitude and connection with England is perhaps best summed up in the comment of the Rev. Thomas Harrington that Perth Tabernacle was seeking a new man 'from home' following the departure of the Rev. Robert Williamson.²³

In 1855 a potentially more systematic way of procuring men from overseas for the Baptist ministry was initiated by the Bathurst Street minister, the Rev. James Voller on 4 January 1855. The occasion was the first anniversary of his arrival in the colony. The Baptist Colonial Missionary Society was instituted in the presence of interested persons including two prominent Congregational businessmen, John Fairfax and David Jones.²⁴ The first object of the Society was 'the accumulation of funds sufficient to warrant us in procuring from England one, two or more of the very first ministers in the Baptist denomination through whose labours, instrumentality, and co-operation the length and breadth of this land may be occupied by good, faithful and efficient labourers in the vineyard of our Lord.'²⁵ Fundraising started well because one year later it was announced £315 had been raised in cash and promises and £200 was in hand despite the past year having been one of general commercial depression.²⁶ In 1858 it was announced the Society was in a prosperous state and chapels had been built at Hinton and Morpeth.²⁷ Then on 8 January 1862 the Society welcomed the Rev. Robert Wing who had just arrived under the Society's auspices after his vessel had been dismasted twice in the Bay of Biscay and compelled to return to England.²⁸ Upon his arrival he was seriously ill, only ever preached on two or three occasions and his untimely death occurred on 2 October when he was aged only 28 years.²⁹ Very little of the Society is heard of after this.

British reaction to Australian requests

If Victorian Baptists thought their entreaties for English aid would be heeded, they were soon to be sorely disappointed. In 1863, the year following their second attempt to establish an association their first Circular Letter was publicly analysed in the English *Baptist Magazine*.³⁰ What caught the attention of the magazine editor was the apparent wealth of the two Melbourne churches, Collins Street and Albert Street. Their combined membership accounted for over half

²³ *The New Zealand Baptist*, November 1884, p. 169

²⁴ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 January 1855, p. 4

²⁵ Alan C Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 58

²⁶ *Empire* (Sydney), 12 January 1856, p. 5

²⁷ *Empire* (Sydney), 20 January 1858, p. 4

²⁸ *Empire* (Sydney), 21 January 1862, p. 2

²⁹ *Empire* (Sydney), 3 October 1862, p. 8; *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 October 1862, p. 9; Alan C Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 52-53

³⁰ *The Baptist Magazine*, July 1863, pp. 442-445

the total number of church members. They accounted for over half the outlay in chapel buildings (£17,800) and two thirds of the remaining debt (£4,000). The magazine found inconsistencies with the size of the churches at Geelong, Prahran and Ballarat and the claim made that associated churches 'are embarrassed and impeded for want of funds.'

After the magazine pointed out that ten of nineteen churches had been established since the arrival of the Rev. Isaac New and the Rev. James Taylor, it expressed the view that the 'severe language' used by Victorian Baptists concerning 'the churches at home' was unjustified. For the culpable neglect of colonial churches or the turning of a deaf ear to appeals for sympathy, the magazine concluded, English churches were deemed to be innocent. At the same time it conceded Australia was not to be a refuge for the destitute or an asylum for those who had almost entirely failed here.³¹

The difficulty of obtaining suitable English ministers was not restricted to Victoria. Over a quarter of a century later, in 1891, the General Committee of the South Australian Association reported that it had opened correspondence with the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon and Dr Angus with the object of getting four ministers from England. Half the passage money only was to be paid, a minimum salary was named, and special care was taken to ensure the pioneer character of the work should be explained. Several churches were without pastors and no colonial ministers were available to fill the vacancies. It was also mentioned that delegates to England from Baptist churches in the Australasian colonies had invariably complained of a more or less cool reception at the hands of the Baptist Union of Great Britain. It had been the case with the Rev. W. C. Bunning of Victoria the previous year and now the Rev. A. North of New Zealand had written in the same strain concerning the recent reception accorded to him and other Australasian delegates.³² It seems reasonable to conclude therefore that while assistance was most generously given by some, particularly Spurgeon who held a certain fondness for Australia, there was no reciprocal interest in the affairs of Baptists in the two countries.

The source of supply of ministers in the two countries differed greatly. The reasons in part were how Baptists saw themselves. Those in America needed to be self-reliant and as the Revolutionary War approached there was little alternative. By contrast Baptists in Australia

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 444

³² *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 31 July 1891, p. 7

looked back to where they considered to be 'home' and where they conceived support in various forms should come. To their disappointment they met a limited and lukewarm response.

The nature of the Baptist ministry in America

The second area of interest concerns issues facing Baptist preachers who felt compelled to spread the Gospel message. There was a wide range of issues that tested their commitment to be bearers of the Gospel. The first issue related to how Baptist preachers should be recognized in the absence of any denominational structure. State conventions did not first appear until the 1820s. Local associations were small in number and only grew with the rising number of churches.

Among those inspired during the First Great Awakening many were poorly educated, theologically untrained but yet possessed varying degrees of preaching gifts and abilities but with an enormous religious zeal to overcome any obstacles. Generally the path to the permanent pastoral ministry passed through three stages but sometimes altered with a person's gifts and abilities and changed circumstances. First, men became what were known as exhorters, giving talks or recounting their personal testimony. Pennsylvania-born Elder Richard Major (b.1722) who was baptized in 1764 and moved to Virginia two years later, adopted the practice of reading printed sermons and whilst reading would frequently 'leave the author and break out in most earnest and affectionate exhortations.' By degrees he laid aside the printed sermons and with the Bible as his text-book began to teach his fellow men the way of salvation. Ordination followed two years later.³³ There appear to have been variations in the pathway to the pastoral ministry. The medically-trained David Roper (1792–1827) found when he was attached to a Baptist church he was licensed to the exercise of gifts in public teaching and exhorting and then fully ordained to the gospel ministry.³⁴ However his life was cut short when he died aged just thirty five.

Those with preaching talent came to be recognized and then authorised by local congregations as licensed preachers. There was no colony-wide denominational structure and local associations were few and scattered. Thus the local congregation became the centre of authority. This form of recognition permitted them to preach in other places. Then there were those who were called to take pastoral charge of a church and were ordained in the presence of two or three elders who formed a presbytery for such a task. Such men were initially given the nomenclature 'elder' although early in the nineteenth century the title 'reverend' came to be used in its place.

³³ James B Taylor, *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers*, Volume 2, 1859, p. 57

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7

Circumstances, rather than any prescribed time period seems to have determined when a person might become a licensed or ordained preacher. The premature death of the ordained church elder was often an unwelcome visitor causing disquiet and disruption for many but opportunity for others.

One example is that of the Connecticut-born John Mason Peck (1789–1858), a former Congregationalist who later became the Father of Home Missions. In the spring of 1811 he moved with his wife and baby to Greene County, New York and began to attend the local Baptist church that met once a month in a schoolhouse seven miles distant. After attending in August 1811 they offered themselves for church membership one month later and after a rigorous questioning were baptized and accepted into church membership. At the October meeting he announced to the church ‘after four years of inner controversy and careful self-examination’ he was ready to preach the Gospel and asked the church’s opinion. This was given in a vote to permit him ‘to improve his gift’ within the limits of the local church until the members should be convinced of his call to the ministry and his qualifications for pastoral service. He preached the following day, aged twenty-two, thus beginning a public ministry that lasted forty-six years.³⁵ Soon after he received approval he applied for a regular licence to preach which was granted. Early in the spring of 1812 he accepted a call to the church at Catskill, New York and moved there. On 9 June 1813 he was ordained and six months later accepted a call to a larger church at Amenia.

Uniformity of Ministerial Standards in Australia

In the absence of a national theological training system for Australian-born aspirants to the ministry and the inherent weakness of a congregation-based system where churches acted of their own accord, one issue Baptists confronted was the implementation of a uniform ministerial standard as ministers, whether recognized or potential, moved to another colony. The problem was highlighted in 1897 at the Victorian annual assembly when the Rev. J. E. Walton of Perth (Tasmania) presented a paper on the subject. He referred to ‘unworthy men who crept into the ministry.’ Some were notoriously deficient in education and had a sparse acquaintance with secular and biblical knowledge. There were those lacking in the gifts needful for ministerial success ‘whose mental furniture was of the scantiest kind’. He urged the implementation of a common minimum standard of education. The Victorian College principal, W. T. Whitley,

³⁵ Austen Kennedy De Blois and Lemuel Call Barnes, *John Mason Peck and One Hundred Years of Home Missions 1817-1917*, American Baptist Home Mission Society, New York, 1917, p. 11-13

indignantly referred to them as ‘assassins’ who would be much safer if they were in gaol instead of holding a position in a church.³⁶ The issue continued into the new century and at the First Australian Baptist Congress in 1908 the future New South Wales College principal, the Rev. Alexander Gordon, told the gathering that while attaching students to ministers to superintend their studies was an excellent idea, it should be seen as an introduction rather than an equivalent to a college course.³⁷

The shortage of ministers in America

A second related issue was the shortage of ministers. The number of churches quickly outgrew the number of ministers or elders. There was always a perennial shortage of ministers. In the first detailed summary of Baptist statistics that appeared in 1832 there was a total of 5,513 churches and of these 2,457 (44.57 per cent) were designated as vacant. This was the only occasion this information was given. The proportion of ordained ministers to churches is seen in Table 22.

Table 22: Proportion of Ordained Baptist Ministers to American Baptist Churches, 1832 – 1871

Year	Churches	Ordained Ministers	Percentage
1832	5,513	3,153	57.19
1835	6,319	3,449	54.58
1841	6,942	3,851	55.47
1846	9,479	5,297	55.88
1851	10,441	6,049	57.94
1857	10,774	6,935	64.37
1861	12,371	7,837	63.35
1866	12,702	7,867	61.94
1871	17,745	10,818	60.96

Sources: *United States Baptist Annual Register and Almanac, 1833*, p. 221 ; *Triennial Baptist Register – No 2, 1836*, p. 307; *Almanac and Baptist Register, 1841*, p. xi; 1846, p. 25; *Baptist Almanac, 1851*, p. 39; *American Baptist Almanacs, 1857*, p. 47; 1861, p. 48; 1866, p. 48; *American Baptist Year-book, 1871*, p. 80

The above Table shows that in this period of some forty years the number of those ordained accounted for roughly three-fifths of the total number of churches. This meant quite a proportion of churches were denied sole pastoral leadership or were one of several churches that were served by the one person. What it also meant as evidenced in the case of John Mason Peck was that

³⁶ *The Age* (Melbourne), 18 November 1897, p. 6

³⁷ Alex Gordon, “Uniform Ministerial Standard”, in J A Packer (ed.), *First Australasian Baptist Congress: Official Volume of Proceedings*, The Watchman Newspaper Limited, Sydney, pp. 108-110

many churches only gathered once a month. This was in marked contrast to the Australian experience where congregations met weekly with the exception of outstations in country areas.

Local Preachers in Australia

In Australia in the absence of the suitably qualified minister there was always the option of local preachers, that is, gifted laymen who would take worship services at churches who were without a pastor or in the case of country churches outstations where there were usually a smaller number of interested persons. This was common practice in America and came to be used by the Wesleyan Methodists in Australia. Methodist success in this regard caught the attention of one prominent South Australian Baptist, the Rev. David Badger (1827-1890). When he laid the foundation stone of the suburban Norwood Baptist church in Adelaide in April 1869 he referred to the apparent success of the Methodists: 'It is evident also that all the Methodist family of Christians have worked wonders in this respect through an admirable system of lay-preaching.'³⁸ Badger described Methodists as having 'united energies and zeal.' By contrast he summed up fellow-Baptists, saying 'that kind of thing has not been a distinguishing feature of the Baptists in this colony hitherto. So far as I have known them, they have for a long time maintained a bare existence as scattered fragments.' He was, however, 'heartened matters were assuming a different aspect as they were becoming more denominational or more united and zealous in the maintenance and diffusion of their professed principles'³⁹

Badger's observation of Methodism was already evident in Victoria. Geoffrey Serle accounted for the success of the Wesleyan Methodists this way:

It was, however, the suitability of Methodists' organisation to colonial conditions which accounts most for their success. The essential factor was the initiative allowed to the laity who were thoroughly trained and disciplined and expected to assume the responsibility of preaching and pastoral work in the absence of clergy. In a new era, laymen would form a congregation, start a Sunday school – even build a church – before attaching themselves to a circuit and enlisting a minister.⁴⁰

This is illustrated in the published *Statistics of Victoria, 1861* that showed the comparative difference with Baptists. There were 204 Wesleyan Methodist churches, 89 other Methodist

³⁸ *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail* (Adelaide), 17 April 1869, p. 9

³⁹ *Truth and Progress*, May 1869, p. 89

⁴⁰ Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic, 1968, p. 342

churches and 28 Baptist churches. The respective attendances were given as usually 34,140, 7,022 and 5,742.⁴¹

There was no similar use of Baptist laity. The seeming unimportance of lay preachers in the advancement of Australian Baptists is perhaps best exemplified in the scarcity of any references to them in published histories. In the most voluminous account of Australian Baptists available, *From Woolloomooloo to 'Eternity': A History of Australian Baptists*, there are only two brief references to local preachers, notably the first occasion they were used in Sydney in 1854 and their revived use in Victoria in 1876.⁴² What accounted for the lowly place of lay preaching, evidenced by the difficulties in maintaining continuity in Lay Preachers' Societies, was the distinct preference held for the experienced ordained ministry that had been theologically educated in Britain. A second reason was the absence of educational or training facilities. A third was the lack of any formal recognition or accreditation. Fourth, the success of lay preaching depended upon interested experienced ministers to provide the necessary training and organization. Finally, there was a logistical issue: how to train aspirants who lived in rural communities where they were more commonly used.

The attempts to use lay or non-clerical preachers, however, were manifold. After the Victorian Baptist Association was re-constituted in 1862 local preachers are mentioned in 1866 when the secretary of the fledgling Baptist Association, the Rev. William Poole (1830-1913) instigated a Baptist Itinerant Preaching Society. It was formed to utilize 'the preaching ability...in our Churches, for the purpose of providing supplies for destitute congregations, and to introduce the Gospel into neglected neighbourhoods.' According to Basil Brown it was 'carefully controlled by the Committee, and under the guidance of experienced ministers lay preachers commenced and maintained causes at Williamstown and Richmond.'⁴³ In his Presidential address to the New South Wales assembly delivered in September 1872 the Rev. A. W. Webb advocated the use of these Societies "within definite local limits" because they were a means of exercising gifts and secondly, of helping settled pastors. He believed without them 'we shall never overtake our work without this useful auxiliary.'⁴⁴ In their early history Baptists of Western Australian were reliant upon ministers who came from either Victoria or South Australia. A Baptist Preachers'

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 343

⁴² Ken R Manley, *op. cit.*, p. 79,81

⁴³ Basil S Brown, *Members One of Another: The Baptist Union of Victoria 1862-1962*, The Baptist Union of Victoria, Melbourne, 1962, p. 34

⁴⁴ *The Sydney Mail and NSW Advertiser* (NSW), 7 September 1872, p. 298

Association was formed shortly after the formation of the Baptist Union and was supplying churches. Small in number, the Preachers' Association was still in existence in 1897.⁴⁵

The history of Baptist local preachers in Australia shows, generally, they were not received with any overwhelming enthusiasm by local church members best illustrated by the number of occasions these associations originated and then lapsed or later disbanded through probable lack of interest until they could be re-formed once sufficient interest had been regained. In 1927 different views were expressed in *The Australian Baptist* about the value of these associations. It was argued the complaint that congregations will not listen to local preachers should have no foundation as was the contention their use was a reason for non-attendance.⁴⁶ This seems to be contrary to what an earlier generation of emigrants might have known or experienced before they came to Australia. In 1886 there were reportedly 1,416 pastors compared to 3,601 local preachers in England.⁴⁷

Another aspect of the story of lay preaching is the use of 'lay pastors', that is, men without any formal training who acted in a pastoral capacity for local congregations. There were only a few occasions where this was the case. In the Adelaide suburb of Hilton in 1879 arrangements were made for a lay pastor to take the oversight of the church and the venerable Rev Silas Mead recommended that others do the same if no minister was available.⁴⁸ Another instance was in the inner-western Sydney church at Leichhardt in 1894 where Mr. J. J. Stone became its presiding elder or lay pastor after the church membership had grown from twelve to 40.⁴⁹ The term 'presiding elder' however, was not normally used by Australian Baptists.

Local Preachers' Societies were formed and re-formed in New South Wales and in other colonies throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. As much as some saw their value the problem always seemed to be both the lack of training and of supervision or co-ordination. One local preacher, A. W. Jenks, evidently felt a sense of inadequacy when he wrote to the editor of *The Baptist* in December 1902 asking for the establishment of a theological class to assist local preachers.⁵⁰ Others as well wanted assistance. In the country Baptist church at Bathurst (NSW) it was being suggested there be an Improvement Class to educate young men who were preaching

⁴⁵ *The Daily News* (Perth), 12 June 1897, p. 6

⁴⁶ *The Australian Baptist*, 7 June 1927, p. 4; 27 September 1927, p. 13

⁴⁷ Michael Petras, *Extension or Extinction: Baptist Growth in New South Wales 1900-1939*, p. 120

⁴⁸ *Truth and Progress*, May 1879, p. 27

⁴⁹ *The Baptist*, 1 July 1894, p.102

⁵⁰ *The Baptist*, 1 December 1902, p. 13

at outstations.⁵¹ When in 1875 the secretary of the Local Preachers' Association in South Australia, Mr. T. E. Powell complained of how 'the preachers instead of being a trained and united body were undisciplined, disorganized and very often entirely unacquainted with one another.'⁵² It took until the annual meeting in 1900 when encouraging addresses were given by experienced ministers to announce that talks on Christian evidences had been given in the past year and theology, comparative religions and homiletics were proposed for the coming year.⁵³

At the 1918 South Australian assembly a review of the work of the Lay Preachers' Association reported that owing to depleted ranks the association found it difficult to meet the continual calls for help. This was quite possibly one effect of the Great War upon all the Churches. The Association said it had aided more than 40 ministers in 60 churches and mission stations even including the Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches and the Salvation Army.⁵⁴ This seems paradoxical given the extent of Baptist shortages. The chairman of the meeting stressed the importance of the work lay preachers were doing and that they needed more recognition.

Allied to the use of lay preachers was the issue of small country churches bereft of any regular pastoral leadership. In 1885 when the Victorian Baptist Association attempted to grapple with the shortage of ministers, particularly in country districts, the annual Assembly resolved that, where practical, small country churches should group themselves under the care of a pastor who would be assisted 'by lay and other agency.' Basil Brown, the Victorian Baptist historian, succinctly outlines the dilemma this brought:

Congregations have felt that inadequate pastoral care was available to them when churches were grouped together. They have seldom taken kindly to a regular ministry of laymen. This is evident from the changing fortunes of the Preachers' Association, which never proved to be the force which had been anticipated. After a period of decline, it was revived again during these years. In almost every generation since, has been reconstituted, to flourish for a period before decreasing in influence.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Bathurst Baptist Church Minute Book, 12 December 1903, p. 11; 16 April 1904, p. 37

⁵² *Truth and Progress*, November 1875, p. 140

⁵³ *The Evening Journal* (Adelaide), 13 February 1900, p. 2

⁵⁴ *Daily Herald* (Adelaide), 17 September 1918, p. 7

⁵⁵ Basil Brown, *Members One of Another: The Baptist Union of Victoria 1862-1962*, The Baptist Union of Victoria, Melbourne, 1962, p. 66

Unlike Methodists, Baptists did not develop a strong tradition of using local preachers. There was always a strong preference for a professional ministry. The major part of the problem revolved around supervision, training and interest. The absence of any central authority highlighted one of the weaknesses of the congregational system of church government. Australia was unlike America where many preachers assumed an itinerant preaching role and there was a perpetual shortage of ministers so that churches were forced to share ministers or meet on a less regular basis. Australian Baptists wanted to have their own settled minister who was much less inclined to leave the relative comfort of a city or suburban church and go and visit struggling churches in the country. In short, local preachers tended to be regarded as 'second class' preachers when compared to someone who had been theologically trained.

Women Preachers

One other important point to consider is the place of women in preaching. In Baptist history preaching has normally been restricted to men. The use of women preachers was almost entirely non-existent in the growth of Baptists in either country. Baptists have, for either cultural or theological reasons, flinched at allowing women to occupy positions of leadership in local churches, particularly in preaching where they might have cause to admonish male members of the congregation. In Baptist churches, whatever the prevailing opinion might be, it has always been local congregations who determine what role women might occupy. In Australia, women preachers did not become a theological issue until the 1970s.

There is no record of any American Baptist women engaged as preachers in the period up to the American Civil War. The reasons were mostly cultural for many Baptist preachers, some itinerant, had large families to provide for. Besides, in the South where education was not even a function of the state, it is possible many women with limited opportunity were semi-illiterate. Training or educational institutions for young women did not begin to appear until about the 1830s.

In Australia leadership in denominational life and local church life was male-dominated. Perhaps the most frequent activities of women in this period of study engaged in were fund-raising, teaching Sunday school and overseas missionary service, usually as teachers or nurses. The Temperance movement was vigorously prosecuted by women with the establishment of Women's Christian Temperance Unions. There was some attempt to redress this imbalance. According to Rosalind Gooden the Rev. Silas Mead was noted for his advocacy of the

appointment of deaconesses in all South Australian Baptist churches.⁵⁶ There are several instances of local and overseas women who were engaged as evangelists, notably the English-born Mrs. Margaret Hampson, the Canadian-American Pentecostal church founder Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944) and the Welsh-born self-described 'Christian Jewess', Mrs. Emilia Louise Baeyertz (1842-1926).⁵⁷ The latter was embraced by South Australian Baptists and engaged in a series of evangelistic meetings in Adelaide and country churches between 1881 and 1883.⁵⁸ Baeyertz continued her evangelistic ministry overseas but returned to Australia in 1905 to conduct further meetings in Western Australia, Victoria and Tasmania.⁵⁹

One instance can be identified where a female member of the congregation was the preacher. At the first service of the Blackheath (NSW) church in 1886 and in the absence of preaching herself, 'a Miss Smith' read one of Spurgeon's sermons.⁶⁰ These widely-read printed sermons became a very useful substitute, particularly in isolated areas, when no preacher was readily available.⁶¹ It is concluded therefore that while women engaged in various expressions of Christian ministry there is no evidence they were ever regular lay preachers.

Bi-vocational American Baptist preachers

One of the single most important issues that divided American and Australian Baptist ministers concerned their remuneration. The issue of the remuneration of ministers for their services proved to be a contentious issue among eighteenth century Baptists in America. Early Tennessee Baptists who came from North Carolina and Virginia had been taxed to support the ministry of the Established Church and were punished if they did not pay the tax. This brought resentment and led to the belief ministers should not be paid or at most a minimum sum.⁶² There was no tradition of a financially-supported ministry by a local congregation. Ministers needed to be self-supporting until congregations could be convinced they should be remunerated. What Baptists witnessed was a state-supported Church as was the case in both New England and in parts of the

⁵⁶ Rosalind M Gooden, 'Baeyertz and barley loaves: Women in Christian ministry', in Frank Rees (ed.), *Baptist Identity into the 21st Century: Essays in honour of Ken Manley*, Whitley College, Melbourne, 2016, pp. 100-106

⁵⁷ On Hampson, see Walter Phillips, *Defending a 'Christian Country': Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and after*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1981, pp. 64-67

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 102f

⁶⁰ *The Baptist*, 10 January 1889, p. 50

⁶¹ Michael Petras, "Charles Haddon Spurgeon: his influence upon Australia," in *Our Yesterdays*, Victorian Baptist Historical Society, Volume 1, 1993, pp. 55-70; Michael Petras, 'Charles Haddon Spurgeon's sermons in Australia', in *St Mark's Review*, No. 230, December 2014, pp. 31-39

⁶² O W Taylor, *Early Tennessee Baptists 1769-1832*, Executive Board of the Tennessee Baptist Convention, Nashville, 1957, p. 16

South. In the case of the former it was the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches and the latter, the Episcopal Church. As James Taylor pointed out concerning Virginia:

....in attempting to pull down a religious establishment which had been sustained by a graceless and salaried ministry and rejoiced in the demolition of a system so pernicious, they had allowed themselves to build up another equally abhorrent and dangerous. They saw men making the ministerial office a mere sinecure and loudly condemned, but they forgot that the faithful labourer is worthy of his hire.⁶³

Such spirited opposition to this brought unintended consequences. This attitude meant Baptist preachers were compelled to be self-sufficient or bi-vocational. Some Baptist preachers had large families to support. There are many examples to illustrate this. Elder John Weatherford (*ca* 1740–1833), considered ‘a plain man without any pretension to learning’ who was imprisoned for five months in 1773 for his preaching, found his temporal circumstances were far from comfortable. He had fifteen children, including twelve daughters, and was very poorly paid.⁶⁴ As Taylor concluded; ‘He is another of those painful instances of laborious effort in preaching the gospel without receiving a competent support.’⁶⁵ Similarly, William Baskett (1741–1815), the son of poor parents and ‘not favoured with the means of education’ had thirteen children.⁶⁶ James Garnett (1743–1830) was twice married and raised fourteen children.⁶⁷ The poor parents of James Ellison (1778–1834) became Baptists soon after his birth and were unable to educate their children. He later reared twelve children, was dependent on his own exertions for his livelihood and was in financial difficulties. It was said of him ‘the neglect of the churches in failing to provide more bountifully for his support is painfully apparent.’⁶⁸ In a review of his pastoral life in 1808 Elder Absalom Waller (1772–1820) said of the church at County Line where he ministered: ‘It was large and independent as to worldly circumstances but the provision made for his support was poor indeed. In fifteen years he received two hundred and fourteen dollars for the loss of my time, expense of clothing, riding horse, &c.’⁶⁹

The principle of remuneration to those in spiritual leadership vexed some. A query to the Elkhorn Association in Kentucky in 1786 was whether the support of a minister was a debt or a liberal contribution. The matter was deferred and then a fresh question was substituted:

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1838, p. 51

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46-52

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 1838,, p. 46-52

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89-92

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 161-166

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 355-360

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1838, p. 248, 252

Whether it is agreeable to scripture for churches to suffer men to preach
and have the care of them, that are trading and entangling themselves
with the affairs of this life.⁷⁰

The answer given was ‘that it is not agreeable to scripture, but that it is the duty of the churches to give their ministers a reasonable support.’⁷¹ Two years later the Limestone church in Kentucky was asking the Association whether churches who do not comply in supporting their minister can be dismissed from the Association.⁷² McConnells Run church, also in Kentucky, in 1797 asked again whether churches were bound by scripture to support their minister.⁷³ In 1840 the Elkhorn Association deputed Elder J. D. Black to visit all the churches to induce them to sustain their pastor so that he might give his whole time to the ministry.⁷⁴

By the turn of the nineteenth century attitudes were changing but it seems not all local churches were of one mind. Concerning the duties of a pastor and his deacons Elder Reuben Ford (b.ca 1742) counselled: ‘A gospel church, suitably organised, will have its minister and deacons. It is the minister’s duty to diligently preach the word, administer the ordinances of Christ, to take care of, watch over, and feed the flock of God. The deacon’s duty is to serve the church in temporal matters providing elements for the Lord’s table and to stir up the members of the church to their duty in making contribution for all necessary expenses, particularly for the relief of poor members, and the support of their minister.’⁷⁵ When John Mason Peck (1789–1858) accepted his first pastorate at Catskill, New York in addition to his church duties he opened a school which he conducted. It was greatly needed in the community but also provided him with a means of livelihood as his income as a pastor was of uncertain quantity. He preached three times a week and his salary consisted of the collections of these services which averaged about one dollar. At the end of his first year of pastoral work he had received \$61-95 that included \$18-92 in gifts and special contributions.⁷⁶

The biblical injunction ‘the labourer is worthy of his hire’ was the main justification for the remuneration of pastors. Elder Philip T. Montague (1778–1846) suffered financial embarrassment through churches failing to pay him. This led the Virginian chronicler James B.

⁷⁰ John H Spencer, *A History of Kentucky Baptists from 1769 to 1885*, Volume 2, 1886, p. 11

⁷¹ *Ibid*

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 12

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 15

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20f

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1838, p. 55

⁷⁶ Austen Kennedy De Blois and Lemuel Call Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 12

Taylor to observe that ‘this culpable negligence of the churches in our State has either forced many of our useful members to abandon their respective fields of labour and usefulness, or embarrass themselves and family.’⁷⁷

The financial stringency under which Baptist preachers lived and worked brought various outcomes. Some felt compelled to move to Kentucky. The biographer of Henry Toler (d. 1824) concluded that ‘those for whose spiritual benefit he laboured did not suitably contribute to his temporal support.’ He purchased a farm but was unable to pay for it and relinquished its title. He moved west of the Blue-ridge and then to Kentucky. Says James B. Taylor: ‘Thus the claims of a dependent family obliged him to seek a home among strangers. He followed many pious and talented Virginia ministers preaching for churches without a just remuneration until they were driven to find a livelihood in the rich lands of the west.’⁷⁸

The issue of pastoral remuneration reflected poorly on these eighteenth century Baptists. Their attitude was initially shaped by their intense antipathy towards the Establishment with its paid clergy. In so doing they were patently neglectful of their own preachers. As much as they accused the Established clergy of preaching for mercenary motives they wished to escape the same accusation they had hireling ministers. In his accounts of the histories of Virginian churches Morgan Edwards mournfully recorded: ‘No estate, no salary except presents’ to such and such an amount.⁷⁹ Robert Semple wrote the epitaph of this neglect when he referred to Kentucky as ‘the cemetery of Virginian Baptist preachers’ so great was the exodus.⁸⁰ In 1808, William Fristoe, compiler of the Kettocton Baptist Association history estimated half of the Virginian-born Baptist preachers migrated to the West.⁸¹

The remuneration of the Australian Baptist minister

The concept of the self-supporting, bi-vocational Baptist minister, usually a farmer-preacher, was foreign to Australian Baptists. They followed the English practice whereby the minister was financially supported solely by his local congregation thereby largely making himself dependent upon the wishes of those for whom he had oversight. There is ample evidence they were never well paid. In his Presidential address in 1876 the Rev. David Fenwick felt ‘the small inducement

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1859, p. 70

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 264-269

⁷⁹ Wesley Gewehr, *op. cit.*, p. 255

⁸⁰ Robert Semple, p. 456

⁸¹ Wesley Gewehr, *op. cit.* p. 255

held out to them' was one of the difficulties in getting young men to consider the Christian ministry.

Our ministers as a rule are a miserably underpaid class of men, and everyone who enters the Baptist ministry must be prepared to make great sacrifices on account of his position.⁸²

In the case of small home mission churches there was another issue. They were usually unable to fully support their own minister and were reliant upon the financial assistance of the Home Mission Society. With characteristic humour the Rev. A. J. Waldock drew attention to this the year after his appointment as secretary of the Home Mission Committee. He expressed criticism of the *status quo* claiming 'too long the Committee has been the benevolent institution of the denomination....a perambulator for carrying infant causes which never learn to walk.' So far as he was concerned churches had taken advantage of the Society's function to assist them 'in the maintenance of their pastors.'

As far as my experience goes, I have only known one assisted church to spontaneously forgo aid, and apply for honourable discharge. Other churches have been launched out upon an independent sea, but not without weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. We are still nursing infants of ten years old and upwards, and they are really getting too heavy for the nurses' arms.⁸³

The weakness of the congregational system was that there was never any security of tenure for ministers of local congregations. They could be voted out of office by a decision of their church. There was no body to which they could appeal such draconian measures. This may well be a pertinent reason for why some two thirds of those ministers who sought to enter the Presbyterian Church in Australia from other denominations were from Baptist or Congregational Churches where both have a similar form of church government. A total of 121 out of 182 in the seventy year period between 1903 and 1973 came from these two Churches.⁸⁴

There was no uniformity in the payment of Australian Baptist ministers' stipends irrespective of where they ministered. The most relevant factors were the size of the congregation, its socio-

⁸² *Banner of Truth*, October 1876, p. 8 ; Michael Petras, *Extension or Extinction: Baptist Growth in New South Wales 1900-1939*, p. 49

⁸³ Michael Petras, *ibid.*, p. 46

⁸⁴ Statistics supplied to the writer by the Presbyterian historian Dr Malcolm Prentis. See also the writer's paper , "The Second Exodus: Australian Baptist Ministers who joined the Presbyterian Church 1885 to 1970", in *The Baptist Recorder*, February 2005, pp. 3 - 29

economic status, that is, its location and whether it contained any affluent laymen. City ministers fared much better than their country brethren usually owing to the size of the congregation and the reliability of regular giving. There are, however, many variations in the circumstances of local Baptist churches that make it difficult to generalise. Sometimes there does not appear to have been an agreed sum for a minister's stipend. At the anniversary services of the Magill church in suburban Adelaide in April 1872 it was reported the church's current membership was now sixty-four. The financial report indicated the income received during the past year amounted to about £180 out of which the debt had been reduced by £20, sundry repairs had been effected, expenses met, interest paid, contributions made to the Baptist Association and the Furreedpore Mission, the remainder being devoted to the payment of the pastor's salary.⁸⁵ At the church anniversary at Mount Barker in the Adelaide Hills in 1881 the church treasurer announced the church funds amounted to eleven pence and the anniversary offerings would be applied to the ordinary requirements in connection with the church work such as the minister's stipend, lighting of the building and cleaning.⁸⁶ This would have placed the minister's finances in a most tenuous position.

At the same time the situation could be quite different for a main city church. When the Wharf Street church in Brisbane celebrated its twenty-seventh anniversary in 1882 its minister, the Rev. H. Coombs, informed the church in the 180 weeks he had been connected with it, 173 had been added to the membership. Special mention was made of the fact that as the result of the exertions of the ladies' sewing meeting the organ had been freed from debt and the pastor's stipend had been increased to £400 per year.⁸⁷

For those who looked after country churches the greatest certainty was its uncertainty because first, the small size of the membership and secondly, the irregularity of the income of farmers that often depended upon the sale of their produce or livestock. In large country towns there was always the movement of people arriving and leaving because of education needs or employment. This is illustrated in the case of the former Anglican and Cambridge University-educated, the Rev. Richard Fane Becher, BA who entered the New South Wales Baptist ministry in 1876 and went to the Grafton church where he was guaranteed £200 per annum. In 1878 he was able to report on the success and extent of his ministry however financial difficulties were imposed upon

⁸⁵ *Adelaide Observer* (South Australia), 27 April 1872, p. 10

⁸⁶ *The Mount Barker Courier and Onkaparinga and Gumeracha Advertiser* (SA), 23 September 1881, p. 3

⁸⁷ *The Telegraph* (Brisbane), 1 November 1882, p. 2

him two years later when the Ladies' Committee paid his holiday fares.⁸⁸ By 1890 and after fourteen years ministry the church found that due to the depressed state of the district it could no longer afford to support a minister at present.⁸⁹ This led to Becher's forced resignation and later, his entry into the Congregational Church at Bathurst in 1892.⁹⁰

Australian Baptist ministers were remunerated on the English model of local congregational support although small home mission churches usually received grants from the Home Mission Society and it became a source of tension as to how long this might continue. In these cases it was the goal of the Home Mission Superintendent to make these churches independent as quickly as possible. While it was admitted ministers were poorly paid it is highly unlikely any Australian would have countenanced the example of eighteenth century American Baptist preacher for whom the ministry was a self-sacrificing unpaid vocation. Clearly, there were differences between city and country churches in what ministers were paid and implicit in this was the degree of income security Baptist ministers must have felt and whether the most able preachers and pastors gravitated to churches in the metropolis.

Development of theological training for American Baptist preachers

Before the First Great Awakening there is evidence to suggest there were suspicions about a learned clergy. In 1720 Edward Wallin of London wrote to Elisha Callendar, pastor in Boston and said in part:

Therefore though I have a high esteem for human learning, and wish every minister had the advantage of a good degree of it, yet I conceive it is far from being necessary to a man's being employed in the public ministry.⁹¹

When the Welsh-born and Bristol College-trained minister of the First Baptist church Philadelphia, Morgan Edwards presided at a meeting of the Philadelphia Baptist Association and urged on the 12 October 1762 the establishment of a Baptist College he was ridiculed. Roger Hayden concludes: 'The American Baptist prejudice against an educated ministry was all too

⁸⁸ *Banner of Truth*, August 1878, p. 122; Grafton Baptist church Minute Book, 23 November 1880, p. 21

⁸⁹ Grafton Baptist church Minute Book, 31 March 1890

⁹⁰ *Northern Star* (Lismore), 16 March 1892, p. 2

⁹¹ H Leon McBeth, *op. cit.*, p. 235

obvious.’⁹² Separate Baptists on the frontier took an even more extreme view in their opposition to learning fearing it might lead to a ‘disesteem’ of the Bible.⁹³

The place of theological education in American Baptist church life is part of a broader picture of the place of education in American society. Edgar Knight has noted the differences between the North and the South.

But educational facilities were not as extensive in the South as in the North, and the reasons are not difficult to find. In the North the climate was rigorous and the winters were severe, the Indians were hostile, and the colonists were naturally forced into compact communities, or towns, which were organised almost simultaneously with the early settlements. The people were compelled to unite and to cooperate for purpose of common defence and community welfare. Moreover, the Northern colonies enjoyed a political and religious freedom which the Southern colonies were denied by the proprietary or royal authorities. And in the South the climate was mild, the soil was fertile, the Indians were comparatively friendly and there was no necessity for the organisation of compact groups or communities. The colonists, therefore, naturally tended toward scattered settlements, and for the most part individual families took up large plantations which to a very great extent soon became independent social units. The principle of reciprocal obligations and of community cooperation through exchange of needs and services did not promptly establish itself.⁹⁴

Public schools only existed in New England which also had a strong private and collegiate system. Basic education in literacy and numeracy were widely available to whites in New England and the middle colonies. Puritans valued education for the sake of religious study and for economic success.

There were many reasons why the South lagged behind. The South had few schools until the Revolutionary War era. Eighty per cent of the school population lived in rural sections, the remainder in towns and cities. Education was not a function of the state. Children of wealthy families received private tuition and those of middle class families might learn from their parents or older siblings. Many poor and black children were unschooled and thus were most disadvantaged. As Edgar Knight has noted:

⁹² Roger Hayden, “Bristol Baptist College and America”, *Baptist History and Heritage*, Vol. XIV, October 1979, No. 4, p. 29

⁹³ *Ibid*

⁹⁴ Edgar W Knight, *Public Education in the South*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1922, p. 42

The plantation system, indentured servants, negro slavery, and the maintenance of the Established Church as a part of the social system tended to delay the growth of a healthy interest in schools and community cooperation.⁹⁵

It was inevitable this state of being was reflected in aspiring Baptist preachers in the South. Virginia was the most populous colony in the colonial era, not only for the general population but for Baptists as well. By 1790 some 747,550 or nearly twenty per cent of the total population of 3,893,874 lived there while it was home to 20,861 or just over thirty per cent of the total number of Baptist church members of 67,475.⁹⁶ What the First Great Awakening in its revivalistic fervour produced, most notably in the South, were many Baptist preachers who following their conversion and baptism, and without any formal theological training or even education, felt a divine compulsion to begin to preach to their fellow Virginians who in many respects were like them. Wesley Gewehr in his study of the Great Awakening in Virginia sums up the contribution of Baptist preachers in this way:

No doubt the fact that their wandering preachers were without learning or patronage, poor in station, unrefined in manners and awkward in their address, made them all the more effective. They stood in sharp contrast to the clergy of the Establishment and their sermons were the burning appeals of enthusiasts. Their gospel, based on the principle of direct personal communion with God, stirred to the core masses who had hitherto been unreached by the Establishment or even by the Presbyterians with their educated ministry and somewhat elaborate creed.⁹⁷

A depiction of the contemporary Baptist ministry is to be found in the accounts of 228 Baptist ministers in the two volumes of James B. Taylor's *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers* published in 1838 and 1859. Inspired by this, Jesse H Campbell attempted a similar feat of 65 Georgian Baptist ministers in 1847.⁹⁸ A third account may be found in the two volume history of Kentucky Baptists John H. Spencer published in 1886. He included many brief biographical sketches of Baptist leaders.⁹⁹ These accounts, far from being hagiographical recount the foibles and assess the contributions and abilities of Baptist preachers, thus providing a valuable insight into the making of the American Baptist ministry during the second half of the eighteenth century and beyond. These accounts reveal in many instances a paucity of formal education, the absence of any theological training and the reliance on a bi-vocational, self-sufficient life required of a

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20

⁹⁶ Population of Virginia 1790: 747,550 (3,893,874); Baptist church members 20,861 (67,475)

⁹⁷ Wesley Gewehr, *op. cit.*, p. 134

⁹⁸ Jesse H Campbell, *Georgia Baptists: Historical and Biographical*, H K Ellyson, Richmond, 1847

⁹⁹ John H Spencer, *A History of Kentucky Baptists: From 1769 to 1885*, Volumes 1 and 11, J R Baumes, 1886

Baptist preacher. Usually he was a farmer who often had large families to support without any remuneration by his congregation for his services. In the absence of any denominational structure apart from a small but growing number of local associations, there were many who exhibited a rugged individualism, indefatigable energy, and fierce religious zeal and determination to endure physical hardship and ward off disease and Indian and wild animal attacks to become itinerant preachers spreading the Christian gospel and organizing churches throughout Virginia and beyond. As Wesley Gewehr showed this was particularly true of the Separate Baptists inspired, as they were, by the First Great Awakening.¹⁰⁰

As *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers* illustrates, there were many instances of men who were either illiterate when they began to preach or had received little formal education. Some examples illustrate this point. James Read (ca 1727-1798) could not read or write when he was converted in 1756 aged about 30, but under the tuition of his wife he was ‘soon able to peruse the pages of unerring truth.’ It was said of him that while in any respects unqualified to instruct in spiritual things, as an evangelist he was successful in winning souls to Christ.¹⁰¹ Similarly William Fristoe (1742–1828) was only able to read and write as an adult yet became one of the most influential elders of his time.¹⁰² Miles Turpin (b.1775) was quite illiterate when converted in 1803, two years following his marriage.¹⁰³ The parents of James Ellison (1778–1834) were so poor they were unable to educate their children.¹⁰⁴ The premature death of a father, as in the case of James Healy (1756–1820) and William Wood (1769–1833), meant the forfeiture of any opportunity for educational self-improvement. James Healy was sent to school by his mother for thirteen months where he had ‘a very ordinary teacher’ but received ‘knowledge of the elementary branches of education.’¹⁰⁵ William Wood became an apprentice shoe and boot maker, meanwhile succeeding in acquainting himself with the rudiments of reading, writing and plain arithmetic.¹⁰⁶

But poverty did not equate with intellectual deficiency. Elder Lewis Lunsford (ca1753–1793) was born to poor parents, denied an education, and from an early age became accustomed to the hardships of life. He began to preach when aged no more than seventeen. When he united with the Potomac church he was discovered to have remarkable talents. He was considered to possess

¹⁰⁰ Wesley Gewehr, *op. cit.*, p. 117f

¹⁰¹ James B Taylor, *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers*, 1838, p. 24

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 66-76

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 362

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 356

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, .p. 396

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 428

a mind of superior order, was a diligent student, and in the early part of his ministry was compelled to labour during the week whilst he preached on the Lord's Day. He became accustomed to occupying a large portion of the night reading by firelight.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, Velorious Edwin Kirtley (b.1818) who became a leading denominational figure in Kentucky was brought up on a farm and only received a few weeks schooling. Following his conversion his desire for education was greatly increased and accordingly applied himself to study by firelight at night while he laboured hard by day. This practice he continued until his twenty first year when he went to school and alternately taught school until February 1839 when he entered Georgetown College for fifteen months. He was licensed to preach at Pittmans Creek in January 1839 and later ordained at Frankfort in December 1841. He immediately took charge of the Big Spring church in Woodland County and was also pastor of Providence church in Anderson County. Once a month he preached to each of the churches at Hillsboro and Salvisa. In 1844 he took charge of the churches at Bardstown, Mill Creek and New Salem, all in Nelson County where he remained until 1848.¹⁰⁸ We may conclude that the poverty of educational opportunity proved no bar to preachers' fulfilling of what they conceived of as a divinely-appointed task.

One of the first attempts by Baptists to provide some form of theological education was in 1756 when the English-educated pastor at Hopewell, New Jersey Isaac Eaton (ca1724–1772) established an academy after taking charge of the church in 1748. He had become prominent in the Philadelphia Baptist Association. On 3 October 1756 elders and messengers of the Association agreed 'to raise a sum of money towards the encouragement of a Latin grammar school for the promotion of learning among us under the care of Brother Isaac Eaton.' While the Hopewell Academy received only initial financial support from the Philadelphia Baptist Association it did manage to grow producing some outstanding Baptist leaders such as James Manning (1738–1791) and Hezekiah Smith (1737–1805). In 1760 seven congregations in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, fearful of a 'languishing of learning' banded together to provide continued financial support. A few others were formed in different locations, usually by pastors with some education seeking some form of supplementary income.¹⁰⁹

For those fortunate enough there could be the benefit of personal tuition from older experienced ministers. Opportunities, however, were very limited. The Pennsylvanian-born Elder Oliver Hart

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 139

¹⁰⁸ John H Spencer, *A History of Kentucky Baptists*, p. 136-137

¹⁰⁹ William Cathcart (ed.), *The Baptist Encyclopaedia*, p. 357

(1723–1795), because of his deep interest in education was sometimes known as ‘the father of the education movement among South Carolina Baptists.’¹¹⁰ During his twenty five years at Charleston Baptist church, South Carolina he tutored a number of men from the South. Pennsylvania Baptists or any who managed to trek that far were probably much better served. Dr Samuel Jones (1735–1814) conducted an academy at Lower Dublin from 1766 to 1794.¹¹¹ In 1814 the Reverend Dr. William Staughton (1770–1829) was instrumental in the formation of an Education Society for the middle states that on its removal to New York later became Columbian College but prior to this date provided private tuition to a number of students.¹¹²

During the First Great Awakening itinerant Virginian Baptist preachers began to engage the population with their new-found faith. For this they were often criticised for being illiterate by their opponents. This criticism lingered long in the memories of some Baptist leaders. About a century later the editor of *The Baptist Almanac for 1853* lamented how nothing was more common than to regard the Baptists as an ‘illiterate’ body of Christians. While it was conceded a great mass of Baptist members were not liberally educated it was claimed it was the same for other denominations and therefore not a distinctive feature of Baptists. At the same time it was admitted that too little had been done for education and its advantages had not been properly appreciated. The editor surmised concerning approximately 7,000 current ministers that it would be difficult to say what proportion was liberally educated. Thirty years earlier when the number of ministers was over two thousand, the educated probably did not exceed one hundred. That the figure now exceeded one thousand was beyond question and probably amounted to two thousand. He continued:

The remaining 5,000 of our ministers exhibit every variety of literary culture, from those who, for want of early advantages, can with difficulty read a hymn in public, to those who by force of mind and of unwearied self-culture have become well-educated men. Some may know little Greek and Hebrew but they know the Scriptures intimately and the human heart profoundly.¹¹³

In demonstrating how progress had been made he added that in about the past thirty years this ‘illiterate people’ had founded twenty Colleges, ten Theological Seminaries and innumerable Academies, including not less than twenty endowed Female Institutions of a high order.

¹¹⁰ library.furman.edu/specialcollections/Baptist/hart_biography

¹¹¹ Hywel M Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren Rev Samuel Jones (1735 – 1814) and his friends: Baptists in Wales, Pennsylvania and Beyond*, Associated University Press, Cranbury, NJ, 1995

¹¹² William Cathcart (ed.), *The Baptist Encyclopaedia*, 1881, p. 903

¹¹³ *The Baptist Almanac*, p. 26

We may conclude therefore that in the era of the First Great Awakening there were many poorly educated, even illiterate, Baptist preachers. This impediment was not confined to Baptists alone even though Presbyterians with their emphasis upon an educated ministry were the exception. This disadvantage was eventually overcome in the first half of the nineteenth century with the founding of a range of liberal arts, manual and theological institutions to cater for a wide variety of educational and vocational needs for a society that increasingly saw the value of education in their lives.

The educational background of Australian Baptist ministers

The origins of the Australian Baptist ministry were in sharp contrast to those in America. With the sudden escalation of the number of churches during the First Great Awakening, Americans needed to become self-reliant. This was certainly the case as the storm clouds of the Revolutionary War approached. In Australia, on the other hand, great reliance was placed by colonial Baptists upon their country of origin. There was an underlying assumption, an expectation they would be supported from 'home' in the supply of ministers and with funds to build churches.

Baptist clergy came principally from four main colleges but a small number came from the General Baptist College in Nottingham, Welsh colleges or Bible Training Institutes. No registers exist of the theological institutions Australian Baptist ministers attended. Information has largely been gathered from newspaper reports such as welcome meetings or obituaries. Such institutions had an ethos and assumptions are made of how graduates of these English institutions influenced the various Australian colonies that developed separately. There are two difficulties in formulating such a theory. First, ministers frequently moved from colony to colony. Secondly, there is the brevity of so many pastorates. There are many instances where ministers only remained at the one church for a few years. This was hardly long enough to establish any sort of longstanding tradition. It is more realistic in Baptist culture to speak of local churches holding a particular ethos whereby they perpetuate a succession of ministers all who might share a common outlook or particular theological emphasis. One of the more common features of Australian Baptist churches concerned Second Adventism, notably Pre-millennial Dispensational teaching. The most pertinent example of this is the Rev. William Lamb (1868-1944) who came to the

ailing Burton Street Tabernacle in Sydney from New Zealand in 1913.¹¹⁴ Another example is that of a visiting English Baptist minister of some forty years experience, the Rev. J. H. Brooksbank, who was asked by Western Australian Baptists to represent them at the centenary celebrations of Baptist witness in Australia that was held in Sydney 1931. He commented:

I have been very surprised and sorry to find that the theological outlook in Australia generally is a generation behind that of England. The emphasis placed here on the Second Coming seems to me to be thoroughly disproportionate. In England we believe in the Second Coming, but we put emphasis on the fact of the presence of Christ now.¹¹⁵

The overwhelming majority of English ministers came from Charles Haddon Spurgeon's Pastors' College established by him in 1856. These men came in response to appeals to Spurgeon, sponsorship by the wealthy Tasmanian pastoralist, William Gibson, calls from Australian churches to fill pastoral vacancies or owing to their ill-health.

In his 1992 thesis Michael Chavura included as an appendix a list of 83 graduates supplied by Spurgeon's College who came to Australia between 1863 and 1961.¹¹⁶ The list remains incomplete and there are many omissions concerning the details of these graduates in Australia.

While no Australian registers exist it has been possible using Trove (the digital record of Australian newspaper managed by the National Library of Australia, Canberra) to supplement this number. Further research has identified a total of 91 men that were associated with the college. Twelve of this number were Australian-born men who travelled to London to study at Spurgeon's College (so named after 1923), and five went during his lifetime. The names of these graduates, including a more complete record of their Australian ministry appears in Appendix 8.

There were at least 30 known men who studied at Rawdon College (1859-1963) near Leeds that originated as the Horton Academy and was located in Bradford from 1804 to 1859. Now known as the Northern Baptist College, there are no archival records available of Rawdon students. Details of these graduates are given in Appendix 9. Two of these were Australian-born: Norman Hurst followed in the steps of his father who came to Australia. The other was William Field, sent by Bathurst Street, Sydney, leaving in May 1862 but who found the rigours of the climate and the course too demanding so returned home after only two years with a serious lung

¹¹⁴ Michael Petras, "The Life and Times of the Reverend William Lamb (1868-1944)", *The Baptist Recorder*, No, 101, May 2008, pp. 1-11

¹¹⁵ *The West Australian* (Perth), 19 May 1931, p. 3

¹¹⁶ Michael Chavura, "A History of Calvinism in the Baptist Churches of New South Wales, 1831-1914", unpublished doctoral thesis, Macquarie University, 1992, pp. 414-423

infection. He served the rural Bathurst church for only a year before becoming ill again. He went to Brisbane for treatment but did not respond and died on 17 June 1866 at the age of 24.¹¹⁷

A total of 22 men have been identified who came from Regent's Park College formerly known as Stepney College from 1810 to 1856. Ken Manley has traced the paths of these men who came to Australia.¹¹⁸ One of these men William Evan Bottrill was sent by the South Australian Baptist Association to England to complete his studies with the understanding he return to that colony to pastor a church. However, when he returned he only remained at the Saddleworth church for six months before departing, to the consternation of others, to assume an English pastorate and permanently remain in England.¹¹⁹ The names of these graduates appear in Appendix 10.

Bristol Baptist College identified from archival records the names of those who went to either Australia or New Zealand but for some nothing is known. Using Trove and information supplied by Bristol College a list has been compiled covering this period of study that has nineteen names. Details concerning these men can be found in Appendix 11. At least fourteen men have been identified as graduates of Bristol College, founded in 1679, and the oldest of the English Baptist colleges. In addition to these there were a number who came from various other British institutions including the General Baptist College, Welsh colleges or Bible Institutes.

Some 43 men have been identified (as appear in Appendix 12) who came to Australia for health reasons, mainly respiratory illnesses or because they were urged to seek a warmer climate. A few came owing to the ill-health of their spouse. At least four came via New Zealand such the Rev. Alexander Gordon, MA, the first New South Wales Baptist College principal, on the assumption the climate of both countries would be about the same. In assessing the overall contribution of British-born ministers to Australia it should be viewed as a mixed success. At least eight men died soon after their arrival in Australia. There were those who returned to England once their health was restored. Others only remained in the country for the duration of one pastorate before returning to their homeland. On the other hand there were others who remained in their adopted country and maintained fulfilling ministerial careers.

¹¹⁷ Alan C Prior, *op. cit.* p. 59

¹¹⁸ Ken R Manley, 'To the Ends of the Earth: Regents Park College and Australian Baptists', *Baptist Quarterly*, Volume 42, April 2007, pp. 130-147

¹¹⁹ *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 21 July 1876, p. 5

It is concluded therefore that the contrast between the two countries in this regard could not be sharper although with the passage of time the educational standing of the ministry changed as indigenous theological education developed. In Australia in the absence of any Baptist theological institutions, individual tuition was given by experienced ministers and there are instances where students were trained at Congregational colleges in Melbourne and Sydney during the 1880s and for Percy Nall, a missionary candidate, the Presbyterian college in Sydney in 1894.¹²⁰ In Adelaide the Union College, jointly administered by the Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, operated from 1872 to 1886.¹²¹ Prior to that, in 1870 the South Australian Baptist Association was the first to have a denominational library with the Rev Silas Mead announcing there were 350 books on hand.¹²²

When the first Baptist theological college was established in Melbourne in 1891 with the Rev. W. T. Whitley as its foundation principal, there was an expectation that the college would produce a learned ministry. Students, once accepted, served a probationary period of at least six months and were required to matriculate in their first year. They were also expected to obtain an academic degree by studying at the University of Melbourne. The duration of the theological course at the college was normally four years. As Roslyn Otzen, Whitley College's historian stated:

These were demanding conditions, and, given the poor state of secondary education in the colony, and the lowly educational ambitions of most Baptist families, it is not surprising that out of the first sixteen applicants to the College in 1891, only four were accepted.¹²³

These twelve unsuccessful applicants were not accepted for various reasons but most failed because their educational background was too poor. The state did not provide secondary education until 1910. Applicants were the sons of struggling farmers or of city families who aspired to, but could not afford a university education for their sons.

These policies of Whitley ultimately caused alarm because the number of students declined to the point that in 1899 there were no students entering the College. The following year there was only one student and therefore it was decided to close the College from July 1901. In the meantime Whitley was given leave in the first half of 1901 and visited North America, an experience that

¹²⁰ Alan C Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 192, 229

¹²¹ Walter Phillips, "Union College Adelaide, 1872-1886: a brief experiment in united theological education", *Lucas*, No. 19-20, 1995, pp. 59-71

¹²² *The South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 20 April 1870, p. 2

¹²³ Roslyn Otzen, *Whitley: The Baptist College of Victoria 1891-1991*, Hyland House, Melbourne, 1991. p. 27f

left him greatly impressed.¹²⁴ Roslyn Otzen observes that Whitley's college struggled for life against the almost dead weight of the situation in Victoria. Whitley himself identified many of the factors weighing against his endeavours. In an article in *The Southern Baptist* in April 1902 he claimed the most difficult millstone was the lack of interest on the part of Victorian Baptists in higher education. Baptist young people did not go on to secondary education in large numbers. Baptist congregations were used to pastors with spiritual gifts but little education and could not see its value.¹²⁵ This comment must have seemed an affront to any English-trained minister.

It is not difficult to conclude why Whitley returned to England fairly disillusioned with Australia. About this same time Whitley wrote an article for *The Baptist* (with essentially a New South Wales readership) on 'The Needs of Australian Baptists – views of a departing traveller'. He began by saying that nearly two years earlier he had written for an American audience that the denominational love of learning hardly existed here in Australia, that not a dozen ministers in Australia hold degrees, and that except for doctors and lawyers who could not practice without one, only a score or two of laymen had passed through a university. He sharply contrasted what he had seen in the United States with the current position in Australia.

I have seen in America Baptist schools, colleges, universities and theological seminaries, all abounding, in most parts endowed with liberal benefactors increasing the plant and endowment almost annually, although there are cheap, free public schools in every State. On the other hand, the one endowed institution of learning that Baptists owned in Australia has been closed and the authorities declare they will be in no hurry to re-open it.¹²⁶

What particularly irked Whitley, it seems, was that 'in many quarters there was a tendency to regard education as a doubtful boon, as severally really pious men habitually speak and act as if ignorance were a *prima facie* proof of grace and as if a cultured man is thereby suspected of heresy and atheism.'¹²⁷ The ample provision for an educated ministry is a necessity if Baptists are to be educated and to hold any position in the Commonwealth.

The position in Victoria was mirrored in New South Wales and it would be reasonable to conclude it was symptomatic of all Australian colonies. In New South Wales the Education Committee, the precursor to the Baptist Theological College of New South Wales came into

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37

¹²⁵ *Southern Baptist*, 30 April 1902

¹²⁶ *The Baptist*, 1 April 1902, p. 4

¹²⁷ *Ibid*

existence in 1893 after being originally proposed the Rev. Frederick Hibberd at the 1889 annual Assembly. What Hibberd had proposed in 1889 was this:

That to meet the wants of the destitute parts of the colony, this Union is prepared to recognise the labours of a class of men who shall be regarded as probationers for four years, during which time they shall be expected to pursue a course of study prescribed by the Examining Committee, and pass such examinations as the Committee in their wisdom may appoint.¹²⁸

This system attracted quite a number of candidates of varying educational quality. It is evident that despite its popularity there were no rigorous educational requirements. An assessment of its worth was given at a public recognition service for five candidates for the ministry in 1897. The Rev. F. E. Harry announced to the gathering that during the last four or five years possibly 40 or 50 students had passed through the hands of the committee although very few of them had come up for examination. He thought about twenty per cent had done so and those who did had shown themselves to be very diligent. Three students had taken the full course under the education committee and the committee was recommending to the Union they become fully accredited ministers. Harry acknowledged they had laboured under serious disadvantages. They had not studied in the quietude of college life but while labouring as a home mission agent travelling around in distant parts of the colony. Harry attempted to justify the present system by adding that it was certain those who had not come up for examination had made themselves more efficient servants of Jesus Christ by virtue of reading and study on the lines indicated by the committee.¹²⁹ It seems there was no sudden change in this. When in 1904 there were 27 men enrolled, only three of the eleven first year students passed their examinations. This caused the Education Committee in 1906 to introduce the Sydney University Junior Standard as the entrance requirement.¹³⁰

Baptist itinerant preachers in America

One important reason for the growth and expansion of Baptists in America was the itinerant role assumed by many preachers during the First Great Awakening. H. J. Eckenrode has explained:

Yet the Baptists could not have done their work if they had strictly complied with the Toleration Act. Itinerancy was a vital part of their agitation; it was only by going out into the fields and hedges that they

¹²⁸ Alan C Prior, *op. cit.* p. 230

¹²⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* 28 September 1897, p. 3

¹³⁰ Baptist Union of New South Wales, *Year Book*, 1907-1908, p. 77

could reach a sparse population scattered over a large territory. Their zeal and labours contrasted sharply with the apathy of the Anglican clergy, and their sufferings at the hands of authority gave them a sanctity in the eyes of the populace.¹³¹

The Toleration Act (1689) gave Dissenters like Baptists in America freedom of worship but meeting places needed to be registered and any meeting in private homes was strictly forbidden. There were many Baptist preachers who assumed this itinerant role, braving Indian attacks, wild animals, the conflict of the Revolutionary War, disease and inclement weather conditions to go on foot or horseback to preach in other places whether in one's own county or elsewhere in Virginia or to other colonies.

Many examples abound, particularly from the 228 ministers in the two volumes account *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers* to illustrate this. There were very few who travelled or relocated as extensively as Daniel Marshall, one of the first Separate Baptists and brother-in-law of Shubal Stearns. Edmund Botsford (b.1745) was born in Woburn, Bedfordshire in 1745, orphaned at seven, but came to South Carolina as a twenty year old in January 1766. Soon after his conversion and baptism he was licensed to preach and was tutored by his pastor, Oliver Hart. He determined to leave Charleston, South Carolina and was presented by a gentleman with a horse, saddle, saddlebags while others gave him clothes. He made his way to Georgia. At Tuckaseeking near Savannah he found a few Baptists that were a branch of the Euhaw church in South Carolina. As the death of the minister had left this church destitute he was asked to take charge and agreed to do so for one year. Some would travel twenty miles to attend his ministry. He did not confine himself to one place but 'preached extensively in many contiguous regions, both in Georgia and South Carolina.' In 1772 he travelled incessantly and in August of the following year he recorded:

In the month of August 1773 I rode six hundred and fifty miles, preached forty-two sermons, baptized twenty-one persons and administered the Lord's Supper twice. Indeed, I travelled so much this year that some used to call me the *Flying Preacher*.¹³²

There were more like James Read who became an evangelist travelling with the famed Samuel Harriss in Virginia and North Carolina.¹³³ Daniel Fristoe (1739– ca1773) who was converted and

¹³¹ H J Eckenrode, *Separation of Church and State in Virginia: a study in the development of the Revolution: special report of the Department of Archives and History*, Virginia State Library, Richmond, 1910, p. 38

¹³² Jesse H Campbell, *Georgia Baptists: Historical and Biographical*, H K Ellyson, Richmond, 1847, p. 13

¹³³ 1838, p. 24-25

baptized aged 22 did not begin preaching until a few years later. He travelled regularly from county Stafford to county Frederick, a distance of 70 miles and was instrumental in forming the Buck marsh church. 'His discourses were mostly of the hortatory character and it was said there does not seem to have been much depth of thought exhibited, and his style was far from accurate or beautiful.' He died from the pox aged 34.¹³⁴

As was shown in Table 22 (page 106) there was a perennial shortage of pastoral leaders. Generally, the number of ordained ministers accounted for about sixty per cent of the total number of churches. This meant ministers often held responsibility for more than one congregation. Churches could meet, depending on circumstances up to one month apart thus enabling ministers to move around various congregations. During the greater part of his ministry in Goochland County, Virginia Elder Reuben Ford had the charge of three or four churches and, in addition to this frequently extended his labours into other neighbourhoods preaching the gospel of Christ.¹³⁵

The story of Elder Jeremiah Dale (1787–1831) illustrates how arduous life could be. He was born in Danvers, Massachusetts and, aged eighteen following his conversion united with the Baptist church there. He had early 'impressions' it was his duty to preach the gospel but 'the want of education and, in his view, other requisite qualifications' deterred him from doing so. Instead he became a wheelwright. In 1816 he moved to Ohio and settled in Zanesville and in the space of several years was the subject of great personal tragedy. Within two years he had to bury his wife and two children and then later, his second wife, following which his large business shop was destroyed by fire. Finally, he lost his third wife and her child. In Zanesville he was elected and ordained a deacon and the church's pastor. Believing it was his duty to preach gradually introduced him to ministerial employment. Elder Dale was eventually ordained to the gospel ministry on 8 May 1825 and relinquished all worldly employment. It was said of him 'with a zeal and perseverance seldom equalled, he devoted himself and all his faculties to the work.'¹³⁶

Itinerant Baptist Preachers in Australia

The concept of the pastor of a local Baptist who left his congregation and regularly engaged in itinerant evangelistic preaching, whether intrastate or interstate was foreign to Australian

¹³⁴ 1838, p. 38-41

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1838, p. 54

¹³⁶ James B Taylor, *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers*, 1859, pp.9-16

Baptists. This was in part due to the fact that the First Great Awakening revival fired the religious zeal of eighteenth century American Baptist preachers. There was no similar Australian experience. The pattern of a minister's life was for a more 'settled' pastorate whereby men were called to a particular church and remained there until they resigned or accepted a call to another church whether intrastate or interstate.

Another factor was the relative remoteness of the population separated by prolonged distances with limited modes of transport. Horses or horse and buggies were not replaced by motor vehicles in New South Wales, at least, until 1923 and did not become more commonplace until much later. Bicycles were a compromise for short distances. Ships and railways were the most popular form of interstate travel. The only formal contact Baptists had with other colonies in the late nineteenth century was when one or two delegates attended the annual Assembly meetings of a sister colony. Introduced in the 1880s this only involved at its beginning New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia.

The sense of isolation often felt by country churches sometimes brought requests to colonial assembly meetings that city ministers be released to visit country churches on a regular basis. This was usually met with lack of interest or an unwillingness of city and suburban congregations to release their ministers to help overcome any shortage or to boost the morale of country churches. .

Attitudes to an educated Baptist ministry

In their attitudes to a theologically-educated clergy the major difference between the two countries was that some Baptists in America expressed their opposition against theological education itself rather than an educated clergy while Baptists in Australia were more suspicious of a university educated clergy and the damaging influence of modern trends in biblical criticism.

Any objections American Baptists showed concerning an educated Baptist clergy were against the necessity of theological education itself rather than with the importance of having an educated clergy. It was part of a broader opposition to what were termed benevolent societies, that is, organisations established to conduct Christian missions or activities in various forms such as Sunday schools, Bible Societies, educational colleges or temperance societies. In short, there was an objection to any institution not specifically mentioned in the Bible. This first became apparent around 1820 in some of the frontier states. While its origins are attributed to the persuasive arguments of three individuals it did result in local congregations and in turn local associations

being swayed by these seductive arguments. This caused deep divisions but it also demonstrates how unsophisticated Baptists were able to be seduced in such a way. In Virginia, for example, as late as 1845 twelve of the thirty-four associations were aggressively anti-mission.

The three chief protagonists of the anti-mission movement were John Taylor (1752–1833), Daniel Parker (1781–1844) and Alexander Campbell (1788–1866).¹³⁷ John Mason Peck, the father of American home missions on the frontier, who once encountered Parker described him as antinomian in doctrine who believed himself so inspired to persuade others. He was ‘one of those singular and extraordinary beings whom divine Providence permits to arise as a scourge to his church and a stumbling block in the way of religious effort.’

With a zeal and an enthusiasm bordering on insanity, firmness that amounted to obstinacy and perseverance that would have done honour to a good cause, Daniel Parker exerted himself to the utmost to induce churches to declare non-fellowship with all Baptists who united themselves with any of the benevolent (or as he called them (“new-fangled”) societies.¹³⁸

Parker was born in Culpepper County, Virginia but reared in Georgia ‘amid extreme poverty and ignorance’, baptized in 1802 and then licensed shortly thereafter. In 1803 he moved to Trumbull church in Tennessee and was ordained there in 1806. In 1817 he moved to south eastern Illinois. Parker propounded the idea of a ‘Two Seed’ theory that claimed that though God created all yet the Devil begat a part of mankind that those begotten of him were his bona fide children. Sending them the gospel and giving them the Bible were acts of such gross and supreme folly that no Christian should be engaged in them. On the other hand he taught the remaining portion of the human family were the actual sons of God from eternity and being allied to Jesus Christ were no less than ‘particles’ of his body, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, to be taken to mansions prepared for them in bliss. As such all had been decided, Parker contended, therefore the Lord had very little use for the Bible or Missionary Societies.¹³⁹ Its adherents believed that conversion was God’s task alone and mission societies and conventions were mere human inventions so that missionaries were mere hirelings.¹⁴⁰ Says William Warren Sweet:

Generally the anti-mission Baptists were ultra-Calvinistic in doctrine, were opposed to academic or theological education for the ministry,

¹³⁷ William Dudley Nowlin, *Kentucky Baptists 1770 – 1922*, p. 103-112 (rpt.)

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 106-107

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 105-106

¹⁴⁰ H Leon McBeth, *op. cit.*, p. 371

and were hostile to all societies for the promotion of the spiritual and social welfare of mankind.¹⁴¹

Their teaching was that God in his own time and in his own way would bring the elect to repentance and faith and therefore any effort on the part of mankind to assist in this endeavour was not only presumptuous but wicked. Sweet noted this movement was a Baptist phenomenon and did not appear in the other frontier Churches such as the Methodists and Presbyterians.¹⁴² This may be because Presbyterians had a long tradition of an educated clergy and for Methodists there was the oversight of a Superintendent. The congregational polity of Baptists meant there was no one to appeal to with the authority to intervene.

Sweet adduced three reasons for the prevalence of this anti-mission movement. The first reason was objection to the centralization of authority. The creation of missionary societies with an officer, who held authority to send men here and there, was to some a contradiction of firmly-held Baptist principles. A second opposition was to an educated and paid ministry. The missionaries who came from the east were far better educated men than the farmer-preachers of the frontier and they were paid for their services. As a consequence they were accused by the unpaid preachers of working for the money they received. Third, John Mason Peck claimed sheer selfishness as one of the motives among a certain class of preachers. This class 'knew their own deficiencies when contrasted with others, but instead of rejoicing that the Lord had provided better gifts to promote the cause, they felt the irritability of wounded pride, common to narrow and weak minds.' Finally, the argument that found the greatest acceptance on the frontier was based on the proposition that missionary societies and all other man-made organizations were contrary to the Scriptures. This was the chief argument of Alexander Campbell.¹⁴³

In September 1843 John Mason Peck prepared a Table of Baptist Associations that was opposed to missions and similar institutions. The following Table shows the number according to region.

¹⁴¹ William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier: The Baptists 1783-1830*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1931, p. 67

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier: The Baptists 1783-1830.*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1931, pp. 74-75

Table 23: Number of Anti-Mission Baptist Churches, Ministers, Baptisms and Church Members in 1842 according to Region

Region	Associations	Churches	Ministers	Baptisms	Members
North	10	99	56	44	3,456
Southern States					
Virginia	8	80	34	17	4,829
N Carolina	10	186	80	214	6,805
S Carolina	2	11	5	2	250
Georgia	11	174	84	278	6,406
Total	31	451	203	511	18,290
Frontier States - South					
Alabama	12	179	86	173	6,417
Arkansas	3	10	6	8	140
Kentucky	14	178	81	372	6,647
Mississippi	3	24	9	44	792
Missouri	7	74	47	255	2,495
Tennessee	18	260	146	243	9,325
Total	57	725	375	1,095	25,816
Frontier States West					
Illinois	14	156	93	226	4,241
Indiana	10	129	67	290	5,218
Iowa	4	8	9	6	168
Ohio	10	134	62	130	4,125
Total	38	427	231	652	13,752
Grand Total	136	1,702	865	2,302	61,314

Source: *The Almanac and Baptist Register 1844*, pp. 27-30

This Table clearly shows how relatively little the New England and middle states appear to have been influenced by the anti-mission movement. The state in which it had its most impact was Tennessee although North Carolina, Kentucky, Alabama and Georgia were all deeply affected. This total of 136 associations represented just over one-quarter (26.10 per cent) of the total number of associations (521), 19.92 per cent of the total number of churches (8,546) but the 61,314 church members only represented 9.70 per cent of the total number of Regular Baptists (632,208). This indicates these associations were probably relatively small in number.

There was no such anti-mission movement in Australia. Differences of opinion existed in the early decades of the denomination in different colonies but when colonial associations were constituted theological controversies never became part of the usual assembly forums. There was never any deep antipathy to an educated clergy when there were so many English-born and educated ministers.

The Education of African Americans in Post-Civil War Period

The end of the Civil War brought an immediate flurry of activity in providing for the educational needs of 'freedmen' (as they were referred to) in the devastated South.

Seven colleges, institutes or seminaries were established between 1865 and 1870 by either the American Baptist Home Mission Society (Raleigh Institute, North Carolina (1865), Wayland Seminary, Washington, DC (1865) or Northern Baptists Benedict College, South Carolina (1870) and Augusta Institute, Georgia. By 1873 it was claimed 831 pupils were in attendance.

Conclusion

The circumstances in which the Baptist ministry developed in both countries was vastly different. In America it evolved from the suddenness of the First Great Awakening, shaped by the paucity of educational provisions in the South, prevailing attitudes to a remunerated clergy and the very limited provisions for theological training. But by the nineteenth century with greater organisation and changing attitudes the lot of a Baptist preacher improved remarkably. In Australia there was an enduring desire to retain every semblance of their British past and a pattern of ministry that was distinctly English in character. In changed circumstances, however, with a small and scattered constituency there were difficulties to overcome in the provision of theological training with many potential Baptist ministers impeded by their limited educational achievements.

Chapter 4 – The Churches

A nineteenth century American frontier Catholic priest, possibly from Missouri, expressed his admiration of Baptists in this observation:

The Baptists don't have a Pope, and nobody is in charge, and they seem to be going in all directions at once with no one knowing what anyone else is doing. And then, one day, you wake up to see that there is a Baptist at every corner, a Baptist behind every tree, a Baptist church or school on every hilltop. And they all seem to work together somehow. I don't understand at all how it happens unless God is in it somewhere.¹

By 1872 Baptists might indeed have concluded that God was in there somewhere. There was now a total of 19,620 Baptist churches scattered throughout 47 states and territories even if, as shown in Table 14, in the newly-emerging western states there were only a mere handful. If the year 1740 is used as the starting-point for assessing the impact of the First Great Awakening upon Baptists this means that in the ensuing 132 years the number of Baptist churches grew on average at the rate of nearly 150 per year.² The states where Baptist churches were most numerous were the Confederate states of the American Civil War and where there was a large African-American population. At the 1860 census, over 97 per cent of the slave population resided in these states. In 1872 there were eight states with more than one thousand Baptist churches and in one state, Georgia there existed more than two thousand. The states with the highest number of churches were Alabama (1,162), Georgia (2,107), Kentucky (1,146), Mississippi (1,132), Missouri (1,309), North Carolina (1,284), Tennessee (1,096) and Virginia (1,053). The next most populous was Illinois where there was never a slave population, with 997 churches.

Table 24: Number of Baptist Churches in America in 1792, 1812, 1832, 1852 and 1872

State/Territory	1792	1812	1832	1852	1872
Alabama			250	579	1,162
Arkansas			17	129	763
California				3	82
Colorado					13
Connecticut	61	66	92	115	118
Dakota					10
Delaware	8	9	6	2	9
Dist. Columbia			5	5	21
Florida				73	183

¹ J Kingsley Gordon, *Frontiers: The Story of the Missouri Baptist Convention*, Missouri Baptist Historical Commission, Missouri City, 1983, p. 29

² The average rate is 148.14 per year.

State/Territory	1792	1812	1832	1852	1872
Georgia	60	143	509	847	2,107
Idaho					1
Illinois			161	378	997
Indiana		26	299	451	541
Indian Territory					46
Iowa				46	373
Kansas					186
Kentucky	57	263	484	797	1,146
Louisiana			16	114	391
Maine		112	222	287	268
Maryland	17	32	34	32	38
Massachusetts	120	109	189	249	277
Michigan			17	180	337
Minnesota				4	149
Mississippi		20	84	475	1,132
Missouri			146	439	1,309
Montana					1
Nebraska					70
Nevada					1
New Hampshire	33	44	90	96	85
New Jersey	30	21	61	106	166
New Mexico					1
New York	79	274	605	813	848
North Carolina	105	194	332	599	1,284
Ohio	1	84	280	448	591
Oregon				9	46
Pennsylvania	31	78	157	332	505
Rhode Island	41	37	39	51	61
South Carolina	74	156	273	437	644
Tennessee	17	173	413	496	1,096
Texas				125	895
Utah					1
Vermont	41	114	125	105	109
Virginia	225	283	435	608	1,053
Washington					11
West Virginia					319
Wisconsin				93	172
Wyoming					2
Totals	1,000	2,226	5,344	9,552	19,620

Sources: Robert G Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 21; *Baptist Annual Register*, 1832, p. 407; *American Baptist Register*, 1852; *American Baptist Year Book*, 1873, p. 83

Note (1): The source of the 1812 figures is unknown. It does not correspond with some accounts of individual states that indicate churches were already in existence (eg. Illinois)

In Australia the picture was vastly different. The number of churches by 1947 could only be numbered in hundreds. The reason this year was chosen was because it was a census year and

marks the end of a tumultuous period that included two World Wars and the Great Depression. From the 1950s Australia was greatly influenced by American culture, particularly through the media, and due to constraints this should be the subject of another study. This contrast with America could not have been starker although it should be noted that in America after their first century there were only 65 Baptist churches. By 1947, 112 years after the first Baptist church was constituted in Tasmania, there was only a total of 437 churches in the six states.

Table 25: Number of Baptist Churches in Australia in 1947 according to State

State	Number of Churches
Victoria	110
South Australia	89
New South Wales	133
Queensland	61
Tasmania	19
Western Australia	25
Total	437

Source: Compiled from various statistical returns and published histories – see Appendices 2 to 7

Purpose of chapter

The number of individual churches is one measurement of the growth and expansion of a denomination. The purpose of this chapter is to examine differences between the two countries concerning the origins and expansion of Baptist churches. It will be first argued Baptist churches in America originated because of a number of factors. Initially it was the individualistic efforts of itinerant Baptist preachers who organized new churches then later it became one of the functions of local associations, State Conventions and particularly the American Baptist Home Mission Society whose main interest was the opening up of the Frontier. By contrast in Australia, while there were instances of individuals initiating new causes, it generally required some form of central direction and involvement from a colony (later state) based association in the shape of a home mission society that provided inspiring leadership and direction, suitable experienced men and sufficient financial support, generally from benefactors.

In explaining why there were so many Baptist churches in America it will be argued there were four main forces at work. First, Americans generally and including Baptists were, for economic and social reasons, very mobile as evidenced in the internal emigration of the population. Baptists were among the first permanent settlers in many new areas which meant with their intense

evangelistic zeal many new churches were started and others joined these Baptist churches upon their conversion. Secondly, many states were relatively small in size and more closely settled compared to Australia making it easier for local churches to unite in associations and propagate their Baptist faith. Thirdly, there were parts of America, particularly in the South as evidenced in the 1850 and 1860 federal censuses, where Baptist and Methodist Churches were so dominant they faced little competition from other Churches. Fourthly, in the immediate post-Civil War period many African-Americans were attracted to Baptist churches in states where Baptist churches were so prevalent. The democratic form of Baptist church government where local congregations could determine their own affairs and the relative informality of Baptist worship that permitted traditional African music held great appeal.

Conversely, in Australia a range of factors militated against Baptist expansion largely as a result of the size of the Australian continent and its relatively small population. First, in the five mainland colonies displeasure was sometimes expressed at the lack of planning and innovation Baptists had demonstrated. Secondly, professed Baptists sometimes demonstrated their unwillingness to commit to their own denomination and joined other Churches where there was no Baptist church to attend. The third reason was their very small constituency and where and how they were going to originate new causes. A fourth reason was the competition Baptists faced from other Churches.

The origins of Baptist churches in America

Before embarking on an explanation for the growth and expansion of Baptist churches it would be helpful to know where Baptists were geographically located. The 1850 federal census was the first occasion the number of churches was counted. When the country is divided into these five regions the number of Baptist churches and their percentage of the total are as follows:

Table 26: Number and Percentage of American Baptist Churches according to Region in 1850

Region	Baptist Churches (%)	Total Churches (%)
New England	1,107 (12.00)	4,575 (11.89)
Middle States	1,222 (13.24)	8,725 (22.66)
Southern States	2,606 (28.24)	8,135 (21.13)
Frontier States (South)	2,891 (31.33)	8,863 (23.02)
Frontier States (West)	1,402 (15.19)	8,199 (21.30)
Total	9,228 (100.00)	38,497 (100.00)

Source: University of Virginia Library, Historical Census Browser website

Notes (1): New England, Middle States and Southern States are the original thirteen Colonies with Maine and Vermont included in New England

(2): Frontier States (South) are as follows: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee and Texas

(3): Frontier States (West) are as follows: California, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota Territory, Ohio and Wisconsin

The above Table shows there was a fairly even distribution in the number of churches in all regions except New England. While the percentage of Baptist churches approximated that of the total number in New England, Baptist churches were under-represented in both the Middle States and in the Western Frontier States. However, they were over-represented in all the Southern parts of America to the extent of 15.42 per cent. Clearly, it was in these Southern States that Baptists dominated.

As has been stated before, there were only sixty-five Baptist churches in the whole of America in 1740 yet fifty years later this number had dramatically risen to 986. Almost one half of these were in the South (484) and 210 were in the colony of Virginia. In the post-colonial era this number continued to grow. Americans of this period usually spoke of organizing or constituting rather than forming or establishing new churches. This first preferred term often implied someone by their own personal involvement or actions bringing together or uniting a group of other believers to form a congregation. What also occurred was that church members were sometimes readily dismissed to form other churches in nearby areas

Churches constituted by itinerant Baptist preachers

The first reason for the huge number of Baptist churches was the multiple ways in which they either individually or collectively originated through associations, conventions or societies. Starting from the second half of the eighteenth century many new churches owed their existence to a select number of itinerant Baptist preachers who, fired by the First Great Awakening, traversed the countryside and found small settlements of inhabitants with little or no faith and preached the gospel to them. As their hearers responded to the message of hope they organized them into small churches. The Baptist historian Henry C. Vedder (1853–1935) has summed up the place of the Baptist preacher of this period:

But for the most part this evangelization was the work of men who were not sent forth, but went forth to preach in obedience to a divine call. Many Baptist preachers spent at least part of their lives, if not the whole of them, as itinerant preachers; and to their labours are due the growth of Baptist churches in the closing quarter of the eighteenth century.³

³ Henry C Vedder, *A Short History of the Baptists*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1897, p. 214

Some of these preachers went in pairs such as John Garrard and David Thomas ‘who was distinguished by a glowing and persevering zeal’⁴ or Samuel Harriss and James Read who travelled extensively throughout North Carolina and Virginia baptising seventy-five and more than two hundred persons on two journeys.⁵ Some of these itinerant preachers like Harriss and Read were responsible for the conversion of others who in turn became itinerant preachers. Elder Reuben Ford (b. ca 1742) was converted aged nineteen under the preaching of George Whitefield but was only baptized after hearing Elders Harriss and Read and became attached to a Baptist church. Preaching led to his being ordained and he embarked on a preaching mission in Goochland County (Virginia) that led to the constitution of the Goochland church in 1771 with about 75 members and with Ford as its first pastor. In 1773 several members were dismissed by this church to neighbouring Dover where another church was constituted. In the ensuing years three other churches owed their existence to Goochland: Chicahominy and Licking Hole (1776), and Hopeful (1807).⁶

The exploits of these preachers is another example of the strong sense of individualism that marked American Baptists of this era. There were many Baptist preachers as shown in the previous chapter who of their own volition and with great evangelistic zeal engaged in an itinerant ministry throughout parts of Virginia or in other neighbouring colonies. They lived a life of exposure to the elements. As one preacher wrote in 1805:

Every day I travel I have to swim through creeks or swamps, and I am wet from head to feet and some days from morning to night I am dripping with water...I have rheumatism in all my joints... What I have suffered in body and mind my pen is not able to communicate to you. But this I can say: While my body is wet with water and chilled with cold my soul is filled with heavenly fire, and I can say with St Paul: ‘But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy’.⁷

American Baptists and Home Missions

Home mission activity began early in the nineteenth century. For American Baptists it was part of a broader interest in missions that began in the last decade of the eighteenth century. In Massachusetts in the closing decade of the eighteenth century Baptists and Congregationalists

⁴ James B Taylor, *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers*, 1838, p. 23

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶ James B Taylor, *op. cit.*, 1838, pp. 53-56

⁷ Henry C Vedder, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217

joined together in what were known as ‘union societies’ to send preachers, often one from each denomination, to destitute communities for a few weeks or a few months. The Baptist, the Rev. David Irish, was known to have done this making his way to the frontier settlements in New York State in 1794.⁸

American Baptist church life became progressively organised throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1800 there were only a total of forty-eight local associations, the nucleus of collective denominational life, and thirty-one of these were located in the South, most of them in Virginia.⁹ As local associations grew steadily in numbers state conventions did not exist until the 1820s and 1830s, the first of these being South Carolina in 1821. The first missionary organisation, the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, was founded in 1802 and others in New England states soon followed: Maine (1804), Connecticut (1811) and the New Hampshire Baptist Domestic Missionary Society (1819). Baptists of Rhode Island co-operated with the Massachusetts Society from its inception.¹⁰ Some of these societies formed auxiliaries such as the New Hampshire Female Missionary Society. The General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination of the United States of America for Foreign Missions (generally referred to as the Triennial Convention as it met each three years) existed from 1814. The American Baptist Home Mission Society did not appear until 1832.

Another impulse that ultimately led to participation in home missions was the interest of Americans in the English Particular Baptist minister, missionary, translator and educationalist William Carey (1761–1834) of Northamptonshire after he penned his essay *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*. This led him with others to form the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792 and his departure for India the following year. In America Carey’s exploits fired the imagination leading to two Congregationalist ministers Adoniram Judson (1788–1850) and Luther Rice (1783–1836), both from Massachusetts, to leave America on 18 February 1812 and travel to Burma. Sailing en route to India Judson studied the subject of baptism causing him to change his views and so became a Baptist, both he and Rice submitting to baptism by Carey’s associate William Ward (1769–1823) in Calcutta following their arrival in India.

⁸ W H Eaton, *Historical Sketch of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society and Convention 1802-1902*, Massachusetts Baptist Convention, Boston, 1903, p. 6

⁹ John T Christian, *A History of the Baptists of the United States: From the First Settlement of the Country to the year 1845*, Broadman Press, Nashville, 1926, p. 150

¹⁰ Albert Henry Newman, *A Century of Achievement*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1901, p. 62

While Judson travelled on to Burma Rice returned to America, cut his ties with the Congregational Church and embarked on an extensive tour of America to unite Baptists in the awareness of and support for foreign missions. His tireless efforts resulted in 1814 in the organization of the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions, otherwise known as the Triennial Convention. Luther Rice devoted the remainder of his life to garnering support for overseas missions but in its early years the Triennial Convention was broadening its outlook to include home missions with the appointment as its agent in 1817 of John Mason Peck later to become the highly-esteemed ‘father of Home Missions’ in America and founder of the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

Other pioneers in this form of home missionary activity were local associations such as Philadelphia and Warren but most notably Shaftsbury in Western Massachusetts which sent ministers every year in the eight years before the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society was organized, to New York, New Hampshire, Vermont and Canada, money for their expenses being secured from collections at the annual meeting of the association.¹¹

The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society formed at the First Baptist church Boston on 26 May 1802 restricted membership to those who annually paid one dollar to the Society’s funds. Article IV of the Constitution stated the object of the Society was ‘to furnish occasional preaching and to promote the knowledge of evangelistic truth in the new settlements within these United States; or further if circumstances should render it proper.’¹²

At the first annual meeting of the Society in 1803 attempts were first made to introduce a missionary magazine that finally appeared in 1816. The value of women in fundraising was quickly established in that in the following year thanks were offered for financial support from female friends of Medfield and Dover and from the female society in Boston for a contribution of \$132-84.¹³ The following year reference was made to the multiplication of contributing ladies’ societies.¹⁴ From 1816 funds also came from children known as ‘mite societies’ and it was thought appropriate these monies should be used for Sunday schools in destitute parts.¹⁵

¹¹ *Ibid*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 9

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 18, 28

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28

It is evident the concept of organized domestic missions was new to American Churches. At the 1804 annual meeting of the Society fraternal greetings were received from the Presbyterian Assembly that had just met in Philadelphia who were also embarking on home missions and eager to know, among other things, what Baptists were attempting, what their prospects were and what advice could they give to their Presbyterian brethren. They indicated they had identified four types of Christian engagement: those who are settled on our frontier, settled parts where the gospel had not been regularly established, the black people of the United States and Indians.¹⁶

By 1807 not only had the Society \$2,000 in hand and churches were fast becoming imbued with the missionary spirit but a Society had begun in New York leading both Societies to jointly initiate a mission to the Tuscarora Indians.¹⁷ In 1810 the Society took a new departure in domestic missions by apportioning funds for the support of pastors of churches.¹⁸ In 1814 the term 'home mission' was first used, coincidentally the same year the Triennial Convention was organized to stimulate foreign missions. At that time there was a marked scarcity of available men for missionary service and letters were sent to prominent ministers in several states enquiring if there were any men in neighbouring areas 'qualified and disposed to engage in the service of our home mission.'¹⁹

State Conventions and Home Missions

State conventions, the union of individual churches in each state, first appeared with the New York and South Carolina state convention in 1821 and thereafter there was a rapid growth in numbers in the ensuing decades. Perhaps the greatest issue facing any local association and state conventions were the number of churches bereft of any pastoral leadership. One of the defined objects of state conventions was the organization of new churches, and assistance to, of what were described as 'feeble churches' or 'destitute churches.' The first published account detailing the activities of state conventions was the *Baptist Triennial Register* of 1836 where fourteen states were listed that included the number of destitute churches. Nearly all were the original thirteen colonies. It showed that 1,310 or just over one-third (36.95%) in a total of 3,545 churches were registered as destitute. Another way of looking at the deficiency of ordained ministers is that for the same year there were 3,449 ordained ministers and 790 licensed preachers for a total of 6,449 churches. This meant just over half the number of churches was without regular pastoral

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26,27

leadership. This deficiency was usually overcome by congregations only meeting on a monthly basis and some ordained men being responsible for multiple churches.

One of the objects of the Massachusetts Baptist Convention was ‘to aid feeble churches and to furnish missionaries to destitute places within the limits of the state.’²⁰ Massachusetts was unique in that the Massachusetts Baptist Mission Society (1802) amalgamated with the Massachusetts Baptist Convention in 1834. There were three stated objectives: first, aid in the form of finance and counsel to ensure the continued existence and prosperity of feeble churches as stated before, for which 200 churches had been identified. Second, the continued support of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society for which the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society had been an auxiliary and third, the sending forth of well-qualified and pious teachers to the West.²¹

The number of home missionaries employed as advised in the *Register* is indicated in Table 27.

Table 27: Number of home missionaries employed by various state conventions as at 1836

New Hampshire (1826)	- one permanent, fourteen part-time
Vermont (1825)	- seven or eight
New York (1821)	- 46, four in Pennsylvania
New Jersey (1829)	- six
Pennsylvania (1827)	- 25
Virginia (1823)	- 12
Tennessee (1833)	- 10
Ohio (1826)	- 17

Source: *Triennial Baptist Register* No 2, 1836

Note: The year in brackets indicates date of formation

The American Baptist Home Missionary Society

It has been said the formation of the American Baptist Home Mission Society (hereafter ABHMS) in 1832 completed the trilogy of Baptist benevolent societies. The first was concerned with foreign missions (the Triennial Convention of 1814) and the second, the American Baptist Publication Society (1824).²²

²⁰ *Triennial Baptist Register*, No.2, 1836, p. 99

²¹ *Ibid*

²² H Leon McBeth, *op. cit.*, p. 365

The ABHMS had its origins in the Triennial Convention which in its first annual report in 1815 referred to the 'native tribes in the West' and that 'something should be done for these unhappy natives.'²³ This led to the appointment of John Mason Peck and James Ely Welch (1789–1864) to the Missouri Territory in 1817.²⁴ However the Convention discontinued home mission work because of a shortage of adequate funding, an assumed belief the region would be supplied with preachers from the original colonies and thirdly, opposition in the West by anti-mission elements.²⁵ Peck objected to this decision and resigned and was for a time partially supported by the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society (1802). In 1826 Peck returned to the East to try and convince Baptists of the imperativeness of home missions. Coincidentally the Triennial Convention voted that same year that 'if they [Baptists] desire to give for missions at home, let a Home Mission Society be formed.'²⁶

John Mason Peck

John Mason Peck was born in Litchfield, Connecticut in 1789 and after his conversion at the age of eighteen he joined the Congregational Church. In 1811 he moved with his wife to Windham, New York where following a careful study of the Bible he became a Baptist. Soon after he was licensed to preach and during the following year was ordained to the ministry. While he only ever had one brief pastorate he was essentially a missionary to fellow-Americans. In 1817 the Triennial Convention commissioned him to be a missionary to the region west of the Mississippi. The rigours of constant travel, says Henry Vedder, though he had a constitution of iron made an old man of him by the time he was fifty.²⁷ During his first three years he organized several churches, secured the establishment of fifty schools, introduced a system of itinerant missions, projected a college and supported Rev. Isaac McCoy, the missionary to the Indians. While he had to contend with poverty, ignorance and irreligion he also had to counter the virulent opposition of anti-mission Baptists.²⁸

Peck exemplified the indefatigable, energetic itinerant missionary. His journal contains such entries:

On this route I have rode 302 miles. This is a circuit suitable for an

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 366

²⁴ R S Duncan, *A History of the Baptists in Missouri*, Scammell and Company, St Louis, 1882, pp. 94 -104

²⁵ H Leon McBeth, *op. cit.*, p. 366f ; Rufus D Babcock, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life: Memoir of John Mason Peck DD*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1864, p. 166

²⁶ H L McBeth, *ibid.*, p. 367

²⁷ Henry C Vedder, *A Short History of the Baptists*, American Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 325

²⁸ Rufus Babcock, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life: Memoir of John Mason Peck DD*, American Baptist Publishing Society, Philadelphia, 1864

active missionary in this country to ride over in one month, and preach thirty times, besides attending to keeping alive Bible societies, Sunday-schools and looking well to the discipline of the churches.²⁹

These allocated 'circuits' were quite expansive. One man was given a district 'about as large as the State of Massachusetts' and another, 'a tract of country, thinly populated but equal in extent to the size of Connecticut.'³⁰

In a bold strategic move Peck enlisted the support of Dr Jonathon Going, the influential pastor from Worcester, Massachusetts to join him in touring the West. The two men travelled by buggy through Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. They saw countless frontier families with no faith, no Bibles and no opportunities to hear the gospel. There were small churches with no pastor and no hope of obtaining one. On the other hand there were overstretched pastors attempting to serve four to six churches at once. At the same time most pastors in the West were bi-vocational, needing to support a family and only able to give very limited time to preaching and pastoral duties. In many cases worship services were held only once a month.

Peck and Going sought the cooperation and assistance of influential Baptist leaders in the East and called a meeting for April 1832 to consider forming a Society. Delegates from fourteen states and one territory met in New York and unanimously agreed to form the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The stated great objective of the Society enshrined in its constitution 'shall be to promote the preaching of the gospel in North America.' The field was inclusive but the initial concentration would be 'more especially the valley of the Mississippi.'³¹

The Society was aided by the fact that during the 1830s those in the East became more concerned about spiritual conditions in the West. The famous Presbyterian minister, Lyman Beecher (1775-1863) had issued in 1833 his 'Plea for the West' that had jolted all denominations and provided a stimulus for home mission work.

The pioneering spirit of these early Baptists and the rigours they were prepared to undergo are exemplified in the origins of Baptist work in Chicago. Dr. John T. Temple with wife and four

²⁹ Austen Kennedy De Blois and Lemuel Call Barnes, *John Mason Peck and One Hundred Years of Home Missions 1817 – 1917*, American Baptist Home Mission Society, New York, 1917, p. 72

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73

³¹ H Leon McBeth, *op. cit.*, p. 368

children were the first Baptists to reach Chicago about 4 July 1833. He corresponded with the ABHMS to arrange for a missionary to be sent there. As a result the first Baptist church was organized by the Rev. Allen B. Freeman on 19 October 1833 with 19 church members. It is estimated there were about 25 Baptists in Chicago when this occurred.³² Freeman arrived in Chicago on 16 August 1833 with his wife. On arrival he preached at Rev. Jeremiah Porter's congregation at Blackstone's Grove 28 miles south of Chicago. Both men preached once a month to congregations in some distant village. Freeman who was a graduate of Hamilton Theological Seminary organized four other churches in neighbouring districts. Returning from one of these churches at Along Grove 50 miles south of Chicago in December 1834 his horse took sick eighteen miles from home. He watched over the horse for two nights and one day until it died. He was then forced to walk the remainder of the journey but was overcome by exposure and exertion and contracted typhoid fever. As a result he died ten days later on 15 December 1834.³³

An analysis of the annual reports of the ABHMS as Table 23 reveals, show the varied range of activities of the home missionary and a fastidious attitude to recordkeeping.

Table 28: Annual Statistics for Home Missionaries of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1835 to 1870

Year	Missionaries & Agents	States	Stations	Baptisms	Churches Formed	Ministers Ordained	Sermons Preached
1835	96						
1846	99	20	300	818	51	32	
1848	140	19	505	490	29	25	11,896
1850	134	18	453	774	45	27	13,669
1851	118	12	338	949	33	30	11,432
1852	140	11	386	981	33	37	13,341
1853	157	10	380	1,187	46	27	14,068
1857	122	15	196	542	21	15	11,269
1858	95		211	336	24	17	8,442
1859	99		247	593	27	17	10,222
1863	90	14	252	473	30	28	
1864	87	14	215	501	17	16	7,208
1865	135	26	722	892	36		12,522
1866	246				50		17,268
1867	265	37		4,151	89		22,558
1870	276				64		24,337

³² Alfred T Andreas, *History of Chicago*, Volume 1, 1884, Arno Press, New York, 1975, pp. 315-316

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 316

	Pastoral Visits	Prayer Meetings	Churches Completed	Churches Commenced	Temperance Signatures	Miles Travelled
1846			7	24		
1848	23,938		10	26	1,927	111,969
1850	27,027		7	19	1,082	113,981
1851	23,517	7,440	6	7	1,177	100,422
1852	28,377	8,248	15	10	1,500	95,937
1853	22,578	8,049	11	19	1,084	113,057
1857	24,060	6,403	9	4	171	137,220
1858	21,769	4,982	8	8		98,167
1859	23,377	7,040	12	17		114,777
1863			3	6		
1864	12,248	4,338				58,187
1865	26,036					
1866	51,099					
1867	56,778	12,792				
1870	55,702	14,928	71			

Sources: I M Allen, *The Triennial Baptist Register – No 2*, 1836, p. 51-52; *The Baptist Almanac and Register 1846*, p. 31; *The Almanac and Baptist Register 1848*, p. 30; *The Baptist Almanac 1851*, p. 40; *The Baptist Almanac, 1852*, p. 40; *The Baptist Almanac 1853*, p. 38; *American Baptist Almanac 1857*, p. 33; *American Baptist Almanac 1858*, p. 34; *American Baptist Almanac 1859*, p. 34; *American Baptist Almanac 1863*, p. 35; *American Baptist Almanac 1864*, p. 35; *American Baptist Almanac 1865*, p. 35; *American Baptist Almanac 1866*, p. 39; *American Baptist Almanac 1867*, p. 32; *American Baptist Year-Book 1868*, p. 11-14; *American Baptist Year-Book 1870*, p. 9

Notes: (1) For some years no information was supplied for some categories

(2) No information given in *The Almanac and Baptist Register* for the years 1841 – 1845, 1847, 1849, 1854-1856, and 1860-1862.

(3) In 1867 there were 265 missionaries and 62 assistants and 182 of these were new appointments.

(3) In 1867 for the first time 6,550 persons were added to the church.

The comprehensiveness of the information provided, despite the gaps and changes in the nature of the information gathered, shows the extent to which home missionaries were employed by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. It is evident each missionary and agent was required to keep a detailed record of their activities. Their activities were sometimes quaintly measured by that of one person so in 1835, for instance, the amount of work performed by the 96 missionaries was the equivalent of one person working for 68 years and five months.

In the annual report that appeared in the *Baptist Almanac and Register for 1846* it was recorded that for the period April 1844 to April 1845 state conventions, general associations and other auxiliaries reported 260 missionaries and agents employed; 1,435 converts baptized; 69 churches organized and 47 ministers ordained. In addition it was curiously mentioned that since the Society was formed missionaries had performed upwards of 800 years labour, baptized 14,424

converts, organized 531 churches and aided in ordaining 215 ministers.³⁴ This means there was an overlap in the functions of local associations, state conventions or general associations and the American Baptist Home Mission Societies. With each the area of work and influence expanded.

In the 1870 annual report it was noted that in the previous six years annual receipts had totalled less than \$36,000. In the past year, however, more than \$144,000 had been received. It was noted for the year ended 31 March 1860 only churches and individuals from nineteen States and Territories had contributed to the funds of the Society whereas in the year just ended this income had come from 32 States and Territories. The Society was not afraid of indebtedness in its eagerness to support the building of meeting-houses and pay as large a number of missionaries as possible. The money raised this last year repaid a loan of \$21,000. The report also stated how the work in the South, in those states where slavery formerly existed, was being prosecuted with energy and success. The destitution was considered appalling and not only among the recently emancipated. The Board of the Society was of the opinion that states of the great West and Northwest which have been for so long so largely aided by the Society, and which have grown so rapidly in wealth, in population and in power should now be called upon to ask less and help more. If this was done the Society believed it could carry the peace and healing of the gospel with great rapidity into all that South land.³⁵

At the 38th annual meeting of the Society held in Philadelphia in May 1870 the achievements of the first thirty years of the Society's existence was reported. It showed over that period of time 2,947 missionaries had been commissioned. These missionaries had preached 254,954 sermons, conducted 27,911 baptisms, organized 1,242 believers into Baptist churches, arranged the ordination of 679 to the gospel ministry as well as assisting in the building of several hundred meeting-houses, supervising the instruction of 273,276 in Sunday schools and collecting funds for home and foreign missions.³⁶

American approaches to fundraising

It is evident Baptists in America adopted an innovative approach to fundraising that extended to other institutions. The first published information we have confirming this is the *Triennial Baptist*

³⁴ *Baptist Almanac and Register*, 1846, p. 31

³⁵ *American Baptist Year-Book*, 1870, p. 9

³⁶ *American Baptist Year-Book*, 1871, p. 9

Register 1836. The Constitution of the ABHMS allowed anyone to become a member of the Society who contributed annually to its funds. A person could become a Life Member on payment of \$30 and a Life Director for \$100. The latter constituted part of a selection committee to select those who would manage the Society's affairs.³⁷ There was a similar arrangement for the Baptist General Tract Society (1824). Membership was open to all who paid one dollar annually and Life Membership (\$10) and Life Directorship (\$25) were also available.³⁸ There was never any similar scheme devised by any Australian Baptist colonies.

It is clear there were significant differences in the total sums received for foreign and home missions. In 1851, for example, foreign missions received \$104,837 and home missions \$30,369. Figures were not often published but two years later the respective totals were \$124,211 and \$42,984. Interestingly, the American Baptist Missionary Union received annually from the US Government \$4,000 'for the civilisation of the Indians.'³⁹ The Missionary Union had 2,530 Life Members and the ABHMS 1,884. The number of Life Directors for the Missionary Union was not stated but there were 291 who supported the ABHMS.⁴⁰

The gap between foreign and home missions is further illustrated in the giving of the Connecticut State Convention. In 1851 foreign missions received \$5,115 state missions \$1,677, while home missions (the ABHMS) received only \$775.⁴¹ This may have been due to the attraction of the Vinton family where three generations were missionaries working principally among the Karen people in Burma. In the following year the respective figures were \$3,867, \$1,420 and \$1,712.⁴² In both years the Bible Society received respectively \$721 and \$529.

The greater attraction of foreign missions may have been due to its longer establishment, its greater romantic or wider appeal of reaching the so-called 'heathen', or because of better organisation. At the jubilee celebration of foreign missions in 1864 it was acknowledged there was a correlation between the two organisations in the support given. In an address *The Reflex*

³⁷ *Triennial Baptist Register No 2 1836*, p. 51

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49

³⁹ *The Baptist Almanac*, 1853, p. 38

⁴⁰ *The Baptist Almanac*, 1851, p. 40

⁴¹ Philip S Evans, *History of Connecticut State Convention 1823-1907*, Press of the Smith-Kingsley Company, Hartford, 1909, p. 69

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 71

Influence of Foreign missions Dr. Berley observed: ‘The habit of giving abroad has encouraged giving for feeble churches and for the destitute at home.’⁴³

Conclusion

The extensive work and travel of these highly-motivated agents of the American Baptist Home Mission Society and their wide-ranging tasks illustrates the devotion and level of commitment they showed.

Baptists among the First Settlers on the Frontier

The second reason for the proliferation of Baptist churches throughout American states and territories is explained by the mobility of Baptists and their willingness to migrate to new areas with the opening of the frontier. The Methodist historian, William Warren Sweet, summed up the movement of Baptists this way:

In fact, in most instances Baptists were first on the ground in the Western settlements for the preachers came with the settlers and the formation of a church was a comparatively simple matter.⁴⁴

This may be illustrated by Baptist beginnings in these States that originated at the end of the colonial era or later.

Table 29: Year of Origin of first Baptist Church, first Association and when declared Territory and joined Union

State	First Baptists	First Church	First Association	Declared Territory	Joined Union
Alabama	1808	1808	1814	1817	1819
Arkansas		1824	1827	1819	1836
Illinois		1796	1807	1809	1818
Indiana		1802	1809	1800	1816
Iowa		1834	1838	1838	1846
Kentucky		1781	1785	-	1792
Louisiana		1812	1818	1803	1812
Michigan		1822	1826	1805	1837
Mississippi		1780	1806	1798	1817
Missouri		1805	1816	1803	1821
Tennessee		1780	1786	1789	1796
Texas		1835	1840	1836	1845

Notes (1): Kentucky was never declared a Territory.

⁴³ *The Baptist Almanac*, 1865, p. 19.

⁴⁴ Quoted by J S Rogers, *History of Arkansas Baptists*, Arkansas Baptist State Convention, Little Rock, 1948, p. 89

- (2): The year of the first Baptist church in Tennessee is unknown but became extinct due to Indian attacks in 1774 – the first church in Middle Tennessee began in 1786
 (3) Texas was declared a republic in 1836 and agreed to join the Union in 1845

The above list shows that the first Baptist church appeared very early in each State's history, sometimes before it was even declared a Territory. Kentucky was first explored by the legendary frontiersman Daniel Boone (1734–1820) and his brother Squire, a Quaker turned Baptist preacher in 1775.⁴⁵ Sometimes what most delayed the entry of Baptists was that some states were initially under foreign control such as Spain or were occupied by hostile Indian tribes, thus making it difficult for Baptists to permanently settle or in some cases continue their witness. What Sweet says about Baptist settlers and preachers is borne out in the case of Alabama. In 1802 the United States purchased the land west of the Chattahoochee River and two years later what was the Mississippi Territory was enlarged to later become both Alabama and Mississippi. It was heavily populated by Indians in the centre but the first recorded Baptist preacher in the northern part was John Nicholson who went to Alabama in 1808 and organized the first church, Flint River, in a private home on 1 October 1808. In the south the first recorded preacher was William Cochrane from Georgia who began in 1809. He was joined by three evangelists James Courtney, Joseph McGree and Jacob Parker. While the latter two went further away Courtney confined himself to the Choctaw and Clarke Counties and on 31 March 1809 organized the Bassett Creek church and about the same time McGree and Parker organized Oaktuppa church in Sumter County.⁴⁶ There was a surge in immigration from about 1815 to 1820 and by 1932, the first year figures are available, there were 250 Baptist churches.⁴⁷

There are many instances that may be cited of the early entry of Baptists into new areas. This was often accompanied by zealous itinerant Baptist preachers. Baptists were also the first Protestants to enter Illinois. In 1855 John Mason Peck wrote that, beginning in 1796, seven churches were constituted in Illinois but all were now extinct and the oldest was now Bethel Baptist church. Formerly known as Cantine Creek it was constituted in 1809 and was the oldest religious society in Illinois except for French Catholics.⁴⁸ By 1832 there were already 161 Baptist churches in this state.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Frank M Masters, *A History of Baptists in Kentucky*, Kentucky Baptist Historical Society, Louisville, 1953, p. 1-9

⁴⁶ David E Gregg, "Baptist Migration into Alabama", baptisthistoryhomepage.com/al.early.baptists.gregg

⁴⁷ 1832 – number of churches in Alabama

⁴⁸ B Manly (ed.), *American Baptist Memorial: A Statistical, Biographical and Historical Magazine*, Vol. XV, H K Ellyson, Richmond, Va., 1856, p. 232

⁴⁹ 1832 – number of churches in Illinois

Baptist origins in Mississippi illustrate the opposition sometimes faced by these early Baptists. The first Baptist church in Mississippi was constituted in 1780 but the second did not originate until 1797. Mississippi was under the control of Spanish authorities who were hostile to non-Catholics so it was not until 1797 when the Territory was ceded to the United States that the second church was constituted.⁵⁰

There were Baptists in Eastern Tennessee soon after 1765 and two churches were apparently organized but were driven out by the Indians in 1774. About 1780 a large number of Baptists with eight or ten ministers migrated from Virginia and North Carolina to the Holston county in Eastern Tennessee. There was also a colony that came from the original Sandy Creek church in North Carolina so by 1781 there were five or six churches. They thought they should meet together in conference twice a year even though they were members of the Sandy Creek Association so by 1786 they had formed their own Holston Association.

The Cumberland region of Middle Tennessee began to be settled in 1780 and it is probable some Baptists were in the company of three hundred led by General James Robertson (1742-1814), a onetime explorer with Daniel Boone. In 1791 Ambrose Dudley (1750-1825) and John Taylor (1752-1833) of Kentucky travelled two hundred miles through the wilderness to aid in organizing the Tennessee church at the mouth of the Sulphur Fork River. This church united with the Elkhorn Association in Kentucky.

Competition from other Churches in America

The third reason for the proliferation of Baptist churches was the lack of competition from other Churches. The greatest competition came from the Methodists who were also aggressively evangelistic and engaged many itinerant preachers commonly known as circuit riders. Denominations such as the Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics were for various reasons nowhere near as large as the Baptists or the Methodists. This may be demonstrated in the number of churches from the censuses of 1850 and 1860, the only two of three occasions when data of a religious nature was collected in a federal census.

According to the 1850 census the total number of churches was 37,996 of which Baptists numbered 9,381 or 24.69 per cent. They were second behind the Methodists (13,310 churches,

⁵⁰ A H Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States*, Charles Scribner's and Sons, New York, 1915, p. 344-345

35.03 per cent) and were followed by the Presbyterians (4,822 churches, 12.69 per cent), these three denominations accounting for 72.41 per cent of the total number of churches.

In those states designated Frontier (South) where Baptists were well represented, nearly nine-tenths (88.93%) of the Churches were Baptist, Methodist or Presbyterian and of these the first two denominations accounted for 87.36 per cent of the total. In other words, it was largely Baptists and Methodists who so effectively dominated these states. Baptists therefore, apart from the Methodists, had very little competition.

Table 30: Number of Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches and Percentage in all Southern States in 1850

State	Baptist	Methodist	Presbyterian	Total	All Churches	%
Alabama	579	577	162	1,318	1,375	95.85
Arkansas	114	168	52	334	362	92.27
Florida	56	87	16	159	177	89.83
Georgia	885	809	97	1,791	1,862	96.19
Kentucky	803	530	224	1,557	1,845	84.39
Louisiana	77	125	18	220	307	71.66
Mississippi	385	454	143	982	1,016	96.65
N. Carolina	613	786	151	1,550	1,790	86.59
S. Carolina	413	484	136	1,033	1,182	87.39
Tennessee	648	867	363	1,878	2,021	92.92
Texas	82	173	46	301	339	88.79
Virginia	650	1,026	240	1,916	2,386	80.30
Total	5,305	6,086	1,648	13,039	14,662	

Source: University of Virginia Library, Historical Census Browser:
(www.mapserver.lib.virginia.edu)

In 1850 Baptist churches were the most numerous in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky and Missouri. In Georgia these three Churches mentioned accounted for 96.19 per cent of the total Churches in that state and, as the above Table shows, the percentage figure in other states (with the exception of Louisiana) were all above eighty per cent. This limited choice made it easier for Baptists to attract new members unlike Australia where as nineteenth century English visitors to the country commented migrants to the new country tended to retain the same denominational affiliation as they had in Britain. Baptists in Australia, in order to win new members, needed to attempt to change the religious affiliation of fellow-Australians that was often subject to the level of loyalty and commitment they held to the Church of their birth. In America, based on the evidence available such as the accounts of 228 Virginian Baptist ministers, the only references to prior

denominational affiliation related to a few Baptist preachers who grew up in an Episcopalian or Methodist home. No reference was ever made to the prior faith of any converts.

In the ensuing ten years after 1850 the number of Baptist churches rose to 11,213, an increase of 1,832 or 19.53 per cent. Methodist churches, however, had risen even more sharply to 19,848, an increase of 49.12 per cent. Together with Presbyterians (5,048) these three Churches now represented just over two thirds (67.11%) of the total number of Churches.

By 1860 Baptists still remained the most numerous in Alabama, Georgia and Kentucky. When a similar comparison is made to that before, of the total of Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches these three accounted for 96.16 per cent of the total number of Churches in Georgia. In other states the percentages were Alabama (91.57), Florida (90.28), Mississippi (89.04), South Carolina (86.66), Arkansas (84.42), North Carolina (83.22), Tennessee (80.10), Virginia (79.87) and Kentucky (74.25).

Baptists remained strongest in the South but so did Methodists and to a much less degree Presbyterians at the expense of other Churches like the Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Roman Catholics and all other smaller religious bodies. Further confirmation of this may be seen in the analysis by Edwin Gaustad of the religious affiliation in each of the 48 states in 1906.⁵¹ He showed Baptists were the dominant Church in eleven states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. They were equal first with Methodists in Oklahoma and equal second with Methodists in Missouri.

Another way of looking at where Baptist growth was so dominant during the nineteenth century is in what might be called the 'slave states' that is, those that contained a large proportion of slaves in their population. These were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. According to census data the proportion of slaves who lived in these fourteen states, compared to all states, accounted for over 93 per cent in 1790 to over 99 per cent in

⁵¹ Edwin Scott Gaustad, *Pictorial Atlas of Religion in America*, revised edition., Harper and Row, New York, 1962, pp. 48-51

1860.⁵² The number of slaves in each state was counted as part of the overall population between 1790 and 1860 and ceased before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. Their proportion of the total population slowly diminished during this period, from 17.80 per cent in 1790 to 12.67 per cent in 1860.⁵³

It is concluded therefore that not only did Baptists remain strongest in the South but so did Methodists and Presbyterians at the expense of the other Churches previously mentioned. This effectively gave Baptists a greater monopoly over the religious allegiance of the inhabitants of these states.

The rise of African American Baptist Churches

The fourth reason for the dramatic increase in the number of churches follows the emancipation of African Americans at the cessation of the Civil War. Before discussing this more fully it should be pointed out that in 1860 on the eve of the Civil War there were 12,186 Baptist churches in America but by 1876 this number had risen to 21,255, an increase of 9,069 churches or 75 per cent in just sixteen years. More specifically, the increase between 1870 when the number of churches was 15,143 and 1876 was 40 per cent. This brief period highlights the rate of the increase in the number of churches. By contrast the increase in the number of churches in the sixteen years prior to 1860 was 3,640 or 42 per cent. This illustrates how rapid was the rate of increase in the number of churches in the aftermath of the Civil War.

The nature of the increase in the number of churches is further illustrated when increases in the so-called 'slave states' (with the exception of Illinois) is further considered as shown below. It is to be remembered all these states (with the exception of Texas) were in size about twice the size of Tasmania.

Table 31: States with largest increases in number of Churches, 1852 to 1872

State	1852	1872	Increase	% Increase
Alabama	579	1,162	583	100.69
Arkansas	129	763	634	491.47
Georgia	847	2,107	1,260	148.76

⁵² 1790 – 93.07%; 1800 – 93.72%; 1810 – 97.24%; 1820 – 97.79%; 1830 – 99.65%; 1840 – 99.85%; 1850 – 99.92%; 1860 – 99.95%

⁵³ 1790 – 17.80%; 1800 – 16.97%; 1810 – 16.07%; 1820 – 15.16%; 1830 – 15.54%; 1840 – 14.61%; 1850 – 13.88%; 1860 – 12.67%

Illinois	378	997	619	163.76
Kentucky	797	1,146	349	43.79
Mississippi	475	1,132	657	138.32
Missouri	439	1,309	870	198.18
N Carolina	599	1,284	685	114.36
S Carolina	437	644	207	47.37
Tennessee	496	1,096	600	120.97
Texas	125	895	770	666.00
Virginia	608	1,053	445	73.19
Total	5,909	13,588	7,679	129.95

Source: *American Baptist Register*, 1852, p. 407; *American Baptist Year Book*, 1873, p. 77.

Prior to the war ‘coloured Baptists’ (as contemporary Baptists referred to them) were part of white Baptist churches. It seems their religious practices varied from state to state. In Alabama separate church services were held on a Sunday afternoon.⁵⁴ Edwin Gaustad states in Richmond, Virginia in 1841 the First Baptist church had 387 white members and 1,708 ‘Negro’ members at which point the white members left to form their own church.⁵⁵ In Georgia there were instances where ‘coloured’ Baptists had separate meeting-houses and in some cases were independent.⁵⁶ In many country churches, however, part of the church was assigned to ‘coloured brethren’ or else a time was given to them when the pastor of the white church preached to them. Despite this form of segregation, William Cathcart adds, no white pastor ever presumed to ignore or neglect their ‘coloured members.’ ‘Coloured Baptists’ were considered part of a local congregation and like white members subject to its discipline.

At the conclusion of the war there began a sudden surge in the number of African Americans who became part of the Baptist denomination. At the same time there was a conscious effort by white Baptists, particularly from the North, and through agencies such as the American Baptist Home Mission Society, to aid and support, especially in providing theological education facilities. There is no statistical table available that documents overall the increase in the number of African American churches and members. In his *Baptist Encyclopaedia* that was completed in 1880 William Cathcart expressed the difficulty in obtaining precise information and sometimes had to resort to estimates. In the case of some states no information seems to be available. Nevertheless, it is possible to show in some states the rapid increase in the number of churches, ministers and

⁵⁴ William Cathcart (ed.), *The Baptist Encyclopaedia*, revised edition, Louis H Everts, Philadelphia, 1883, p. 17

⁵⁵ Edwin Scott Gaustad, *op. cit.*, p. 155

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 443

church members. Concerning African American Baptists in Alabama Charles Boothe in 1895 recounted the transformation that had occurred:

We are now together - acquainted, organised. In the beginning of 1865 the minister in one part of the State did not know the minister in the other part. There was no union, no plan of agreement. Now there are about 800 churches, all organized into associations. Each church may be reached and affected through its association, with regard to any line of work.⁵⁷

In Georgia the number of churches in 1860 before the Civil War stood at 996, an increase of 149 on the previous nine years. In the same period church membership had increased by 18,791 and stood at 84,022. By 1870 the number of churches had grown by 222 to 1,218 and church membership by 31,176. However in the next decade growth accelerated so that by 1880 the number of churches had increased by a further 1,443 and church membership by 104,528. This represented an increase of 118 per cent in the number of churches in a decade. William Cathcart says in 1880 ‘coloured’ Baptists possessed 28 associations, 875 churches and they accounted for 108,000 church members. This means some fifteen years after the Civil War African American churches accounted for almost one third of all churches in Georgia and nearly half the number of church members.

Table 32: Number of Associations, Churches, Ministers and Church Members in Georgia, 1851-1880

Year	Associations	Churches	Ministers	Members
1851	50	847	613	65,231
1860	65	996	786	84,022
1870	70	1,218	831	115,198
1880	83	2,661	1,553	219,726

Source: William Cathcart (ed), *The Baptist Encyclopaedia*, revised edition, Louis H Everts, Philadelphia, 1883, p. 443

In Missouri a similar pattern emerges. In 1866 immediately after the Civil War the number of churches had grown by 210 in the previous decade and stood at 749 while the number of church members had grown by 13,519 to be 44,877. Ten years later in 1876 the number of churches had increased by 505 to reach 1,254 and the number of church members doubled, increasing by 44,879 to 89,756. This means the number of churches had grown by two-thirds in a decade. William Cathcart stated in 1880 ‘coloured’ Baptists accounted for 30,000 church members and

⁵⁷ Charles Octavius Boothe, *The Cyclopedia of the Coloured Baptists of Alabama: Their Leaders and their Work*, Alabama Publishing Company, Birmingham, 1895, p. 250

300 ministers but did not give the number of churches. The number of ministers would suggest there were well in excess of 300 'coloured' Baptist churches.

Table 33: Number of Associations, Churches, Ministers and Church Members in Missouri, 1856-1880

Year	Associations	Churches	Ministers	Members
1856	31	539	349	31,358
1866	37	749	432	44,877
1876	65	1,254	842	89,756
1880	70	1,449	839	95,967

Source: William Cathcart, *The Baptist Encyclopaedia*, p. 806

In North Carolina there were 692 churches, 374 ministers and 59,778 church members on the eve of the American Civil War. Churches had grown by 93 in the previous nine years and the number of church members by 18,104. However by 1876 the number of churches had more than doubled and reached 1,442, an increase of 108 per cent, while the number of church members had reached 137,000, an increase of some 130 per cent.

Table 34: Number of Associations, Churches, Ministers and Church Members in North Carolina, 1851-1880

Year	Associations	Churches	Ministers	Members
1851		599	374	41,674
1860		692	374	59,778
1876		1,442	793	137,000
1880	77	1,905		172,951

Source: William Cathcart, *The Baptist Encyclopaedia*, p. 855

It appears to be a similar story in other states. When the 'coloured' Baptists organized their own Alabama State Convention on 17 December 1868 at which 32 churches were represented there were no associations but by 1875 there were about 20 associations and when William Cathcart compiled his *Baptist Encyclopaedia* in 1880 the number of associations had swiftly reached 50 and there were 50 churches and about 90,000 church members.⁵⁸

There were very few African American churches in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. As the property of white slave owners they had few rights or opportunities. But as has been pointed out there were differences among the Churches. Southern 'blacks' attended

⁵⁸ William Cathcart, *The Baptist Encyclopaedia*, pp. 17-18

Presbyterian churches prior to the Civil War because their owners did. After the war the 'black' membership of Presbyterian churches plummeted dramatically from 31,000 to about 1,700. Cumberland Presbyterians did not permit the formation of separate 'black' congregations until after 1874.

They tired of hearing whites preach about obedience and honesty
They preferred contemplating the uplifting Christian message of
freedom and equality, and they enjoyed the rhythmic elements of
music and dancing, derived from Africa, that suffused their
worship services.⁵⁹

There was an attraction for African Americans, however, about Baptists. It has been suggested they demonstrated the principle of the equality of all believers more than many other religious bodies. African Americans were regarded as full members of the church and offered the roles of exhorter or deacon but not that of elder or pastor, restricting that to whites only. Another attraction was that local congregations were strictly independent, guided only by the consensus of their membership. This permitted them to form and participate in local associations of their own choosing. The Coloured Shiloh Baptist Association in Virginia, for example, was established as early as 11 August 1865 and when it met at Ebenezer Baptist church in Richmond, Virginia it represented the combined membership of more than 9,600 members consisting of three congregations from Petersburg, three from Richmond and one from Manchester.

Owing to the absence or paucity of membership records and returns the number of church members remains only estimates, mainly because of the common complaint of the inaccuracy of returns from local associations. W. E. B. Du Bois, for instance, mentions that in 1850 the number of 'coloured' Baptists in the United States were to be found in fifteen Southern and four Northern states and one hundred of 336 associations reported 89,695 'coloured' members but no report had been received from 146 Southern Associations. In 1850 he says according to a 'higher authority' there were an estimated 150,000 'coloured' Baptists. This number had risen to 1,604,310 by 1894, averaging an increase of over 33,000 members per annum. There was one church in 1788 but by 1894 this number had risen to 13,138.⁶⁰ It is reasonable to conclude the extent of this growth characterised the middle of the century and especially the immediate post-Civil War period. This is borne out by the fact that between 1852 and 1872 twelve of the 47 states and

⁵⁹ "African American Churches", Texas State Historical Association, The Handbook of Texas Online, tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articlespkatz

⁶⁰ W E Burghardt Du Bois (ed.), *The Negro Church; A Social Survey at the direction of Atlanta University*, Atlanta University Press, Atlanta, 1903, p. 111

territories accounted for just over three-quarters (76.28%) of the increase in the total number of constituted new churches. All but one of these states was in the South and all had been ‘slave’ states. The increase in the number of churches during these two decades is shown in Table 35.

Table 35: States with largest increases in number of Churches, 1852 to 1872

State	1852	1872	Increase
Alabama	579	1,162	583
Arkansas	129	763	634
Georgia	847	2,107	1,260
Illinois	378	997	619
Kentucky	797	1,146	349
Mississippi	475	1,132	657
Missouri	439	1,309	870
N Carolina	599	1,284	685
S Carolina	437	644	207
Tennessee	496	1,096	600
Texas	125	895	770
Virginia	608	1,053	445
Total	5,909	13,588	7,679

Source: *American Baptist Register*. 1852, p. 406; *American Baptist Year-Book*, 1873, p. 83

The democratic individualistic appeal of Baptists

Another important reason for the growth and expansion of Baptists that is difficult to quantify but is nevertheless apparent, and possibly applied to others as well, was the appeal of the democratic nature of Baptist local churches. A strong sense of individualism was apparent in early American pioneers. This translated into their views about religion. Each Baptist church was autonomous, that is, by common consensus able to determine its own affairs. Victory in the Revolutionary War saw the end of the Episcopalian Church in the South as the established Church. No Church took its place. During the nineteenth century many minor sect-type churches appeared founded by persons disillusioned with existing Churches to the point they decided to found their own.

Conclusion

From the mid-eighteenth century a period of intense religious activity characterised Baptists in America in which many showed indefatigable energy and zeal propagating their faith in new and rapidly expanding areas, particularly in the South. They were assisted by the pioneering spirit of many who became the first permanent settlers and who laid the foundations of future growth and expansion. Other forces were at work such as the dominance of Baptists in the South whereby they faced little competition. They found support from African Americans many of whom at the

end of slavery embraced the relative informality of Baptist worship and democratic form of church governance.

The Churches in Australia

This period of study of Baptists in America ends in 1872 as seven years after the end of the Civil War it permits some assessment of the impact of the conflict upon emancipated slaves. It also helps in making a neat comparative study of the progress of the denomination at twenty-year intervals since 1792 that first appeared in 1852. The year 1947 was a census year in Australia and in the previous generation Australia had experienced two World Wars and the Great Depression. During the 1950s cultural changes began to emerge with a post-war baby boom and the introduction of television in 1956. As has been stated above the number of Australian Baptist churches (437) in 1947 represented a minuscule number compared to those in America (19,620) in 1872, but the subject of home missions or church extension constantly occupied the minds of Australian Baptist church leaders.

There were frequent addresses and papers on different aspects of the subject at the regular forums of the yearly and half-yearly assemblies or at the First Australasian Baptist Congress held in 1908. Topics such as 'Home Mission Work', 'Church Extension in the Metropolitan Area', 'Our Future Work' and 'Education of the Home Missionaries' became topics for regular discussion.⁶¹ In 1876 the South Australian, the Rev. David Badger read a paper on a pertinent question: 'Ought we to plant churches where other Evangelical Churches already exist?'⁶² Sometimes special conferences on home missions were held and church extension committees met to implement plans for church extension such as Victorian Baptists in 1890 who were hoping to raise £5,000 in two years for the purchase of suburban church sites.⁶³

Denominational expansion did not really occur until the emergence of colonial associations. These associations were permanently formed in the three main colonies in the 1860s: Victoria (1862), South Australia (1863) and New South Wales (1868). . Before they existed there were a number of churches that appeared, particularly in Victoria and South Australia where the initiative came from a small group of individuals determined to join together to constitute a church. In Victoria before 1862 eight city and suburban churches and eleven country ones had been established. According to the 1861 census and other data there were already 9,001 Baptist

⁶¹ *The Queenslander* (Brisbane), 10 December 1881, p. 742; *Western Mail* (Perth), 21 April 1900, p. 62; *The Age* (Melbourne), 23 November 1907, p. 12

⁶² *The South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 2 October 1876, p.1s, 2s

⁶³ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 14 November 1890, p. 9

adherents and 1,186 church members. Most of the country churches were in the port towns of Geelong and Portland or on the goldfield areas such as Ballarat, Bendigo, Maldon and White Hills. Before the South Australian Baptist Association was established in 1863 there were six city and suburban churches and eight country ones. In the first census of 1861 there were 3,424 Baptist adherents. As there were so many professed Baptists in these two colonies it is not surprising some had gathered together to form themselves into a local congregation. It might be suggested, though difficult to prove, that these first Baptists in the two colonies were not assisted migrants but persons with capital and initiative and therefore more motivated or likely to organize themselves into a congregation. In New South Wales by contrast there were only a small number of viable churches prior to 1868 when the Baptist Association was first formed.

The aims and objectives of colonial associations

As churches joined together to constitute colony-wide associations they agreed upon a range of objectives when they drew up their constitutions. Victorians made two attempts to form a colonial association. On 20 April 1858 representatives of nine churches agreed they would 'advance the cause of Jesus by the preaching of the gospel, promoting the formation of Christian churches, the sustenance of Evangelists and the temporary assistance of Pastors wherever openings for usefulness present themselves.'⁶⁴ Irrespective of this the association still looked to Britain for tangible support. In the first annual report of 1859 it mentioned the latest news indicated the departure of the Rev. David Rees for the colony. But this welcome news is, the report continued, 'sadly marred by the fact that, with Mr Rees' departure, our prospects of further ministerial help from that quarter are, as far as can be seen at present, absolutely closed.' Disillusioned by the seeming lack of British support the report then made reference in the strongest terms to the level of indifference demonstrated in Britain concerning the colonies.

If the British Baptist churches would but extend a fostering and helping hand to the colonial churches now, in the days of their early struggles by sending a few earnest men as pastors and evangelists, the past contributions of the colony is an earnest that in five years, more would be repaid in kind and they would reap a rich harvest of spiritual sympathy and aid, in the various plans they are engaged for the evangelisation of the world.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ *The Age* (Melbourne), 18 June 1859, p. 6; Basil S Brown, *Members one of Another*, p. 23

⁶⁵ *The Age* (Melbourne), 18 June 1859, p. 6

There was an attempt at self-promotion through a new denominational magazine that was successfully launched and attained a monthly circulation of 1,400. But this association only existed until February 1861.⁶⁶ According to Basil Brown it was reconstituted on 4 November 1862 although contradictorily the Rev. Isaac New was giving a public lecture in June of that year, the proceeds of which would be given to the Baptist Association of Victoria.⁶⁷ It was resolved the association should be on the same basis as before.⁶⁸ It was reported at this public meeting the Rev. James Smith had addressed the meeting at length on the principal objectives of the Association, one of which was to 'assist those of the Baptist denomination in the distant townships of the colony who were unable, without aid, to support a minister.'⁶⁹ In the annual report read to the Baptist assembly in 1863 the Rev. W. Poole stated that during the past year congregations had increased in number but statistics were impossible to give. More persons had accepted Baptist views concerning baptism, been baptized but still retained fellowship with paedo-Baptist churches and there were Baptist churches that had prospered during the year but were not connected with the association. Two Baptist churches had joined in the past year but no new churches had been organized although steps were being taken for the formation of churches both in Melbourne and country districts.⁷⁰ This report showed most importantly that the initiative for the commencement of new churches needed to come from the association. At the annual meeting in 1866 it was reported the association was contemplating forming a Baptist Itinerant Preaching Society for working and supplying waste and destitute places with the preaching of the gospel. Under supervision, lay preachers commenced and maintained new causes at Williamstown and Richmond.⁷¹

It was similar in South Australia. At the first general meeting of the Baptist Association held on 23 October 1863 one of the objectives in the constitution agreed upon was 'the promotion of brotherly love among its constituents and the general extension of the Redeemer's kingdom in connection with the Baptist Association.' In an address to the meeting the architect of the new association the Rev. Silas Mead said 'they desired to help those who were weak, and to afford sympathy and help in those localities which unassisted were incompetent to support the

⁶⁶ Basil S Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 26

⁶⁷ *South Bourke Standard* (Victoria), 6 June 1862, p. 2

⁶⁸ Basil S Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 30

⁶⁹ *The Age* (Melbourne), 6 November 1862, p. 4

⁷⁰ *The Age* (Melbourne), 19 November 1863, p. 6

⁷¹ *The Age* (Melbourne), 27 November 1966, p. 1s; Basil S Brown, *Members One of Another*, p. 34

ministration of the Word.⁷² Once again it was presumed help might be required from a central body.

In New South Wales there was an objective, similar to that of Victoria, both to initiate new churches and then continue, as necessary, to sustain them. In the inaugural meeting convened on 11 February 1868 to form the Baptist Association of New South Wales the second of the objects agreed upon was for the association 'to originate and strengthen Baptist churches without in any way interfering with the independent character of such Churches.' The third object related to 'aiding small and necessitous Churches in the maintaining of their pastors' and the fifth and final objective was 'the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom in the best way possible.'⁷³

When Queensland Baptists drew up a constitution when they established an association in 1877 they may have borrowed theirs from New South Wales but couched it in different terms. The fourth objective outlined was to originate and strengthen churches of the same faith and order, without attempting anything that would be compromise the perfect independence of any of the churches. The next was to aid by money grants small or poor churches in the maintenance of Christian ordinances. Queensland Baptists went even further by resolving to establish a loan fund for the erection or repair of buildings for churches or Sunday schools.⁷⁴

At the first session of the Baptist Association of Tasmania held on 28 May 1884 representatives of the churches throughout the colony fully discussed the home mission scheme and adopted it. It was also decided to start a colportage and bush mission as soon as suitable men could be obtained. It was reported also the whole of the money required for the work was raised at the meeting.⁷⁵ In light of the denomination's subsequent history this appears to have been misreported.

In the case of Western Australia no record of the inaugural meeting survives. The decision to form a Union was made in Perth on 4 December 1896. What is particularly significant about this colony is that whereas Tasmania took nearly fifty years after the first church was formed to form a Union of churches, in Western Australia this occurred in less than eighteen months.⁷⁶ However

⁷² *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 30 October 1863, p. 3

⁷³ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 February 1868, p. 2; Alan C Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 106

⁷⁴ John White, *op. cit.*, p. 68

⁷⁵ *The Tasmania* (Launceston), 31 May 1884, p. 14

⁷⁶ Richard K Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 35f

at the first half-yearly meeting held in April 1897 it was reported prominent layman Mr. J. W. Jaques spoke on the necessity for church extension.⁷⁷

The Rev David Badger in South Australia

Australia did not have the rugged individualism that characterised eighteenth century American Baptists in organizing new churches. There were only a few individuals responsible for establishing multiple churches and this was always done under the auspices of the denominational body. The first of these was the Scottish-born Rev. David Badger (1827-1890) in South Australia who in 1874 was called 'the Baptist evangelist in the Northern areas'.⁷⁸ At the annual assembly of that year he gave a history of the religious progress made in that locality, opposing suggestions there should be a union of several denominations so as to secure greater facilities for the work of evangelization.

The necessity was for a greater number of teachers and churches. There was a very large population of young people in the areas, whom it was desirable to instruct in gospel truths and chapels for this purpose were urgently required. Evangelists were not so much wanted in the country as in the city. He believed the best plan would be for the Association to increase the number of their ministers in the North, and erect suitable buildings to such an extent as the funds would permit.⁷⁹

Badger was a former locally-trained Congregational minister who had adopted the views of Baptists after he became pastor of the Morphett Vale Union church in suburban Adelaide in 1859.⁸⁰ This change was noted when he was welcomed to the Baptist ranks at the half-yearly meeting of the South Australian Baptist Association in July 1864.⁸¹ At the half-yearly gathering of the Association in April 1872 the secretary reported pursuant to a resolution passed at the previous annual meetings the Rev. David Badger had been appointed evangelist. Badger's appointment began in January 1872 and he had been immediately despatched to Mount Gambier as a 'trouble shooter' as the church was experiencing difficulties.⁸² It was not intended for Badger to remain at Mount Gambier for so long but circumstances warranted it. The Association secretary's report indicated the Denominational Evangelist was to have a wide-ranging role.

⁷⁷ *The Daily News* (Perth), 17 April 1897, p. 3

⁷⁸ On Badger, see Donald Badger, *David Badger: Preacher, Pioneer, Patriarch*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1984

⁷⁹ *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail* (Adelaide), 26 September 1874, p. 13

⁸⁰ Ken R Manley, *op. cit.*, p.102; *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 2 September 1859, p. 3

⁸¹ *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 15 July 1864, p. 3

⁸² *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 18 April 1872, p. 3; *Evening Journal* (Adelaide), 19 September 1872, p. 3

We believe, however, that in order to revive our drooping Churches, gather and organize new Churches, and reach those parts of the colony where the gospel is scarcely preached at all we shall require at least three evangelists, and we hope that a resolution will be affirmed empowering the incoming committee to appoint a second without delay.⁸³

The following year he became pastor of the Saddleworth church in the mid-northern agricultural districts. In the following years he helped establish churches in other agricultural districts at Georgetown (1874), Clover Hill and Jamestown (1875), Laura (1876), Terowie (1877), Black Rock (1879), Orroroo (1880) and Peterborough (1882) .

In 1875 Badger made representations to the SABA that if he could obtain Mr. Stephen Howard's assistance Jamestown, Laura and Clover Hill would be regularly supplied with 'the means of grace'. The Association was assured this would be at little extra cost as these townships had made liberal offers of pecuniary help. This suggestion was agreed to and it was negotiated that Howard was free to remain in his agricultural pursuits for a specified period of time. This would be one of the very few incidences in the nineteenth century of those engaged as bi-vocational ministers, albeit for a limited period only, among Australian Baptists.⁸⁴ "Mr Badger has continued his energetic work with unabated zeal", was the public assessment of Badger's efforts at the half-yearly assembly in 1875. Manley claims Badger helped establish a church at Clover Hill in 1875 but Badger reported to the half-yearly assembly that at Clover Hill 'a comfortable place had been provided', the congregations were good, a Sunday school had been started but no attempt had been made to form a church there 'as there was not one Baptist in the neighbourhood' The building had cost £250 and was out of debt and the congregation had promised £50 a year towards the association. At Laura a service was held in the afternoon and stone was being carted for the erection of a chapel to seat 150 people. In Jamestown services were conducted in the afternoons and evenings and it was intended soon to form a church. Badger indicated he had been asked to go to Gladstone but had refused because the Independents were established there. Fresh centres of population were forming in the North and he and his colleagues would do their best to visit them. The low price of wheat was against their building ambitions but they hoped for better times.⁸⁵

⁸³ *Evening Journal* (Adelaide), 19 September 1872, p. 3

⁸⁴ *The South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 14 April 1875, p. 2

⁸⁵ *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 22 April 1875, p. 5s

Badger's comment about the lack of any Baptists and the unwillingness to move into an area where another denomination was already established signifies one of the essential differences between Baptists in America and Australia. Baptist leaders in Australia were constantly seeking out fellow-Baptists in any locality before attempting to initiate a new cause. Often the scarcity of these Baptists made it difficult to pursue this further. In America there seems to be little, if any, regard for a person's religious affiliation. The sole objective of Baptist preachers is to seek conversion to the Christian faith and then baptism and church membership.

The Rev William Kennedy in Western Australia

The Rev. William Kennedy (1868–1929) was a Victorian who had studied at the Victorian College (1893-1895) and heard the plea of the Rev. A. S. Wilson, pastor of the Perth church who spoke to the Victorian Baptist annual assembly in 1897. Kennedy was ordained in Katanning (WA) in 1898 and began to establish Baptist churches along the Great Southern Railway.⁸⁶ At the end of his first year in 1898 he summed up Western Australia Baptists as in need of 'places, men and money.'⁸⁷ His indefatigable efforts were reminiscent of eighteenth century Baptist preachers in America.⁸⁸

The Rev Willie Cleugh Black in New South Wales

When pastor of the Dulwich Hill and Auburn churches in Sydney the Rev Cleugh Black (1883 – 1940) (as he was known) actively sought to expand the denomination by initiating branch churches. At his first church, Dulwich Hill, he initiated Baptist causes at nearby Campsie (1912), Bankstown (1915), Hurlstone Park (1917) and East Hills (1919).⁸⁹ Later when at the Auburn church he was responsible for making North Auburn (1924) part of a district church and also five years later Chester Hill (1929). The Auburn church under Black's direction was also responsible for beginning new causes at Regent's Park (1933) and Berala (1934) that moved to nearby Lidcombe a few years later.⁹⁰

Australian Baptists and indeed all other Churches in Australia faced particular challenges and difficulties in advancing their causes. Foremost among these were the size of the continent and

⁸⁶ Richard K Moore, 'All Western Australia is my Parish', p. 268

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25

⁸⁸ Leslie J Gomm, *Blazing the Western Trails: the story of the life and work of William Kennedy, pathfinder, preacher, pioneer*, J A Packer, Sydney, 1935

⁸⁹ Bruce Thornton (ed.), *Making Their Mark: NSW/act Baptist Biographies*, Greenwood Press, Macquarie Prk, 2013, pp. 21-25; Alan C Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 263, 268, 276, 277 .

⁹⁰ Alan C Prior, *op. cit.*, 271, 288, 295, 301

the relative smallness of the widely-scattered population that created so many very small country centres of population. The question all Churches faced was whether they had sufficient resources to meet the spiritual needs of all the population they needed to restrict their access, or whether arrangements needed to be entered into between the Churches in order for them to fulfil their mission.

There was occasional dismay expressed by church leaders at prevailing attitudes and the lack of planning and progress. In presenting the eighth annual report of the South Australian Baptist Association in 1871, for example, the Rev. Silas Mead expressed regret at the meagre amount of extra and aggressive work accomplished during the past year. He summed up what often was characteristic of Australian Baptists, namely, the excessive amount of deliberations, the passing of numerous resolutions but then the failure finally to implement these decisions effectively.

It is true we have again and again met for deliberation upon the subject of increasing the area of our field of labour. Moreover as a Committee we have more than once committed ourselves to proposals which, had they been accepted by those immediately concerned, would undoubtedly have resulted in wider activities.⁹¹

The First Australasian Baptist Congress held in Sydney in 1908 was the first Australia-wide forum held where home mission policy was discussed. Three papers were presented on different aspects of the topic. The New South Wales Home Mission Superintendent, the Rev. A. J. Waldock, spoke on methods. His theme was the lack of planning.

All too often our denominational expansion has been left to haphazard and chance. We need a fixed policy and a determined plan; we need a method in our work that will give some guarantee of a going forward all the time.⁹²

Apart from the lack of planning there was also frustration at the lack of innovation. At a church conference on suburban extension in Melbourne the previous year, the Rev. H. H. Jeffs of the local Camberwell church had compared fellow-Baptists with those in America. The reason, he said, Americans had advanced by leaps and bounds were not a difference in doctrine, polity, intelligence or knowledge but that they differed from Baptists in Victoria because they were

⁹¹ *The South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 26 October 1871, p. 3

⁹² A J Waldock, "Home Missions: Our Methods", in J A Packer (ed.), *First Australasian Baptist Congress*, Sydney, 1908, p. 85; see also Michael Petras, *Extension or Extinction: Baptist Growth in New South Wales 1900 – 1939*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1983, p. 46

willing to try experiments and take more risks. They were sacredly and spiritually rash. He summed up the times:

More boldness and pluck were absolutely necessary. Proposals from time to time usually came to nothing, because like a root out of a dry ground they were immediately devoured by the molluscs of destructive criticism.. There seemed to exist among them an undefined, but assertive Upper House whose ambition was to turn every living, robust innovation into a fossil.⁹³

The second speaker at the 1908 Congress was the Rev. F.J. Wilkin from Victoria whose paper dealt with home mission responsibilities. He referred to one of the objectives of his own Victorian Home Mission Society, first ‘the extension of the principles of the denomination throughout the colony of Victoria’ and second, ‘the Home Mission Society shall seek to establish new churches’ and assumed other states held similar objectives. He stated the objectives were twofold: to evangelise needy districts and to establish Baptist churches. Both of these overlapped but they were distinctly different. But Wilkin’s position had a sectarian edge. He continued:

As a denomination we stand for specific principles and every argument that may be used to justify our separate existence is an argument for the extension of our denomination.⁹⁴

The effect of this was thus spelt out:

We can thus enter a town where other denominations have already well-equipped churches, convinced that our witness is needed to supplement theirs.⁹⁵

But, as Wilkin pointed out, care needed to be exercised in the choice of locations.

It is obvious if we are to effectively advance our denomination we must wisely select the field of operations, and experience proves that our objective should be the biggest towns of the Commonwealth. I am afraid that in all the States we are losing time and using funds to disadvantage in our attempts to plant Baptist Churches in little country towns. It may be quite possible to open a number of preaching stations and bye-and-bye form a circuit of little churches that will be self-governing and self-supporting. But in small country towns the evils of overlapping are realised in their most aggravated form.⁹⁶

⁹³ *The Age* (Melbourne), 23 November 1907, p. 12

⁹⁴ F J Wilkin, “Home Missions: Our Work and its Responsibilities”, in J A Packer (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 81

⁹⁵ *Ibid*

⁹⁶ *Ibid*

Wilkin went on to illustrate what happens if Baptists are the pioneers in a district that attracts attention. Then, he said, two or three other denominations appear. The worst result follows as the congregations are lessened, travelling is increased, unhealthy competition ensues and energies are concentrated on the maintenance of the denomination and not the salvation of men. For Wilkin the choice of location was straightforward.

If Baptist principles are to be effectively declared in the Commonwealth that declaration must be made in the biggest centres of population.⁹⁷

The third speaker at the Congress was the Rev. L. E. Tranter who tackled “Home Mission Problems”. In essence it was suitable men and sufficient financial support that were most needed. Because home mission work was primarily new work, designing rather than decorating, the best men were needed.

The psychological hour, when a church needs its best and strongest training, is in its earliest history. The country district is worthy of the highest talents, and must not be looked upon as a stop-gap until a city sphere extends a call.⁹⁸

Tranter’s complaint is well illustrated in events of the following year. In May 1909 Queensland Baptists launched a forward movement in home missions when attempting to secure a minister for the mining town of Mount Morgan. They looked to Britain to meet this need and welcomed the Rev. William Allan from Arbroath in Scotland. Earlier that year, the Rev. A. D. Shaw had visited Britain on extended leave and persuaded Allan to come to Australia. Allan’s stay at Mount Morgan, however, was short-lived. The documented account of his short tenure is brief:

Mr and Mrs Allan were the first to occupy the Mount Morgan manse in 1909. Early reports of Mr Allan’s work were encouraging, but as had previously happened so often, hopes of stability and growth were dashed when Mr Allan soon accepted a call to the Albion Baptist church in Brisbane. He was gone by April 1910.⁹⁹

Allan’s tenure had lasted less than a year. At his inaugural welcome in Brisbane the Rev. Henry Clark from New South Wales had been present and addressed the gathering. He said one of the chief requirements in the carrying out of home mission work was men. They must be men of considerable character, ability and especially tact, and well trained for the work. Even above the

⁹⁷ *Ibid* He also outlined conditions of entry to be imposed if there were ten Baptists in a town (see p. 82)

⁹⁸ Rev L E Tranter, “Home Mission Problems”, in J A Packer (ed.), *First Australasian Baptist Congress*, p. 67-69

⁹⁹ David Parker, (ed.), *Something More Than Gold: Baptists in Central Queensland 1862 – 1912*, Baptist Historical Series, No. 17, Baptist Heritage Queensland, Brisbane?, 2012, p. 80

question of obtaining the right class of man, a substantial and regular income was an important requirement. In New South Wales the average income for home missions for the past three years had been £2,228. In Queensland, he had learned, the income was only £100.¹⁰⁰

From their early history in Australia Baptists were constantly confronted with a range of issues that militated against their growth and expansion. The first was the limitations imposed by always being such a small constituency that they only ever numbered less than two per cent of the total population and were thinly-scattered over a large continent. Coupled with this was a seeming indifference by individuals to maintain their denominational loyalty at all costs and an unwillingness to initiate new causes unless there was some form of extraneous assistance. Any attempt to overcome these limitations and make any significant gains often required a high level of commitment and self-sacrifice. In 1895 the Rev. Frederick Wilkin, then President of the Baptist Union of Victoria read a paper on 'Denominational Extension' to the New South Wales assembly arguing that denominational self-belief was fundamental to success and church members needed to be more clearly taught Baptist principles. He continued:

Outposts could not be maintained unless they had a strong basis of operations. When members thoroughly believed in their denomination, then they would demand and make sacrifices for it.¹⁰¹

It proved to be the case of thinly scattered Baptists, particularly in country towns, there was no overriding desire to establish a new Baptist cause. Denominational allegiance or loyalty by professed Baptists at all costs was not a striking feature of this period of study. There was an awareness many Baptists had joined other denominations. In 1876 the Rev. David Fenwick, the New South Wales Union president, referred to 'many Baptists of the hybrid species' who mix themselves among the people and consent to lose their identity among other denominations.¹⁰² One of the first tasks of the Rev. A. J. Waldock when he assumed the secretaryship of the Home Mission Committee in New South Wales in 1904 was to seek out those who called themselves Baptists, some who now belonged to other Churches, with a view to forming new Baptist churches. Early in 1905 he travelled to the North Coast of New South Wales and later reported how he found 'Baptists wherever I went: in almost every town the leading workers of other churches are Baptists.'¹⁰³ When visiting Casino Waldock discovered sixteen Baptist families who

¹⁰⁰ *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld), 7 May 1909, p. 5

¹⁰¹ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 October 1895, p. 3

¹⁰² *Banner of Truth*, 18 October 1876, p. 8

¹⁰³ *The Baptist*, 1 May 1905, p. : Michael Petras, *ibid.*

‘would hail with delight the establishment of a Baptist cause’ and who ‘pledged themselves to support it heartily’. He met a similar response by those ‘ready to welcome and support a Baptist cause’ in other North Coast towns he visited. This scenario suggests Baptist lacked initiative or a willingness to take the necessary steps to form a church until there was ‘outside’ intervention. This level of commitment to one’s own beliefs and principles is further illustrated in the comments of the Rev. J. Parker, a participant in a conference on church extension in Sydney in 1909. He remarked:

In suburbs where the population was scattered it was a common thing to find that if the Baptist Church was not within reasonable walking distance Baptists went to other Churches.¹⁰⁴

Home missions were not a problem peculiar to Baptists. The topics of furnishing reports on outlying districts and stimulating presbyteries and congregations on all Church schemes was subjected to prolonged discussion at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church meeting in Melbourne in 1888. The new Moderator despaired that home mission work had not received the attention it should have had and a more aggressive policy was needed. In acknowledgement of this the Rev. A. Yule lamented the number of Presbyterians who had gone to other Churches or lapsed into indifference. They had the means now and all they needed was the men. Agents should be employed as had been found necessary in America and the example should be initiated here. Their failure not to do so already was a “fatal evil”. What were needed were “vigorous and active ministers” to do the work. The present generation of Australasian-born ministers was a cheering one and they formed no less than a third of the entire ministry of the Church.¹⁰⁵

Competition between Churches

The one topic that became an irritant and a recurring theme in church extension for all Australian Protestant Churches from the late nineteenth century was the issue of overlapping, that is, the attempts of multiple numbers of Churches of different persuasions attempting to maintain or extend their witness in small sparsely-populated country districts thus placing great stresses on their limited human and financial resources. It was variously described as ‘evil’, ‘the acknowledged bane of Home Mission work’, ‘needless and expensive’, ‘a scandal to Christianity’ and the cause of ‘acute denominational competition.’¹⁰⁶ It dramatically emphasises the demographic differences between America and Australia. The first known occasion when this

¹⁰⁴ *The Baptist*, 1 November 1909; Michael Petras, *Extension or Extinction*, p. 69

¹⁰⁵ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 14 November 1888, p. 12

¹⁰⁶ *The Telegraph* (Brisbane), 30 May 1890, p. 2; *The Age* (Melbourne), 6 June 1900, p. 5; *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 23 May 1893, p. 6; *The Argus* (Melbourne), 4 December 1915, p. 7

was publicly debated appears to have been in 1890 but thereafter it seems to have become a regular topic, particularly during the 1890s when union between the Wesleyan Methodists, Primitive Methodists and Bible Christians was contemplated.¹⁰⁷ The first occasion was a 'Conference on Territorial Rights' of Brisbane's Protestant clergy. The meeting was the outcome of a resolution passed by the Queensland Congregational Union two years earlier in 1888 that lapsed but was renewed a year later. It sought to secure a conference with representatives of other Protestant Churches 'with the view of co-operation in the establishment of churches in the sparsely-populated parts of the colony.'

While the Anglican Bishop of Brisbane formally advised he was unable to speak on behalf of his Church as it needed the prior acquiescence a body such as the Lambeth Conference that had met in 1888, the Chairman explained it was pretty generally felt in smaller townships there was considerable overlapping of church work and it was felt some steps should be taken to remedy this evil. By overlapping he meant more churches existed than were actually required or could be kept out of the struggling stage. A resolution had been proposed 'deploring the waste of force and the serious injury to our common Christianity' and while not contemplating any interference to existing arrangements, affirmed the principle that the Protestant denominations should agree to some combined course of action. The Baptist representative, the Rev. William Whale voiced his view the resolution did not go far enough as it did not go to the root of the 'present mischief.' They had introduced into the colony organisations which were the result of conflicts in the old country. After extensive discussion the following resolution was finally agreed upon.

That this conference deplores the waste of time and serious injury to our common Christianity involved in the increasing multiplication of churches in the smaller townships and scattered districts in this colony, and would commend to the kindly consideration of the various associations and assemblies the importance of having regard to this system of overlapping and hopes for some general method by which any further evil in this direction may be guarded against.¹⁰⁸

In 1900 the Victorian Council of Churches convened a Federal Convention of Churches to discuss overlapping that attracted close to 200 representatives from seven Protestant Churches, including Baptists. On that occasion the Baptist representative, the Rev. T. J. Malyon observed that he thought the evil of 'overlapping' affected Presbyterians and Wesleyans more than Baptists

¹⁰⁷ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 28 February 1894, p. 7; 17 May 1894, p. 7

¹⁰⁸ *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld.), 30 May 1890, p. 6

and Congregationalists.¹⁰⁹ In 1915 the controversial minister of the Collins Street Baptist church, the Rev. T. E. Ruth waded into the issue in a newspaper column titled 'Useless and Competitive Churches.' He advocated the amalgamation of Presbyterian and Methodist churches in mission districts to prevent overlapping. He quoted with approval the analysis of Dr. Thornton the Anglican Bishop of Ballarat:

There were in almost every township at least five separate houses of prayer, where five very scanty congregations assembled, and were administered to by five underpaid ministers who rode on five underfed horses to preach what was substantially the same Gospel.¹¹⁰

In 1913 a Victorian Congress on the Unity of Non-Roman Churches acknowledged the bane on home mission works in a large number of districts was the existence of acute competition. The world was apt to conclude the Churches were bent on fighting each other than combining to fight the devil. Organic union of the Churches concerned was seen as the best remedy.¹¹¹

In 1915 the subject of overlapping became the subject of correspondence in *The Argus*. In response to the question of a correspondent 'Presbyterian Minister' who had asked 'Has the Baptist Church, for instance, any mission in a place where there are about four Baptists?' the Victorian Home Mission Superintendent, the Rev. F. J. Wilkin replied that Baptists had a mission in conjunction with all Churches to the people of the state, entirely irrespective of whether any Baptists were in it.¹¹²

Previously, at the First Australasian Baptist Congress in 1908 the gathering was addressed by the Rev. John Macaulay MA, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church who suggested a committee composed of clerical and lay members of the various denominations should supervise the work of the Churches throughout the Commonwealth and it might be able to prevent overlapping in some districts. What Macaulay envisaged was this interdenominational committee in new settlements would allot religious work and say what Churches should be appointed to exercise their functions there. They wanted the stronger Churches in some instances to withhold their hand and give help to the weaker ones. If they were to prevent overlapping as presently existed the Churches would

¹⁰⁹ *The Age* (Melbourne), 6 June 1900, p. 5

¹¹⁰ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 4 December 1915, p. 7

¹¹¹ *Geelong Advertiser* (Vic), 6 September 1913, p. 12

¹¹² *The Argus* (Melbourne), 10 December 1915, p. 9

be able to do better work.¹¹³ There is no record this novel idea ever progressed. Charity among the different Churches didn't extend that far.

Conclusion

There was a range of factors that directly or indirectly but consistently aided the growth of the number of Baptist churches in America. The size of the population to draw upon, the relative smallness of most states, the closeness of settlement, the mobility of Baptists in becoming permanent early settlers in new territories, all played a part. There was the initiative shown by itinerant Baptist preachers prior to any denominational structure and later the collective organisational efforts of local associations, state conventions and the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The regional distribution of these churches showed how dominant Baptists were in the original South and among the new states that emerged in the post-colonial era.

In contrast, Baptists in Australia were always dogged by the sparseness of the population located outside the metropolis in each colony. For the most part there was never any of the individualism that characterised eighteenth century Baptists in America. They had to rely much more on the collective or organisational efforts of Home Mission Societies in each colony. There was never any religious revival or internal migration as that experienced by American Baptists. There was instead the constant struggle to find sufficient resources to plant new churches, to find suitable locations and ward off the competition imposed by other Churches. While it appears Baptists in America found many who had no or little faith, in Australia there were an overwhelming number who appeared to have some denominational affiliation, however vital or nominal that might be.

¹¹³ *Evening News* (Sydney), 25 September 1908, p. 9

Chapter 5 - Evangelism and Revivalism

Evangelism and revivalism (or more accurately revivals), have long been associated with Evangelical Christianity although the latter term has often been understood in different ways. Most Baptists, except those with rigid hyper-Calvinistic leanings, have believed the New Testament injunction given by Jesus at the end of his earthly ministry ‘that the first disciples by his authority were to go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you.’ (Matthew 28:19, 20 NIV) While methods may have changed most Baptists have seen their role as the continuation of this worldwide commission. Seeking Christian conversions through the preaching of the gospel has been of paramount importance in the mission of the Church. At the same time there have been differences between Baptists in the two countries, particularly in the use of these terms. Baptists in Australia have more consistently spoken of these bearers of good news as evangelists and their mission as their evangelistic task. Often they have hoped and prayed for revival as an outcome of their endeavours. As such it has been considered a divine outcome rather than the utilisation of special human techniques in order to achieve desired results. Revivals and revivalism are terms more commonly associated with American Baptists often in reference to the forms of evangelistic activity they have undertaken. In this period of study increases in the number of baptisms or church memberships, however large or small, were often attributed to revivals that spanned weeks, months or even years.

Various definitions have been offered as to what constitutes a revival. This chapter will first discuss the use of the terms evangelism and revival and how they have been understood in both countries. It will be argued that while Baptists in America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries constantly referred to the occurrence of revivals as the means by which growth in numbers occurred, Baptists in Australia displayed some scepticism toward what they understood revivalism to mean. They preferred to use the term evangelism although there were differences of opinion on how this might effectively be done.

This chapter will consider how important evangelism was to Baptists, the type of evangelists employed, the means they used the theological outlook of Baptists in both countries and the results of this evangelism. It will be argued here there were elements common to both countries. Baptists in America and Australia both considered evangelism to be an important element of church life. In both countries Baptists were prepared to engage in evangelistic missions with

other Churches although these took different forms. Whereas the Baptist preacher in America was essentially an itinerant evangelist who also organized new churches and sometimes assumed a postoral role, Baptists in Australia placed a greater reliance upon the professional evangelist who sometimes came from within their own ranks or was a visitor from overseas, usually the United States or Great Britain. Initially in America there was no denominational structure that might manage evangelistic missions whereas in Australia Baptist Unions in each state normally sponsored such missions while state Evangelical Councils or similar bodies were usually responsible for interdenominational missions.

Those who might undertake evangelistic work differed in the two countries. Baptists in America made great use of colporteurs, performing a range of tasks and travelled extensively. Baptists in Australia, on the other hand, placed little reliance upon these distributors of Bibles and Christian literature. Nearly every state at some stage attempted to employ a denominational evangelist but this position proved difficult to sustain. The reasons were usually twofold: lack of funding for such a position and parochial self-interest with local churches refusing to put the interests of the denomination above their own.

In both countries there was a common theological outlook, best described as moderately Calvinistic although there would be Baptists in both countries that espoused Arminian views on the one hand or that were strongly hyper-Calvinist, evidenced by the Anti- Mission movement in America from the 1820s. Finally, an attempt is made to gauge the results of evangelistic missions but this is highly problematic in the absence of pertinent information.

Perhaps one of the most significant differences between Baptists in the two countries is the difference in approach. There was a spontaneity shown by itinerant American preachers who showed great dedication and personal initiative. Evangelistic activity in Australia, on the other hand, always seemed more measured, requiring detailed planning, scheduling and careful organisation. When the central committee of the Evangelical Council responsible for the conduct of Simultaneous Missions in New South Wales met in 1901, the Baptist minister, the Rev. Ebenezer Price, presented the report containing the scheme of operations. A special hymn book was to be printed with 40 to 50 hymns chosen. Another book was to be prepared for house to house visitation. The committee had suggested the names of a total of 61 ministers from six

denominations as suitable to conduct these missions.¹ This type of approach was not always commended. In 1920 the Western Australian Union President the Rev. G. H. Filmer deplored the 'go slow' policy that was weighing down the Church. He called for the speeding up of all efforts and the absolute expenditure of energy in the service of Jesus Christ. Neither the denomination nor the whole Church of God could make permanent and real advance until every member did the utmost possible to lead others to Christ. 'We depended too much upon organisation', he admitted. 'The individual is lost in the organization.'² In evangelistic efforts this is not to say local Baptist pastors were not evangelistic. In America individualistic effort is more evident; in Australia evangelism usually required collective effort.

Defining Evangelism and Revivalism

It is necessary to define evangelism and revivalism in order to understand how these terms were used. One broad difference between the two that has been given is that revivalism is of divine origin while evangelism is of human design. In his study of evangelism and revivals in Australia Robert Evans defined revival as:

the sovereign work of the Holy Spirit as on the Day of Pentecost. It occurs in answer to prayer and is not predictable according to human, psychological, social or physical laws. It is not under human control. Conversely, evangelism is man's effort to obey the command of Christ to spread the Gospel around the world, especially to make disciples, but also to teach the words of Christ and to seek the transformation of society into a closer likeness to the Kingdom of God.³

In 1832, during the Second Great Awakening, the Congregational (later Presbyterian) New York clergyman, the Rev. William B. Sprague (1795-1876) explored different aspects of revivals in his *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*. He attempted to distinguish between what is and what is not a revival. In his view great religious excitement, great numbers professing to be converted and the existence of an extensive and violent opposition were not necessarily evidence of a genuine revival event.⁴ According to Sprague the indicators of a genuine revival of religion were anything that might be affected by scriptural means, characterised by a due proportion of reflection and

¹ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 August 1901, p. 8

² *The West Australian* (Perth), 27 October 1920, p. 9

³ Robert Evans, *Evangelism and Revivals in Australia 1880 – 1914*, Research in Evangelical Revivals, Hazelbrook, 2005, p. ix

⁴ William B Sprague, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, Webster and Skinners, O Steele and W C Little. Albany, NY, 1832, p. 13 - 17

feeling and demonstrated by its substantial and abiding fruit.⁵ In Sprague's view, therefore, noise, chatter, and great demonstrable activity were not necessarily commensurate with genuine revival.

The experience of Elder John Baird (1801-1858) of Virginia illustrates how revivals could have very insignificant beginnings.

In the County of Middlesex a prayer meeting in a private home at which a few unconverted persons were present manifested so much interest and feeling that an appointment was made for a similar meeting to take place the ensuing week. At this latter meeting the attendance was much larger and the interest more marked and manifest. The work thus begun went on widening and deepening till the whole region around was brought under a powerful religious influence and hundreds were added to the church.⁶

Much more recently, an attempt at defining a religious revival was made by Stuart Piggin.⁷ Historically, he argues, it has been generally associated with six forms of human behaviour that can be subjected to evidence: they are longed for, they draw Christians together in unprecedented unity, they are born of ardent prayerfulness, they renew the Church; they convert many sinners, they restrain sinful social behaviour.⁸

When it comes to revivals and revivalism Hugh Jackson has observed that this has been a Protestant rather than a Catholic experience.⁹ He said there was nothing in Australia remotely comparable to the First and Second Great Awakening that helped shape American culture and society. Primitive Methodists did not flourish even though their camp meetings had the potential for large popular appeal. These meetings were poorly attended in the colonies and religious feelings never seemed to run high.¹⁰ On the other hand there were quite impressive revivals among Wesleyan Methodists in South Australia between the mid-1860s and the early 1880s and in Victoria before about 1890.¹¹

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17-23

⁶ James B Taylor, *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers*, 1838, p. 480

⁷ Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world*, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 157

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 158

⁹ H R Jackson, *Churches & People in Australia and New Zealand 1860 – 1930*, Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1987, p. 48

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49

¹¹ *Ibid*

Another perspective on revivalism has been enunciated by William Warren Sweet who stated that revivalism has often been thought of in terms of ignorance, superstition and exaggerated emotionalism but there has been a very close relationship between the history of higher education and revivalism. Six of the nine colonial colleges that were established between 1740 and 1769 – Pennsylvania, Princeton, Columbia, Rutgers, Brown and Dartmouth - had some relationship either directly or indirectly with the colonial Awakening. Prior to this period only the Established Churches, Congregational and Episcopalian had colleges.¹² The prominent New South Wales minister the Rev. C. J. Tinsley agreed that this assessment adding great revivals of religion were always followed by revivals of learning. He considered that Spurgeon, Moody and (erroneously) George Washington Truett, the longstanding pastor of First Baptist church Dallas, Texas (1897-1944) were remembered by the educational institutions they had founded but considered it was detrimental to Christian work when education displaced evangelism.¹³

In Australia on one occasion the question of whether evangelism remained in the domain of the professional evangelist, the local minister or church members generally, was answered by the Rev. Frank William Boreham (1871 – 1959) at the Third Australasian Baptist Congress held in Adelaide in August 1922. In his view ideal evangelism was the contagious evangelism of the individual minister.

It was not a matter of machinery – it was purely a matter of mood. There was only one text in the New Testament on which a sermon on evangelism could be preached. The text was, “I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen, according to the flesh.” The minister must strike the keynote, but every member of the congregation must join in the music. The minister must kindle the flame, but the fire must spread through all of the congregation. The real evangelism must be done, not by the minister, but by the people.¹⁴

It is clear the term ‘revival’ has been understood in different ways. In American Baptist church life during this period of study, for instance, the term was used more in respect of outcomes rather than processes. Any notable number of baptisms or increases in church membership was attributed to a revival. Conversely, the dearth of baptisms and membership additions was explained of as the absence of any revival. When the Second Great Awakening or as it is

¹² William Warren Sweet, *Revivalism in America*, Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1944, p. 147

¹³ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 24 October 1929, p. 13 George Washington Truett (1867-1944) founded a high school and served as financial secretary of Baylor University, Waco, Texas (1891-1893) and then as a student (1893-1897). He was pastor of First Baptist church Dallas, Texas from 1897-1944

¹⁴ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 25 August 1922, p. 11

sometimes known, the Great Revival, came to Clear Creek church in northern Kentucky in 1800 there were 375 additions by baptism whereas there had been none in the preceding seven years and it was feared the church was dying out.

In 1868 South Australian Baptists expressed certain suspicions about the term 'revival' as evidenced at the annual assembly deliberations of the South Australian Baptist Association. Asked to speak on the topic of revivals the Rev. David Badger first admitted a great deal of prejudice existed in the minds of people. The word was associated with sensational preaching, great animal excitement and protracted meetings followed by a season of deplorable spiritual torpor.¹⁵ In 1874 fellow- South Australian, the Rev. H. J. Lambert (1836–1924), made the subject of revivals the focus of his Chairman's address to the annual Assembly. The occasion was the good news they had been cheered with in recent months 'from home', particularly Scotland where whole communities appeared to have been strangely moved by a power, Lambert said, we believed to be divine.¹⁶ But Lambert wished to clearly distinguish between revival and revivalism.

With revivalism we have no sympathy whatever. Too often it resorts to novel and very questionable means of mere excitement, such as extravagant and coarse addresses, impudent and conceited denouncements, the thrusting aside of all that is quiet and sober in the conducting of services, and the introduction of only what is noisy and demonstrative. Fear and self-interest are appealed to as incentives to an expression of decision for God.¹⁷

There was an element of ambivalence in New South Wales about revivals. In his Chairman's address to the 1888 annual assembly the Rev. John Alfred Soper (d. 1912) of the Petersham church acknowledged there was dissatisfaction with what had been achieved by the denomination and complaints were continuously made as to their slow progress. Coming to the colony from Victoria some years earlier he had been led to think that the Baptist denomination was in a dying condition and Dr. Jefferis (prominent Congregational minister) would be called in to conduct the funeral. Telling his audience of his conviction Baptists were going to live, they had a future, and they must come out of their present despondency as God never used a discouraged church, he continued on his theme of a revived ministry and a revived church. Elaborating on preaching and

¹⁵ *Truth and Progress*, November 1868, p. 239

¹⁶ *Truth and Progress*, October 1874, p. 109

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 110

pastoral duties Soper's messages was simple: they needed revival and the onus was on the pastoral ministry.

If pastors were on a higher spiritual level they would not find the church so far down. God had made them a link between Himself and His people and upon them rested an awful responsibility. What was needed was enthusiasm in their preaching. There were some sermons all brains and no blood. They must burn themselves if they were to set others on fire. If they got a revived ministry, they would get a revived church and they would not then have to complain of their congregations.¹⁸

In 1905 also in New South Wales the Rev. James Barker read a paper to the half-yearly assembly on 'Revival and Revivals' that encompassed an historical survey since New Testament times. The latest was that of Moody and Sankey in the 1870s but he rather dismally concluded: 'I regard it as an unfortunate tendency of our time that churches depend upon mere machinery for doing spiritual work.'¹⁹

The comments of Badger, Lambert and Barker seem to confirm Richard Broome's observation that 'compared to religion in other new societies such as North America, the churches in Australia were basically conservative and unemotional.' Quoting Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke's observation made in 1867 of how the colonist 'liked to pray as his father prayed before him, and is strongly conservative in his ecclesiastical affairs', Broome concluded that evangelism in Australia was always a shadow of the more enthusiastic efforts overseas.²⁰

Some of these criticisms and concerns have been highlighted by Donald McGavran in his study of church growth. The word 'revival', he said, has many connotations. To the elite it may signify a distasteful trait of frontier life and lower-class denominations. To many it means large accessions to the Church or a period of increased interest in religion. To most Christians, revival means primarily purifying and vitalizing the existing church.²¹ He quoted approvingly the definition offered by the Irish-born Baptist, the Rev. J. Edwin Orr:

An Evangelical Awakening is a movement of the Holy Spirit in the Church of Christ bringing about a revival of New Testament

¹⁸ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 September 1988, p. 4

¹⁹ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 April 1905, p. 10

²⁰ Richard Broome, *Treasure in Earthen Vessels: Protestant Christianity in New South Wales Society 1900 - 1914*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1980, p. 55

²¹ Donald A McGavran, *op. cit.*, p. 133

Christianity. Such an awakening may run its course briefly, or it may last a whole lifetime.²²

There seems to have been a different attitude in Australia after the Second World War in that the term 'revival' was suddenly popularised. This may have been precipitated by the sense of immediate danger occasioned by the Pacific war that saw a large contingent of American military personnel present in the country. The promise and urgency of religious revival became the subject of sermons. At Lithgow in country New South Wales Pastor Walter M. Callan advertised he was preaching on 'The Coming Religious Revival' and at the City Tabernacle in Brisbane the Rev. J C. Farquhar made 'The Urgency of Religious Revival' the subject of his weekly sermon.²³ In September 1950 it was announced the Baptist minister, the Rev. Billy Graham, called 'America's' best-known revivalist' who had been storming through America in an old-fashioned religious revival – a furious campaign against sin and Satan – expected to go to Australia 'when called.'²⁴

Newspaper advertisements appeared for religious revivals. In 1951 in the country town of Maclean (NSW) the Baptist church promoted a revival campaign to run from April 21 to May 4.²⁵ In the same year an American evangelist, the Rev. V. F. Anderson, confusingly told Smithton (Tasmania) Baptist congregation Australians did not recognize how lucky they were compared with other peoples of the world. A traveller coming from America found it difficult to obtain a glass of milk before reaching Australia. Sin was a barrier to progress and only a religious revival would save Australia and the world.²⁶

The question of whether Australia needed a religious revival attracted the attention of Australian Public Opinion Polls in 1953 and was put to a nation wide Gallup Poll. The poll revealed that in every major religious group in Australia there was a widespread feeling the country needed a religious revival. The question posed was this: *In your opinion does Australia need a religious revival?* Total responses were yes – 51 per cent; no – 31 per cent; expressed no opinion - 18 per cent. For those people aged over 50 who believed Australia needed one the figure was 56 per cent while those aged 21 – 49, 47 per cent said yes, 34 per cent said no and 19 per cent expressed no opinion.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 134

²³ *Lithgow Mercury* (NSW), 16 April 1848, p. 2; *Brisbane Telegraph* (Qld), 5 May 1951, p. 19

²⁴ *The Sunday Herald* (Sydney), 24 September 1950, p. 12

²⁵ *Daily Examiner* (Grafton), 18 April 1951, p. 8

²⁶ *Advocate* (Burnie), 22 February 1951, p. 8

The newspaper report continued: ‘The feeling we should pay more attention to religion is particularly strong among Baptists and Methodists who have just completed their Mission to the Nation. The result of the poll according to denomination is shown in Table 36.

Table 36: Poll responses in 1953 according to denomination to question: “In your opinion does Australia need a religious revival?”

Denomination	Yes	No	No Opinion
Baptists	74	17	9
Methodist	64	22	14
Presbyterians	57	27	16
C of E	47	33	20
R C	44	35	21

Source: The *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 24 October 1953, p. 4

The report concluded that the general attitude was that Australia would have higher moral standards if more people sought religion and young people need religion to live a better life. The result also suggests Baptists had a much more pessimistic view of Australian society and therefore supported the need for revival more strongly.

Distinctions may be drawn about how the terms evangelism and revivalism were understood in America and Australia although what constitutes genuine revival is a complex question open to interpretation. Baptists in America constantly spoke of revival and attributed to it any increase in baptisms and church membership numbers. In Australia attitudes to revivalism ranged from suspicion and caution to perceived necessity. Evangelism was the preferred term and for some like the Rev. C. J. Tinsley the sole purpose for the Church’s existence.

The Importance of Evangelism

There can be no question Baptists in both countries have signified the importance of evangelism in the life of the Church. In a historical review of American Baptist history P. E. Burroughs maintained with their insistence upon individualism and their demand for a regenerated church membership, the Baptist people are wholly dependent upon evangelism for their existence and growth. According to Burroughs among Baptists there are no conscripts, each one is a volunteer.

Whenever the Baptist people cease to win new converts they begin to perish from the face of the earth. The Baptist people can only

hope to live as they evangelise. That they have been persistent in this duty must be obvious when we recall that at the close of the War of the Revolution they numbered only about 100,000, they now number above nine millions.²⁷

Henry Vedder noted how in the eighteenth century the secret of the growth of Baptists was incessant evangelization.

There were no missionary societies national, state or even local. Some of the local associations did a work of this kind....But for the most part this evangelisation was the work of men who were not sent but went forth to preach in obedience of a divine call. Many Baptist preachers spent a part of their lives, if not the whole of them, as itinerant preachers; and to their labours was due the growth of Baptist churches in the closing quarter of the eighteenth century.²⁸

Overseas evangelists visiting Australia attempted to give advice. When the Rev. Dr. Reuben Torrey came to Sydney in 1902 he addressed a large gathering of about 250 Protestant ministers meeting in the YMCA hall in Pitt Street on the topic of 'The Minister's Calling.' Speaking for about an hour and a half he stated the minister must have a clear and definite idea of the purpose of the ministry. He asked: how can they fulfil their ministry? He asserted a minister's duty was threefold. First, it was to save the lost and contended when this was not being done the ministry was a failure. Secondly, it was to feed the flock and some were being fed with poison that was not food. Thirdly, it was to train the Church for Christian service.²⁹

In June 1910 the Rev. W. G. Taylor, the Superintendent of the Sydney Central Methodist Mission told an audience at the Flinders Street, Adelaide Baptist church he found evangelistic work in Australia centred round the Methodist and Baptist denominations. As far as New South Wales was concerned, particularly in the country, they were the leaders. He was convinced the successful church of the future would be the evangelistic church. There was a feeling of irritable restlessness in many of the churches, because they were not getting what they wanted.³⁰

As the Victorian delegate to the South Australian Baptist Association assembly in 1880 the Rev. W. C. Bunning was impressed that a colony with hardly half a million people could give such

²⁷ P E Burroughs, *The Baptist People: From the First to the Twentieth Century*. Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville, 1987, p. 80

²⁸ Henry C Vedder, *A Short History of the Baptists*, American Baptist Publishing Society, Philadelphia, 1897, p. 214

²⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 August 1902, p. 4

³⁰ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 9 June 1910, p. 12

evidence of energy and prosperity. Victoria with its larger population needed stirring up. He then launched into the subject of evangelistic work. He pointed out unless the evangelistic work was carried out in connection with some church the results of the labours would be lost for want of gathering in and care. He impressed upon his hearers the need of evangelistic effort beyond the centres of population and gave some account of the work in Victoria, pointing out the advantage of awakening enthusiasm, and of employing earnest sympathisers. He gave instances of successful evangelistic services at Geelong, Portland and other places.³¹

In 1882 in a rallying cry to fellow-Victorians the newly-installed chairman of the Baptist Association of Victoria, the Rev. William Clarke, outlined the progress the denomination had made. The advance made had been most gratifying and it was no longer any necessity, he said, to speak of them as few and unprized.

Evangelistic work must be regarded as an essential element of their prosperity. Lay preachers must occupy a prominent place in their work. Their home missions must be effectively maintained and instead of two or three agents they must have many enrolled in the service.³²

In 1917 during the First World War a lay President of the Baptist Union of New South Wales, Mr. J. H. Burnet, told his hearers the mission of the Church was to evangelise the world by proclaiming the Gospel. He claimed the Church had largely failed in its task of evangelisation and that its principal method should be not so much public preaching as personal work.³³ His successor as President, the Rev. A. J. Waldock, called in the following year for the modern spirit of energy and aggressiveness to be introduced and for the Christian religion to become militant and aggressive as the great mass of men and women are antagonistic to the Church. His address was titled, 'The Conscript Army.'³⁴

Baptist leaders always felt there was an obligation to meet the spiritual needs of the inhabitants of country districts however distant or remote the location. There were always the issues of adequate resources such as sufficient funds to support a new Baptist cause, overlapping with other Churches, and a population large enough to constitute a new church viable. People were always leaving country towns for education and employment purposes. When numbers were small and

³¹ *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 17 September 1880, p. 6

³² *The Argus* (Melbourne), 14 November 1882, p. 9

³³ Baptist Union of New South Wales, *Year Book*, 1917-18, p. 2

³⁴ BUNSW, *Year Book*, 1918-1919, pp. 1-12

prospects bleak, gloom often descended upon the local church. During his Presidential year in 1920 the Rev. Cleugh Black toured New South Wales country towns. His response to what he saw led him to 'stress the need for a competent evangelist who could work in these centres.'³⁵ Later that same year he presented a very gloomy picture of the churches visited by him in the Northern Rivers district. The membership of those churches had receded in the past few years and home mission agents were discouraged and depressed. Black's response was to urge the need for a constructive policy and provision for periodic evangelistic missions. The Home Mission Superintendent, the Rev. A. J. Waldock felt an implied criticism of him in this view. He retorted that the expenses for Dr. Cairns' visit (the American-born evangelist Dr. G. R. Cairns) to the Northern Rivers had been paid for by the Home Mission Society.³⁶

The person who most epitomised the importance of evangelism to Baptists in New South Wales was the Rev. Charles James Tinsley (1876 –1960) who in two terms as President of the Baptist Union of New South Wales made this the centrepiece of his Presidential addresses. At the conclusion of his second term he, together with two others, engaged in a series of evangelistic meetings throughout the state that resulted in a significant number of baptisms. In his 1912 address titled 'Evangelism in its Meaning, Authority and Values' Tinsley described himself thus:

I am largely a man of one gift, there is but one axe I can swing effectively, and in speaking upon this subject I feel that I can do more justice to myself, and occupy your time with more profit than I could by discussing other and equally important questions.³⁷

At the half-yearly assembly during this Presidential year Tinsley took up the subject again in an address titled, 'The Evangelist and his sphere of work' He identified three types of evangelists that were needed. The first was the need of an itinerant evangelist, set apart wholly to go from centre to centre as may be arranged. The second was the denominational evangelist, wanted to declare their own distinctive doctrines, build up the life of their own churches and prepare the way in new districts for the establishment of Baptist churches. He should have had some pastoral experience and have some voice in the selection of the places where missions are to be held. The third that was the greatest was the need of the pastor evangelist.³⁸

³⁵ New South Wales Baptist Home Mission Society, *Minute Book*, 18 May 1920, p. 71

³⁶ *Ibid*

³⁷ John G Ridley, *C J Tinsley of Stanmore: A Lover of the Evangel*, Greenwood Press, Sydney, n.d., p. 52

³⁸ *National Advocate* (Brisbane), 10 April 1913, p. 4

Fifteen years later the title of his Presidential address was 'The Evangelistic Church in its Principles and Practice' in which Tinsley expounded his argument for evangelism.

Evangelism is not simply the proclamation of the Gospel. It is the divine art of saving people from their sins by inducing them to accept Jesus Christ as their Saviour. The preacher is more than a herald, merely proclaiming a divine truth; he is an impassioned advocate pleading for a verdict.³⁹

Tinsley summed up how imperative evangelism was in this way.

We must preach or we must perish, we must evangelise or we will fossilise. We must be a missionary force, or we shall become a missionary field.⁴⁰

We may conclude therefore Baptists in both countries considered evangelism to be of vital importance as the message they proclaimed and that their survival was contingent upon its faithful expression.

The Evangelists

America

Writing in December 1900 Samuel Ford in his *Remarkable Revivals and Revivalists of the 19th Century* stated that revivalists or travelling ministers who gave their life to special services with special methods were unknown in the earliest years of the past century. Professional revivalists and the current methods of revivals date their introduction to some sixty years ago.

The story of American Baptist evangelists during this period of study is one of both individualistic effort and organized activity. Evangelism was an integral part of itinerant preaching. There was no defined attempt to distinguish the evangelist from the preacher, the teacher or the pastor. Some men occupied a number of roles. No one demonstrates this better in eighteenth century New England than the Rev. Hezekiah Smith (1727-1805). He has been called 'the Baptist Whitefield', combining pastoral duties, evangelistic tours, and denominational service, particularly as trustee of the first Baptist College, Rhode Island. He was ranked next to Isaac Backus as a spokesman for religious liberty. He became a chaplain for four years during the

³⁹ John G Ridley, *op. cit.*, p. 53

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59

Revolutionary War and was 'an intimate friend of (George) Washington.' At the same time he was highly respected by all ranks in the Continental Army.⁴¹

What was constant was the movement of population and of Baptist preachers. This westward movement accelerated in the post-Revolutionary War years. In pre-Revolutionary times those who crossed the Alleghenies Mountains were made up largely of hunters, woodcutters and Indian fighters. Among them were the Baptist preacher Squire Boone and his more famous brother, Daniel. The first Baptist preacher in Kentucky, David Tinsley, began regular preaching there in 1776. But the close of the Revolutionary War proved to be hard times as ports in the British West Indies were closed to American commodities and as there was no market for goods the country was enveloped in economic depression. As a consequence residents in the east streamed westward moving into Kentucky and Tennessee lured by the promise of cheap land. Immigration was made up of small farmers and members of the lower middle class that included many Baptists. Among the immigrants were numerous Baptists from Virginia and North Carolina. As has been pointed out they were lured by cheap land and for, in the case of Virginia residents, freedom from interference by parsons and church wardens and 'he supercilious airs and opprobrium, with which the 'first families' of the tidewater were accustomed to treat them.'⁴²

The Baptist preachers lived and worked exactly as did their flocks, their dwellings were 'little cabins with dirt floors and, instead of bedsteads, skin-covered pole-bunks; they cleared the ground, split rails, planted corn and raised hogs on equal terms with their parishioners.' William Warren Sweet concludes:

Thus the Baptist was particularly well suited in his ideas of government, in his economic status, and in his form of church government to become the ideal western immigrant.⁴³

In his history of Arkansas Baptists J. S. Rogers stated there are two methods of spreading the Gospel, what may be called an 'individual method' and an 'organized method.' In the early part of the nineteenth century, he stated, a great deal of the work was done by preachers on their own responsibility. 'The distressing destitution and the promptings of the Holy Spirit would cause preachers to go and preach and work however great the difficulty and sacrifice.'⁴⁴ The

⁴¹ William Cathcart, *The Baptist Encyclopaedia*, pp. 1065-1066; William B Sprague (ed), *Annals of the American Baptist Pulpit*, Robert Carter & Brothers, New York, 1860, pp. 97-103; H Leon McBeth, *op. cit.*, p. 207

⁴² William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the Frontier; The Baptists*. p. 20f

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 21

⁴⁴ J S Rogers, *History of Arkansas Baptists*, Arkansas Baptist State Convention, Little Rock, 1948, p. 101

evangelistic methods Rogers refers to were those that originated with individual itinerant Baptist preachers and those later deputed by local associations or state conventions.

Another evangelist preacher Thomas R. Musick (1756-1842) illustrates how mobile some were. He was born in Spottsylvania County, Virginia and soon after his conversion and baptism at the age of seventeen began preaching. He moved to North Carolina and married and in 1791 'according to the custom of ministers in that day' he made a preaching tour into the Green River country of Kentucky. While here he had been in a great revival in which about one hundred had been converted and joined the Baptist church. From Kentucky he continued further west leaving his family in North Carolina. On this tour he made his first visits to settlements west of the Mississippi River. He came to Missouri it was said, filled with the spirit of this evangelistic work. He visited many families in the St Louis and St Charles districts and preached wherever the people could be brought together to hear the gospel. After preaching for a time to the scattered residents he returned home to North Carolina but returned with his family in 1803 or 1804 because he felt there were so few to preach the gospel and thus became the first Baptist preacher to permanently reside in the Territory. In 1811 during a great revival Musick travelled to various counties for some months preaching night and day and in the process permanently damaging his voice. His biographer said he was 'blessed with unusual vitality.'⁴⁵

In this period of study Baptists in America did not produce a separate class of Christian ministry specifically called evangelists. Neither did they look overseas for evangelists to conduct missions or revivals in order to attempt to convert fellow-Americans. From the time of the First Great Awakening Baptist preachers were in the main intensely evangelistic. In some cases Baptist preachers were home missionaries, evangelists, colporteurs and church organisers. In other words, we might conclude that the role of evangelist was never clearly distinguished.

The Rev. Shubal Stearns has been described as one of the most remarkable evangelists of the eighteenth century. The historian A. H. Newman said of him: 'It is doubtful whether any evangelist but Whitefield surpasses Stearns in magnetic power over audiences.'⁴⁶

⁴⁵ James B Taylor, *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers*, 1838, p. 22

⁴⁶ Albert H Newman (ed.), *A Century of Baptist Achievement*, American Baptist Publishing Society, Philadelphia, 1901, p. 293

But Stearns was also engaged in the organisation of many churches. Sandy Creek, North Carolina was responsible for the organisation of no fewer than 42 other churches. From Sandy Creek Stearns' work spread westward to Kentucky and Tennessee, northward to Virginia and southward to Georgia and South Carolina. His efforts were characterised by an aggressive evangelism that brought a spiritual awakening to new frontiers. But Stearns was not alone. Another similar preacher was James Read (ca1727-1798), illiterate until his wife tutored him, who travelled extensively throughout North Carolina and Virginia. He travelled with Colonel Samuel Harriss and on two occasions baptized two hundred persons. He was regarded as very enthusiastic and it was said 'he too much inclined to regard his impressions as directly from heaven.'⁴⁷

The role of agents or missionaries in Arkansas shows the diversity of tasks they were called upon to do. The Rev. J. C. Perkins was appointed the general agent of the Arkansas Baptist Association (established 1848) and travelled five thousand miles annually for many years for which he was not paid one dollar in compensation. Two other agents were subsequently appointed with several missionaries, each labouring for several months. Over 50 baptisms were reported and \$752 received into the treasury during the year. During the second year an agent was employed who obtained subscriptions amounting to \$1,181.00, collected \$555.10 and sold in four months \$562.36 worth of books. After Perkins died little was accomplished in the following two years as there was no agent or missionary in the field. Many Baptist churches were left without regular preaching leaving the 'cry for Gospel light' to be heard.⁴⁸

Many examples could be cited concerning the exploits of American Baptist preachers. To summarise, they combined the role of an evangelist with that of church organizer and pastor. Their endeavours transcended colonial or state borders demonstrating how mobile they were. Many exhibited great religious zeal and dedication, self-sacrifice and great energy. They lived by faith and on the goodwill of others.

Australia

In Australia evangelistic preachers may be divided into local and overseas. Evangelistic missions were normally conducted within state boundaries although overseas evangelists moved from state

⁴⁷ James B Taylor, *Lives of American Baptist Ministers*, 1838, p. 25

⁴⁸ J Lansing Burrows (ed.), *American Baptist Register for 1852*, American Baptist Publishing Society, Philadelphia, 1853, pp. 32-33

to state. This was because when the sponsors were such as Evangelical Councils they were state-based bodies. At a local level regular Sunday preaching in a Baptist church would often have an evangelistic edge with so-called gospel services often on a Sunday evening. Then there were joint evangelistic missions conducted among Baptist churches by fellow Baptist ministers. At different times some states had a Denominational Evangelist. There were also a small number of itinerant self-supporting Baptist evangelists who conducted evangelistic missions. Baptist churches participated in evangelist missions conducted by overseas Baptist and non-Baptist evangelists. They also willingly shared in interdenominational missions, sometimes referred to as Simultaneous Missions conducted by local ministers or overseas evangelists. Between 1900 and the outbreak of the First World War there were three large-scale evangelistic missions conducted by prominent overseas evangelists. Baptist participation reflected the evangelical and evangelistic ethos of the denomination.

Possibly the first joint evangelistic mission held by Baptists in Australia was conducted in New South Wales in 1901 involving twelve city and suburban churches. Initially proposed as a 'gospel and evangelistic mission for a week or ten days' it was deemed to have been successful in some cases and only moderately so in others. One factor that militated against its success as was admitted was that it was held in the depth of winter when the weather had been bitterly cold. Coupled with this was an influenza epidemic, leaving many unable to attend owing to illness. While hope was expressed it would become a regular feature it was readily admitted it was a salutary lesson in timing.⁴⁹

Denominational Evangelists

The issue of appointing a denominational evangelist in the different colonies offers insights into the Baptist commitment to the position. It might reasonably be thought Baptists would have been totally committed to such a proposal and taken every possible step to bring it to fruition. There were many instances of suggestions made and resolutions passed that one be appointed but there was always the perennial problem of funding any denominational position. In examining this aspect of Baptist evangelists it is proposed to look at individual States because each has a different story.

⁴⁹ Baptist Union of New South Wales, *Year Book*, 1901-1902, p. 18

South Australia

Chronologically, the first occasion the idea of a denominational evangelist was mooted occurred in April 1871 when the Rev Silas Mead informed the Baptist Association the Executive Committee had passed a resolution declaring it desirable the Association should engage and sustain a denominational evangelist to labour in the country districts. He added the Committee thought that they would have been able to obtain the services of one minister but his church would not consent to his removal.⁵⁰ What had compelled Mead to instigate such an appointment was, he said, his observation of how in most, but especially country areas, there was an absence of vigour and spiritual life. In past years many of these had reported seasons of blessing, more particularly in connection with the visits of evangelists supported by the Association. They were without the help of such at present and the result was the comparative dullness of several country churches.⁵¹ Later that year a suggestion was made to the annual gathering of the South Australian Baptist Association by the Rev. J. L. Parsons who wished to test the feeling of the meeting with the motion that ‘this meeting expresses its deep conviction that the time has come for the Baptist Association to employ an efficient evangelist to overtake the work in thinly-populated districts.’ This evidently provoked a discussion objecting to the importation of ministers from England before being carried.⁵² The result was the appointment of the Rev. David Badger as the denominational evangelist. His first appointment, however, was to oversight the deeply troubled church at Mount Gambier.⁵³

At the 1872 annual assembly the secretary of the Association voiced the necessity that ‘in order to revive our drooping churches, gather and organize new churches, and reach those parts of the colony where the Gospel is scarcely preached at all, we shall require at least three evangelists.’ In 1890, the year of Badger’s sudden death, aged 63, an Evangelistic Committee was formed consisting of the Revs Silas Mead, E. J. Henderson and Lewis Shackleford to whom applications could be made for evangelistic services during the winter but months later the Association secretary reported this had produced no good results as churches had made their own arrangements.⁵⁴ In 1913 it was regretted the shortage of funds had prevented the appointment of a denominational evangelist.⁵⁵ In 1930 the appointment of one was again being advocated.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ *The Evening News* (Adelaide), 5 April 1871, p. 3

⁵¹ *Adelaide Observer* (SA), 8 April 1871, p. 11

⁵² *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 7 November 1871, p. s6-7

⁵³ *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 18 April 1872, p. 3

⁵⁴ *South Australian Chronicle* (Adelaide), 12 April 1890, p. 8; *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 15 October 1890, p. 3

⁵⁵ *The Register* (Adelaide), 17 September 1913, p. 7

New South Wales

In New South Wales in 1875 the Rev. A. W. Webb submitted a scheme whereby Mr. Thomas Llewellyn was to preach the gospel and visit Baptists scattered throughout the colony.⁵⁷ In effect he acted more like an evangelist cum colporteur, embarking on a circuitous route that eventually led him to Armidale where he built the New England Baptist church before falling out with the Baptist Union.

In September 1888 the annual assembly resolved to raise funds for the employment of an evangelist but twelve months later it was lamented the denomination had an Evangelist Fund but no evangelist. Within months the Union Executive Committee was spurred to action in its plans for a denominational evangelist.⁵⁸ On 31 July 1890 Mr Charles Boyall was welcomed to this denominational position in the Bathurst street church.⁵⁹ Three months later it was advertised he was singing and preaching the gospel in the Molong Presbyterian church in a series of evangelistic services sponsored by the Western Baptist Association.⁶⁰ A fortnight's mission followed at Parramatta in December.⁶¹ In April 1891 he completed a ten day mission at the Auburn church where fourteen professed conversion. Another followed at the Bathurst street church in June. On 1 September 1891 he was welcomed as the second minister of the Marrickville church in Sydney.⁶² His tenure had lasted but one year. It seems lack of finance to support his position was a factor as mentioned in *The Baptist* but there was no binding agreement and therefore the denominational interest was always subservient to the pastoral needs of any local congregation.⁶³

The issue of the need for and the immediate employment of a denominational evangelist were raised again in 1895 and 1909.⁶⁴ But two years before the latter date, in 1907, the Executive Committee of the Baptist Union had recognized the deep need for one and thus began a prolonged search for a suitable candidate and 'the ways and means' to support him.⁶⁵

⁵⁶ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 30 June 1930, p. 19s

⁵⁷ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 September 1875, p. 3; Alan C Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 159

⁵⁸ *The Baptist*, December 1889, p. 34

⁵⁹ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 July 1890, p. 12

⁶⁰ *Molong Express and Western District Advertiser* (NSW), 11 October 1890, p. 3

⁶¹ *The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate* (Parramatta), 29 November 1890, p. 5

⁶² -, *Marrickville Baptist Church and Sunday School, Golden Jubilee Souvenir 1887 – 1937*, p. 6

⁶³ *The Baptist*, 5 June 1891, p. 131; 4 July 1891, p. 169

⁶⁴ *The Baptist*, 1 January 1895, p. 4; BUNSW, *Year Book*, 1909 – 10, p. 29

⁶⁵ BUNSW, *Year Book*, 1910 – 11, p. 107; *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 October 1910, p. 9

Owing to the inability of the appointed committee to find a suitable person it was resolved to approach some prominent Canadian ministers, possibly known to a committee member, the Rev. L. E. Tranter, who had resided there. An approach was made to the Scottish-born minister, the Rev. John Harper (1872–1912) who declined as he had accepted a three month preaching engagement in Chicago but lost his life in the fateful maiden voyage of the *SS Titanic*. Harper had strongly urged an approach be made to the Rev. A. Jardine of Belfast but the Baptist Union found he also had taken up another position.⁶⁶

Consistent with the theme of his Presidential address in 1912 Tinsley undertook six months of evangelistic work and following evangelistic missions in some country churches in June 1913 he recommended to the Home Mission Society an increase in the salary of some agents and the appointment of a denominational evangelist.⁶⁷ This must have heartened the sub-committee delegated to find a suitable person because it unanimously agreed that ‘the Reverend C. J. Tinsley possessed all the gifts and qualifications that such a position demanded.’ On the basis of the important work Tinsley was doing at Stanmore, it was reported, it was determined to first approach the officers of the Stanmore church rather than Tinsley himself. After a protracted delay the church finally indicated it was unwilling to release their minister. In justifying their decision the Stanmore deacons stated the steps taken were, among others, the importance and unique character of the work being at present done by Mr. Tinsley at Stanmore, the value to the Denomination of that work resulting as it had done in the calling out into work of the Home and Foreign Missions of many young men who were making full proof of their ministry, and the fear that Mr. Tinsley’s throat would not stand the strain of continued mission work.⁶⁸ In retrospect such an explanation should be treated with great scepticism. It is unclear who these ‘young men’ were but it is much clearer local self-interest overrode any wider altruistic denominational benefit. In the end the position of denominational evangelist became the responsibility of the Home Mission Committee when the Rev. John Complin (d. 1932) who had been its Organizing Pastor was appointed. This meant the Committee had to be responsible for his salary.⁶⁹ Complin only remained in the position for about two years until 1916 before accepting the pastorate of the

⁶⁶ BUNSW, *Year Book*, 1912 – 13, p. 106

⁶⁷ Home Mission Society Minute Book, July 1913, p. 149

⁶⁸ BUNSW, *Year Book*, 1913 – 14, p. 100

⁶⁹ *Ibid*

Newcastle Baptist Tabernacle following his accreditation as a minister in full standing at that year's assembly.⁷⁰

While the First World War may have been a distraction little happened in the remaining period of this study. In 1923 the Welsh-born former miner, the Rev. T. R. Coleman (1861–1932) was appointed. He showed his empathy with his personal story, 'From coalpit to pulpit.'⁷¹ In May 1924 he was reported as temporarily supplying the mid-Clarence Presbyterian circuit and then later assumed the pastorate of the Lithgow church.⁷² At the 1933 annual assembly a proposal for a denominational evangelist was remitted to the Evangelistic and Propaganda Committee but it appears little happened.⁷³ The position remained unfilled and as late as 1937 poor statistical results were being blamed on the denomination not having an evangelist.⁷⁴

Victoria

In Victoria it appears the idea of a denominational evangelist was first suggested by the Rev. J. T. Evans in 1899 as a means of stimulating the spiritual life of the churches. He found little support for the idea. The Rev. S. Howard thought there would be great difficulty in giving effect to the motion and favoured the executive committee arranging evangelistic services wherever desired. The Rev. E. Harris pessimistically queried where suitable men would come from and added it would entail a great deal of expense. Besides, he claimed, it was not wise to interfere with the churches at large, many of which were not favourably impressed with the results of evangelistic services.⁷⁵

The primary consideration in securing a denominational evangelist appeared to be finance. At the half-yearly assembly in 1904 the proposition was put forward that providing a suitable evangelist could be obtained, an effort be made to obtain fifty guarantors contributing £5 each for one year who shall sign a legal document pledging them to make up that amount or any less amount that may be required to pay the salary and travelling expenses of the evangelist. At the same time it

⁷⁰ *Northern Times* (Newcastle), 14 October 1916, p. 2

⁷¹ *Northern Star* (Lismore), 8 September 1923, p. 6; *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 October 1932, p. 15

⁷² *Northern Star* (Lismore), 10 May 1924, p. 16 While it was reported as a 'circuit' Presbyterians have "pastoral charges" as some might have multiple preaching places

⁷³ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 September 1933, p. 17

⁷⁴ BUNSW, *Year Book*, 1937 – 38, p. 24

⁷⁵ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 18 November 1899, p. 6

was envisaged the evangelist would not only work among existing churches but also establish new causes in every part of the State.⁷⁶

It took a decade however before the Rev. E. L. Watson formerly the pastor of the West Melbourne church was appointed the first denominational evangelist at the half-yearly assembly in 1909. On the eve of his first ten day mission at Aberdeen Street, Geelong church on 1 August 1909 he reportedly had won golden opinions as an evangelist. He possessed a fine presence and a powerful and pleasing voice, sang well and preached with eloquence.⁷⁷ This mission was immediately followed by another ten day one at Castlemaine church. It was planned to have brief lunchtime talks with employees at the local Foundry and Woollen Mills. At the evening service there was a concession to Americanism with Alexander's hymns being sung.⁷⁸ It appears from the start these church missions had two common elements: ten days duration and the singing of American-written hymns.⁷⁹ Hymn singing tended to be American-inspired. On many other occasions Sankey's hymns, composed by Ira D Sankey (1840-1908), and first advertised as being sung in Sydney in August 1874, were used.⁸⁰

This format Watson adopted in local churches is evidenced at Echuca, Footscray and Box Hill.⁸¹ Here he was reported as having a fine presence, a powerful and pleasing voice and a fine bass voice.⁸² When at Echuca he gave a talk to men only in the Temperance Hall on what was reported as 'a most practical, earnest and powerful address' on 'The problem of every man's life.' Plain truths were told in a plain way, it was emphatically stated and that impressed the men.⁸³

It would seem Watson was the ideal itinerant evangelist by virtue of his background and experience. When at suburban Footscray, the local newspaper found him quite appealing.

Many think he compares favourably with the great evangelists who have visited our shores - he is a native of Victoria, stands six feet high and is broad with it. He has a wide experience of

⁷⁶ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 11 May 1904, p. 5

⁷⁷ *Geelong Advertiser* (Vic), 31 July 1909, p. 2

⁷⁸ *Mount Alexander Mail* (Vic), 14 August 1909, p. 2

⁷⁹ *Riverina Herald* (Echuca, Vic), 13 June 1910, p. 2; *Independent* (Footscray), 17 September 1910, p. 3; *Reporter* (Box Hill), 17 February 1911, p. 4

⁸⁰ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1874, p. 1

⁸¹ *Riverina Herald* (Echuca, Vic), 13 June 1910, p. 2; *Independent* (Footscray), 17 September, 1910, p. 3; *Reporter* (Box Hill), 17 February 1911, p. 4

⁸² *The North Western Advocate and Emu Bay Times* (Tasmania), 25 March 1909, p. 2; *Geelong Advertiser* (Vic), 31 July 1909, p. 2

⁸³ *Riverina Herald* (Echuca, Vic), 13 June 1910, p. 2

life; as a coalminer he has worked with a pick down a mine; he has carried his swag and slept in the open. He graduated from the Baptist College of Victoria and was minister of the West Melbourne Baptist church – set apart as an evangelist during the presidency of Rev J H Goble.⁸⁴

But Watson's tenure only lasted about five years. At the end of 1914 he and the Rev. D. F. Maclean left for England to prepare to take up chaplaincy work on the Western Front.⁸⁵

Once again the Great War seemed to be a distraction as his successor, the Rev. H. H. Jeffs, was not appointed until 1926.⁸⁶ Jeffs remained in the position for less than three years before announcing his resignation in January 1929.⁸⁷

Basil Brown drew attention to the Rev. Adam Clarke who in 1932 resigned from the Moonee Ponds church after 'a fruitful ministry' and undertook itinerant evangelistic work, reminiscent perhaps of some eighteenth century American Baptist preachers. He claims he travelled for eighteen months in his gospel van around the state at great personal cost, and without cost to the denomination, believing that God would provide for his needs.⁸⁸ Clarke, formerly a Methodist lay preacher, came to Moonee Ponds from New Zealand on 20 July 1930 and was inducted into the pastorate on 19 September but resigned within eighteen months. He was 'set apart' for the evangelistic work on 25 February 1932 but some fifteen months later on 13 May 1933 it was announced Clarke had accepted a unanimous call to the South Melbourne, Albert Park and Port Melbourne churches. This experience highlighted the difficulty Australian Baptists regularly faced: the lack of continuity or sustainability in any enterprise and secondly, the risk of the loss to any local church seeking to make a pastoral appointment.⁸⁹

The Rev. A. Smith had been appointed by 1936 but in that year the Evangelistic Committee decided to appoint a committee to investigate evangelism in Victoria and would issue a questionnaire on the subject to all churches.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ *Independent* (Footscray), 17 September 1910, p. 3

⁸⁵ *The Ballarat Star* (Vic), 1 December 1914, p. 2

⁸⁶ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 27 February 1926, p. 11

⁸⁷ *Advocate* (Burnie), 11 January 1929, p. 2

⁸⁸ Basil S Brown, *Members One of Another*, p. 146

⁸⁹ *The Age* (Melbourne), 19 July 1930, p. 18; *The Argus* (Melbourne), 15 September 1930, p. 7; *The West Australian* (Perth), 20 February 1932, p. 12; *The Age* (Melbourne), 13 May 1933, p. 14

⁹⁰ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 14 October 1936, p. 12

Other States

In the other States there was comparatively little activity in respect of denominational evangelists. In Queensland at the 1907 half-yearly assembly the Rev. P. J. Masters read a paper on 'Evangelism and Methods of Evangelism in relation to our ordinary church work' that argued current concepts of evangelism were estranged from those of the New Testament and the growth in the use of travelling evangelists had not resulted in any benefit to the churches that might have been expected. It was thought evangelism was of such importance it should be undertaken by minister and members alike. The outcome of the ensuing discussion, perhaps paradoxically, was that the Council of the Baptist Union should consider the appointment of a denominational evangelist.⁹¹

In Western Australia there was only a very limited attempt to utilize a denominational evangelist. When the Rev. Reuben Bailey assumed the Presidency of the Union in 1911 he said he was going to act as denominational evangelist during this period.⁹² The only period there was a designated evangelist was between 1925 and 1928 when the Rev. Harry Reeve (1883-1968) became Organizing Secretary and evangelist.⁹³ He was also described as secretary of the Baptist Union Home Mission Committee.⁹⁴ He followed the same pattern of conducting a ten day mission in Albany.⁹⁵

At the 1890 annual assembly in Tasmania evangelistic work in connection with country stations was discussed at some length. The Union President, the Rev. Robert McCullough in self-congratulatory mode spoke of the progress and prospects of the denomination and contemplated its extension by sending out missionaries but it does not appear that before anything eventuated.⁹⁶

From this state-by-state examination of denominational evangelists one might conclude such a position as denominational evangelist would have figured more prominently in a denomination with a conservative evangelical tradition who prided itself on its evangelistic emphasis with slogans such as 'Evangelise or fossilise'. Possibly first uttered by the South Australia Baptist Association President, the Rev. Edwin H. Ellis, in 1898 it became a familiar cry in subsequent

⁹¹ *Queensland Times Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* (Queensland), 2 April 1907. p. 10

⁹² *The West Australian* (Perth), 20 November 1911, p. 5

⁹³ Richard K Moore, 'All Western Australia is my parish', p. 289

⁹⁴ *The Swan Express* (Midland Junction, WA),

⁹⁵ *The West Australian* (Perth), 3 November 1925, p. 4

⁹⁶ *The Mercury* (Hobart), 9 April 1890, p. 3

decades and was being sounded yet again by the Rev. Donovan Mitchell at the Triennial Baptist Assembly held forty years later in 1938.⁹⁷ Perhaps the greatest irony surrounding the slogan, however, is that the person with whom it is most associated, the Rev. C. J. Tinsley, declined the opportunity when formally approached to become denominational evangelist. It seems the self-interest of local churches, lack of denominational funding for such a position and a general half-hearted commitment all played a role in the position not becoming of singular importance in the denomination's life.

Colporteurs in America

One form of evangelistic activity that was widely embraced by American Baptists but rarely utilised by Baptists in Australia was the use of colporteurs. These were men who performed a number of roles: the distribution of Bibles, tracts and other Christian literature, itinerant preaching, the conduct of prayer meetings and the visitation to homes and vessels distributing Bibles, religious tracts and other Christian literature. In addition they were involved in the constitution of churches and the establishment of Sunday schools. They were viewed as preachers and distributors of literature in destitute parts.⁹⁸ The concept of colportage originated with the re-organization of the Baptist General Tract Society (founded 1824 in Washington, DC) into the American Baptist Publication and Sunday School Society by a convention of delegates from seventeen States meeting in New York in 1840.⁹⁹ The object of the Society was the publication of books as needed by the Baptist denomination and to promote Sunday schools by such measures as experience may prove expedient. Some colporteurs received commissions from the sale of books and as a means of raising funds, Life memberships for twenty dollars and Life directorships for fifty dollars were offered to interested persons.¹⁰⁰ The number of colporteurs varied in number. In 1848 there were sixteen who laboured in ten states.¹⁰¹ In 1851 twenty one colporteur missionaries including seven Germans were in eleven states and territories and the following year 27 colporteur missionaries were reportedly serving in seven states, Canada and Oregon¹⁰²

The idea of colportage appears to have expanded by the mid-1850s. An annual summary of achievements appeared in *The Baptist Almanac* and on three occasions there was a summary of a

⁹⁷ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 7 September 1898, p. 7; *The Age* (Melbourne), 12 August 1938, p. 7

⁹⁸ *Almanac and Baptist Register*, 1846, p. 32

⁹⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁰⁰ *Almanac and Baptist Register*, 1842, p. 80

¹⁰¹ *Almanac and Baptist Register*, 1848, p. 31

¹⁰² *American Baptist Register*, 1852, p. 41

period of five to fifteen years. The first occasion there was any detailed summary of activity was for the year ending 1 March 1856 and reveals the extent of the colporteur's work. The 109 colporteurs, twenty three of whom were students, had travelled 85,989 miles, sold 36,663 volumes, given 2,788 volumes to the poor, distributed 478,392 pages of tracts, preached 3,500 sermons, held 2,621 prayer meetings, visited 67,252 families, 2,633 vessels and 870 canal boats. This had resulted in 486 'hopeful converts', twelve churches constituted and thirty-one Sunday schools organized.¹⁰³ A similar summary appeared in 1868 covering the previous fifteen years. The detailed information provided of each colporteur's activities was reminiscent of that of the American Baptist Home Mission Society missionary, something that became intrinsically American. It shows how the very least precise records needed to be kept.

Table 37: Details of Colporteurs' service in America, 1852 – 1867

Days' service	139,559
Volumes distributed	390,912
Pages of tracts distributed	3,913,387
Volumes given to poor and erring	46,783
Sermons preached	49,663
Prayer meetings held	27,219
Visits to families	466,689
Visits to vessels	22,593
Number of baptisms	7,300
Churches constituted	206
Sunday schools formed	713

Source: *The Baptist Almanac* 1868, p. 28-29

Colporteurs in Australia

Among Australian Baptists colportage was initially conducted by individuals without any denominational direction. In New South Wales Mr. Thomas Llewellyn initially acted in a pastoral capacity in the South Coast mining town of Araluen before embarking on a long trip northward visiting homes in remote settlements and selling or distributing books and Bibles.¹⁰⁴

In Tasmania English-born Mr. George Lake from about the mid-1880s was engaged as a colporteur in northern Tasmania before being asked to be the pastor of the Bracknell and Blackwood Creek churches.¹⁰⁵ He was financially supported by the Baptist philanthropist William Gibson in part no doubt because the Baptist Union had no funds for his support. As

¹⁰³ *The Baptist Almanac*, 1857, p. 33

¹⁰⁴ See Barbara Coe, *Thomas Llewellyn: Bush Missionary* 23. 1832- 25.1899, unpublished MS, July 2015, p. 27

¹⁰⁵ *Launceston Examiner* (Tas), 9 July 1887, p. 3

proved to be so often the case this was short-lived, Lake terminating his pastoral involvement toward the end of 1888 and later moving to Melbourne to engage in evangelistic work.¹⁰⁶

Other Baptists like Thomas Beasley (1844-1904) chose to work in central and southern Queensland as a colporteur for nearly a quarter of a century with a non-denominational organization, Queensland Town and Country Mission, although after 1893 and privately sponsored, he continued on his own.¹⁰⁷ There are isolated incidences of other Baptists in Queensland engaged as colporteurs. In 1930 Mr. R. O. Frewin, a second year theological student, was to be based at Mondo, five hundred kilometres north-west of Brisbane and specialise in colporteur and evangelistic work.¹⁰⁸ In a report of his first trip he recounted travelling about three hundred miles, making 164 visits, instituting Sunday schools, conducting services and offering religious instruction as opportunity arose.¹⁰⁹

In New South Wales the Northern Rivers District Baptist Association appointed Pastor Bruce Hinds as a colporteur and travelling evangelist and early in 1925 he began operating in 'the lonely bush' in areas outside the regular ministry of the churches, visiting isolated homes and little country public schools, selling and distributing free copies of the Bible and 'other good literature.'¹¹⁰ Hinds travelled in his small two-wheeled van. He received no fixed remuneration, but was instead entirely dependent on 'the unsolicited freewill offerings of those interested.'¹¹¹ There are no further references to him after October 1927.

American Baptists, consistent with their overwhelming desire to take the gospel message to the most destitute parts of the land, saw colportage as a means of dispensing Christian truth through the distribution of literature accompanied by preaching and personal visitation. The establishment of so many Sunday schools suggests efforts were being directed toward the young while at the same time colporteurs were seeking the conversion and baptism of believers. One important point of difference between the two countries is that in America societies that transcended state borders, often with auxiliary societies in individual States, greatly enabled the Society's objectives to be realized. In Australia, however, it proved to be the case that any action had a

¹⁰⁶ *Launceston Examiner* (Tas), 27 April 1889, p. 6

¹⁰⁷ *The Telegraph* (Brisbane), 1 February 1904, p. 7

¹⁰⁸ *The Telegraph* (Brisbane), 15 March 1930, p. 10

¹⁰⁹ *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld), 14 June 1930, p. 10

¹¹⁰ *The Richmond River Herald and Northern Districts Advertiser* (NSW), 30 January 1925, p. 4; *Northern Star* (Lismore), 30 October 1926, p. 6

¹¹¹ *Northern Star* (Lismore), 23 April 1927, p. 12

more limited radius and was largely dependent upon the whim of individual colonial associations or later, district associations.

Evangelistic Methods in America

During the second half of the eighteenth century Baptists in America relied on the meeting-house or itinerant preaching to win converts. There were no overseas evangelists who visited Baptist congregations, one reason being there was no denominational structure to organize or co-ordinate such visits. It is extremely doubtful whether the interests of a local Baptist congregation, relatively small in number, would have extended so far. Besides, the growing political storm that erupted in the Revolutionary War of 1775-1783 would not have been conducive to English evangelists and the presence of the Established Church in Virginia and other southern colonies constantly evoked memories of an oppressive English heritage.

The Second Great Awakening or as it sometimes called the Great Revival that began in the last decade of the eighteenth century brought a change in methods. The Second Great Awakening is often associated with the ministry of the Pennsylvanian-born Presbyterian minister the Rev. James McCready (1763–1817) who came to Logan County in Kentucky in 1796 as the pastor of three small congregations.¹¹² The Second Great Awakening is often associated with a huge camp meeting held at Kane Ridge in Kentucky in 1801, led by Presbyterian ministers, assisted by Baptist and Methodist preachers, and attracted thousands of people. The religious revival that ensued continued for some fifty years, mainly in the South and in the frontier states.

The innovative change that the Second Great Awakening brought was the camp meeting that became a feature of frontier life and the response to a situation where there was a migratory population moving into new territories, no established villages, few houses of worship and relatively few ordained ministers. Camp meetings were attended by those who, freed from their daily routine for the duration, participated in what sometimes amounted to highly emotional religious meetings that included the singing of hymns and listening to continuous sermons by itinerant preachers. Meetings have been described in this way:

Several ministers, sometimes from different denominations, provided virtually non-stop preaching and hymn-singing during the day, and in the evening and late into the night. Attenders anticipated and had

¹¹² Richard Beard, *Biographical Sketches of some of the Early Ministers of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, Southern Methodist Publishing House, Nashville. 1867, p. 7-17

emotional conversion experiences with crying, trances and exaltation.¹¹³

The Great Revival came to North Carolina in 1800. In his history of Baptists in that state George Washington Paschal stated there were two classes of meetings. The first were general meetings usually led by Presbyterians in which they united with Methodists, both in preaching and the observance of the Lord's Supper which was a regular feature of these meetings. In some cases Baptist ministers, by invitation, preached at these occasions and took part in communion. The other class of meeting was the camp-meeting that became a feature in more isolated parts of North Carolina. Paschal pointed out that the contribution of Baptist preachers to these united meetings was relatively small because Baptist ministers declined to participate in communion services with other denominations.¹¹⁴ The objection related to the belief that participation in this should be restricted to baptized believers who are members of a church.

Evangelistic Methods in Australia

In Australia camp meetings were often a feature of Primitive Methodist church life but were not utilised by Baptists except for one or two isolated cases. A camp meeting by Primitive Methodists held in Hyde Park, Sydney one Sunday in 1861 had three speakers, one it was reported was 'Rev. Mr Wilson (Baptist).' ¹¹⁵ In 1899 'hundreds of adherents' from the Bathurst Baptist (NSW) church organised and successfully carried out what was described as 'an old-fashioned camp meeting' in Orton Park. The morning service was abandoned because the Salvation Army band struck up just before the designated starting time at the allocated location. During the day the religious services were interspersed with games. The Salvation Army was picnicking on the opposite side of the creek and in the afternoon the two religious bodies combined and held a church service together.¹¹⁶

Baptists in this country showed no hesitation in joining with other likeminded Churches to engage in evangelistic missions irrespective of whether the evangelist was local or from overseas. Australia became a destination of choice for British and American evangelists sometimes

¹¹³ J William Frost, *Christianity and Culture in American Christianity: A Social and Cultural History*, 2nd edition, Prentice Hall, Upper Saddle River, 1998, p. 430

¹¹⁴ George Washington Paschal, *History of North Carolina Baptists*, Volume 11, The General Board North Carolina State Convention, Raleigh, 1955, p. 362

¹¹⁵ *Empire* (Sydney), 1 Match 1861, p. 2

¹¹⁶ *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal* (NSW), 3 January 1899, p. 2 ; *National Advocate* (Bathurst), 4 January 1899, p. 3

accompanied by a soloist, beginning with the American Wesleyan Methodist, the Rev. William ('California') Taylor who came to Sydney in 1864.¹¹⁷

At the beginning of the twentieth century Baptists participated in Simultaneous Missions conducted in various states that took their inspiration from those conducted in Great Britain in the first months of 1901 organized by the Free Councils of England and Wales.¹¹⁸ In New South Wales these interdenominational missions were sponsored by the Evangelical Council of New South Wales constituted in 1899. It included all non-Anglican Protestant Churches, the Anglicans, according to Richard Broome, generally remaining aloof but nevertheless supported by Boyce and Hammond, two prominent evangelical clergymen.¹¹⁹ In mid-1901 the Evangelical Council decided to make an assault on 'the problem of religious indifference.'

In April 1902 a large advertisement appeared in a Melbourne newspaper announcing Simultaneous Missions to be held in conjunction with the visit from Chicago of Dr. R. A. Torrey and American Gospel song leader, Charles Alexander. It stated 214 churches would be engaged in these Simultaneous Missions in fifty districts involving fifty missionaries, two thousand personal workers, two thousand five hundred choir members. A total of 16,800 home meetings had already been conducted at which 117,000 persons attended. The missionaries listed included three Baptists: Dr. Thomas Porter, the Rev. A. J. Clarke and the Rev. F. E. Harry.¹²⁰

The Simultaneous Missions moved to New South Wales later in 1902. In the country town of Bathurst the mission was to be held in the Masonic Hall from 2 October to 9 October and the local Baptist minister, the Rev. David Steed was secretary to the executive committee. Most Churches participated and the committee determined 'the mission is to be entirely unsectarian and as in the case of the great simultaneous missions, all the churches will share in the spiritual accessions secured'.¹²¹ There was the promise of a choir and the singing of all the popular mission songs used by Torrey and Alexander and in fact singing was to be a principal attraction of the mission service.

¹¹⁷ *Queanbeyan Age and General Advertiser* (NSW), 7 July 1864, p. 3 ; *The Newcastle Chronicle and Hunter River District News* (NSW), 16 July 1864, p. 4

¹¹⁸ Martin Wellings (ed), *Protestant Nonconformity and Christian Missions*, Wipf & Stock, Eugene, Oregon, 2014, chapter 7.

¹¹⁹ Richard Broome, *Treasure in Earthen Vessels: Protestant Christianity in New South Wales Society 1900-1914*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1980, p. 56

¹²⁰ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 12 April 1902, p. 5

¹²¹ *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal* (NSW), 20 September 1902, p. 2

In mid-1902 an executive committee for Simultaneous Missions consisting of all the main Protestant denominations met in Western Australia. This committee was formed to 'frame the basis of an association of Christian citizenship, enabling all people interested to stand together on subjects moral and morally political, such as Sunday entertainments and Sunday trading.'¹²²

In 1909 and 1912 Dr. Wilbur Chapman (1859-1919), originally from Indiana visited Australia and on both occasions was accompanied by Charles M. Alexander. As with Torrey's visit Baptists participated in his evangelistic missions.

In New South Wales it appears memories of Simultaneous Missions lingered long in the collective mind for in 1932, thirty years after the original one, it was announced at the half-yearly assembly simultaneous evangelistic mission campaigns were being organized in fifty city and suburban churches by the Evangelistic Committee and all the missionaries were to be the Baptist Union's own ministers.¹²³

Tent Missions

There is very little evidence tents were used in evangelistic missions by American Baptists and references to them are dated following this period of study. The initial cost and the maintenance and transportation of a large tent would have presented problems for individual congregations, unless it became the responsibility of a local association.

In Australia tent missions were a different matter. They were first advocated here by the Rev. Dr. A. N. Somerville when he arrived in 1877. The first was used in the Melbourne suburb of Collingwood. He suggested to young ladies among his hearers the idea of collecting subscriptions for the purpose of erecting a gospel tent in Collingwood in which religious services might be conducted 'to which the very lowest class in the community might be attracted.' A sum of £518 was collected but the movement involved in its operation was not to be denominational. There were to be five trustees from five denominations.¹²⁴ Somerville's gospel tent had a secondary purpose. The tent was modelled on one in Glasgow, Scotland where it was regularly used for those who wished to eat tea in it on Sunday nights.¹²⁵ Somerville's call prompted the Surry Hills

¹²² *The West Australian* (Perth), 24 July 1902, p. 4

¹²³ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 April 1932, p. 13

¹²⁴ *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier, SA), 2 March 1878, p. 4

¹²⁵ *The South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 3 June 1878, p. 4

YMCA in Sydney in 1878 to call for a tent for evangelistic purposes in suburbs where a suitable building could not be found.¹²⁶

As New South Wales Baptists became more organized towards the end of the nineteenth century at the half yearly assembly in 1897 it was resolved to purchase a gospel tent for the use of churches for gospel services.¹²⁷ In the early 1920s the Evangelistic and Propaganda Committee of the Baptist Union of New South Wales saw the need for strengthening and establishing isolated country centres. The committee wished to strengthen the hand of ministers who were tackling an enormous task in these country towns where 'because of the peculiar materialistic and spiritually dead environment much of their labour is neutralised.' The best way it was thought was through tent missions 'because of some deep-seated prejudice the great multitude can neither be coaxed nor forced to come into a church building.'¹²⁸

In 1928 the same Committee adopted a different approach and pitched a tent in the grounds of the inner west suburban Haberfield church for three Sundays. It was concluded church grounds were not as suitable as neutral grounds but it was noted attendances were two to three times as great as normally recorded when previous missions were conducted within the church building. The tally of those who signed decision cards were as follows: Church of England (7), Methodist (2); Presbyterian (2); and Church of Christ (1). The total number was 47 and fifteen were scholars from the Sunday school. These figures suggest twenty did not identify with any denomination.¹²⁹ In 1932 as the Simultaneous Mission was being contemplated, damage caused by severe storms brought the temporary halt to tent missions.¹³⁰

Our knowledge of the outcomes of tent missions remains very sketchy but in one instance we have a clearer picture. A United Tent Mission conducted in 1903 in the central western mining town of Bodangora (NSW) attracted a good deal of attention as evidenced by the large attendance at various meetings. When the mission closed at nearby Wellington an analysis of the records of the 'enquiry room' showed the names of 91 Methodists, 83 Anglicans, 86 Presbyterians, 14

¹²⁶ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 September 1878, p.1

¹²⁷ *Australian Town and Country Journal* (NSW), 1 May 1897, p. 8

¹²⁸ Baptist Union of New South Wales, *Year Book*, 1922-23, p. 84

¹²⁹ *Daily Examiner* (Grafton), 25 May 1928, p. 3

¹³⁰ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 April 1932, p. 23

Baptists, 10 Salvation Army adherents and five of other denominations who registered their names.¹³¹

The Chapel Car and the Gospel Van

America

Another medium of evangelistic outreach utilised in America and Australia related to the form of transport used to take the gospel message to remote parts of the country. In America it became known as the chapel car while in Australia it was known either as the gospel car or gospel van. The former form of 'gospel car or van' was a railway carriage, the latter was horse-drawn until it was later motorised in the 1930s. While the advent of the chapel car falls strictly outside our period of study of American Baptists it does, nevertheless, highlight the difference between the two countries.

The origins of the chapel car are an illustration of American enterprise. When in the overcrowded 'boom town' of St James, Minnesota in the 1870s Mr Boston W. Smith sought to establish a Sunday school and in the absence of any suitable accommodation he asked the superintendent of the North Western road division for the use of a passenger coach that was left on a sidetrack there each Sunday. The request was granted with the offer of heating and light. This grew into a prosperous church. Twelve years later Smith related this incident to the Baptist minister the Rev Wayland Hoyt (1838-1910). His brother Colgate (1849-1922) was a Wall Street investment banker and director of Oregon Railway and Navigation Company. This led to the formation of a syndicate and the construction of the first chapel car known as 'The Evangel' that was dedicated on 23 May 1890. It was 70 feet (21.34 metres) long, eleven feet (3.35 metres) wide and fourteen feet (4.27 metres) high and came with own accommodation. Five others were built and given names such as 'Emanuel' and 'Glad Tidings'.

In 1894 it was reported the 'Evangel' had travelled over 20,000 miles making a halt in 200 different locations and holding 1,100 services, one-third of which were conducted in transit. Dubbed in Australia as 'the travelling church' it was recorded in 1894 there had been 2,000 conversions, 21 infant churches and 19 Sunday schools as a direct result of this work. The immediate success of this chapel car led to five others being built that were administered by the American Baptist Publishing Society. By 1901 it was recognized the days of the saddlebags of

¹³¹ *Wellington Times* (NSW), 20 August 1903, p. 4

the sturdy old gospel scouts had been supplanted by the phonograph, the stereopticon and the polyglot library on wheels.¹³²

Australia

While these events occurred outside the designated period of study of American Baptists, it nevertheless highlights one of the differences between the two countries. In Australia the era of the Gospel car was the first decade of the twentieth century. It was first the Methodists in 1899 followed by the Baptists then the Presbyterians in 1905 who exploited the possibilities of the gospel car. But the Australian idea of a Gospel car was not any motorised form of transport but a horse-drawn wagon of some description. The Australian experience is best summed up in the achievements of the West Australian Baptist pioneer, the Rev. William Kennedy, who was mentioned before. In the eulogy delivered at his passing in May 1929, aged 62, Pastor B. J. Hosken of the South Perth church who was associated with him in the early days recalled his 'untiring zeal and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of Christianity' and described his means of travel: and the level of his dedication.

When he came to the State the only property the Baptist Union possessed on the Great Southern line was an old bicycle which Mr Kennedy used to reach the settlers to whom he ministered. Frequently he travelled over 100 miles on rough bush roads for this purpose and on one occasion journeyed 200 miles from Katanning to Ravensthorpe to open up work in a town of 500 inhabitants that possessed no church.

In 1900 Mr Kennedy organised and supervised the building of the church at Katanning. In the same year the first denominational paper, printed by him on his own machine, was published. Two years later he built the Narrogin church. In 1904 he equipped a two horse Gospel van in which, accompanied by his wife and little daughter, he reached isolated settlers. The following year saw the erection of the church at Wainering, six miles east of Narrogin. In 1906 Mr Kennedy raised funds for the purchase of a large Gospel tent. Two years later he was instrumental in having the Woodanilling church erected. In addition to the stone structure for which he was responsible, Mr Kennedy had a wood and iron church put up at Carrolup and two temporary buildings on the gold fields. In every case assisted by a band of workers he did much of the manual labour himself.¹³³

¹³² *South Australian Chronicle* (Adelaide), 1 September 1894, p. 19; *The Daily News* (Perth), 19 September 1901, p.

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¹³³ *Great Southern Herald* (Katanning), 4 May 1929, p. 5

In 1906 a conference was held to discuss extension work being attempted along the Midland and South Western railway line. At this conference Kennedy said the time had come to alter their methodology when considering extension work. The danger to be avoided was that caused by overlapping and care should be taken that no work should be commenced in any place where the population did not justify another religious service. The Gospel tent would prove invaluable in new work. The Gospel van could be used in working some circuits. He urged that the larger centres should be established and from these centres outstations could be worked. In opposition to this proposal, the Rev. W. Gilmour said he felt there was a need for a Baptist church everywhere.¹³⁴

In New South Wales a similar Gospel car venture was attempted but never enjoyed the same success experienced in the West. The origins of this lie in the 1902 annual assembly when it was resolved to employ a colporteur. It was referred to the Home Mission Society who sought to raise £100. Appeals were made for collectors from individual churches and after the first attempt only seven had agreed to assist. Lack of funds left the matter in abeyance until the philanthropy of Mr. Hugh Dixson intervened. He sought another person to contribute half the requisite amount.¹³⁵ After the Union President gave an ultimatum to go on with the enterprise or abandon it Petersham church (where Dixson was a member) gave £35.¹³⁶ This is another illustration of the difficulty Baptists always faced in fundraising. Sufficient funds led to the purchase of the gospel car and its suitable dedication. The Rev. Lambert Kay employed for twelve months at two pounds per week as mission agent set off for Boggabri. He was expected to sell religious literature and be away from Sydney for six months. By June 1904 he had travelled west over the Blue Mountains and reached the town of Mudgee. He eventually reached Inverell where he remained until September 1905.¹³⁷ He was replaced by Mr A Jones, formerly of Victoria, who had no formal theological qualifications and who was still in Inverell in 1907.¹³⁸ He faced the vagaries of nature when during a thunderstorm and a lightning strike his horse bolted from where he was camped and he claimed he had to walk thirty miles and wade through a flooded creek in order to retrieve it.¹³⁹ By

¹³⁴ *The West Australian* (Perth), 12 November 1906, p. 2; *Western Mail* (Perth), 17 November 1906, p. 4 The subject of overlapping is discussed in Chapter 6.

¹³⁵ Home Mission Society, Minute Book, December, 1902, p. 145f; January 1903, p. 148f; February 1902, p. 154; July 1903, p. 174f

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* December 1903, p. 194f

¹³⁷ *The Inverell Times* (NSW), 20 September 1905, p. 2

¹³⁸ *The Maitland Weekly Mercury* (NSW), 23 November 1907, p. 7; Baptist Home Mission Society Minute Book, November 1908, p. 187f

¹³⁹ *The Maitland Weekly Mercury* (NSW), 28 December 1907, p. 6

the middle of the next year when the Gospel car was in the Barmedman district Mr Jones was instructed by the Home Mission Superintendent to remain in Temora until further advice while his relationship with the Home Mission Society was discussed.¹⁴⁰

By July 1909 the Gospel car experiment had been deemed a failure when a sub-committee appointed by the Home Mission Society was authorized to sell the car 'if they thought the offer was good enough.'¹⁴¹ The idea of the Gospel car remained dormant for over two decades until 1930 when New South Wales again proposed to inaugurate a Gospel car 'to reach the isolated, scattered settlers.'¹⁴² Fifteen years later, in 1945, the Newcastle and Northern District Baptist Association at its annual conference resolved, together with the Northern Rivers Baptist Association to provide a gospel wagon at a cost of £600 to serve the northern areas.¹⁴³

The Theological Outlook of Baptists

Baptists have never made adherence to any particular theological system, creed or confession the benchmark of religious orthodoxy. In the seventeenth century however there were Confessions of Faith such as the London Confession (1689) that formed the basis of American associations such as the Philadelphia Baptist Association. Yet when Separate Baptists emerged following the First Great Awakening they spurned all creeds claiming the Bible as their sole source of authority. Similarly in Australia when colonial associations were first formed brief statements of belief were incorporated into constitutions but there was hesitancy for making them too prescriptive.

The prevailing theological outlook of Baptists following the First Great Awakening, particularly in Virginia, may be ascertained by the biographic studies contained in the two volumes of *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers*. There was little material available to assist preachers. The 'library' of Elder Robert Thomas Daniel (1773-1840) was limited to 'the Bible and the volume of nature. He read little else.'¹⁴⁴ At the same time his orthodoxy was 'above suspicion, rather of the high Calvinistic cast' and his feelings with regard to the spread of the gospel truly apostolic.¹⁴⁵ There are frequent references to the homiletic skills of these Baptist ministers and the content of their preaching. The emphases of John Garrard, for instance, typified many of his contemporaries. It was said his church moved from below the Blue Ridge to Loudon County due to Indian attacks.

¹⁴⁰ Home Mission Society Minute Book, June 1908, p. 167

¹⁴¹ Baptist Home Mission Society Minute Book, July 1909, p. 214

¹⁴² *The Australian Baptist*, 4 November 1930, p. 14

¹⁴³ *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate* (NSW), 11 June 1945, p. 4

¹⁴⁴ James B Taylor, *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers*, Volume 2, 1959, p. 152

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 150

During the day he was instrumental in the conversion of many sinners. He went from house to house warning men to flee from the wrath to come and preaching Christ crucified.¹⁴⁶ Elder William Blair (1781-1840) held ‘moderately Calvinistic’ views and held that the commands of the gospel were binding on all men and he constantly called on all men to repent.¹⁴⁷ There were observations made about those who accepted or espoused Arminian views. Virginian historian Robert Semple recounted how Elder Jeremiah Walker ‘freely mingled and suffered his self to be drawn away into the indulgence of Arminian sentiments.’¹⁴⁸

It is a similar story in Australia concerning variations in theological emphases. Before colonial associations existed a number of individuals attempted to form congregations that reflected their own theological beliefs. Difficulties ensued when there were insufficient numbers to maintain these congregations that usually only existed briefly. Perhaps the most successful were the Strict and Particulars who espoused hyper-Calvinist views. When infant colonial associations attempted to draw up a constitution that contained a statement of belief no one was prepared to make it too definitive at the risk of alienating member churches. But, nevertheless, while individual clergy may have been more pronounced in their position, the prevailing view was what might be described as a moderate Calvinism. Walter Phillips grossly misrepresents Australian Baptists when he maintains Baptists in New South Wales were notably narrow and rigid in their beliefs. He claimed they were almost all Particular Baptists holding to Calvinist theology with its doctrines of predestination and election, in contrast to other colonies who were mostly General Baptists upholding the Arminian belief in an unlimited offer of salvation.¹⁴⁹ There is no evidence any colony attempted to project a particular theological position. There was always the movement of ministers from colony to colony and individual churches might develop an ethos that attracted certain ministers. The Strict and Particular Baptists led by Pastor Daniel Allen probably viewed the Baptist Union of New South Wales as General Baptists but they would have been critical of anyone but themselves. When Allen’s group registered its associational name in 1873 it took the term ‘Particular’ to describe itself thus distinguishing itself from the main group. The main Baptist group objected the registration as it implied they were all ‘General Baptists.’¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ James B Taylor, *Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers*, Volume 1, 1938, p. 23

¹⁴⁷ James B Taylor, *op. cit.*, 1959, p. 128

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 102

¹⁴⁹ Walter Phillips, *Defending “A Christian Country”: Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and After*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1981, p. 11

¹⁵⁰ Alan C Prior, *op. cit.* p. 91

The results of evangelistic preaching

It is extremely difficult to attempt to tabulate the number of additions to church membership as a result of evangelistic preaching or revivals. There was often imprecision about these results. They were rarely published as a matter of course. American annual returns normally included the annual number of baptisms but it is unclear whether these persons immediately became church members. In some cases what appeared to be rather modest increases in American churches were attributed to a religious revival. In the churches of the Shaftsbury Association (Massachusetts) in 1789 it was believed 'the spirit of revival' had blessed four or five of the churches. Twenty five had been added to Hillsdale church, fourteen to Little Hoosick and nine to Sandisfield.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless historical accounts periodically contain the outcome of religious revivals. Frank Masters claimed the Great Revival of 1800 in Kentucky produced far reaching spiritual results in the salvation of thousands of people of all classes and made a profound change in the social orders of the day. One negative effect, as Masters outlined, was that multitudes of the real converts of the Revival were ignorant of Bible teaching and of the doctrines essential to the Christian life. They were easily influenced by any new religious movement.¹⁵² This inevitably negated the gains that had been made. David E. Gregg attributed the greatest religious revival ever experienced in middle Alabama to a camp meeting where twelve or fifteen families were tented on the ground for five or six days. It began on 31 October 1831 and this revival, he says, continued for over twelve months and nearly 500 were baptized in three or four churches.¹⁵³

In the author's study of New South Wales Baptist history from 1900 to 1939 a Table detailed the denomination's statistics for the period 1900 to 1940. It showed the number of baptisms for each year. There were certain years where there was a significant increase over the previous year which can be attributed to evangelistic missions. There were, for instance, 308 baptisms in 1902 compared to 202 in 1901. This coincided with the mission conducted by the Rev. Dr. Reuben Torrey. There were 425 baptisms in 1910 (225 in 1911) that coincided with the first visit of the Rev Dr. Wilbur Chapman. During his second visit in 1912 there were only 240 baptisms, suggesting the impact of this second visit was not as remarkable.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Stephen Wright, *History of the Shaftsbury Baptist Association from 1781 to 1853*. A G Johnson, Troy, New York, 1858, p. 23

¹⁵² Frank M Masters, *A History of Baptists in Kentucky*, Kentucky Baptist Historical Society, Louisville, 1953. p. 158

¹⁵³ Henry Nowlin,

¹⁵⁴ Michael Petras, *Extension or Extinction: Baptist Growth in New South Wales 1900-1939*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1983, p. 84

Following his second term as New South Wales Union President (1927-1928), the Rev. C. J. Tinsley later engaged in a three year evangelistic campaign with the support of two other Baptist evangelists, John Gotch Ridley and Wilfrid Lemuel Jarvis. The tenure of three years was supposed to emulate the earthly ministry of Jesus but it also coincided with the Great Depression. This proved to be fortuitous. At a time of great financial stringency and economic dislocation Sunday evening church services were one form of social activity that held great appeal. The results of this three year period may be measured in the number of baptisms. During the years 1930 to 1933 they were 775, 950, 743 and 612, (average 770) respectively. In the four years prior to this (1926 to 1929) the average number of baptisms was 499 and in the succeeding four years (1934-1937) the average slumped to 445.¹⁵⁵ This suggests both sustained religious activity combined with prevailing economic uncertainty affected the growth of Baptists in New South Wales.

With these increases there were always losses owing to the regular revision of church rolls. Roll revision is an indicator of the level of commitment by the individual church member. In this same period in New South Wales Baptist history (1900-1940) there was a total of 16,231 baptisms. In the same period there 11,440 names removed due to the revision of the rolls. This accounted for seventy per cent of the total baptisms and highlights, despite the burst of evangelistic activity, the limiting effect upon Baptist growth in New South Wales during the first four decades of the twentieth century.

Conclusion

Baptists in America in this period of study normally spoke of their growth in numbers as the result of a revival however short or protracted that might be. Such revivals were the result of intense evangelistic activity, often by itinerant Baptist preachers. There was no reliance upon evangelists from overseas. Baptists were always assisted by a large, mostly closely settled population.

In Australia, Baptists spoke of evangelism rather than revivalism as their divinely-appointed task although the term 'revival' was becoming more common toward the end of this period of study. Curiously, for a denomination that might have prided itself on its evangelistic zeal, there were constant difficulties in attracting permanent denominational evangelists. Lack of sufficient

¹⁵⁵ *ibid*

funding and parochial self-interest by local churches constantly outweighed the overall benefit for the denomination. Coupled with this was the perceived role of the evangelist. Baptists felt an obligation to take the gospel message to all however remotely located these settlers were to be found. Limited resources, distance from other settlers and the general sparseness often made the constitution of viable local congregations a near impossibility.

Chapter 6 – Baptist Church Governance

On the 18 October 1869 the Rev. James Martin of the Collins Street church preached the annual sermon at the Baptist Association of Victoria assembly based on the verse, ‘Quench not the Spirit’ (1 Thessalonians 5:19). The quenching of the Spirit he reminded his hearers to be the standing danger of the Church, and it could be quenched if the church wilfully suppressed the truth. According to Martin truth was easily susceptible to divisions within the Church. He explained it this way:

One section was satisfied provided the 39 articles and the Athanasian Creed was not interfered with. The Calvinists were at rest if they kept clear of Arminianism. The Arminians were delighted with everything except Calvinism and the Baptists were satisfied if no one interfered with their particular views on baptism.

For himself, Martin was not indifferent to creeds for he was in no doubt they had done good service in their day, and sectarian differences had been the means of bringing out truths, but the Church, he maintained, was better off without creeds than without the Spirit.¹

In the popular mind Baptists have always been synonymous with the distinguishing Christian rite of baptism to the point it has been conceived of as their distinctive doctrine. But more importantly in organisational terms, the form of church polity which they have shared worldwide in a common bond is known as Congregationalism, signified by autonomous local churches as the ultimate form of democratic church government. In this they differ from other denominations whose form of church government is usually either Episcopalian (rule by the bishop) or Presbyterian (rule by elders). This characteristic of Baptists has meant that any united action by local Baptist congregations is strictly on a voluntary principle. Sometimes this has infuriated and frustrated denominational leaders, ever dependent upon local church support to fulfil denominational goals and objectives. Yet despite a commonality in their form of church government there have been two broad differences between Baptists in America and those in Australia relating to their organisational life and the requirements for church membership.

First, Baptists in America placed great reliance on geographically smaller local associations to fulfil their stated objectives while those in Australia depended on much larger colonial or state-

¹ *Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers* (Melbourne), 29 November 1869, p. 224

wide associations. The second difference related to the American insistence upon close membership and close communion whereas in Australia all churches (with the exception of Strict and Particular Baptists) practised open communion but close membership with the exception of South Australia where open membership churches was very common.

Issues concerning Baptist church governance

What is the best system of church government when you have a small constituency within a relatively small, widely-scattered population living in a very large country? Furthermore, what is the least suitable system? How important is central direction and control? The central question Baptists in both countries faced from their beginnings was the most effective form of governance to implement in order to advance their denomination in an environment not conducive to their system of church government. What was conducive was a large, closely settled population to draw upon, to make it easier for Baptist preachers and evangelists to engage with the local population. This was evident in the relatively small American states, half about or less than twice the size of Tasmania. As has already been shown, by 1872 the southern Confederate states of the Civil War each had over one thousand Baptist churches and even more so in Georgia where there were over two thousand.

The second difference that separated Baptists in America from Australia concerned open and close communion and open and close membership, specifically who should be permitted to join any local congregation of believers in the observance of communion and what demands should be placed upon those who wished to join the membership of their local fellowship. These practices originated in England and were aligned with different groups whether Particular Baptists, General Baptists or Scotch Baptists. The Strict and Particular Baptists, for instance, practised both close membership and close communion but aside from them, Australian Baptists generally practised close membership and open communion with the exception of South Australia where there were many open membership churches. In America close communion and close membership became the accepted practice although the question of open communion was occasionally discussed.

This chapter falls into two parts. It will be first argued that Baptists in both countries were different in the central form of their organisational structure, not so much by choice but by circumstance. In America it was local associations that became the centre of organised denominational activity and effective agents in promoting denominational growth and expansion.

In Australia, on the other hand, the main centre of activity were the much larger colony-wide associations or unions that were constantly faced with the issues of a small, widely-scattered constituency and limited human and financial resources. Coupled with this was a general unwillingness by local churches to change church polity in any way to improve the use of resources and fulfil denominational goals and ambitions. The result was invariably Baptists in Australia seemed often to be seriously impeded by this intransigence.

In the second part it will be argued that a significant difference separated Baptists in America and Australia concerning the ordinances of communion or the Lord's Supper and baptism. As previously stated, Baptists in America practised close communion and close membership while those in all Australian states practised open communion but close membership with the exception of South Australia where open membership churches were particularly common. These positions brought strident criticism in both countries for different reasons. Baptists in America were criticised for their fixed attitude to close communion because of its exclusivity. Critics of this Baptist practice viewed communion as a symbol of Christian unity that Baptists were denying to others who professed the same fervent faith. However criticism of the practice of close membership as a prerequisite for church membership was muted quite possibly because the symbolism of the practice, the attachment it denoted, resonated within the American psyche. In Australia the issue of open membership proved to be troublesome at different times in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia. There were times when the position of South Australia aroused fears and suspicions by those who staunchly held to the close membership position.

Baptist Associations in England

Before discussing Baptist church polity in either country the origins of their organisational life should first be mentioned. The model for Baptist associational life in both America and Australia was derived from English Baptists.² Their origins date back to the middle of the seventeenth century, a matter of decades after they first appeared.³ These associations were from the outset county-based but in some instance two or more counties joined to form the one association. Later some encompassed a particular geographic region. In some counties no Baptist associations even existed by 1834. In the American publication *The Triennial Baptist Register - No 2 1836* there appeared a comprehensive summary of the current status of English Baptist associations in 1834. It does not purport to be an accurate record of the history of each of the twenty four associations

² Walter B Shurden, *Associationalism among Baptists in America 1707-1814*, Arno Press, New York, 1980, pp. 1-9

³ *The Baptist Quarterly*, Volume XXXII, July 1987, No. 1, p. 101

mentioned nor does it indicate for instance Lancashire and Yorkshire Baptists formed an association in 1719 that lapsed in 1751 but was resurrected in 1787.⁴ It showed some associations were long established such as the Kent and Sussex Association that consisted of 25 churches and 2,356 church members and was celebrating its 55th anniversary. Suffolk and Norfolk Association with fifteen churches and 1,777 church members had just reached its 41st anniversary. Its efforts were directed to village preaching and the financial assistance of poor churches. Some associations such as Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire were very new. The former association consisted of nine churches and intended to meet twice yearly. They had instituted a fund to relieve ministerial distress and carry the Gospel into neglected villages. Some associations encompassed a certain geographic area. The Western Association, for instance, included Somersetshire, Dorset and northern Devonshire. In Hertfordshire, Surrey, Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire there was no association as yet formed. In nearly every association it was reported that a Circular Letter had been prepared to send to member churches. It seems most of these were written by laymen and the topic chosen was some aspect of Christian living.

Baptist Church Governance in America

During the colonial era the main unit of Baptist organisational life was largely the local congregation. By 1740, after the first century of Baptist church life, there were 65 churches as has been previously stated, but fifty years later this number had risen sharply to 986. In this same year, according to *Haynes' Chart* 34 local associations existed, originating with the dynamic and influential Philadelphia Baptist Association in Pennsylvania first formed in 1707.⁵ Robert Gardner claims, however, the first association appeared 'probably by about 1670' on Rhode Island and gives the number of associations in 1790 as 42. Most of them, he states, preferred to call themselves general meetings, holding yearly meetings or quarterly meetings. Some were constituted by delegates formally named by local churches while others were virtually pastors' conferences.⁶ Prior to 1790 the various Baptist groups had their own associations but as Gardner pointed out the greatest number were within the Particular Regular Baptists who in 1790 accounted for 91 per cent of all associated Baptists.⁷ The name 'Particular Regular' referred to those who adopted a moderate Calvinist position but this was later shortened to 'Regular' which is the name used in Almanacs and Registers in the nineteenth century. It also distinguished them

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102

⁵ Thomas Wilson Haynes, *Haynes' Baptist Cyclopaedia or Dictionary of Baptist Biography, Bibliography, Antiquities, History, Chronology, Theology, Polity and Literature*, Samuel Hart, Charleston, 1848, p. 318

⁶ Robert G Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 137

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 144

for a time from Separate Baptists who had been caught up in the religious fervour of the First Great Awakening. Regionally distributed, there were in this year twelve associations in the New England colonies, two in Pennsylvania and the remaining twenty in the South, seven of them in Virginia where there were 210 churches in 1790.

Defining an Association

In his study of American Baptist associational life from 1707 to 1814 Walter Shurden claims Baptist historians have had serious difficulty in arriving at a mutually acceptable definition of a Baptist association. Most of the disagreement, he wrote, revolved around the question of associational constituency. In his dissertation he used the following as his working definition: 'The first denominational organization beyond the local church level wherein churches voluntarily united and regularly convened, through delegates, for the purpose of sharing fellowship and unifying denominational activities within a prescribed locale.'⁸

In his history of the Kehukee (North Carolina) Baptist Association published in 1834, Joseph Biggs defined an association as an advisory body.

An Association is a combination of churches uniting together in one body, governed by certain rules when met together, and whose business is to hear from, and enquire into the state of the churches in the union, and give advice, in order to reconcile the differences, detect errors and remove difficulties, so as not to lord it over God's heritage, but sit and act only as an advisory council.⁹

It was perhaps inevitable that at some point the question of power and authority would arise in relations between associations and local churches. In 1749 the Philadelphia Baptist Association sought to answer the question of the authority of an association and how it could exercise that authority without compromising the independence of member churches. About this time the Association was referring to churches as 'belonging to this association' and offered advice to churches on both doctrinal and practical matters. It sent 'helps' or representatives to assist in cases of local church discipline and helped in the process of the accreditation of ministers. Benjamin Griffith prepared a paper on the topic of the power and duty of an Association. The Philadelphia Association adopted Griffith's conclusion 'that it may appear what power an

⁸ Walter B Shurden, *op. cit.* p. xvi

⁹ Joseph Biggs, *A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association from its original rise to the present time*, G Howard, Tarboro, NC, 1834, p. xviii

Association of churches hath, and what duty is incumbent on an Association; and prevent the contempt with which some are ready to treat such an assembly and also to prevent any future generation from claiming more power than they ought – lording it over the churches.’¹⁰

There was another dimension to the question of authority, namely the relationship between general associations or state conventions and local associations. This related to whether state conventions could give directions to local associations. This came to the fore in Illinois when in 1850 the general association meeting at Springfield passed the following resolutions:

That the several Baptist associations of this state be requested to form themselves into missionary societies auxiliary to the General Association.

That the pastors of the respective churches be requested to act as volunteer agents for the collecting of funds for the General Association.¹¹

There was early acknowledgment of the value of local associations and the contribution they might make to American Baptist church life. During the First Great Awakening the Rev. Shubal Stearns, according to Robert Semple, historian of Virginia Baptists, was deemed to have well understood discipline and church governments. After having constituted several churches ‘and there being some others that exercised the rights of churches, ‘tho not formally organized’, he conceived that an association composed of delegates from all these, would have a tendency to impart stability, regularity, and uniformity to the whole.¹² Stearns visited each church and congregation and explaining the contemplated plan induced them all to send delegates to his meeting-house that occurred in January 1760. It was from these meetings that the gospel was carried into many new places where, Semple says, the fame of Baptists had previously spread. This led to great crowds attending from distant parts. Mostly through curiosity, ‘many becoming enamoured with these extraordinary people,’ and petitioned the association to send preachers into their neighbourhoods. Thus, Semple concludes, the associations became the medium of propagating the gospel in new and dark places.¹³ There is evidence churches in relative close proximity to each other quickly determined to join together. J. Kingsley Gordon says this of Missouri Baptists:

¹⁰ A D Gillette (ed.), *Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association from A.D. 1707 to A. D. 1807, being the first one hundred years of its existence*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1851, p. 60; H Leon McBeth, op. cit., p. 243

¹¹ Edward P Brand, *Baptists of Illinois: A History*, Pantagraph Printing, Bloomington, Illinois, 1930, p. 177

¹² Robert B Semple, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia*, Richmond, 1810, p. 6

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 6f

New churches when organized, particularly in new territories, seemed anxious to join an association. Soon after its founding the Bethel church in Missouri in 1809 joined the Red River Association in Kentucky. Nine years later, however, it decided to form its own association consisting of churches in Missouri and Arkansas and so began with seven churches, four ministers and 220 members.¹⁴

The story of Iowa Baptists illustrates what became characteristic of the Baptist experience in the first half of the nineteenth century as the frontier opened. There were some Baptists among the earliest settlers of Iowa. The official date given for their arrival is June 1833 and they were primarily families from Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, Kentucky and Virginia. On 4 July 1838 the US Congress established the Territory of Iowa and it achieved statehood eight years later. As the tide of emigration flowed into the new territory Baptists were fairly represented. The first church originally known as Long Creek (later Danville) was founded by a couple from Kentucky who brought with them the Articles of Faith adopted by the Bush Creek Baptist church, Green County, Kentucky. Linking up with some Illinois families they invited Elders John Logan and Gardner Bartlett to preach to them. In a log cabin on Thursday night 19 October 1834 in what was believed to be the first evangelical message in the new territory led the following day to the new church being constituted. In 1838 another church at Rock Spring was constituted by the efforts of three elders who had come from Illinois. The following year the Union and Pisgah churches were organized and in the same year these two churches and the Long Creek church were organized into an association, the first Baptist association in the territory. The initial meeting was held in a grove near Danville and the membership of the three churches was less than 90. It is recorded ten delegates attended the meeting seated in a row on a log with the moderator standing before them supported by the back of a chair. It became known as the Iowa Baptist Association but in 1843 after the organization of the Davenport Association it changed its name to the Des Moines Association. In response to a call to the Baptist churches in Iowa Territory from the Des Moines Baptist Association in 1842, a convention of Baptist churches was held with a view to the expediency of forming a territorial association for missionary purposes. Twenty five delegates were present and some had walked seventy five miles. It was originally known as the Iowa Baptist General Association but in 1851 changed its name to the Iowa Baptist State Convention. The constitution adopted stated the object of the Association ‘shall be to promote the preaching of the gospel, ministerial education, and all the general objects of benevolence throughout this Territory.’ When this occurred there were about 380 Baptists in the

¹⁴ J Gordon Kingsley, *Frontiers: The Story of Missouri Baptists*, Missouri Baptist Historical Commission, Jefferson City, 1983, p. 31 :

Territory and not more than fifteen churches while the population of Iowa was about 52,000. For the first fourteen years of its existence the Iowa Baptist Association was little more than an agent of the American Baptist Home Mission Society to advise and assist in its work. However in 1854 and 1855 missionary work was attempted among the German population and the following year the Rev. I. M. Seay became the first commissioned missionary followed by twenty-five others in 1857. It became normal practice to always have missionaries labouring in the remote and destitute parts of the state. In about 1880 the Rev. J. Sunderland, the present missionary secretary wrote in a circular:

The Home Mission Society has aided missionaries in Iowa for forty-one years, using about 600 commissions. Besides all the churches organized, houses of worship built...more than 5,000 persons have been baptized into the churches of this State by its missionaries. Its work has equalled the labour of one man for four hundred and forty-two years, or an average of eleven missionaries constantly at work for the forty-one years. It has expended in this State \$115,000. The State Convention has aided missionaries for the last twenty-five years, issuing 386 commissions. Its missionaries have baptized 3,029, organized 69 churches and aided in building 66 meeting houses. Their work equals the labour of one man for two hundred and sixty-one years, or an average of eleven men for the twenty five years. There has been raised and expended in this work \$65,300. In the whole work of Baptist missions in Iowa there has been expended \$180,000.¹⁵

The 'commissions' Sunderland spoke about were the total number of occasions agents of the Baptist Home Mission Society or the State Convention travelled to or within Iowa in the course of their home mission duties. This précis of the entry and organisation of Baptist life in this mid-western state illustrates how organization and industry became bywords in this work.

As has been mentioned previously the first permanent association in America was the Philadelphia Baptist Association in Pennsylvania that originated in 1707.¹⁶ A relatively small number appeared during the eighteenth century but grew much more rapidly in the first half of the nineteenth century. State conventions did not appear until the 1820s and 1830s.

Statistical summaries of local associations were intermittently produced during this period of study in various Registers, Almanacs and Year Books. *Haynes Cyclopaedia* produced a

¹⁵ William Cathcart, *The Baptist Encyclopaedia*, *op. cit.*, p. 583-585

¹⁶ A D Gillette (ed.), *Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association from A.D. 1707 to A.D. 1807. being the first one hundred years of its existence*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1851

chronological chart of Baptist associations in America from 1707 to 1847. The following Table details the number of associations and churches between 1792 and 1872. What this shows in this eighty year period is that the average number of churches in each association was somewhere between eighteen and twenty four. It also shows that the greatest number of associations was in the original southern colonies in 1792 and 1812 although by 1832 this region had been eclipsed by the frontier states located to the south of the original colonies. The proliferation of associations together with the increase in church members helped expansion in these two regions. By 1872 the number of associations in these two regions (540) accounted for 64 per cent of the total number of associations.

Table 38: Number of Local Associations and Churches in America according to Region, 1792 to 1872

Region	1792		1812	
	Assns	Churches	Assns	Churches
New England	12	296	22	482
Middle States	4	131	21	382
Southern States	19	481	41	808
Frontier (South)	6	74	25	456
Frontier (West)		1	9	110
Total	41	983	121	2,238

Region	1832		1852		1872	
	Assns	Churches	Assns	Churches	Assns	Churches
New England	38	757	51	903	50	918
Middle States	48	829	62	1,253	70	1,528
Southern States	71	1,583	102	2,523	213	5,126
Frontier (South)	86	1,410	164	3,227	327	8,399
Frontier (West)	59	762	90	1,617	184	3,652
Total	302	5,341	469	9,523	844	19,620

Sources: *Baptist Annual Register*, 1832, p. 222; *American Baptist Register*, 1852, p.407; *Haynes Cyclopaedia*, *op. cit.*, p. 297-298

Notes (1): Frontier South states include Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas and West Virginia

(2): Frontier West states include California, Colorado, Dakota, District Columbia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Indian Territory, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming

William Warren Sweet claimed that by the 1820s the whole settled portion of the West was covered by a network of local associations. The above Table shows between 1812 and 1832 fifty new associations appeared in the western Frontier States and sixty one in the new southern states.

This network continued to expand so that in the Western frontier the number of associations grew by thirty one between 1832 and 1852 and a more remarkable 94 in the next twenty year period. It needs also to be borne in mind from an Australian perspective that many of these frontier states, particularly in the South were roughly about twice the size of Tasmania. Many of these states by 1872 had over one thousand Baptist churches and in the case of Georgia over two thousand, so that associations existed in fairly closely settled states, providing mutual support and making it much easier to promote the Baptist faith. Here the density of the population was of crucial importance in assisting Baptist growth.

Local associations among American Baptists during the period 1707 to 1814 were the subject of a published doctoral thesis by Walter B. Shurden.¹⁷ He identified what was characteristic of these associations noting first, that the associational model originated among British Baptists and second, that among the different Baptist groups there bore a remarkable similarity in associational life.

A third factor he observed was that while Baptists prior to 1814 were avid advocates of local church independency, they were not, generally speaking, reluctant to form connectional organisations.

No amount of emphasis on the independency of local churches blinded them to the values of fraternal intercourse between the churches. Most Baptists were perceptive enough to recognize that the associational idea was not opposed to independency, but to alienation. Consequently, they embraced ecclesiastical connectionalism with considerable eagerness.¹⁸

These associations, he added, held no power or authority and were only advisory. Concerning the achievements of local associations Shurden claims they played a strategic part in moulding denominational life prior to 1814. In support of this he stated:

In influence and importance, however, early Baptist associations in America were comparable to national Baptist conventions of the present. Associational life constituted the centre of all denominational activity, and any effort to interpret Baptist history must take this into consideration.¹⁹

¹⁷ Walter B Shurden, *Associationalism among Baptists in America 1707-1814*, Arno Press, New York, 1980

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 231

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 229

Shurden concludes that Baptists were a practical people who devised denominational organizations in response to specific needs. They were borne out of existential need, in particular, the desire for inter-church fellowship and the advantage of co-operative action.²⁰

The final year of Shurden's study witnessed the birth of foreign missions among Baptists in America. He made no attempt to quantify the number of associations or indicate their regional location. According to *Haynes Chart* there were 122 local associations in 1814, predominantly in the South. Forty-one were in the original southern colonies and twenty-eight were in the four new frontier states that had come into existence in the South, including eighteen in Kentucky. There were nine associations in the new frontier states in the West and twenty-two in both New England and the middle states. We may conclude therefore that local associations were an integral part and a vital aspect of denominational life, growing in number as Baptists expanded.

Local Associations and State Conventions

In some ways the state convention was another layer of denominational organisation. Local associations instigated their establishment. It could be said they were an extension of their activities. We have seen above the connection between local associations and a state convention in Iowa. The initiative for a convention usually came from one or more local associations. Arkansas Baptist State Convention was organized in accordance with a resolution of the Saline Association on 21 September 1848 'for the purpose of promoting the cause of truth by uniting and concentrating the efforts of the denomination in supplying, as far as possible, the very great destitution which then existed in this state.'²¹ In Missouri the Baptist Central Society of Missouri was founded but the name was later changed to the General Society of United Baptists, then the Missouri Baptist General Convention and finally the Missouri Baptist Convention. On 29 August 1834 when Missouri had thirteen associations, 150 churches and 100 ministers, a meeting was held consisting of eighteen ministers and thirteen laymen with the purpose 'to deliberate upon the state of religion within the bounds of the churches to which they belong, and to consult if any special measures are necessary and practicable to promote the preaching of the gospel within the bounds of the state.'²² As many parts of Missouri were deemed to be destitute of the gospel it was no doubt envisaged that a larger organization with additional resources would overcome the limitations currently placed upon individual associations.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 232f

²¹ J Lansing Burrows (ed.), *American Baptist Register for 1852*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1852, p. 32

²² J Gordon Kingsley, *Frontiers: The Story of Missouri Baptists*, p. 33-34

Baptists and Methodists

The *American Baptist Year Book 1875* provided a Table of Religious Denominations in the United States. It showed while Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians were divided in various groups Baptists had 21,510 churches, 13,354 ministers and 1,761,171 members. Episcopal Methodists had 13,440 churches, 10,571 ministers and 1,464,027 members. These were by far the two largest Protestant religious groups. The figure of six million was given as being the number of the entire Roman Catholic population. In some states, particularly in the South, as was shown in Chapter Four, Baptist and Methodist churches dominated the religious landscape. Their success came despite having widely differing systems of church government and supports the conclusion that more than one system enabled Churches to grow and expand. What was common to both denominations was that they both had itinerant preachers. Like Baptists, Methodists were not well-educated and the gospel message was a simple one that also resonated with those of similar social and educational background. The Methodist historian William Warren Sweet commented concerning the Methodists:

The itinerant system was admirably suited to the preaching of the gospel in a new country. The Methodist system was highly centralized with the power of sending the circuit riders to their circuits wholly in the hands of the superintendents.²³

Sweet noted that circuits in newly-settled regions were always large, sometimes covering territory so vast that it required five to six weeks to make the rounds.²⁴ Few of these first circuit riders were married for many of the early circuits were too poor to support a married preacher. When a preacher married it was usually necessary for him to settle down on a farm.²⁵ In this respect Baptists and Methodists shared a common trait, that of the bi-vocational farmer-preacher. Similarly, as Sweet indicates, most of the preachers who followed the population westward were men of little education.²⁶ Sweet concluded that the local preacher was of immense importance in the development of frontier Methodism. Frequently among the early settlers, as soon as a cabin was built and a few acres cleared for a crop the next year, the local preacher invited his neighbours to his cabin for religious services.

²³ William Warren Sweet, *Methodism in American History*, Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1961, p. 143

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 144

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 145

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147

The rapid expansion of early Methodism was likewise greatly aided by the type of theology which it preached. The great emphasis in the preaching of the circuit riders was upon individual responsibility, and the equality of all men in the sight of God. The men who preached the gospel were men of the people, plain and simple in their tastes who were willing to accept whatever hospitality the humblest settler's cabin afforded.²⁷

We may conclude therefore that in America the main organisational structure for united Baptist action in propagating their faith or assisting other Baptist churches was the local association. Multiple associations in each state enabled Baptists to grow and expand through the mutual support they provided.

Baptist Church Polity in Australia

The two most distinguishing features concerning Australian Baptist organisational life in the nineteenth century was that it was colony-based and that denominational life developed separately with little united action between the various colonies. In other words, the size of the initial associations or union encompassed the whole of each colony irrespective of size and the interaction between the colonies was limited to visits as delegates to each others annual assembly from about 1880 in the case of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and later Queensland. The one united activity that Baptists engaged in involved foreign missions, the inception of what later became the Australian Baptist Missionary Society where a number of single women from different colonies went to India beginning in October 1882. Gerald Ball summed up the situation in organisational terms when he said there was 'no local Australian Baptist authority to give aim and direction to any missionary endeavour' and there was no united vision of where such work was to be undertaken. There were a few small, special-interest groups, a few individuals who actually engaged in missionary service but these largely failed to attract the support of the denomination at large.²⁸ Two features that characterised American Baptist church organisations were that they invariably transcended state borders and that they liked to emphasise the fact they were American. Thus the term 'American' featured prominently in their title such as American Baptist Missionary Union (1814), American Baptist Publication Society (1824), American Baptist Home Mission Society (1832), American and Foreign Bible Society (1836), American Baptist Free Mission Society (1842), American Indian Mission Association (1843), American

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 149

²⁸ Tony Cupit *et al* (ed.), *From Five Barley Loaves: Australian Baptists in Global Missions 1864-2010*, Mosaic Press, Preston (Vic), 2013, p. 1

Baptist Historical Society (1843) and American Bible Union (1948). This suggests there was a growing consciousness about their American identity.

The first Baptists from Britain who migrated to the Australian colonies from the 1830s brought with them a variety of different theological beliefs and church practices in their religious luggage. This sometimes made their transition to colonial life a prickly adjustment when it came to collaborating with fellow-Baptists. It was an aspect of colonial life that small congregations espousing different theological stances shone for a short while then dimly faded. There were followers of the hyper-Calvinist William Gadsby, the moderate Calvinist Andrew Fuller, or the proponent of open communion Robert Hall, as well as those who belonged to the independently minded Scotch Baptists. Gadsby has been described as the patriarch of the Strict and Particular Baptists who practised both close church membership and close communion and who under Pastor Daniel Allen (1824– 1891) formed their own Particular Baptist Association of New South Wales in March 1873 consisting of two churches in Sydney and two in Newcastle.²⁹ This small group claimed it separated on doctrinal grounds from others, projecting a very sectarian outlook as demonstrated at its inaugural conference. As reported in the *Empire* it stated Pastor Allen dwelt upon ‘in very severe terms Roman Catholicism and the progress it had made in recent years.’³⁰

In what might be called a second stage in the history of each colony was when they formed their own colony-wide associations: Victoria (1862), South Australia (1863), New South Wales (1868), Queensland (1877), Tasmania (1884), and Western Australia (1896). The differences in theology and practice that splintered Baptists in the first decades, part of the religious luggage brought from England, largely dissipated with the beginnings of colonial associations. There was awareness, however, by these Baptist pioneers of too closely prescribing any belief system for fear on ongoing disruption. These unions were able to forge what might be termed a mainstream of belief and practice but at the same time acknowledging differences in thought. Certainly the annual and half-yearly assemblies, the conventional forums for all discussion and debate were never mired in theological controversy. Moderate Calvinism and the ecclesiological practice of open communion and close membership was the generally accepted tradition that prevailed although in South Australia the majority of churches were open membership. Some English-born and trained ministers who came to Australia were from English Baptist churches that practised

²⁹ Basil S Brown, *Members One of Another*, *op. cit.*, p. 21

³⁰ *Empire* (Sydney), 5 March 1873, p. 2; *The Protestant Standard* (Sydney), 19 September 1891, p. 9

open membership. In addition there were suggestions and attempts, albeit unsuccessful, in the early days of these colonial associations to establish some form of local or district associations. It proved to be more successful among country churches because this form of association seemed to bring a greater sense of closeness or unity to widely-scattered communities. A third form of union that Baptists discussed at great length was a federation of all the colonies, first proposed in 1885, that eventually came to fruition as the Baptist Union of Australia in 1926.

The key issue Australian Baptists faced in the nineteenth century was to develop the best or most versatile form of church government for a relatively small constituency widely scattered over a vast continent. There was an inherent difficulty in traditional Baptist congregational church polity. It relied heavily on the interest, goodwill and voluntary support of individual Baptist church members and churches if the denomination was to grow and expand. This difficulty was compounded by the existence of not only a widely-scattered constituency but with limited means of available communication and travel. If Baptist families for personal or economic reasons such as employment moved to new areas where their denomination was not represented there was a good chance they would be lost to the denomination. Baptist leaders were conscious of this and sought in different ways to overcome it. In New South Wales in 1876 following an address by the Rev. Allan W. Webb, *Baptists – Their Denominational Existence a Necessity*, it was agreed it should be circulated among those holding our principles that are mixed up with other churches.³¹ How this was to be done was not made clear. This led to a discussion of ‘our relation to other bodies’ and resulted in a resolution ‘that in view of the fact of so many Baptists and their families being absorbed in other denominations, and their influence lost to the Baptist body, it was desirable their identity with us should be re-asserted and secured, first by their becoming members of the Union to be attested by a member’s card and secondly, by a regular correspondence to be carried on with the Union through the Secretary.’³² Two years later the Union President, the Rev. Philip H. Cornford (1818–1901), pastor of the Bathurst Street church in Sydney, voiced similar concerns. He told fellow-Baptists:

The circumstances of our colony are said to require that we should be made over again. Our people are so scattered we cannot connect them. Fields are white unto harvest yet we cannot thrust in the sickle. Materials are in readiness for a temple but we cannot rise and build. Men we cannot find.

³¹ *The Banner of Truth*, 18 October 1876, p. 11

³² *Ibid.*, p. 12

Money we cannot command.³³

Cornford longed for a sudden and mighty revolution and looked forward for some glorious reformation as yet undefined. He alluded to ‘the advances of those denominations that are governed from a centre while we without their systems are at least in this land comparatively stationary.’ He concluded that ‘denominationally then we have nothing to hope for from radical reform. From first to last ours are congregational principles, and, if faithful to our trust, we shall have no cause to repent of them.’ His only solution was deeper dedication and closer unity in their work. This may have proved all too daunting because only two years later he had resigned from his church and returned home to New Zealand.³⁴

In succeeding years different New South Wales Baptist leaders identified the weakness of Baptist polity and gave the reason they lagged behind as being a lack of cohesion for which the Rev. William Taylor admitted could be overcome by more co-operation and better organization.³⁵

There were other denominational leaders who lambasted the principle of independency, the cornerstone of Baptist organisational church polity, for its inherent hindrance in realising denominational goals. In 1902 Principal W. T. Whitley sought to bring a biblical perspective by saying that the apostolic churches were not independent.³⁶ This was after the elderly and greatly respected the Rev. Silas Mead two months earlier had bitterly pronounced his judgment: Independency we have ridden it to death.³⁷

Similarly, the Rev. A. J. Waldock concluded in 1927 that ‘our cherished independence has been a source of weakness.’³⁸ The onetime New South Wales Home Mission Superintendent, the Rev. Cleugh Black, with a characteristic turn of phrase was remembered as referring to churches who suffered from ‘acute independicitis.’³⁹ Others saw independency in different ways. One Queensland correspondent in 1935 lamented that independency only works in cities – country churches always struggle.⁴⁰

³³ *The Banner of Truth*, 2 October 1878, p. 4; Alan C Prior, *op. cit.*, p. 167f

³⁴ *The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser* (NSW), 8 January 1881, p. 71; Ken R Manley, *Central Baptist Church 1836 – 1986: In the Heart of Sydney*, 1987, p. 50-51

³⁵ *The Banner of Truth*, May 1881, p. 80

³⁶ *The Baptist*, 1 April 1902, p. 4

³⁷ *The Baptist*, 1 February 1902, p. 6

³⁸ *The Australian Baptist*, 6 September 1927, p. 8

³⁹ Letter from the Rev Malcolm McCullough to the author dated 23 August 1979 (held by the author)

⁴⁰ *The Australian Baptist*, 15 January 1935, p. 2

Independent small churches were not always seen as viable because they inevitably needed some form of financial assistance to survive. There was also an awareness a gulf existed between city and country churches where country churches felt a sense of alienation. There were occasional proposals put forward of how the gulf could be bridged. In 1887 the Rev. K. J. Henderson in his Chairman's address to the South Australian Baptist Association asked:

Would it not be possible for pastors of the larger churches to pay more frequent visits to their ministerial brethren in the country to encourage them in their work, and create a closer bond of union between the city and country churches? Too many churches looked upon themselves as institutions to be cared for rather than as agents for the evangelizing (*sic*) work in the district, and congregations did not seriously regard their pastor as a fellow-labourer in the vineyard.⁴¹

At the same time he gave attention to the requirements of mission work and suggested that delegates from 'the old country' might be invited to the colony. Life, energy and liberality were essential to the advancement of the Church.

One measure adopted to overcome ministerial shortages and pool limited resources was the grouping of churches together. While other states utilised this to a very limited degree it was South Australia that more wholeheartedly embraced the idea. The term 'circuit' became common currency among South Australian Baptists, quite possibly because it was a feature of Methodism that was very strong in that colony. Baptists could see its advantages in country areas. As early as 1871, on the eighth occasion it met, the South Australian Baptist Association at its annual meetings discussed the grouping of churches together. The Rev. W. O. Ashton moved 'that this meeting being well persuaded of the wisdom and practicability of grouping together in country districts of two or more churches under one pastorate, hereby recommends the carrying out of this principle.'⁴² While reservations were expressed about seeing the multiplication of a number of small churches the motion was still carried.

It must have taken some time for the idea to germinate. At the South Australian Baptist half-yearly assembly in 1903 a session was devoted to the topic 'How to strengthen the bond between the churches and create a deeper interest in the whole denomination.'

⁴¹ *Adelaide Observer* (SA), 22 October 1887, p. 30

⁴² *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 7 November 1871, p. 7

The Rev. Edwin Bungey (1864–1931) of Norton's Summit introduced the topic and suggested that the intensifying influence should be attained by the adoption of several principles which he enumerated and enlarged upon. A proper circuit system, he considered, would make for a closer union of the churches for it too frequently happened that a circuit system meant simply a combined effort to raise a salary. In the interchange of pulpits among the pastors of city, suburban and country churches would be fostered a broader interest in the work of the denomination. The annual home mission Sunday and public meeting and the adoption of visits from home mission agents for general denominational purposes would promote fellowship, besides obviating the mere mechanical collection of cash.⁴³ At the same meeting the Rev. H. E. Hughes reported on his ten week tour of the state for the Twentieth Century Fund. The constant enemies he found were prejudice, pessimism and poverty but despite this in two months the Fund had benefited by £300 to £400 and the total was now about £4,200.

From the last decade of the nineteenth century until the First World War there are frequent references to Baptist circuits in South Australia such as Kapunda Baptist comprising of the churches at Kapunda, Stockport and Tarlee. There were others at Yorketown-Minlaton, Clare-Saddleworth, Jamestown and Terowie, Laura and Appila, Gumeracha and Kenton Valley, Port Lincoln; Mannum, Peake, Pinnaroo, Jamestown and Canowie Belt. At the completion of five years of 'strenuous service' tribute was paid to the Rev. Thomas Dowding (1843–1930) noting he had travelled 13,000 miles in all weathers and had not through sickness had to forgo a single service or appointment.⁴⁴ In 1907 it was reported the Rev. John Paynter (1851-1934) now had charge of three country churches at Angaston, Eden Valley and South Rhine, reminiscent of eighteenth century Virginian Baptist preachers. At the same time Saunderstone and Salt Creek churches had joined with Mannum. The belief was expressed this re-arrangement would be advantageous to all churches concerned and a saving to Union funds. It was also mentioned that two suburban churches Knightsbridge and Magill had longed desired to be linked together and they had formed a circuit with the Rev. John G. Raws (1851–1929) as their pastor.⁴⁵

Circuits were not generally embraced but there are a few other isolated examples. In Queensland there was the Rosewood Baptist Circuit serving the Ipswich area and the Nambour Circuit

⁴³ *The Register* (Adelaide), 14 April 1903, p. 5

⁴⁴ *Daily Herald* (Adelaide), 8 June 1912, p. 15; *Chronicle* (Adelaide), 27 February 1930, p. 33

⁴⁵ *The Register* (Adelaide), 1 April 1907, p. 6

comprising of the churches at Nambour, Yandina and Maroochy River.⁴⁶ Western Australia initiated circuits in the early years of the twentieth century at Dumbleyung and Katanning.⁴⁷ By 1915 it is apparent other churches had formed circuits or had joined together. Experienced pastoral oversight seems to have been a factor in fostering this arrangement.

In Western Australia traditional congregational polity was of such a concern that in 1900 the newly-elected Union secretary, the Rev. F. H. Radford, submitted a resolution to the annual assembly that was carried with only one dissenting voice. It read:

That we favour the consideration of a change of church policy for the carrying on of Baptist work in Western Australia and the substitution of a modified connexionalism in place of the present method of Congregational Church government. It was wished a committee would investigate this further.⁴⁸

It appears there was little enthusiasm and much less progress because in 1901 at a conference on the topic of connexionalism the Rev. F. H. Radford admitted he did not like the term and preferred instead Christian democracy. Nevertheless, the need for more unity between the churches was required and another committee was to be appointed to deal with issues he had raised.⁴⁹

In determining why there was reluctance or unwillingness by local congregations to change their behaviour the reason seems to lie in self-interest and a lack of will. In 1871 the Rev. Silas Mead, secretary of the South Australian Baptist Association, expressed his frustration in the eighth annual report when he stated:

Our regret arises from the meagre amount of extra and aggressive work accomplished by us during the year. It is true we have again and again met for deliberation upon the subject of increasing the area of our field of labour. Moreover as a Committee we have committed ourselves to proposals which, had they been accepted by those immediately concerned would undoubtedly have resulted in wider activities. We cannot charge ourselves with the want of purpose to have done more, nor have we been wholly inactive in the adoption of measures to secure the end desired.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* (Qld), 28 January 1897, p. 4; *Chronicle and North Coast Advertiser* (Qld), 14 July 1916, p. 5

⁴⁷ *The Southern Argus and Wagin-Arthur Express* (Perth), 10 December 1915, p. 2; 21 July 1916, p. 2

⁴⁸ *The West Australian* (Perth), 14 November 1900, p. 2

⁴⁹ *The Western Australian* (Perth), 18 November 1909, p. 3

⁵⁰ *South Australian Register*, 7 November 1871, p. 7s

We may conclude then that in the developing history of Australian Baptists there was one clear organisational model, a colony-wide association but despite pronouncements about the inadequacy or weaknesses of historic Baptist polity there was generally no innovative attempt to modify this existing model with largely the exception of South Australia with the introduction of circuits among local churches.

Local Associations in Australia

In Australia there were memories of ‘the grand association meetings in the mother country.’ In his inaugural address to the newly-formed New South Wales Association of Baptist churches on 11 February 1868, the Rev Allan W. Webb began:

The necessity for such an association as that which we are assembled has long been felt in this colony. The remembrance which many cherish of the grand association meetings in mother country, the successful results of the unions amongst our brethren in Victoria and South Australia, as also the craving for sympathy, help, and encouragement amongst the various Churches in this colony, at present isolated and almost unknown to each other – these causes combined have resulted in our present effort to establish the ‘Baptist Association of New South Wales’.⁵¹

But there was one important difference between the two countries. English associations were county-based while Australian associations were colony-based. In geographic size New South Wales (809,444 square kilometres) was more than six times the size of the whole of England (130,395 square kilometres). It is surprising therefore Australian Baptist leaders, conscious of the smallness of their cause in such a vast terrain did not make determined efforts to overcome this obstacle of vast distances. In the early years of the newly-established colonial associations or unions there were usually unsuccessful attempts to establish associations of churches of a more local nature.

In New South Wales the newly-formed Baptist Association in 1869 discussed the formation of an association in the Hunter region centred round Newcastle, Nothing eventuated but the matter was raised again in 1880 when the Rev. William Collier (1858–1919), pastor of the Newcastle church, brought a notice of motion that an association be formed on the Hunter River.⁵² There was still no further action. On 18 August 1887 the Rev. Seth Jones (1848–1904), pastor of the Newcastle

⁵¹ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 February 1868, p. 2

⁵² *The Banner of Truth*, 8 September 1880, p. 167

church chaired a meeting to inaugurate a Northern District Association in his local area. He began by outlining ‘the beneficial results that would accrue from the formation of such a society.’ The Northern District Association comprised four local churches and its significance was such that in the denominational journal it was heralded as the event of the year.⁵³ This association lapsed about three years later in 1890 however it was resurrected in 1906 with seven churches when Jones’ brother, Evan Mona Jones became the pastor on 8 March 1905 following his brother’s untimely death.⁵⁴ He had been called to the church from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and his ability to set it on a permanent footing may have been due to his American experience.⁵⁵ The association remained active thereafter.

In the same year the Hunter District Association was first formed a Sydney and Suburban Baptist Association was also organised but appears to have had little influence.⁵⁶ In the following year the rural Western Baptist Association based in the town of Orange came into existence and its continued success was probably due to the singular organisational efforts of Mr. James Worboys.⁵⁷ Other suburban and rural local associations appeared in the early decades of the twentieth century: Northern Rivers Baptist Association (1910), Central Cumberland (1920), Northern Suburbs (1920), Illawarra District (1921), Marrickville-Bankstown (1930), Blue Mountains District (1930), and South West District (1937). But these suburban and country district associations never supplanted the role or the importance of the Baptist Union of New South Wales in denominational affairs.

It was a similar story in Victoria. In the 1866 report of the Baptist Association of Victoria that comprised of twenty-three churches, brief reference was made to the district unions that had been formed in several places ‘from the operations of which beneficial results were anticipated’. As there is no further reference to these unions it appears they soon ceased to exist.⁵⁸

On 11 May 1871 Victorian Baptists in the Ballarat district met under the auspices of the colonial Baptist Association with a view to forming what was to be called the Ballarat District Association. After an address by the Rev. W. Tranter of Sebastopol on the difficulties to be

⁵³ *New South Wales Baptist*, September 1887, p. 126

⁵⁴ Baptist Union of New South Wales, *Year Book*, 1906 – 07, p. 22; Newcastle Baptist Tabernacle, *Centenary Anniversary Souvenir 1861-1961*, 1961, p. 29

⁵⁵ Michael Petras, “Welsh Baptists in Australia”, in *The Baptist Recorder*, Number 120, January 2013, p. 9

⁵⁶ *The Baptist*, 3 December 1887, p. 41

⁵⁷ *Molong Express and Western District Advertiser* (NSW), 12 September 1891, p. 3; Ken R Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to ‘Eternity’*, *op. cit.*, p. 545

⁵⁸ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 22 November 1866, p. 6; *The Australasian* (Melbourne), 24 November 1866, p. 23

overcome, the end to be obtained and the means by which the association was to be maintained, a resolution was proposed that it was desirable an association be established. The objects of the association were to supply the outlying districts of Ballarat and the adjacent towns with the gospel as preached by our denomination, and to promote union and brotherly love amongst the churches.⁵⁹ As no further references can be found it appears its existence was short-lived.

At the annual assembly in 1889 it was agreed after the Rev. Alfred Bird moved and the Rev. J. B. Sneyd supported him that it would be 'a distinct gain to the denomination in relation to aggressive work if the association were divided into districts in which churches near together could be grouped, and act in concert for local and particular objects as distinct from the general interests which absorb attention at ordinary association meetings.'⁶⁰

The Western District Baptist Association, first mooted in 1891, held its inaugural meeting on 4 April 1893 in the Dawson Street, Ballarat church.⁶¹ Another country association, the Wimmera District, begun in about 1931, was active during the 1930s.⁶² In 1944 five suburban churches formed the Westerns Suburbs District Association. Its stated purpose was 'to foster a spirit of unity among these churches, and to make for more effective working of the district as a whole.' There were only three ministers in charge of these churches and so it was planned there would be a regular exchange of pulpits and regular meetings for devotional and inspirational purposes.⁶³

The 1908 annual assembly of the Western Australia Baptist Union witnessed the formation of the Great Southern Baptist Association that 'would promote the co-operation of the Baptist churches and the better working of the Great Southern districts generally in connection with the home and foreign missions.'⁶⁴ At the April meeting the following year the Vice-President of the Association, the Rev. F. H. Radford, successfully moved that 'a committee be appointed to make the widest possible investigations in the methods of church government, and report to the next annual meeting of the Union submitting, if practicable, a definite scheme for adoption providing for a closer co-operation within the churches of the Union.'⁶⁵ This resulted in a conference being

⁵⁹ *The Ballarat Star* (Vic), 13 May 1871, p. 2; 19 May 1871, p. 4

⁶⁰ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 21 November 1889, p. 9

⁶¹ *Hamilton Spectator* (Victoria), 12 November 1891, p. 2; *The Ballarat Star* (Victoria), 5 April 1893, p. 2.

⁶² *The Argus* (Melbourne), 14 April 1931, p. 11

⁶³ *Sunshine Advocate* (Victoria), 14 January 1944, p. 2

⁶⁴ *The West Australian* (Perth), 29 October 1908, p. 4

⁶⁵ *The West Australian* (Perth), 14 April 1909, p. 3

held on 'Connexionalism' at the annual meeting of the Baptist Union with the Rev. F. H. Radford stating he did not like the term but preferred 'Christian democracy'. The need for more unity between the churches was apparent. In his address the speaker outlined some of the difficulties facing the Church today and endeavoured to suggest the remedy that could overcome the obstacles without sacrificing the liberty of the Church. It was unanimously agreed that a committee be appointed to deal with the points suggested in the address.⁶⁶

In South Australia the Broken Hill and District Baptist Association, centred round the far western New South Wales mining town was formed in 1914.⁶⁷ Its closer proximity to Adelaide rather than Sydney brought it under the auspices of South Australian Baptists. It appears to have lapsed in 1917 but was revived in 1925 with the arrival of the Rev. H. A. De La Rue. This resulted in the churches being formed into a circuit with the Rev. De La Rue as Superintendent and Mr. K. Ninmin as co-pastor. It was intended morning and evening church services be held at three main churches.⁶⁸

One of the earliest and most successful of all local associations originated after a resolution put forward by the Rev. Silas Mead to the South Australian Baptist Association was adopted that a committee be appointed to form an association of northern churches located in the new agricultural districts of the colony. This committee met on 26 January 1885 and adopted a constitution and rules for the association. The first annual meeting held at the township of Laura in August 1885 attracted seven pastors of churches and thirty delegates.⁶⁹ At the 1889 annual meeting fifteen churches were represented. The meeting topics were wide-ranging and included 'Evolution', 'Our Indian Mission' and 'Evangelistic Efforts.'⁷⁰

It is clear the Rev. Silas Mead took a keen interest in the ongoing success of this association. At the annual meetings of the South Australian Baptist Association in 1893 he moved the following:

That this Association, recognizing that greater efficiency may be secured and that more extensive work could be done among the northern churches if the Northern District Association were possessed of a considerable fund for carrying on its work, hereby approves of the General Committee assigning a proportion of their

⁶⁶ *The West Australian* (Perth), 18 November 1909, p. 3

⁶⁷ *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), 11 April 1914, p. 5; 22 August 1914, p. 6; 17 October 1927, p. 1

⁶⁸ *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), 14 March 1925, p. 6

⁶⁹ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 8 August 1935, p. 8

⁷⁰ *Petersburg Times* (South Australia), 16 August 1889, p. 4

funds to the Northern District Association as a stimulus to the collection of funds among the churches, such donations being pro rata according to the amount prescribed by the churches embraced by the Northern District Association and that the proportion be determined each year by the General Committee and the Northern District Association be asked to agree thereto.⁷¹

One of the most notable features of the Northern District Baptist Association was the support it received from the South Australian Baptist Association (SABA). At its annual meeting in 1893 Mr. J. Viner Smith, President of the 'parent Association' as the SABA was called, addressed the gathering stating the Association had given £273 to the Northern District Association during the preceding year but the parent Association had only received £17 from its member churches. He said the churches had done splendidly for foreign missions and he thought they might now do something for home mission work. Mr. Smith pointed out that since the arrival of the Rev. Silas Mead in the colony the number of churches had grown from seven to sixty seven. The parent association proposed to subsidise the association pound for pound on money raised up to £100 with the right to use the money to the best of its judgment. He told the meeting £500 had been raised towards the Home Mission fund and £250 had been promised conditionally. He sought £50 from the meeting, adding that churches that had got into a chronic state of debt, and where there was no prospect of improvement, good might be accomplished by a system of grouping.

The ensuing discussion highlighted some of the attitudes and tensions that currently existed among small country churches. The immediate response of the Rev. W. Gilmour (Beryl Street, Broken Hill) was to express heartfelt shame at the attitude of the churches. He admitted antagonism did exist toward the parent association that was in no way warranted. Mr James Gooden said he would like to see the churches more self-reliant and to rely less on the parent association. Mr. John Walters expressed his fear the money would not be raised as most of the northern churches had done as much as they could do. A considerable saving might be effected, he added, in grouping the churches. The Rev. R. Taylor of Petersburg (now known as Peterborough) thought a great feeling of dissatisfaction existed and the congregational system in the north had not been a success. He felt that they must not act in a similar way to that advocated by Mr. J. V. Smith; that they should have more power in financial matters; that when their churches were weak they should be united. And the northern committee should have power to move in that direction. He did not approve of churches taking assistance from the association.

⁷¹ *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 27 October 1893, p. 7

The Rev. E. Bungey quoted figures showing that if the northern churches would take up the penny a week system, the suggestion made by the parent society would be easily accomplished.

When the Rev .W. Gilmour moved that ‘we adopt the suggestion of the SABA that they subsidise the northern association pound for pound up to £100, Broken Hill to be included, an amendment proposed by Mr. Ward of Port Pirie was successful passed ‘that we remain attached to the parent association, and pledge ourselves to do all in our power to strengthen her hands.’ In support he said he did not like the thought of breaking from the parent association which had done so much for them and he felt they would only weaken themselves.⁷²

In 1916 during the disruptive period of the First World War the Northern District Association demonstrated it was a potent force in denominational affairs by requesting the Baptist Union to adopt a ‘more vigorous and aggressive home mission policy, and urged the appointment of a special home mission department to promote a more aggressive scheme.’⁷³

The financial report given at the annual meeting of the Northern District Association held in 1920 was indicative of the priority Baptists gave to missions and other causes. During the previous year it was reported that a total income of £3,522 had been raised from all sources, including £1,124 for foreign missions and £300 for home missions. This suggests that Baptists held notions of providing for the spiritual needs of the heathen in foreign lands, notably India, more so over those in their own country. The report also indicated that budget amounts promised by the member churches for the forthcoming year were £306 for foreign missions, £187 for home missions and £30 for the College.⁷⁴

Baptist Federation

After there being initially individual churches and then colonial associations, a third stage was reached with the promotion in 1885 of the idea of a federation of Australian Baptist churches. Not surprisingly, it was first proposed in April 1885 by the Rev. Silas Mead in a paper to fellow-South Australian Baptists: ‘The federation of Australian Baptist Churches.’ What Mead proposed was a number of measures such as a centrally located Baptist College. Baptists in Sydney and Melbourne were currently under an obligation to the Congregationalists while his own colony

⁷² *Petersburg Times* (SA), 1 September 1893, p. 4

⁷³ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 21 September 1916, p. 10

⁷⁴ *The Register* (Adelaide), 9 September 1920, p. 9

was part of Union College. The second suggestion was that an association would greatly assist in the Zenana mission work in India. Third, it would permit the oversight of entrants to the Baptist ministry for which there was no uniformity and fourth, it permitted the publication of a federal weekly denominational paper.⁷⁵

The comparison of the organisational structure of American Baptists with that of Australia shows the contrast could not be sharper concerning local associations. They were the focal point of united activity by American Baptists as evidenced by their constantly growing number in this period of study. Histories have been written of them and some state Baptist histories include chapters on individual associations such as their importance. When many American states, particularly in the South, were roughly about twice the size of Tasmania a multiplicity of local associations, existent in a closely settled population greatly assisted the advancement of the Baptist cause. The failure of Australian Baptists to embrace this form of association, with one or two notable exceptions, highlights an essential difference between the two countries. Baptists in America or the New World showed themselves more energetic, more innovative and more adaptable. Baptists in Australia, on the other hand, still remained attached to their British past so that English county associations simply became Australian colony associations irrespective of size. The introduction of local associations became a protracted process, reflective of the lack of drive and energy that characterised many local Baptist churches.

Open and Close Communion and Church Membership

One of the notable differences between Baptists in both countries concerned who should participate in the ordinance of communion and what were the eligibility conditions for admission to church membership. Baptists in America stood firmly by the practice of close communion, that is, the restriction of the participation in the communion service or the Lord's Supper to baptized believers. Church membership was similarly restricted only to those who had experienced conversion and had been subsequently baptized. In other words, close communion and close membership were the accepted practice among Baptists in America.

Baptists in Australia generally practised open communion and close membership although most churches in South Australia were open membership. There were a very small number of churches that practised both close communion and close membership. These were known as Strict and

⁷⁵ *The South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 8 April 1885, p. 7

Particular Baptists and four churches formed their own association in 1873. Called the Particular Baptist Association and usually hyper-Calvinistic in theological outlook they were generally regarded as sectarian and unco-operative with mainstream Baptists or those belonging to the New South Wales Union.

Open and Close Communion and Church Membership in America

It is unclear how the practice of close communion originated among Baptists in America. In his spirited defence of the practice in 1890, Professor R. M. Dudley of Georgetown College, Kentucky made no attempt to explain its origins, except to suggest it was a biblical principle and therefore critics of the practice should not judge Baptists as motivated by bigotry, uncharitableness or illiberality. Baptists always wished to distinguish themselves from Paedo-Baptists and they were forced to defend their exclusivity in respect of close communion from the early years of the nineteenth century to its end. Dudley mourned how throughout the land there had been an outcry against Baptists because of their Close Communion.

The cry of “Close Communion” is a convenient cudgel with which to pound Baptists, and a ringing rally-word with which to excite popular passion and prejudice against them.⁷⁶

About the same time the eminent Baptist historian John T. Christian wrote his “*Close Communion*” or, *Baptism as a Prerequisite to the Lord’s Supper* in which he echoed long-held views among American Baptists. He claimed his defence was both scriptural and historical:

We think our practice is Scriptural. The brotherhood of the New Testament was one in fellowship and doctrine. Under those conditions open communion was impossible. This view is confirmed by all history. I have been unable to find an instance of open communion for the first six hundred years after Christ.⁷⁷

According to Christian the father of open communion was John Bunyan (1628–1688) and its most eloquent advocate Robert Hall (1764–1831). ‘Whenever you hear other denominations boasting of their open communion’, Robert Hall wrote, ‘a quiet reminder would not be out of place, that open communion is a Baptist heresy, rejected by the most of Baptists, and that it was born over sixteen hundred years this side of the apostles.’⁷⁸ His consolation was that open communion was rapidly declining in other countries such as Wales and Scotland where nearly all

⁷⁶ baptisthistoryhomepage/close communion. by.dudley

⁷⁷ John T Christian, “*Close Communion*”: Or, *Baptism as a Prerequisite to the Lord’s Supper*, The Advance Publishing Co, Little Rock, 1907, p. 244

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 245

of the respective 90,479 and 33,637, population together with nearly sixty thousand in England were said to be close ‘communionists.’⁷⁹

The defence of close communion was not confined to American Baptists. Abraham Booth (1734 – 1806), a longstanding English Baptist minister and prolific writer who in 1778 wrote a treatise with a long-winded self-explanatory title: *An Apology for the Baptists in which they are vindicated from the imputation of laying an unwarranted stress on the ordinance of baptism and against the charge of bigotry in refusing Communion at the Lord’s Table to Paedo-Baptists*.⁸⁰ He noted how they were frequently represented by their Paedo-Baptist brethren as ‘uncharitably rigid,’ as ‘incorrigible bigots’ to a favourite opinion, and as putting baptism in the place of our Lord’s atoning blood and the sanctifying agency of the divine Spirit. Booth described baptism as a prerequisite to the Lord’s Table if we have occasion to mention both these solemn appointments of our Lord. Baptism has the priority.⁸¹

Baptist insistence on close membership or the restriction upon church membership to baptized believers was a characteristic of American Christianity. Yet it did not attract the same opprobrium as that of close communion. Part of the explanation for this seems to be in the appeal of its public symbolism that resonated with Americans. Entry into the fellowship of a local church was a choice. The manner of this attachment was what distinguished it from European Christianity where the Established Church in each country dominated religious life. This ‘striking distinction’ was highlighted by Thomas Fenner Curtis:

Here a man’s religious professions are the result of a personal conviction; there they appear so uniformly as the effect of the law, routine or instruction, as seldom to imply earnest individual piety at all. Among all classes of Americans, however pious or however worldly, and as a general thing, of whatever denomination, the conviction seems natural that a man does not become a Christian merely in consequence of being born in a particular State, or inducted in infancy into a nominal connection with some church, but by personal choice and earnest religious character.⁸²

Baptists placed great store on baptism being a public profession of faith. Baptismal services in the eighteenth century were conducted in a local river or lake with witnesses from both the

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-246

⁸⁰ Manning and Loring, Boston, 1808

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19

⁸² Thomas F Curtis, *The Progress of Baptist Principles in the Last Hundred Years*, Gould and Lincoln, Boston, 1860, p. 61

church and the world gathered on the bank. The officiating minister preached a sermon where sometimes there were conversions following which a person was immediately baptized. On occasions they were subject to disruptive behaviour. Some local associations ruled “private immersions” were “nullities”. By the end of the century some churches had begun to install baptisteries within the church building.⁸³

Edwin Scott Gaustad offers another perspective of the issue of baptism by immersion as a prerequisite for church membership. One of the appeals Baptists held for African Americans, he said, was that for this rite there was some background in African tribal custom.⁸⁴ It might be concluded this very public profession of faith mirrored the very demonstrative nature of the African personality.

The reason Baptists in America were criticised by fellow-Christians for their stance on close communion was because the exclusivity they propounded was at odds with the perceived universality of this Christian ordinance. What many perceived as a symbol of unity and participation for those of all Christian denominations, Baptists had turned into a rite emblematic of separatism. While Baptists wished to differentiate their mode of baptism from that of other Churches who practised infant baptism, their insistence on believers’ baptism as a prerequisite for church admission was accepted for its inherent symbolism.

Open and Close Communion and Church Membership in Australia

In all Australian colonies with the exception of South Australia close baptism was the accepted practice in Baptist churches. The reason for the difference in South Australia was partly the continuation of English practices and partly the more liberal environment Baptists were placed in this colony. It became a stronghold for Nonconformity or a ‘Paradise of Dissent’ and Baptists did not wish to draw sharp distinctions between themselves and others. They felt no obligation, for example, to use the word ‘Baptist’ in their denominational journal *Truth and Progress*. Baptists joined with Congregationalists and Presbyterians to form Union College for ministerial training. The prominent Baptist philanthropist George Fife Angas funded a Union chapel at Angaston in the Barossa Valley. There were occasions when church union was being discussed with the Congregational Church. This is not to say open membership was staunchly opposed by Baptists in all other colonies. There were two occasions in New South Wales history where the issue was

⁸³ H Leon McBeth, *op. cit.*, p. 250

⁸⁴ Edwin Scott Gaustad, *op. cit.*, p. 59

debated at the annual assembly but narrowly defeated. In 1887 the Rev. J. G. Wilson of the newly-formed North Shore church introduced the subject of open membership into the annual assembly defending the principle and policy alike of admitting others into the Baptist Union provided they were Christian people. He concluded by moving the resolution ‘that this union sanctions the formation of a Baptist Church on North Shore on open membership principles.’⁸⁵ The ensuing debate the following day produced a wide exchange of views. The motion was seconded by the Rev. Ebenezer Price (1840–1915) of Bathurst and the Rev. A. J. Clarke (1848 – 1916) also supported open membership in country churches but said he opposed it in the case of North Shore. The Rev. David Fenwick opposed the motion maintaining that rather than less being made of the subject more should be made of it because the reason Baptists had not made great progress in New South Wales was because of the ‘want of fidelity to principles on the part of Baptists themselves’. The Rev. David Davis from Woollahra church expressed his belief the time for experiment had passed and the issue extended beyond North Shore. He took a similar view to Fenwick claiming it was ‘a surrender’ of principle to open the membership of their churches further. When the Rev. William Taylor, however, contended that the Church should be commensurate with Christianity he asked which is the greater command: ‘Be baptised,’ or ‘Love one another’ he was interjected with ‘That is a question you have no right to ask’. Mr. Robert Nall (1849–1923), a journalist with Sydney’s *Daily Telegraph*, wished it known that he was a Christian first and a Baptist second. The Rev. Charles Bright of Bathurst Street church who had been pastor of an open membership church in England prior to coming to Australia vacated the chair to make a spirited defence of open membership. In his view the very same arguments that led up to close membership in all logical consistency led up to a close communion.

Referring to the remarks of another speaker who had asserted they could not justify their separate existence as a denomination if they abandoned their position in this matter, he replied that if they went over to other denominations they gave up everything, whilst at present they preserved their Baptist ministry and their Baptist ritual, even though they opened their membership to their brethren of other opinions on this subject of baptism. What he wanted to do was on the one hand to open the doors of their churches wide enough for all Christians to enter - saying at the same time that they were entering a Baptist church and availing themselves of Baptist property. They did not give way to any one in respect to loyalty to the Baptist denomination nor in respect of loyalty to Christ and this it had been rendered necessary to say.

⁸⁵ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 September 1887, p. 4

When the vote was taken the motion was lost eleven for and eighteen against.⁸⁶

The issue was revived in 1895 when the Baptist Mission Committee at Blackheath sent a letter to the assembly seeking to place the work in the Blue Mountains town on a more prominent position by forming an open membership by admitting persons from other denominations to the privileges of membership without compromising the position of the denomination. This brought the support of some as before but was opposed by the Rev. William Coller on the grounds it would establish a dangerous precedent. The Rev. Seth Jones claimed a church established in this way would be unapostolic. Mr. Robert Nall countered this argument by stating the circumstances of today were entirely different from 2,000 years ago. In the end the motion was lost.⁸⁷

It seems opposition to open membership became more entrenched in New South Wales in the new century because in 1904 the Rev. S. Pearce Carey who had been the Victorian delegate to the New South Wales assembly reported to his own Union that in the discussion concerning Baptist federation, New South Wales had expressed great hesitation in joining any union that permitted open membership in its churches. He considered it imperative the next federal conference be held in Sydney, presumably to address these concerns.⁸⁸ Carey had heard the New South Wales Chairman, the Rev. W. R. Hiddlestone, devote his address to keeping the Baptist citadel intact. He referred to an article in circulation on Open Membership that was considered of very doubtful character and in his view calculated to break down or violate the security of a God-given heritage richly enjoyed in this State. What made the article dubious was that it suggested 'a change in the Divine architecture of the citadel'.⁸⁹

About the same time in Victoria the most vociferous proponent of open membership was a prominent layman, Mr. Westmore Stephens (d. 1914) As President of the Baptist Union for 1895-96, he vigorously advocated for its introduction in his Chairman's Address. A prominent city draper, he said during his term of office theology would be left 'severely alone' and he would devote himself to the advancement of his church from a business point of view and do his utmost to increase the size of the congregation and the scope of the church. Stephens proposed a scheme of reform whereby the minister of a church would have to be a Baptist, the office bearers might

⁸⁶ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 September 1887, p. 7; *Ibid.*, 13 July 1923, p. 12

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 4 October 1895, p. 3

⁸⁸ *Geelong Advertiser* (Victoria), 10 November 1904, p. 1

⁸⁹ Baptist Union of New South Wales, *Year Book*, 1904-05, p. 18

or might not be Baptists, the members might be of any Christian denomination and the government would be congregational.⁹⁰ This did not meet a favourable response.

In 1907-08 Stephens became the Union President a second time and resumed his advocacy of open membership. Referring to 'our Methodist brethren at home' who had been separate organizations but had recently waived their differences, he trusted the time would soon come when his own Baptist Union would recommend open membership as being in accordance with the divine will

Thus shall we be freed from the trammels of censorious thought
in relation to fellow Christians and thus we shall be doing all that
is possible...when our divine Master's prayer will be answered
'that they all may be one'⁹¹

Stephens' address appeared in *The Australasian* newspaper prefaced by the comment that publication had been prohibited in the denominational journal because of the nature of the subject.⁹² But Stephens remained defiant in his mission, seeking in 1912 that the Baptist Union approve churches connected with our home missions be granted the liberty to adopt 'open membership' as the basis of their membership should they so desire it. His argument was that Baptists had done a lot of pioneering work but as soon as a church was started these people had to leave because they had not been baptized. The policy of exclusion placed Baptists at a disadvantage and as a precedent he added, leading Baptists in the old country all advocated open membership. He hoped the resolution would be passed by a large majority. While the Rev. F. J. Miles contended the Union had no right to say whether a church should be 'close' or 'open' Mr. G. P. Barber believed such a move would 'smash' the Union. Mr. E. Baines pointed out what he called 'names of authority', possibly a reference to the Church Fathers, could be used for and against the "open" question but as Baptists believed in an inspired Bible the teachings of John the Baptist and Christ must be followed. The English-born and trained minister of Collins Street, the Rev F C Spurr, admitted he was in favour of open membership through and through and pointed out it was inconsistent to close membership of the church to people who were yet admitted to the higher fellowship of the Lord's Supper. He maintained South Australia showed what great results come from an 'open church' and what was at stake was the principle of liberty and whether it was right or not.

⁹⁰ *The Age* (Melbourne), 12 November 1895, p. 5; *The Argus* (Melbourne), 12 November 1895, p. 6

⁹¹ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 14 December 1907, p. 8

⁹² *The Australasian* (Melbourne), 14 December 1907, p. 51

Others spoke opposing the motion like the Rev. J. C. Martin who maintained country districts wanted churches established by people with strong convictions and churches of a nebulous character were not required. As such the result on home mission would be disastrous. The Rev. J. H. Goble similarly opposed the motion urged Stephens to withdraw it, predicting it would lead to unhappy divisions amongst members. This was agreed to for six months.⁹³

It does not appear that the struggle to reform Victorian Baptist ecclesiology continued. Stephens died two years later.⁹⁴ In 1906 as the Fenwick Street Geelong church was celebrating its forty ninth birthday, it was reported it was the only open membership church in the Baptist Union.⁹⁵ It had been formed by the Rev. George Slade soon after his arrival in the colony in 1858. He originally supplied the Aberdeen Street church but withdrew to form the new church where he remained for nineteen years.⁹⁶

There are a few isolated instances of a church being formed on open membership lines. At Clarence Town (NSW) an open membership church was formed at the suggestion of the Rev. Christopher Stark, pastor of the nearby Hinton church, which met the approval of those living in the district. It does not appear they sought to affiliate with the Baptist Union.⁹⁷ A similar event occurred at Dinmore near Ipswich in Queensland when the Baptists formed 'an open membership society.'⁹⁸ The Taringa church adopted open membership principles that became the subject of legal scrutiny by the denomination. At the 1899 assembly it was reported the church could not see its way clear to abandon those principles but agreed that only baptized believers would be allowed as delegates to the assembly.⁹⁹

Australian Baptist attitudes to the idea of believers' baptism as the distinctive Baptist principle are a subject that could be studied at length. It invariably had implications for entry into church membership and any proposed union with other Churches. There is also the question of whether states took different positions.

⁹³ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 15 November 1912, p. 6

⁹⁴ *Prahran Chronicle* (Vic), 17 October 1914, p. 2

⁹⁵ *Geelong Advertiser* (Vic), 29 October 1906, p. 3

⁹⁶ Basil S Brown, *Members One of Another*, p. 62f

⁹⁷ *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* (NSW), 10 October 1889, p. 6

⁹⁸ *Daily Telegraph* (Brisbane), 19 October 1892, p. 6

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 20 September 1899, p. 6

The issue of open membership often provoked the defence of what Baptist leaders like to refer to our 'distinctive principles'. It inferred separation from others, particularly Paedo-Baptists or was raised as a barrier in any discussion concerning church union. Perhaps the first occasion it was used was in the first annual report of the Baptist Association of Victoria in 1863 when gladness was expressed that 'our distinctive principles as Baptists are rapidly advancing in all the colonies.'¹⁰⁰ The following year the subject was raised by various speakers at the South Australian Association. The Rev. David Badger defended the charge made against Baptists that they made too much of their special doctrine. He showed how much Paedo-Baptists (defined as Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists) made of baptism and Baptists were chargeable of making too little.¹⁰¹

The topic of church union aroused the potential betrayal of distinctive Baptist principles in the minds of some as evidenced in the President's address by the Rev. F. E. Harry at the New South Wales assembly in 1898. Titled 'Our Mission to the Present Age' he asserted how steadfastly we must adhere to our distinctive principles and not let any cheap proposals for church union cause us to relax our grip upon them. While other Churches practised infant baptism Baptists, he admitted, were seen as peculiar.

Our only justification for our existence is to be found in loyal adherence to our distinctive principles. It is not for us to minimise the differences which separate us from other sections of the Christian Church.¹⁰²

This sectarian response highlights an underlying tension that emerged within Australian Baptists in relation to other Churches. Some sought organic union with others as in the case of South Australia while others emphasised co-operation but never at the expense of the loss of their identity.

Conclusion

In some respects Baptists in America and Australia took divergent positions regarding united action. In America the local or district association became the tour de force of denominational activity even though the contribution of state conventions should not be discounted. Local associations with churches in relative close proximity to each other proved ideal when you had a

¹⁰⁰ *The Age* (Melbourne), 19 November 1863, p. 6

¹⁰¹ *The South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 12 November 1864, p. 2

¹⁰² *The Baptist*, 22 October 1898, p. 110

closely settled population. It made it much easier to propagate the Baptist faith. Conversely, the small constituency of Australian Baptists placed in a relatively small widely-scattered population struggled to gain traction with their colony or state-side associations or unions. Local or district associations were the exception rather than the rule. At the same time there was always intransigence by Baptists in Australia, despite few attempts to form circuits, to change traditional Baptist polity to meet current needs. As a consequence of this Baptists in America were more successful in conquering the country with the Gospel message.

The issues of close communion and close membership, synonymous in Australia with a quite sectarian outlook (while open church membership as practised in South Australian churches brought similar deep reservations) had a different effect upon Baptists in America. The practice of close communion brought criticism by contemporaries in that country because of its exclusivity in what was perceived to be an ordinance instigated for all Christian believers. The idea of open church membership was never canvassed and this possibly due to the fact the symbolism attached to a public baptism and its connection with formal entry into the church resonated with Americans so that it never became a source of criticism.

Conclusion to Thesis

This thesis has sought to answer the central question of why Baptists in America have prospered to the extent they have and why similar success has not been enjoyed in Australia. The numbers for both countries at the end of our period of study clearly reflect how disparate is the differences. By 1872, seven years after the end of the American Civil War, Baptists in America numbered 19,620 churches and 1,585,142 church members while in Australia by 1947 there were only 437 churches and 31,209 church members. American census data was never concerned with the number of adherents for each denomination so the number of Baptist adherents will always remain unknown.

This comparative study has helped reveal the characteristics, the influences, the achievements and failures, the strengths and weaknesses, as well as the differences between Baptists in both countries. It is evident that with a number of prominent Americans claiming to belong to the Baptists the denomination has enjoyed a higher profile than it has in Australia. Such a study casts some light on how Baptists in different circumstances such as they were in Australia might have changed in order to accommodate the difficulties and challenges that confronted them in a vast continent.

Chapter 1 – Baptists in America

In this chapter the study of the growth of Baptists in America has shown first, there are significant gaps in our knowledge of Baptist statistics, particularly for the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Despite this gap, the reliance upon estimated totals in the absence of available statistics, the hiatus during the years of the American Civil War and other shortcomings, it is still possible to adequately demonstrate the extent of the growth in numbers.

The theory of church growth propounded by Donald McGavran and Robert Currie can be applied to explaining the growth in both countries. For Baptists in America there was a mixture of direct and indirect factors which to a greater or lesser degree affected church numbers. The size of the population, the country's more apparent religious foundation, the nature of its frontier settlement, the religious revivals it experienced, all contributed to growth. It seems America was favoured with more advantages outside the control of Baptists than Australia where any achievement could only come with what sustained effort Baptists could muster. Both of these church growth

theorists spoke of a third factor outside more rational explanations. McGavran referred to the power of the Holy Spirit and it might be by believers said the explanation for the transformation the First Great Awakening brought upon the small number of Baptist churches and other Churches in the mid-eighteenth century was of divine origin.

The approach taken in examining the growth of Baptists in America has been to consider this in three epochs, each one distinguishable in different ways. Their first century (1639-1740) was notable for its singular lack of achievement. After the first century of existence Baptists remained very small in number with only 65 churches and 3,164 church members. Divisions between Baptists related to theology and practice. During the second half of the eighteenth century (1740-1790) there was a dramatic change occasioned by the First Great Awakening. This period saw a dramatic increase in the number of churches, rising to 986 in fifty years and a church membership that now stood at 67,475. A total of 210 of these churches were in Virginia the most populous colony.

This period was remarkable and a large part of the explanation for Baptist growth was because numerous untrained and unremunerated itinerant Baptist preachers in the South felt compelled, without the benefit of any denominational structure, to take on foot or by horseback a simple gospel message to similarly unsophisticated countrymen. In doing this they exercised a driving spirit, the willingness to travel widely, tremendous religious zeal, indefatigable energy and, in many instances, demonstrated great personal self-sacrifice. This type of preaching, sometimes in remote parts of Virginia particularly, and in other colonies or on the newly-emerging frontier, led to people of nominal or of no faith being converted and new Baptist churches being organized. Sometimes these preachers became the pastor of these new churches and in some cases were later in pastoral charge of multiple churches.

During this period the social standing of Baptists in Virginia was enhanced as a result of the forbearance they showed in the face of intimidation and imprisonment by civil and religious authorities between 1768 and 1774. This persecution never attracted widespread support and people came to the county jails to hear them preach and in some cases were converted. These actions by authorities earned the condemnation of James Madison, future President and one of the Founding Fathers. Derided by the Established Church for their ignorance and lack of learning they were, some two decades later, calling for the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. Their cause was further enhanced by permission being granted for Baptist chaplains to

preach to the Continental Army. Their enthusiastic support for the Patriot cause and participation in the militia units during the Revolutionary War brought them great respect. Throughout this period Baptists continued to grow in number and at an increasing rate. All this shows how much this period proved a turning-point in Baptist fortunes.

During the third period, the nineteenth century, it is demonstrated how, despite an absence of statistical information for the first three decades, Baptists continued their expansion as the westward frontier movement continued. They were helped at the start of the nineteenth century by the Second Great Awakening that brought Methodists and Presbyterians together with Baptists in camp meetings. Still, the zeal and commitment of an earlier generation continued. During this period Baptists consolidated their hold on the South, in the original thirteen colonies and in those adjoining or nearby states, particularly where there was a large slave population.

During the American Civil War separation between Union and Confederate states meant no statistical information was forthcoming concerning the Southern states. It was not until 1869 before we get a clearer picture of Baptist numbers. In the post-war years the fortunes of Baptists again changed remarkably as emancipated slaves or 'freedmen' in the twelve states where they were dominant joined or constituted their Baptist churches and associations. By this stage Baptist and Methodist Churches dominated the South. Prior to the Civil War African Americans were usually denied voting rights they had always been an accepted part of Baptist church life. In the South there were some 'Negro' churches while others were part of white congregations. Some held their own separate church services. After the Civil War it was not inevitable many would continue to find a spiritual home among Baptists. The democratic ideal is an important element in the American psyche and the democratic nature of the Baptist system of church government where each local congregation determines its own affairs appealed greatly to emancipated slaves or 'freedmen' as they were called. Coupled with this was the appeal of the relative informality of Baptist worship with its lack of ritualism and notions of free expression in worship. This brought opportunity for the use of familiar African customs in their church services.

Chapter 2 - Baptists in Australia

This chapter shows how the growth of Baptists in Australia is a study of contrasts. The population of Australia between 1790 and 1960 only ever at the most reached just less than six per cent of that of America. Australian society was far more homogenous, coming almost exclusively from the British Isles, particularly England and Ireland, unlike America where, in

addition, there many immigrants from Europe and Africa. Once settled in Australia new migrants were nowhere near as mobile as Americans as shown in the 1861 and 1901 censuses that only some seven and ten per cent respectively had moved in their lifetime from their colony of birth and in both cases it was to colonies where gold had been recently discovered.

On the religious aspect the denominational affiliation of the Australian population as evidenced by decennial censuses in the nineteenth century reflected the sole church attendance census conducted in Britain in March 1851. What this information does not disclose is how vital or nominal Christian faith was to these newcomers to Australia. English visitors to Australia between 1866 and 1906 made pertinent observations about the practices that had developed in Australian church life and how Australians viewed the country of their birth. What Sir Charles Dilke noted was their traditionalism, preferring to worship their God as their fathers before them had done. Over a decade later, the Congregationalist R W Dale lamented the lack of imagination and innovation in a new environment because they followed practices that could be found in any English city. The Baptist leader the Rev. E. G. Gange could not help but notice the affection being shown to Britain by the Australian population but added that he thought the children loved their mother more than the mother loved her children. In essence, whereas Baptists in America developed a sense of self-dependence starkly provoked by the Revolutionary War those in Australia more preferred to remain tied to their British past.

Baptist church life developed separately in each Australian colony. In the search for what assisted or militated against the growth of Baptists in this country there was no religious revival to give great impetus such as what occurred with the First Great Awakening Baptists generally refused the State aid embodied in the Church Acts of 1836-37 even though there were several examples of an aberration of this principle when in Sydney, Melbourne, Launceston and Perth land grants were given for the erection of church buildings. Strict and Particular Baptists, on the other hand, held no compunction about accepting government money. In short, without the benefit of extraneous circumstances of the kind that assisted Baptists in America, any outcome that could be achieved was what Baptists could do by themselves.

It has been argued that while the circumstances in each colony were different it has been possible to formulate a theory to explain individual fortunes. The prospects of Baptists in each colony were greatly enhanced when three elements were working together. The first was dynamic and inspiring ministerial leadership to give planning and direction in church extension. This was

evident in South Australia where the Rev. Silas Mead dominated denominational life and remained at Flinders Street church from 1861 to 1897. Similarly, in Victoria a succession of men like the Revs James Martin, Samuel Chapman and Frederick John Wilkin provided this kind of necessary leadership until the early years of the twentieth century. In New South Wales there was no such person until the Rev. Arthur John Waldock became secretary of the Home Mission Committee in 1904. In other states there was no similar person.

The second element was influential and wealthy individuals and churches that provided necessary financial support in the generally parlous state of Baptist finances for home missions. In South Australia the two city churches Flinders Street and North Adelaide, and to a lesser extent, the suburban Norwood were all large in number. The Baptist philanthropist George Fife Angas was the most liberal-minded and generous of all contributors in his colony. His benevolence extended from contributing to Baptist Association funds to assisting individual churches in different ways and underwriting the Adelaide Theological College, a joint venture with the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches. In Victoria perhaps reflecting a higher social standing the sum of £50,000 was raised after an anonymous donor offered £25,000 if a similar amount was raised. In New South Wales it was Sir Hugh Dixon who initially offered various sums if similar amounts could be raised. When Waldock assumed his new role in 1904 for the next twenty years Dixon and fellow-businessman, William Buckingham, donated generously to a wide range of causes including the purchase of land, church buildings, and contributed to Waldock's salary. In Tasmania it was just this one component that enabled the denomination to move ahead. The wealthy pastoralist William Gibson from the early 1860s built churches in the north of Tasmania but even with this generous assistance Baptists remained very small in the island state.

The third component that was required was a cohesive, administrative unit to monitor such work. An organisation such as a Home Mission Society or as was the case in some states, the Baptist Union executive. Unlike the individualism that so characterised eighteenth century Baptists in America, Baptists in Australia needed some form of central control, especially when so many of their churches were in remote rural areas. At the same time there were always other forces at work. Victoria had the advantage of the huge numbers who came to the colony during the gold rush era. They sought self-improvement and brought with them initiative and capital so that some churches were constituted before the Baptist Association at a second attempt became a reality in 1862. It was a similar story in South Australia where Dissenting Churches were more numerous. The spread of Baptist churches in each state was divided between the metropolis and

rural areas. The population in all states with the exception of Tasmania was becoming increasingly urbanised which meant country churches were under greater pressure to survive and often required greater assistance. Overall, we might conclude Baptists in America developed a greater sense of individualism unlike Australia where Baptist Unions were an integral part of denominational life. .

Chapter 3 – The Baptist Ministry

This study leaves an enduring impression concerning the differences between the Baptist ministry in America and that in Australia. The accounts of American Baptist preachers, whether inspired by the First Great Awakening, ABHMS agent or colporteur, went about their task braving sickness, inclement weather, primitive living conditions, Indian attacks or any other form of danger with a sense of purpose, even aggression. Furthermore, this is evidenced in that peculiar American trait of meticulously recording an agent's activities to the degree to which they did. . By contrast, the story of the Baptist ministry in Australia is punctuated by so many who were initially in poor health or found the rigours of colonial life so great they were obliged to relinquish their duties or died in office. Perhaps this partly explains the brevity of so many pastorates that often lasted only a few years. It is difficult to see how, if the pastoral ministry is built on ongoing relationships, this constant change would have facilitated Baptist growth in numbers. The Baptist ministry provided leadership in decision-making as well as the traditional duties of regularly preaching the Word and engaging in all aspects of pastoral care. Yet what this study has shown is that there were two widely different starting-points in the development of the Baptist ministry in both countries. During the first century of their existence in America when they were numerically small, a number of Baptist ministers and congregations came from England and particularly, Wales. However during the First Great Awakening Baptist preachers were locally-born, and in the South where education was not even a function of the State they were poorly educated and occasionally initially illiterate until they were taught by their spouses. The concept of an educated ministry among Baptists during this period was unknown.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, in the absence of any denominational structure, what developed was a three tiered system of Baptist ministry, often determined by prevailing circumstances, to meet the needs of Baptist congregations. There were exhorters, licensed preachers and ordained ministers, a progression that was often determined by choice, opportunity, or circumstances such as the emergence of a new congregation or the unexpected death of an existing ordained minister.

The American Baptist preacher of this era was bi-vocational, usually maintaining a farm to support a sometimes very large family. He remained unremunerated, attitudes to a paid ministry dictated by the abhorrence Baptists felt towards any state-supported Church. Attitudes softened however around the turn of the century when it was agreed that the Christian labourer, or the Baptist preacher, was worthy of his hire. What also characterised the Baptist ministry was that these ministers became itinerant preachers, very evangelistically motivated, travelling to all parts of Virginia and other colonies in the South to preach to small groups and when converted organize them into small Baptist churches. There was a perennial shortage of ministers and this was partially overcome by ministers oversighting multiple churches. As a consequence of this, very few congregations met on a weekly basis; some met every few weeks but for many, communal worship was a monthly experience.

The idea of an uneducated, unremunerated, bi-vocational, itinerant ministry was quite unknown. It probably would never have been countenanced. The Australian population was much more homogenous, coming from the British Isles, predominantly England and Ireland. Hence Baptists already settled here looked nostalgically to 'home' or 'the old country' for assistance that included men to fill their pulpits. There was a preference for English-born and theologically trained English men. These were sought in all manner of ways: appeals to prominent individuals, notably Charles Haddon Spurgeon, and institutions or by delegations to such persons. But this had a downside. Some Australian Baptists considered this counter-productive as it excluded locally-born men from being considered for the ministry.

The pattern of ministry that developed was in some cases English men being called to a church or a settled pastorate. Some forty can be identified who came to Australia because their health was impaired. The means by which others came remains unclear. There were frequent ministerial exchanges between Australia and New Zealand. Overall, this proved to be a mixed success. Some eight of these men died soon after their arrival in the country, others died carrying out their pastoral duties. Others returned home when restored to health. Others still, apparently homesick, returned to England after only one pastorate in Australia. Finally, however, some men remained to make a valuable contribution to Baptist church life in Australia. One constant of the Baptist ministry in Australia, as stated, was the brevity of church pastorates.

The theologically-trained usually came from one of four English Colleges: the overwhelming majority were from Pastors' College founded by Charles Haddon Spurgeon, followed by Rawdon, Regent's Park and Bristol Colleges. The names and details of these graduates are to be found in Appendices 8 to 11. These men were called to pastorates, remunerated in much the same way as had been the English practice. They did not leave their churches and traverse the countryside seeking out those with little or no faith to convert and form these new believers into Baptist churches. Church services were held on a weekly basis usually twice each Sunday. The exception would be those in rural areas where outstations had developed. In short, the Baptist ministry followed the English pattern and as English visitors in Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century such as R. W. Dale observed, so did Australian church life. The Australian countryside came to be dotted with little 'Bethels' representing each one of the Churches that had transposed from Britain. Australia was part of the Old World; culturally it remained an extension of the British Empire.

The path to an educated ministry was an evolving process in both countries. Personal tuition by experienced ministers was more readily available in some Australian capital cities and was given by men like the Rev. Silas Mead in Adelaide and the Rev. Samuel Chapman in Melbourne. In the American South there was only one or two who men could seek out such as the Rev. Oliver Hart in Charleston, South Carolina. In a few instances in Melbourne and Sydney men trained at the Congregational and Presbyterian colleges and in Adelaide there was initially the Adelaide Theological College that was supplanted by the Union College, a joint venture by Baptists with the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches. There was no such facility available for Baptists in America. Initially Separate Baptists went out only armed with the Word of God and were suspicious of Creeds and Confessions. The appearance of theological training institutions, often combined with vocational studies, did not appear until the 1820s and beyond, and was fostered by State Conventions that first appeared about that time. George Fife Angas wanted to combine a theological and an agricultural college in his South Australian hometown of Angaston but logistically this was unsuitable. In Australia the first college did not appear in Melbourne until 1891 followed by Brisbane (1904) and Sydney (1916). The first decade of the Victorian College proved precarious; there was a disconnect between the College's educational expectations and the educational standing of prospective students. Until the commencement of the New South Wales College students were obliged to travel to Melbourne. But eventually educational standards were raised to the extent by the second decade of the new century New South Wales students were studying at the University of Sydney.

Chapter 4 – The Churches

Counting the number of Baptist churches that existed in both countries is one measurement of growth and expansion. Baptists in the two countries differed in the nature of the origins of these churches. In eighteenth century America as a result of the First Great Awakening, it was the individualistic efforts of Baptist preachers who organized small groups of converts into Baptist churches. Later these churches entered into local associations that initiated as well as sustained what were termed ‘feeble’ churches. With the emergence of state conventions in the 1820s and 1830s another layer of church organization was added although one of its primary functions of Conventions was the provision of theological education. All of these were at a more local or state-wide level. However, it was the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS), established in 1832, that transcended state borders with the object of meeting the spiritual needs of those living in the expanding frontier. As the published records of the Society indicate, its agents were not only numerous and highly-motivated but extremely active travelling the country organising new churches as well as taking care of pastoral needs. The American Baptist Home Mission Society agent evidently was required to keep a detailed log of his activities including the number of miles he travelled. From these published logs in addition to more conventional responsibilities such as performing baptisms, preaching sermons, conducting pastoral visits and prayer meetings it was learnt the agent also engaged in the constitution of new churches, the ordination of ministers, the completion of church buildings and the securing of temperance pledges.

Baptists in America showed more innovation or enterprise in fundraising for home missions and other institutions. Membership was open to the ABHMS for those who paid an annual fee and Life Memberships and Directorships were available for a prescribed amount. No similar enterprising methods were used in Australia. What was common to both countries was that foreign missions attracted more financial support than did home missions, most probably because it held a greater mystique kindled by the notion that this was bringing about the conversion of the heathen.

In Australia home mission work developed on a colony-wide basis following the establishment of associations in the 1860s. There were individuals who engaged in initiating new Baptist churches but there was already an existent Baptist Union to which new churches could look to for support. Generally speaking, church extension in Australia required inspired ministerial leadership to give

planning and direction, influential and wealthy churches and individuals to provide much-needed financial support and the administrative oversight of an organisation such as the Home Mission Society. In contrast to the ABHMS agent the Australian home mission agent assumed a fairly static pastoral role maintaining the spiritual oversight of one small local congregation (although a country church might have outstations) but all was done in conjunction with a centralised body such as the Home Mission Society.

Another reason for the pre-eminence of Baptists in America was the willingness of individuals to relocate into the untamed parts of the land where they became among the first permanent settlers. They brought their passionate evangelistic zeal with them and as a result of conversions new churches appeared and later associations. As has been shown there were a number of states where Baptists were present even before a location was declared a Territory. Coupled with this was the absence of other Churches, except Methodists, so Baptists encountered very little competition. In Australia there was no frontier movement and as, the censuses of 1861 and 1901 demonstrated, people did not readily migrate except perhaps if lured by the prospect of finding gold. In all of this it is to be remembered the population of America grew constantly, streaming westward. In Australia while the population in capital cities and rural areas fluctuated, outside of the metropolis in each colony it was usually sparsely populated with each denomination competing, sometimes struggling for numbers and trying to maintain a viable witness.

This study shows how, regionally speaking, Baptists in America dominated the South. In the first of two of its kind the 1850 census showed that in eleven Southern states Baptists, Methodists and to a lesser degree, Presbyterians, accounted for somewhere between 80 and 96 per cent of all churches and in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi and Tennessee it was in excess of 90 per cent. Part of the explanation for the success of Baptists in the South is that in the post-Civil War period they attracted large numbers of emancipated slaves who with assistance from white churches in the North and from the ABHMS began to establish their own churches and associations. In the twelve Southern states with a large slave population the number of churches in the twenty years between 1852 and 1872 grew by 130 per cent. There was no similar concentration of Baptists in any region in Australia. By 1872 all the Southern states had in excess of one thousand Baptist churches and in the case of Georgia over two thousand. The expansion was helped by the fact that almost half of American states were less than twice the size of Tasmania. Besides, they were more closely settled thus making it easier to unite to propagate their Baptist faith. This was the case for nearly all Southern states.

One issue that dominated Australian Churches but was barely evident in America was competition between Churches. Often in sparsely-populated country areas there were several Churches competing for a relatively small number of members. Needless to say, this usually presented a heavy drain on resources for all Churches.

Chapter 5 – Evangelism and Revivalism

Baptists in both countries believed in and demonstrated a commitment to evangelism. Baptists in America usually spoke of any significant increase in church numbers as the result of revivals however short or protracted they might have been. The emphasis was more on outcomes rather than processes. In the 1870s some South Australian Baptists expressed deep suspicions about the word ‘revival’. Generally, they preferred to speak of evangelism although around the period of the Second World War the term was coming more into vogue. One important difference was that Baptists in Australia placed a greater reliance upon the professional evangelist whether that person was a fellow-Baptist minister or an overseas evangelist. They also eagerly participated with other Churches in interdenominational missions. In America the overseas evangelist was unknown, except for the notable exception of the Rev. George Whitefield who visited America seven times between 1738 and 1769. It was the First Great Awakening that fired the passions of untrained itinerant Baptist preachers who related a simple gospel message to their similarly unsophisticated countrymen. Baptists in America made greater use of colporteurs. Like contemporary ABHMS agents their travel and duties were extensive. In Australia there were only a few colporteurs and they were either self-supporting or privately funded.

From various references, notably, *Lives of Virginian Baptist Ministers* it is learnt a moderate form of Calvinism appeared to be the prevailing accepted theological position. Beginning about 1820 the anti-mission movement, espousing hyper-Calvinist views, rejected all forms of Christian activity unless expressly mentioned in the Scriptures. This brought divisions within churches and associations. Local churches withdrew and some associations became anti-mission. It was much more prevalent in the South and it was in some ways a reflection of the level of sophistication of Baptists in that region. As they represented a considerable minority and there was never any prospect of unity with Regular Baptists, the result was the growth of Baptists was to some extent stymied by this division. In the early decades of Australian Baptist history early prospect of sustained growth were marred by differences, the theological legacy of English Baptist background. However, when colonial associations were constituted a mainstream view developed

that was broadly moderately Calvinistic. Significantly, theological controversies never became a topic of assembly forums in any of the colonies and thus a bar to growth and expansion.

Chapter 6 – Baptist Church Governance

Baptist church government rests on the bedrock of the autonomy of the local congregation. This has sometimes meant a fiery independence shown by a local church and a suspicion of any form of voluntary association. It could also mean casual indifference to the objectives of the denomination. The question always remained however how suited was this form of church organisation in a large landscape where the population is so sparsely-settled, sometimes in remote areas and in which there have always been a considerable number of rural Baptist churches. Generally, as indicated by their numbers, Baptists in America produced many local associations to bring Baptist churches together. They were assisted by factors such as a much larger constituency, the relatively small size of states and a more closely settled population. In Australia, the small constituency of Baptists for reasons that remain unclear insisted on huge colony-wide associations. While local or district associations later became a feature of Baptist church life it was only the Northern District Association in South Australia that showed what such an association could achieve. What compounded the issue was the general unwillingness by local churches to modify Baptist polity with the introduction of circuits to overcome any ministerial or financial shortages.

Baptists in America and Australia took somewhat opposing views on the issues of who should participate in the Lord's Supper or Communion and who should be admitted to church membership. Baptists in America practised close membership and close communion, that is, access was limited to those who were baptized believers. Their position on close communion brought condemnation from other Churches because what was perceived as an ordinance for all believers who love Jesus Christ was being subjected to church membership restrictions. There was no similar criticism of baptism as a pre-requisite for church membership because the symbolism in this public act appealed very much to the American spirit. Australian Baptists in all states practised open communion but close membership except South Australia where open membership was quite common. This is not to say open membership was never an issue in other states. There were proponents in New South Wales and Victoria and it had a divisive effect in Western Australia but in none of these states did it become common practice. What this study shows is the Baptist church governance at a denominational level is most effective when smaller

unions in close proximity unite to undertake evangelistic work in a populace that is more closely settled.

Baptist Church Growth: A Global Perspective

The study of Baptist growth in America and Australia is one concerned with two countries that geographically are among the largest in the world but differ markedly in the size of their population, its density and the country of origin of their migrants. They share to a degree a common heritage although America attracted many more migrants from European nations and thus was less homogenous. This led to a great difference in the course of Baptist history in each country. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and unlike Australia, America experienced a series of significant political and religious events that helped shape its cultural identity.

Differences are noticeably evident not only in the number of churches and church members but in the nature of organisational church life. This unevenness in historical experience notably that Baptists in America began almost two centuries before they did in Australia, has made the historian's task difficult in making comparisons between the two countries.

The story of Baptists worldwide over the past four centuries has been told by different Baptist historians such as H Leon McBeth, David W Bebbington and Robert E Johnson.¹ None has focused primarily on the growth of Baptists in a particular country or made any comparative study on this subject. While others adopted a chronological approach David Bebbington chose to be topical, selecting a number of sometimes contentious issues for examination such as the social Gospel, race, women, religious liberty, foreign missions, Baptist identity and the global spread of Baptists.

While the latter topic is related to the subject of this thesis it is not a detailed analysis of the means Baptists have used to spread their witness in any particular country, or the more local circumstances in which Baptists in each country have found themselves, or the challenges they faced that were very pertinent in Australia, such as competition from other Churches.

The apparent success of Baptists in the United States of America who account for roughly two-thirds of all Baptists worldwide makes this nation a yardstick for any examination of the progress

¹ H Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness*, Broadman Press, Nashville, 1987; David W Bebbington, *Baptists Through the Centuries: A History of a Global People*, Baylor University Press, Waco, 2010; Robert E Johnson, *A Global Introduction to Baptist Churches*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010

of Baptists in other countries. This comparative study of Baptists therefore, particularly as it involves the United States of America, serves as a useful study of what cultural, political and religious factors have influenced growth and shaped Baptist history.

General Conclusion

The two study periods of American and Australian Baptist history that begin nearly two centuries apart, show marked divergences. From their origins in each country Baptists progressed in contrasting cultural and political environments. When establishing the causes of the differences in the growth of Baptists in the two countries it can be explained by reference to various cultural, political and religious factors and events that shaped not only Baptist history but American and Australian society. In America Baptists encountered the First Great Awakening (and later a Second), the Revolutionary War, the opening of the frontier that spread across America, and later the American Civil War. These events helped define America and in different ways promoted or affected Baptist growth. The First Great Awakening emphasised the dynamic of individualism in the conversion experience. Then Baptist preachers, often recent converts of the First Great Awakening and in the absence of any denominational support, single-handedly preached in their own county or colony and later still, across the frontier as a result of their recent spiritual experience. Individual Baptist churches were organized that usually, but only voluntarily, established associations with other nearby Baptist churches. When state conventions first appeared in the early 1820s there was sometimes angst among local associations, another form of individualism, about being subsumed and the loss of identity. Meanwhile, as the frontier opened up individualism assumed another form as myriad new migrants, whether single persons or families, travelled across the unyielding frontier in search of a better life. This mobility was reflected in Baptist families who were among the first to migrate often before the frontier became new territories or states. This helped Baptists win new converts of little or no faith.

During the Revolutionary War the thirteen colonies demonstrated their independence and desire for freedom by rejecting British rule. The colonies were prepared to suffer the consequences and stand alone. Baptists gave strong initial support to the war effort and later joined the militias as soldiers or chaplains. They saw their own future dependent upon a colonial victory and an English defeat. Victory by the latter would only have empowered the Established Church they were seeking to disestablish. An independent nation was reflected in independent local Baptist churches. Independence assumed another form in the post-Civil War era as tens of thousands of emancipated slaves established their own churches and associations. The appeal of Baptists in contrast to others,

with the possible exception of Methodists, was that each local church was independent and therefore able to determine its own affairs. In the ante-bellum years African-Americans had found a place in white Baptist churches but post-War with the assistance of many whites and the American Baptist Home Mission Society they were able to clearly establish their own identity.

Freedom from British rule was synonymous with liberty and religious liberty became the one cause that Baptists enthusiastically championed. For them it meant the disestablishment of the Episcopal or the Congregational Church, in other words, a complete separation of Church and State. It meant the freedom to worship God as one chose and that this concept should be enshrined in the new Constitution. So independence, individualism, freedom, liberty and democracy synonymous with American ideals were mirrored in Baptist beliefs and practices.

What most contrasts Australian Baptist history with that of America is the absence of any significant cultural or political events that helped foster the spread of their Baptist beliefs. Unlike America, Australia as a nation did not attempt to divorce itself from its British past so independence was never a strong point. It remained staunchly part of Greater Britain or another part of the British Empire and Baptists like everyone else expressed their attachment to England by reference to it as 'home' or 'the old country.' Immigration to Australia was much more homogenous, the overwhelming majority coming from England and Ireland so the cultural ties remained strong. There was no inland trek by these immigrants in search of a better life. The Australian population largely clustered around cities or regional towns built on the fringe of the continent. Hence there was no inland frontier to conquer. The frontier of America became the outback in Australia, remote and sparsely-populated. Nevertheless despite this and the limited potential for new church members and regularity in income owing to economic conditions, often all Churches found themselves in competition with each other and sought to extend their witness in what were generally inhospitable conditions. In respect of Baptist independence perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Baptist organisation was the initial creation of colony-wide associations or unions, unlike the local association in America. Mobility was limited until the frequent use of the motor car and distances proved so vast but the formation of colonial rather than local associations was no doubt dictated by the relatively small size of the Baptist constituency. Notably, the one success story among local associations was that of the Northern Association in South Australia where member churches in the agricultural districts were in close proximity to each other.

Two further distantly-related but suggestive studies have not informed the current study, but might be considered by future researchers of Baptist growth in America and Australia. The use of cross-border comparisons has been made in respect of a study of American and Canadian evangelicals.² The study by Sam Reimer, using 118 interviews of persons from both countries and a poll of 3,000 Canadians and 3,000 Americans found that respondents shared highly similar religious identities, moral beliefs and social attitudes. American evangelicals did not distinguish themselves through greater conservatism or greater commitment but did connect politics and faith to a much greater extent than their Canadian counterparts while Canadian evangelicals evinced a greater tolerance. These differences, he concluded, pointed to the importance of enduring national and historical cultural differences, whereas regional differences were not as significant. The approach adopted by Elizabeth Mancke was that of a local community cross-border study of the townships of Machias (Massachusetts) and Liverpool (Nova Scotia) from 1760 to 1830. The latter had been bought by Britain from France in 1710 and settled by New England ‘Americans’ in the 1750s and 1760s. Mancke examined particularly the vexed issue of land grants, imperial relationships with Great Britain and how each township responded to the American Revolution. She concluded the liberal impulse that was defining the Anglo-American Atlantic world in the early nineteenth century was in Nova Scotia more State directed and similar to British liberalism, but that of Massachusetts was more privatized and therefore more democratic.

In conclusion it might be said that Baptists prospered in America because they were the beneficiaries of a range of factors, some outside their control, others within their grasp, but where national ideals and aspirations coincided with those of Baptists and this was clearly reflected in Baptist life and practice. Australia, on the other hand, remained so culturally British that there was never any attempt by Baptists to forge a new identity in a new land. As a result by comparison they remained small alongside both their American brethren and other Australian Churches and struggled to make any significant imprint.

² Sam Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide: The Conservative Protestant Subculture in Canada and the United States*, McGill’s-Queen University Press, Ontario 2005; Elizabeth Mancke, *The Fault Lines of Empire: Political Differentiation in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia ca. 1760 to 1830*, Routledge, New York, 2005

Appendices

Appendix 1

Number of Associations, Churches, Ministers Ordained, Ministers Licensed and Church Members in America, 1640 - 1876

Year	Associations	Churches	Ministers Ordained	Ministers Licensed	Church Members
1640		2			29
1650		6			82
1660		7			111
1670	1	11			211
1680	1	16			342
1690	2	23			580
1700	2	31			872
1710	2	36			1,356
1720	4	37			1,742
1730	6	51			2,458
1740	6	65			3,164
1750	6	105			5,146
1760	9	171			8,916
1770	11	281			15,029
1780	14	523			26,596
1790	37	986			67,475
1812		2,226	1,922		189,345
1831	300	5,075	2,934	436	361,434
1832	311	5,513	3,153	657	409,658
1834	322	5,888	3,110	701	424,282
1835	365	6,319	3,449	790	452,000
1841	409	6,942	3,851		581,208
1842	442	7,898	4,741		573,702
1843		8,147	5,273		573,783
1844	521	8,548	5,684		632,208
1845	540	9,230	5,373	1,004	797,942
1846	560	9,479	5,297	1,147	719,973
1848	564	9,388	5,657	1,199	731,906
1850	578	10,441	6,049		754,652
1851	578	10,441	6,049	1,199	754,652
1852	614	10,895	6,406	1,211	784,028
1857	537	10,774	6,935	833	869,462
1858	545	11,039	6,648	942	897,718
1859	565	11,600	7,141	1,025	923,198
1860	590	12,186	7,609	1,040	994,620
1861	576	12,371	7,837	1,115	1,020,442
1862	582	12,578	7,900	1,070	1,036,756
1863	588	12,648	8,018	1,035	1,037,576

Year	Associations	Churches	Ministers Ordained	Ministers Licensed	Church Members
1864	597	12,551	7,952	972	1,039,400
1865	592	12,702	7,867		1,040,303
1866	592	12,702	7,867		1,040,303
1867	605	12,675	8,038		1,043,641
1868	609	12,955	8,346		1,094,806
1868	630	13,355	8,574		1,109,926
1869	728	15,143	8,787		1,221,349
1870	728	15,143	8,787		1,221,349
1871	799	17,745	10,818		1,419,493
1872	820	18,397	12,013		1,489,191
1873	853	19,620	11,892		1,585,232
1874	890	20,520	12,598		1,633,539
1875	943	21,510	13,354		1,761,171
1876	925	21,255	13,117		1,815,300

Sources: Robert G Gardner, *Baptists of Early America: A Statistical History 1639-1790*, Georgia Baptist Historical Society, Atlanta, 1986, pp. 20-21, 138-139; Various Baptist Registers, Baptist Almanacs and Baptist Year Books (from 1868)

Notes: (1) After inquiries with various United States organisations advice was given no known published list of American associations, churches, ministers and church members exist.

(2) There are gaps in our knowledge for some years owing to the absence of any statistical information for that year. .

(3) In some years the figures for the previous year were repeated with no explanation

(4) Generally the figures published each year were those collated the previous year. Sometimes there was a two year delay

(5) The figures for 1868 appeared in the last issue of the *Baptist Almanac* and the first issue of the *American Baptist Year Book*. There was no attempt to reconcile the differences.

Appendix 2

Number of Baptist Adherents, Churches, Church Members and Population of Victoria, 1851 - 1947

Year	Baptist Adherents	Churches	Church Members	Population
1851				77,345
1854	4,727 (2.00%)			236,776
1857	6,412 (1.57%)			408,998
1858		10	1,186	
1861	9,001 (1.67%)		1,186	538,628
1862		19	1,146	
1867		28	2,134	
1871	16,311 (2.23%)		1,703	730,198
1877		34	2,636	860,504
1881	20,373 (2.36%)		3,893	861,566
1887		40	4,558	
1891	27,883 (2.45%)		5,380	1,139,840
1897		60	5,906	
1901	32,648 (2.72%)	67	6,296	1,201,070
1907		75	7,070	
1911	31,244 (2.37%)		7,655	1,315,551
1917		85	7,637	
1921	32,305 (2.11%)		7,492	1,531, 280
1922		89	7,419	
1927		95	7,525	
1933	31,427 (1.73%)			1,820, 261
1942		107	7,887	
1947	32,020 (1.56%)	110	7,870	2,054,701

Sources: F J Wilkin, p. 199; B S Brown, *Members One of Another: The Baptist Union of Victoria 1862 – 1962*, Baptist Union of Victoria, Melbourne, 1962, p. 205; Vamplew, *Australian Historical Statistics*, p. 26, 422, 428; *The New Zealand Baptist*, May 1884, Supplement, *The Gippsland Times* (Victoria), 7 March 1877, p. 3; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 February 1878, p. 3

Note: (1) The percentage figure represents the proportion of the Victorian population.

Appendix 3

Number of Baptist Adherents, Churches, Church Members and Population of South Australia, 1851 – 1947

Year	Baptist Adherents	Churches	Church Members	Population
1851				63,700
1855				85,821
1860	3,424			
1861				126,830
1866	5,464 (3.34%)		778	163,487
1868		20		
1871	8,731 (4.70%)	26	1,629	185,626
1876	10,460 (4.90%)	33	2,137	213,271
1881	13,979 (5.06%)	38	2,661	276,414
1886		52	3,838	
1891	17,547 (5.56%)	57	3,914	315,533
1896			4,161	
1901	21,765 (6.07%)		4,413	358,346
1906			4,836	
1911	21,863 (5.35%)	72	5,331	408,558
1916			5,884	
1921	23,033 (4.65%)	82	5,448	495,160
1926			5,281	
1931			5,280	
1933	19,081 (3.28%)	80	5,163	580,949
1936			5,066	
1941			5,053	
1946			4,939	
1947	18,431 (2.85%)	88	4,845	646,073

Sources: Vamplew, p. 26, 424, 429; Statistical Tables in *Truth and Progress*; South Australian Baptist Union *Year Books*

Note (1): The percentage figure in brackets represents the proportion of the population.

Appendix 4

Number of Baptist Adherents, Churches, Church Members and Population in New South Wales, 1851 - 1947

Year	Baptist Adherents	Churches	Church Members	Population
1851				178,668
1861				350,860
1871	4,151 (0.83%)	11	359	502,998
1881	7,307 (0.97%)	17	848	749,825
1891	13,024 (1.16%)	31	2,010	1,123,954
1896			2,155	
1901	15,440 (1.14%)	38	3,104	1,354,846
1906			4,223	
1911	20,679 (1.26%)	57	4,909	1,646,734
1916			5,669	
1921	24,722 (1.18%)	74	5,918	2,100,371
1926			6,703	
1931			9,145	
1933	29,981 (1.15%)	99	9,686	2,600,847
1936			9,606	
1941			10,469	
1946			10,955	
1947	34,935 (1.17%)	142	11,156	2,984,838

Sources: Vamplew. *Australian Historical Statistics*, p. 26, 421, 428; Michael Petras, *Extension or Extinction: Baptist Growth in New South Wales, 1900-1939*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1983, p. 28, 84

Notes: (1) There is a difference in the number of church members between Vamplew and other sources for 1891 (Vamplew gives 1,860 for 1891 and 9,105 for 1931)

(2) The percentage figure in brackets is the proportion of the population.

Appendix 5

Number of Baptist Adherents, Churches, Church Members and Population in Queensland, 1855 - 1947

Year	Baptist Adherents	Churches	Church Members	Population
1855			13	
1861			153	
1868	2,088 (1.94%)	5	387	107,427
1871	2,897 (2.31%)	9	482	125,146
1876	4,344 (2.32%)	10	700	187,100
1881	5,583 (2.46%)	9	883	226,968
1886	8,537 (2.49%)	14	1,560	342,614
1891	10,256 (2.50%)	20	1,895	410,330
1901	12,252 (2.46%)	29	2,210	498,129
1911	14,080 (2.32%)	30	3,151	605,813
1916			3,481	
1921	14,735 (1.95%)	45	3,466	755,972
1933	14,991 (1.58%)	44	4,147	947,534
1941			4,189	
1947	16,399 (1.48%)	61	4,388	1,106,415

Source: John E White, *A Fellowship of Service: A History of the Baptist Union of Queensland 1877 – 1977*, Baptist Union of Queensland, 1977, p.232 – 233; David Parker (editor), *Pressing on with the Gospel: The Story of Baptists in Queensland 1855-2005* Baptist Historical Society of Queensland, 2005, p. 172

Note (1): The percentage figure in brackets is the proportion of the population.

Appendix 6

Number of Baptist Adherents, Churches, Church Members and Population in Tasmania, 1828 – 1947

Year	Baptist Adherents	Churches	Church Members	Population
1828				18,128
1834				39,563
1837	91			
1838	175			
1841				57,420
1861	828 (0.92%)			89,977
1870	931 (0.94%)			99,328
1881	3,285 (2.84%)			115,705
1884		7	305	
1891	3,084 (2.10%)			146,667
1901	4,715 (2.73%)			172,478
1903			864	
1905		12		
1906			920	
1908			882	
1910		14		
1911	5,017 (2.62%)		1,119	191,211
1921	5,332 (2.49%)		1,394	213,780
1930			1,430	
1933	4,666 (2.05%)			227,599
1935		17	1,400	
1941			1,534	
1946			1,450	
1947	5,374 (2.09%)	19		257,078

Sources: W Vamplew (ed.), *Australian Historical Statistics*, p. 26, 425, 430; Statistics relating to Tasmanian Baptists supplied by Mr Laurence Rowston, Tasmanian Baptist historian and archivist (copy provided to writer)

Note (1): Percentage figure in brackets is the proportion of the population.

Appendix 7

Number of Baptist Adherents, Churches, Church Members and Population in the Swan River Colony and Western Australia, 1829 – 1947

Year	Census Adherents	Churches	Church Members	Population
1829				485
1881				29,708
1891	283 (0.57%)			49,782
1901	2,914 (1.58%)	10		184,124
1904			800	
1906			1,066	
1908			1,083	
1911	4,801 (1.75%)	19	1,034	275,098
1915			1,187	
1916			1,245	
1918		31	1,283	
1921	5,541 (1.69%)	23		327,542
1923			1,175	
1933	5,601 (1.29%)	21		435,654
1936			1,601	
1936			1,535	
1939		25	1,439	
1946			1,500	
1947	6,097 (1.22%)	25		499,999

Sources: W Vampley (ed), *Australian Historical Statistics*, p. 26, 430 Richard K Moore (ed.), p. 11, 426; *Baptists of Western Australia: The First Ninety Years*, Baptist Historical Society of Western Australia, Perth, pp. 37, 64, 65, 257; Richard K Moore, 'All Western Australia is my Parish': *A Centenary History of the Baptist Denomination in Western Australia*, Baptist Historical Society of Western Australia, p. 231-307

Notes: (1) In 1829 and 1832 Western Australia was known as Swan River Colony
 (2) The percentage figure in brackets is the proportion of the population.

Appendix 8

Graduates of Pastors' College (1856) later Spurgeon's College (1923) who came to Australia

Notes (1): In 1992 Michael Chavura included in his unpublished thesis, *A History of Calvinism in the Baptist Churches of New South Wales 1831-1914*, a list from official records held at Spurgeon's College, London of graduates who served in Australian churches. There was no additional research undertaken.

(2) This list remains incomplete as there are many omissions and some errors.

(3) Using this information as a basis the author has undertaken further research making extensive use of Trove (the digital newspaper resource tool of the National Library of Australia, Canberra) that has been available since 2008 but has been limited by the availability of sources.

(4) A 26 page manuscript titled *Pastors' (or Spurgeon's) College graduates in Australia since 1863* has been compiled by the author and remains in his possession.

(5) As the list of sources is very extensive they have not been included in this Appendix.

(6) No registers are available that provided the names of overseas Baptist ministers who came to Australia. As Trove is an ongoing project there still remains gaps in our knowledge of these men.

(7) In 2005 David Parker compiled a list of all known Queensland Baptist ministers that was updated in 2007.

(8) The first graduate of Pastors' College to come to Australia was the Rev Frederick Hibberd in October 1863 in response to a request to C H Spurgeon from Baptists meeting in Bourke Street, Woolloomooloo in Sydney

1. Anderton, Reuben A Edgar

Churches served: Fremantle (WA) December 1911- January 1916; Fenwick Street, Geelong (Vic) January 1916- August 1919; returned to England

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Australian ministry 1912-1919; son of a London City missionary; entered Pastors' College; Kelvinside, Glasgow for over nine years; at Pastors' College with Revs W M Cartwright and C J Tinsley

2. Archer, Herbert Davies (1864-1924)

Churches served: Sheffield (Tas) 1887-1888; Deloraine (Tas) 1888 -1893; Longford (Tas) 1893-1894; Koroit (Vic) 1897-1898; Castlemaine (Vic) 1898-1905; Granville (NSW) 1905-1906; Bathurst (NSW) 1906-1909; Goombargana (NSW) 1909-?; Beryl Street & Gypsum Streets, Broken Hill (NSW) 1913-1914; Angaston (SA) supply 1915? -1916; Black Forest & Richmond (SA) 1916-1918; Zion Chapel, Pulteney Street, Adelaide (SA) 1919-1920; Leeton (NSW) 1921?-1923; Hornsby (NSW) 1923-1924

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Sheffield (Tas), 1887-1888; Deloraine (TAS) 1888-1893; Longford (Tas) 1893-1894; Koroil (*sic*) Koroit? (Vic) 1897-1898; Castlemaine (Vic) 1898-1905; Granville (NSW) 1905-1908; Bathurst (NSW) 1908-1912; Brocklesby (NSW) 1912 - ? ; his father had an estate at Cheshunt (Vic) and Archer was born near Deloraine in Tasmania. After matriculation to Melbourne University he became assistant master at Chrch of England Grammar School in Launceston; became pastor of Evandale church connected Mr H Reid's mission church at Launceston; entered Pastors' College; upon completion of studies appointed to Deloraine

church and held position for five years Archer's life dogged by constant ill-health requiring frequent change of location. Too ill to take church services last six months of his life.

3. Bean, Albert W (1876 - ?)

Churches served: Launceston Tabernacle (Tas) 1904-1905; Albert Street, Melbourne (Vic) 1907-1909; Fenwick Street, Geelong (Vic) 1909-1911; Norwood (SA) 1911-1920; YMCA secretary (overseas) 1916-1918; Collins Street, Melbourne (1920-?); Melbourne City Mission Superintendent 1923-1926; Epsom, Auckland (New Zealand) ? 1930; Nundah (Qld) interim 1930-1931; Auburn (Vic) 1933-1935

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Launceston (Tas) 1903-1907; Albert Street, Melbourne (Vic) 1907-1909; Fenwick Street, Geelong (Vic) 1909-1912; Norwood (SA) 1912-1920; Collins Street, Melbourne (Vic) assisting 1920 - ?; born near Stirling, Scotland in 1876 and brought up a Presbyterian; educated at Dollar Academy when aged twelve then Edinburgh University; as a young man read Spurgeon's published weekly sermons; entered Pastors' College 1896; simultaneously student pastor Forest Row, Sussex; invited to initiate a Baptist cause in Glasgow where there was a population of 30,000 and few churches; after six weeks the church constitution was drawn up and church formed; pastor of Kelvinside, Glasgow for five years (1897-1902); at end of ministry 220 church members and seating for 550; health failing so moved to Portsmouth; England; induced to come to Australia by relatives living in Victoria; described by *Daily Mail* in 1914 as "an indefatigable worker...he is a powerful and convincing preacher, and added to that his practical personality counts very largely in his great popularity."

4. Bird, Alfred (b. 1847 -)

Churches served: Launceston Tabernacle (Tas), 1884-1887; Dawson Street, Ballarat (Vic) Whitchurch, Hants (England) 1905-

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Victoria 1884-1896; born 19 October 1847 of godly parents who were members of the West End church, Hammersmith; his grandfather was a pastor; became a Christian aged 16 and member of Bloomsbury Baptist Chapel in London under ministry of the Rev William Brock (1807-1885); entered Pastors' College August 1867; came from Penzance, Cornwall to Australia; returned to England in 1905

5. Black, Willie Cleugh (1883-1940)

Churches served: Dulwich Hill (NSW) 1910-1919, North Sydney (NSW) 1920-1924, Auburn (NSW) 1924-1935, Home Mission Superintendent, Baptist Union of New South Wales 1935-1940

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Dulwich Hill, Sydney (NSW) 1909 - ? ; attended Pastors' College 1906-1910; died 24 September 1940 aged 57 of heart failure

6. Blackie, Henry George

Churches served: Latrobe (Tas) 1886-1888; Longford 1888-1891; Albert Park Melbourne (Vic) January 1892- 1894 (first pastor); South Melbourne (Vic) 1895-1897

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Longford (Tas) 1888-1891; Albert Park, Melbourne (Vic) 1891-1899; in 1877 Pastors' College paid his passage money to Delhi, India where he became pastor of the Lal Bazar Baptist church, Calcutta; in 1880 transferred to Bombay English Baptist church; arrived in Tasmania from England October 1886; reference to him and the YMCA, Brisbane in 1912

7. Blaikie, James (ca 1851-1907)

Churches served: Kew (Vic), 1882-1891; Auckland Tabernacle (New Zealand) 1892-1896; Hobart Tabernacle (Tas) 1897-1906; Townsville (Qld) April-May 1897 (supply); Hobart Tabernacle; Castlemaine (Vic) 1906-1907

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Kew, Melbourne (Vic); New Zealand; Hobart (Tas) 1897-1907; born in Scotland; in 1882 he felt compelled to leave England for health reasons to seek more genial climate

8. Bonser, William (1857-1937)

Churches served: Maryborough (Qld) 1886-1895; resigned March 1895 and returned to England

Notes: Spurgeon's College register does not record his name; studied at Pastors' College (1879-1881) where fellow-student was Rev William Higlett; pastor at Fenton, Staffordshire (1881-1885); left England 1886 following death of wife; "in this colony the Church required men who were prepared to "rough it...", if Home Mission work was to be the success he was convinced it would have to be evangelistic, and without any attempt at ornate service; they should have more visits from the Southern ministers as such visits would prove of immense benefit"; not listed in Spurgeon's College register

9. Booth, E

Churches served:

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states in Australia 1879; Evangelist 1885-1888; Prolific writer – no further details

10. Boreham, Frank William (1871-`1959)

Churches served: Mosgiel (near Dunedin) (New Zealand) 1895-1906; Hobart Tabernacle (Tas) 1906-1916; Armadale (Vic) 1916-1927

Notes: Spurgeon's College register Hobart Tabernacle (Tas) 1906-1916; Armadale (Vic) 1916-1927; accepts call to New Zealand following completion of studies at Pastors' College; Thomas Spurgeon acts as an intermediary in call to church

11. Boyall, Charles (1864-1929) Australian-born

Churches served: Itinerant evangelist, Baptist Union of new South Wales, August 1890- August 1891; Marrickville (and Kingsgrove) (NSW), Maryborough (Qld), July 1895-September 1904; Gympie (Qld) 1897-1901; Dunedin (New Zealand); Caversham (New Zealand) 1904-1912; Harris Street, Sydney (NSW) 1912-

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Marrickville Kingsgrove and Rockdale (NSW) 1892-1895 Maryboro (sic) (Qld) 1895-1904; Harris Street, Sydney (NSW) 1912 -?; born Carlton (Vic); engaged in Baptist Mission, Melbourne; student at Pastors' College 1886-1889; London Evangelization Society; YMCA Mission Hall; Sailor's Rest, Williamstown (Vic);

12. Breewood, Thomas H (1845-1923)

Churches served: Townsville (Qld) 1888-1889, Sandgate (Qld) 1890-1892; Ipswich (Qld), 1892-1893; returned to England due to wife's health; Horsham and Brayford (Vic) 1895-1902; Niton, Isle of Wight (1902-1910)

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Townsville (Qld) 1888-1889; Sandgate (Qld) 1889-1891; Ipswich (Qld) 1891-1893; Horsham (Vic) 1893-1894; born Camberwell, London; student Metropolitan Tabernacle evening classes and Pastors' College (1876-1877); left Walthamstow, Essex for health reasons arriving in Melbourne in November 1877; asked by Baptist Association of Queensland in April 1888 to remain for month in Brisbane

13. Buckingham, Frederick George (b. 1851)

Churches served: South Melbourne (1881-1891); Townsville (Qld) 1891-1896; Ipswich (Qld) 1896-1903; Nelson (New Zealand) 1903-1905; Oamaru (New Zealand) May 1905-

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Melbourne (Vic) 1881-1884; South Melbourne (Vic) 1884-1888; born in Padbury, Buckinghamshire and regarded as outstanding boy preacher; College student (1869-1871); came to Australia in 1880; President Baptist Union of Queensland 1898-1899; Baptist Union of New Zealand 1908-1909

14. Bunning, William Charles (d. 1893)

Churches served: Aberdeen Street, Geelong (Vic) 1872-1883, West Melbourne (Vic) 1883-1893

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Geelong (Vic) 1872-1883; West Melbourne (Vic) 1883-1893; announces coming from Rose Street Baptist church in Edinburgh to Aberdeen Street Geelong in July 1872; following the break up of his marriage his body was later found in Yarra River but there were no suspicious circumstances; aged about sixty

15. Cartwright, William Montague (ca 1878 – 1928)

Churches served: Ashfield (NSW) 1903-1910;

Notes: Ashfield, Sydney (NSW) 1903-1910; Fitzroy, Melbourne (Vic) 1911-1920; Mission Supt. of Victoria B.U. 1920-?; came from Buckinghamshire and in business for some years before entering College in 1903

16. Chamberlain, C J

Churches served: Port Pirie (South Australia), 1923-1926; Gawler and Lyndoch (SA), 1926-1933; Yorketown-Minlaton (SA) 1933-

Notes: Spurgeon's College register does not record his name; came from Nottingham to Australia at request of Baptist Union; resigns Port Pirie pastorate as no prospect church will move to Port Pirie West where members reside

17. Clark, Henry (b. 1862)

Churches served: South Australia (possible preaching supply); Harris Street, Sydney (NSW) 1892-1899, Perth (Tasmania) 1899-1900; Newton (NSW) 1900-1905; West Melbourne (Vic) 1905-1908; Burwood (NSW) 1908-1912, Goulburn (NSW) 1912-1913, Wellington (NSW) 1914-1917; Bexley-Arncliffe (NSW) 1918?; Drummoyne (NSW)?; Granville (NSW); 1920-1925; Maroubra (NSW) 1925-1934

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Harris Street, Sydney (NSW) 1892-1899, Perth (1899-1900; Newtown, Sydney (NSW) 1900-1905; West Melbourne (Vic) 1905-1908; Burwood (NSW) 1908-1912; Goulburn (NSW) 1912-1913; Wellington (NSW) 1914-1917; born in Edinburgh, Scotland and left for New Zealand aged 16 where he began study for the Methodist ministry but resigned after three years; went to Pastors' College and later to Barking, Essex; ill-health forced him to seek a warmer climate and came to Australia in 1891; Founder of Protestant Defence Association of Victoria and President first two years; retired in 1934 after fifty years in the ministry

18. Clark, William (1839-1917)

Churches served: Perth (Tas) 1874-1876, Ballarat (Vic) 1876-1885; St Kilda (Vic) 1885-1892; South Carlton (Vic) 1892-1907; secretary Baptist Union of Victoria 1907-1913

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Tasmania 1874-1877; Ballarat 1877-1885; St Kilda, Melbourne (Vic) 1885-1892; North Carlton (Vic) 1892-1906; Secretary, Baptist Union of Victoria 1906-1917; came to Australia from Ashford, Kent after over four years of ministry; secretary of the Baptist Union on two occasions (1886 -1889) and (1906-1912); died suddenly following a communion service at the Armadale church on 22 March 1917

19. Clarke, Alfred James (1848-1916)

Churches served: West Melbourne, 1879- 1884; Bourke Street, Woolloomooloo, Sydney (1884-1890); Launceston (Tasmania), 1890-1893; Burwood (NSW) 1893-1896, Hindmarsh (SA) 1896-1908

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Evangelist in Australia 1879 - ?; Bendigo (Vic) 1909 - ? ; born in Wiltshire; evangelist with Metropolitan Tabernacle Evangelization Society under C H Spurgeon (*ca* 1873-1877) but interrupted by poor health twice; called by West Melbourne church following appeal to Spurgeon ; his ministry in Launceston ended in total disarray'; he was a loyal Orangeman; Christian Social League formed in Hindmarsh Baptist church on 3 May 1908

20. Clinch, Benjamin White (1852-1933)

Churches served: Maryborough (Qld) 1883-1884; to Anglican Church (reported 26 February 1884)

Notes: Spurgeon's College register does not record his name; in September 1883 advertisement in Maryborough newspaper announces he is from C H Spurgeon's College in London; in February `884 it is announced he is transferring to the Anglican ministry; in January 1886 he is *locum tenens* at St Paul's Ipswich, has preached his farewell sermons and is planning a trip to the Cape Colony, South Africa but hopes to return to Queensland

21. Cocks, Henry

Churches served: Perth (Tas) 1865-1868

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Perth (Tas) 1865-1868; in August 1867 it was announced he had arrived and meeting held on 12 September 1867 to welcome him

22. Coller, William (1858- 1919)

Churches served: Richmond River (Casino), 1879-1880; Newcastle 1880-1882; Williamstown (Vic) 1882-1883; Mitcham (SA) 1883- 1888; Newtown 1889-1900, Manildra, 1900-1919

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Australia 1877-1879 (no other details); Richmond River (NSW) 1879-1881; Newcastle (NSW) 1881-1882; Williamstown (Vic) 1882-1883; Mitcham (SA) 1884-1888; born in Hintonville London and studied at Pastors' College; initially came to South Australia but moved to New South Wales; actively involved in local community in Manildra district; President, Pinecliff Progress Association, member of Management Committee, School of Arts

23. Collins, Archibald Henry (1853-1930)

Churches served: Fitzroy (Vic), Kyneton (Vic) 1906-; Parkside (SA)

Notes: Spurgeon's College register does not record his name; born in Worcester of parents who were members of the Free Church of England; joined the Sansome Walk Baptist church in Worcester; preached gospel frequently as a young man; entered Pastors' College then pastorates at Milton; Selby Park; Birmingham (for 13 years); Auckland (New Zealand) from 1893 Secretary of Midland Baptist Association (7 years) and Birmingham Evangelical Ministers' Association

24. Compton, William (1855 -1887)

Churches served:

Notes: Spurgeon's College register does not record his name; attended a Congregational church before entering Pastors' College in 1876; Pastor of Western Road church, Hove Brighton then two churches in Gosport, all the time 'weak and suffering'; died of consumption soon after arrival in Tasmania on 27 August 1887

25. Cooper, Arthur William (1891-1963)

Churches served: Williamstown (Vic); Presbyterian ministry

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Williamstown (Vic) 1925 -?; born in Walthamstow, Essex and when compelled to leave school aged 14 he worked in a large furnishing house for five years; aged 17 was engaged in evangelistic preaching in workhouses, infirmaries, lodging houses and Gospel halls in London; in 1910 studied at Bible Training Institute, Glasgow for two years; one of only twelve from 300 applicants accepted for Pastors' College in August 1912; ordained September 1916; co-pastor Spring Hill Baptist church Birmingham (1916-1918); Shirley, Warwickshire (1918-1921); compelled to resign due to ill-health of Australian-born wife; served in Presbyterian ministry from 1930 to 1962

26. Cooper, James Rides (b. 1856)

Churches served: Perth (Tas) 1885-1887; Portland (Vic) 1887-1897; return to England

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Perth (Tas) 1885-1887; Portland (Vic) 1887-1897; entered Pastors' College January 1882; arrived in Tasmania in December 1884 with a sickly Thomas Spurgeon

27. Cother, W J

Churches served: Prahran and South Yarra (Vic) 1869-1870

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Sydney (NW) 1869-1870; after pastorate at Sat Helena; first announced in December invitation sent to him from Baptists in Prahran and following

acceptance he will arrive in five or six months time; has been on the island of St Helena for some time; commended by Rev Thomas Ness and C H Spurgeon; until his arrival church services will continue as usual; last references to him giving lectures on C H Spurgeon in Adelaide in January 1871

28. Cox, George David

Churches served: Aberdeen Street, Geelong (Vic) 1887-1888, goes to New Zealand

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Geelong (Vic) 1866-1888; in January 1887 he consents to be pastor of Aberdeen Street, Geelong in absence of Rev J S Harrison who due to ill-health has been compelled to relinquish duties for three months; leaves Geelong after 17 months to go to Mount Eden (New Zealand) then accepts call to Napier (New Zealand)

29. Craike, George A (1879 -1929)

Churches served: Devonport (Tas) 1912-1915, Clifton Hill (Vic) 1915-1919; Petersham (NSW) 1919-1929

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Devonport (1912-1914); Clifton Hill (1914- ? ; born in Hobart and engaged in lay preaching; aged 19 he was assistant minister to Rev J T Piercey at Redd Memorial, then proceeded to study at Pastors' College (1904-1908), pastor of Chesham Baptist church, Buckinghamshire until 1912; returned to Devonport church; suffered a nervous breakdown and was granted three months leave to recuperate; went to Melbourne but health deteriorated and died in Broughton Hall, Sydney

30. Cumming, Morrison

Churches served: Hobart (Tas) 1894-1895; returned to London. :

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Hobart (Tas) 1894-1895; born in Adelaide (SA) and baptized by Rev George Stonehouse in 1868; left to study at Pastors' College (1874-1877); accepts Hobart pastorate but in late 1895 he resigned and returned to England.

31. Downing, John (1858-1952)

Churches served: Fortescue Street, Spring Hill, Brisbane (Qld); 1879-1883; Williamstown (Vic) 1883-1887; Kyneton (Vic) 1887-

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Brisbane (1878-1881; Williamstown (Vic) (1883-1886); Kyneton (1887-1893); student at Pastors' College 1877-1878; came to Australia in 1879; his English-born wife Celia (1858-1952) was prominent in Victorian denominational affairs

32. Eames, James Thomas (1857-1914)

Churches:

Notes: Spurgeon's College register does not record his name; lay preacher in England who studied at Pastors' College; came to Perth (WA) but never a church pastor; foundation member Museum Street, Perth church and prominent in denominational affairs

33. Ellis, Edwin H

Churches: Albert Street, Melbourne (Vic) May 1891-1894. North Adelaide (SA) 1894-1901; returned to London to East London Baptist Tabernacle

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Melbourne (1891-1894) and North Adelaide (1894-1901); After studying at Pastors' College began at Stoke Newington church in London in 1880; returned to England to undertake mission work with East London Baptist Tabernacle but after some little time he experienced a nervous breakdown in his health

34. Ewing, John (ca 1883-1928)

Churches served: Museum Street, Perth (WA) June 1927- July 1928

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Australasian ministry 1912 – ; born in Leith, Scotland and entered ministry aged 24 training at Pastors' College; Haddon Hall (branch of Metropolitan Tabernacle) for ten years; during this time spent two years in France with YMCA and Ambulance Corps; at Romford, Essex church for six years; arrived in Perth (WA) June 1927; died after suffering bronchial pneumonia that led to pleurisy in office aged 45 in July 1928

35. Fairey, Samuel (1848-1926)

Churches served: Kenton Valley (SA); Gawler (SA); 1870-1880; Parkside (SA) 1880-1893; Glen Osmond and Knightsbridge 1893-; Mile End; St Peters (1910-1912)

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Gawler (SA) 1870-1880; Parkside, Adelaide (SA) 1880-1893; Glen Osmond (SA) 1893-1894; Frewville (SA) 1894-1895; Glen Osmond and Knightsbridge (SA) 1875 - ?; born at St Neot's, Huntingdonshire; studied at Pastors' College; arrived in South Australia 28 February 1870 for health reasons; C H Spurgeon had written a letter of introduction: "Mr Fairey was one of our best and most hopeful students. His health is threatened and he leaves for Australia. I wish him Godspeed and commend him to all who love our Lord, especially to such as have received one Lord, one faith one Baptism." A cabinetmaker by trade it was said at his death he was instrumental in the erection of six buildings during his ministries.

36. Fulton, A P (ca 1849-1876)

Churches served:

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Adelaide 1874-1876; welcomed from St Andrew's Scotland at half-yearly assembly of South Australian Baptist Association in April 1875; came to Australia for health reasons; announcement of death in January 1876, aged 26

37. Garrett, Horatio Harry (ca 1842-1881)

Churches served: Brighton (Vic) 1880-1881

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Brighton (Vic) 1880-1882; Born in London and was engaged in mission work in various parts of England with a Church of England clergyman; studied at Pastors' College for two years; pastorates at Shrewsbury then at Merstham, Surrey; came to Victoria July 1880; he was one of three killed in a railway accident at Jolimont in Melbourne on 30 August 1881

38. Gilbert, A A

Churches served: Albany (WA) 1926- about September 1928; returned to London

Notes: Spurgeon's College register does not record his name; studied at Pastors' College then English ministries; arrived Albany (WA); first reference in April 1927; farewelled September 1928 before returning to England

39. Glover, John (1841 or 1842-1906)

Churches served: Wharf Street, Brisbane (supply). Fortescue Street, Brisbane 1886-1888; Rockhampton July 1887-September 1893; 1894-July 1899 Toowoomba; Lanefield (Rosewood); Mt Morgan and Highfields (supply) 1904-1906

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Brisbane 1883-1888; Rockhampton 1888-1893; Toowoomba 1894-1898; Rosewood 1899-1904; born Herne Hill London, 1841 or Brixton, Surrey, 1842; an Anglican who became a Congregationalist; student at Pastors' College 1869-1871; Combomartin Devon, 1871 -; arrives in Brisbane early 1885;

40. Graham, Davis James

Churches served: Goulburn (NSW) 1894-1897; Brunswick (Vic) East Malvern (Vic)

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Canterbury (Vic); 1891-1892; Goulburn (NSW) 1893-1898; Brunswick (Vic) 1898-1912; East Malvern (Vic) 1912 - ? Australian-born

41. Grant, Alfred William

Churches served: Perth (Tas) 1869-1871, Ballarat (Vic) 1871-1875; Bathurst (NSW) 1876-1878; Harrington Street, Hobart (Tasmania) 1878-1879

Notes: Spurgeon's Register states Perth (Tas) 1865 - ?; first graduate of Pastors' College to go to Tasmania in 1869; he was elected President of the Baptist Union of New South Wales for 1877-1878 but in January 1878 he left the state; his movements are unclear after leaving New South Wales; on 6 April 1879 he was being farewelled from the Harrington Street, Hobart church after being there for 12 months

42. Hamilton, A J .

Churches served: Nelson (New Zealand); Eaglehawk (Vic) 1881-1883

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Victoria 1881-1884; came from New Zealand; no references after 1883

43. Harrington, Thomas

Churches served: New Zealand; Mt Gambier (SA) 1886; returns to New Zealand

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Mt Gambier (SA) 1886-1889; arrives in Wellington, New Zealand from Sydney in 1878; on return to New Zealand in 1886 accepted as a probationer into the Presbyterian Church

44. Harrison, James Samuel (ca 1853-1935)

Churches served: Deloraine (Tas) 1879-1880; engaged in evangelistic preaching; "Bristol Road" church in England; Victoria 1924- Warrnambool (1924); West Hawthorn (1934)

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Australasia 1880-1887; born in London and converted aged 17 – in Bristol he joined the Brethren Church of George Muller; entered Pastors' College in

1876; came with Thomas Spurgeon and Rocert McCullough; when Deloraine constitution drawn up first item: "For the present the Bible is our only guide as to church matters. We expect it will be enough."

45. Harrison, John Pearson

Churches served: Southampton, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Harcourt Street, Dublin, Ireland 1921- ; London, Rosalie (Qld); itinerant preacher -

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Australian ministry mostly Melbourne and Sydney, 1930 - ? ; son of Rev J S Harrison; Pastors' College; when in Dublin lectured at Irish Baptist Bible Colle in various subjects; member of Dr Campbell Morgan's Bible Teachers Association; Convention speaker in British Isles

46. Hewson, John Calvert (1861-1951)

Churches served: Perth (WA) 1895; entered secular employment

Notes: Spurgeon's College register has confused Hewson with Charles Boyall and mistakenly placed him in New South Wales churches beginning in 1892; born Edinburgh, Scotland; student at Pastors' College 1885-1888; Scottish and English pastorates 1888-1894; Richard Moore documented secular employment history following departure from ministry

47: Hibberd, Frederick:

Churches served: Bourke Street Woolloomooloo; Launceston (Tas); Ashfield (NSW)

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Hobart (Tas) 1863-1867; Launceston (Tas) 1867-1871; Sydney 1871-1875; Woolloomooloo (NSW) 1875-1885; Sydney 1885-1894; Hibberd was the first graduate of Pastors' College to come to Australia in October 1863: After brief pastorates in Tasmania and Victoria he returned to New South Wales and became an elder statesman figure; referred to as the 'forgotten father of New South Wales Baptists'

48. Higgins. William

Churches served:

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Melbourne 1877-1892; no further details

49.. Higlett, William (1857-1944)

Churches served: Toowoomba (Qld) 1882-1890, Albion,(Qld) 1890-1910, President, Baptist Association of Queensland 1885-1886; Secretary, Baptist Association of Queensland 1890-1902, Grafton (NSW) 1910-1914, Haberfield (NSW) 1915-1929, Secretary, Baptist Union of New South Wales 1916-1937

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Toowoomba (Qld) 1882-1890; Albion, Brisbane (Qld) 1890-1810; Grafton (NSW) 1910 - ?; born in London, converted at Moody and Sankey Mission, student at Pastors' College 1879-1882; moved to Queensland July 1882; David Parker, *'A True Pastor'''* *The Life and Ministry of William Higlett* (2002)

50. Hill, George, MA

Churches served: Collins Street. Melbourne 1891-1893

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Melbourne 1891-1893; came from Cromer Road, Baptist church in Leeds to Collins Street in 1891; following year receives call from Derby Road church in Nottingham and accepts: left after 18 months at church – presented with a purse of 100 sovereigns; in 1903 appointed first governor of United Northern Baptist College of England

51. Hobday, Edward Herbert

Churches served: Wellington (New Zealand) 1907-1915; Bendigo (Vic) 1915-1916; Hobart Baptist Tabernacle (Tas) 1916-1921

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Australian ministry 1906-1921; Pastor of Gray's Baptist chapel, England leaves in 1907 to go to New Zealand; returns to England after Hobart pastorate; appointed to be superintendent of Baptist churches in Bendigo

52. Hodge, Wilfrid Percy

Churches served: Hobart Baptist Tabernacle (Tas) 6 months interim to December 1928; Malvern East (Vic) 1929-1931; Dawson Street, Ballarat (Vic) 1932-August 1935; returns to England

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Australia 1928-1936

53. Hutton, Peter

Churches served:

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Queensland 1885 - ?; no further details

54. Hyde, Alfred

Churches served: Deloraine (Tas) June 1884-August 1887; Longford (Tas) September 1887 – November 1888, Latrobe (Tas), December 1888 – March 1890; Hamilton (Vic) 1892-1893; Goodwood –Richmond (SA) 1893-1896; Bentham Street, Adelaide (SA) February 1901- Black Forest (SA) 1913- ; Brighton (SA) and Seacliff (SA) honorary oversight October 1915 – September 1916; was the first pastor of the Black Forest church in 1913

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states: Deloraine (Tas) 1885-1888; Formby (Tas), 1888-1890; Devonport (Tas) 1890-1891; Hamilton (Vic) 1891-1893; Goodwood (SA) 1893-1895

55. Ince, Edward G

Churches served: Echuca (Vic) 1879-1880, Stawell (Vic) (1880?-1882, Hilton (SA) 1882-1884, returns to England

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Australia 1879-1884; August 1879 advertisement appears announcing arrival from Spurgeon's College; later seeks Council permission for use of town hall for remainder of the year; March 1880 – pastor of church and conducts baptismal service; September 1880 – preaching at Fitzroy (Vic); April 1882 at Stawell (Vic) but advising owing to unsatisfactory state of health change of scene and labour advised; June 1882- welcomed to Hilton (SA); August 1884 – retires from Hilton due to illness and decides to return to England

56. Isaac, Edward (1856 -1918)

Churches served: Evangelistic missions in Victoria and Queensland; Brunswick(Vic) 1882-1892 ; West Melbourne (Vic); Fitzroy (Vic) 1895-1902, visited Palestine and returned to

England, Reed Memorial, Launceston (Tas) 1908-1910; Williamstown (Vic) ?-1916, Albert Street, Melbourne 1916-

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Deloraine 1880 - ?; Evangelist 1882-1884; Brunswick (Vic) 1884-1893; West Melbourne (Vic) 1893-1895; Fitzroy (Vic), 1895-1901; England 1901-1904; Launceston (Tas) 1904-1910; Williamstown 1911-1918; born in Bristol on 29 August 1856 and worked for J S Fry & Son of cocoa fame for a couple of years; went to London aged 18; member of Shoreditch Tabernacle where minister Rev W Cuff urged him to consider the ministry; Pastors' College – left 1881; came to Australia 1885 with Rev J S Harrison for extended evangelistic tour;

President, Baptist Union of Victoria 1897-1898

Subject of memoir Rev Edward Isaac 1856-1918 by Thomas E Varley

57. Juniper, Kerrison

Churches served: Perth (Tas) 1908 -1909; returns to England

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Perth 1907-1914 after pastorates in England and South Africa; delivers lectures on South Africa; in August 1909 it was announced he had recently resigned to return to England

58. Leeder, Albert Leonard (1880-1961)

Churches served: Moonah (Tas) 1908-1910; Maryborough (Qld); 1910-1915; Lithgow (NSW) 1915-1923; Pymble (NSW) 1923-1925; General Secretary, Russian Missionary Society, 1926-1937; General secretary, Baptist Union of New South Wales, 1938-1955

Notes: Spurgeon's College register does not record his name; born in Essex, England; student at Pastors' College, 1904-1908; first full-time secretary Baptist Union of New South Wales; subject of biography by Russell Groves

59. Lewis, Joseph Arthur, BA

Churches served: North Perth (WA) 1926-1932, Katanning (WA) 1932-1934; Flinders Street, Adelaide (SA) 1934-1943; Collins Street, Melbourne (Vic) 1943-1961

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Perth (WA) 1924-1941; English ministry 1921-1926; resigned from Collins Street, Melbourne pastorate August 1961 on Baptist attitudes to the Ecumenical Movement; Made the claims Baptists were 'tied with the dead hand of the past' and 'some Baptists are as narrow as razor blades'; in 1962 entered the Presbyterian ministry

60. McCullough, Robert (d. 1925)

Churches served; Longford (Tas), 1880-1883; Hobart (Tas) 1883 -1894; Parkside (SA) 1894-1903; Morphett Vale (SA) 1903-1906; Mitcham (SA) 1906-1915

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Longford (Tas) 1879-1883; Hobart (Tas) 1883-1893; Parkside (SA) 1894-1903; Morphett Vale (SA) 1903-1906; Mitcham (SA) 1906-1915; came in 1879 with Rev J S Harrison and preached first sermon at Kew (Vic) church; first minister of Longford (Tas) church

61. Marsden, Henry (d. 1882)

Churches served: Kew (Vic) 1880-1882

Notes: Spurgeon's College register does not record his name; died February 1882

62. Mateer, John T

Churches served: Auburn (Vic) 1896 -1897

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states in Melbourne 1896-1897; previously visited Australian colonies with Mr Parker "a few years ago"; formerly Vernon Chapel, Kings Cross Road. London; father a LMS missionary in southern India; Mateer and Parker in Australia 1886-1887 and expected to spend nine months conducting evangelistic meetings

63. Menzies. George

Churches served: Fremantle (WA) 1904-1905; Northam (WA) 1906-1908; Narrogin (WA) 1908-1909; Newtown (NSW) 1909-1916; Napier (New Zealand) 1916-1920; joined Plymouth Brethren in New Zealand

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Fremantle (WA) 1904-1905; Northam (WA) 1905-1907; Narrogin (WA) 1907 - ?; Newtown, Sydney (NSW) no dates; came from Arbroath (near Dundee) Scotland – pastor for 11 years; acceptance of Fremantle pastorate following visit of Dr McColl from Perth; recommended by Dr McCaig and CH Spurgeon; in 1914 one of speakers at 17th annual Second Advent Conference at Newtown church that included W C Black, W Lamb, S Sharp, W A Southwell, C J Tinsley,

64. Middleton, R J (1849-1929)

Churches served: Marrickville (NSW), November 1887-September 1890; Thalaba-Dungog (NSW), 1890-1894; Carlton (NSW), 1894-1899, Blackheath (NSW) 1899-1903, Balmain (NSW) 1903-1919

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Marrickville (NSW) 1887-1890; Thalaba/Dungog 1890-1897; Carlton (NSW) 1897-1903; Blackheath (NSW) 1903 - ?; arrived May 1887; advertised as preaching at Aberdeen Street, Geelong in June 1887
Originally had oversight of Marrickville and Leichhardt churches – Baptist Union of New South Wales told Marrickville church it would provide £75 per annum towards Middleton stipend if both churches raised £125

65. Morgan, Henry

Churches served: Lyndoch Valley, South Rhine, Salt Creek (SA) 1873-; Hindmarsh (SA), 1878 -1880; Grange (SA), 1880-1882; resigns early 1882

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Adelaide (SA) 1873-1879; Hindmarsh (SA), 1879-1881; The Grange (SA) 1881- 1883?; Knightsbridge (SA) 1885-1886; Spring Prairie (SA) 1886-1888; arrived August 1872 and preached at Flinders Street Baptist church

66. Morris, Matthew (ca 1848-1901)

Churches served: Minlaton, Curramulka and Minlacowie (SA) 1883-February 1885; Kapunda (SA) 1885-1890; Tamworth (NSW) 1890-1894;

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Kapunda (SA) 1884-1889; died suddenly at Hendra in Brisbane on 21 August 1901 aged 53

67. Morse, David George

Churches served: Black Mountain (NSW) 1899-1900 Dulwich Hill (NSW), Armidale (NSW) 1928-1933; ministerial supply (Lithgow, NSW) 1934-1935 Newtown (NSW) 1936-1937

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Dulwich Hill, Armidale, Newtown (no dates); went to Pastors' College in 1903 followed by English ministry; East Greenwich, London (11 years); Chief President of the Protestant Federation of New South Wales

68. Ness, Thomas

Churches served:

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Melbourne 1865 - ?

He was scheduled to preach at the South Yarra church (Vic) on Sunday 11 August 1867 but owing to the state of his health he was advised to take a few weeks rest in Adelaide; he appears in advertising to have promoted himself as the co-pastor with C H Spurgeon of the Metropolitan Tabernacle in London; in 1868 was preaching Sunday evenings at the Duke of Edinburgh theatre; his mission was principally to the working classes of the community and that section who do not attend the services of any church; returns to England about July 1869; returns to Melbourne 1873-1874 for similar mission

69. Padley, Charles J

Churches served: Ipswich (Qld) February 1882 –November 1882; Fortescue Street (Qld) November 1882- May 1884; resigns due to ill-health; Albion (Qld) 1885- ?; West Maitland (NSW) 1888- ; Saumarez Ponds (NSW) 1888 (3 months supply)

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states New South Wales 1881-1871 (*sic*); in 1881 announced he has started for Australia; Ipswich church wrote to C H Spurgeon seeking a pastor; resolution of New South Wales annual assembly in 1888 he be sent to Saumarez Ponds for three months; in 1893 and 1894 featured speaker at YMCA meetings un Sydney

70. Page, Frederick

Church served: Morphett Vale (SA) 1876-1878, Laura (SA) 1878- 1880; Yorke's Peninsula (SA) South Yarra (Vic) -1886; resigns to join the Anglican Church and in 1888 joins the Independent Church

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Adelaide (SA) 1876-1877; Masslett Vale (SA) 1879-1879; Laura (SA) 1879-1891 (*sic*); Southern Yorkes Pinosanta (*sic*) 1881-1882; South Yarra (Vic) 1882-1885; one of two mean recruited by South Australian Baptist Association representatives and leaving in August 1876

71. Page, William (1864-1931)

Churches served: Grafton (NSW) 1890-1893; Blackheath (NSW), 1893-1896; Enoggera (Qld) September 1896-September 1900; Taringa (Qld) September 1900 – July 1906; to Congregational church Stanmore (NSW) 1912

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Queensland 1890-1892; Grafton (NSSW) 1892-1893; Blackheath (NSW) 1893-1898; Taninga and Empgera, Brisbane (Qld); Stanmore Congregational (NSW) 1912- ? ; born in Sydney; went to Pastor's College from Australia; student 1888-1890; President, Baptist Association of Queensland 1905-1906

72. Potter, Sydney Morkham (1879-1979)

Churches served: White Hills, Beulah (Vic) 1907-1908; Kyneton (Vic) 1908-1912; Newmarket (Vic) 1912-1917; Regent (Vic) 1918-1920; Westgarth (Vic) 1920-1922; Newport (Vic) 1926-?; Jireh (Qld) 1931-1941; Newtown, Geelong (Vic) 1941; Hampton (Vic) 1941-1947; Kerang (Vic) 1847 (interim)

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Kynebow (sic) (Vic); Hampton (Vic) (no date); born McLeod (Victoria); student at Pastors' College 1902-1906

73. Rice, William E

Churches served: North Adelaide (SA) 1885-1894; goes to Western Australia as representative of Dr Barnado's Homes

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states South Australia 1885-1894; locum tenens for Thomas Spurgeon in Auckland Baptist Tabernacle (New Zealand)

74. Rogers, Nicholas

Churches served: Jamestown (SA) 1880-1881; Moonta (SA) 1881-1883; leaves Baptists for Bible Christian Church

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Moonta (SA) 1880 -1802 (*sic*); left for Australia due to poor health of himself and his wife and arrived in Adelaide in June 1880;

75. Rose, Charles Samuel (1873-1945)

Churches served; Charters Towers (Qld); 1900-1901; Burton Street Tabernacle, Sydney (NSW) May 1901-March 1904; returns to England

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Australasia 1899-1904; student at Pastors' College 1897-1898 and came to Australia in 1900; conducts church service in 1901 to mark the death of Queen Victoria; prior to leaving Burton Street conducts United Loyal Orange Service organised by officers of the Grand Black Chapter of NSW and East Sydney Branch, Australian Protestant Defence Association; members of the Loyal Orange appeared in regalia; large congregation present; similar service held in Charters Towers

76. Roth, Arthur G

Churches served: Elsternwick (Vic); dies during pastorate – 1912?

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Elsternwick (Vic) 1905-1912; F J Wilkin states he died in office; advertisement appear to 1912 for services to be conducted by him

77. Sheppard, George (d. 1907)

Church services: Newtown (NSW), 1863

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Sydney 1868-1873 – became an Anglican; Secretary Baptist Union of New South Wales;

78. Soper, John Alfred (1854-1912)

Churches served:

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Australia 1882-1902; returned to England in 1905; Born Southampton, England and left for London aged 16; apprentice to a large drapery firm then city and provincial traveller for Fyfe and Robinson, London; left after three years to enter Pastors' College; instrumental in starting Dunne's Institute Mission off Old Kent Road; converts from this Mission accepted into Metropolitan Tabernacle;

79. Steward, Frederick J (1854-1906)

Churches served: Stockport, Tarlee, Saddleworth (SA) August 1890 –; Mount Barker (SA); Grange (SA) 1900-September 1905

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Stockport, Tarlee and Saddleworth (SA) 1890-1895, Mt Barker (SA), 1895 - ?; born Wallingford, Oxfordshire and educated in London; Pastors' College then church at Calne, Wiltshire (1880-1885); Corsham, Wiltshire (1885-1890); Spurgeon's College register has Saddleworth 1890-1895. Mt Barker, 1895- ?

80. Testro, C

Churches served: Sale (Vic) 1883-1884; South Carlton (Vic) 1884-1886; Eaglehawk (Vic) 1886 occasional preacher); Footscray (Vic) (occasional preacher)

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Sale (Vic) 1883-1884

81. Tinsley, Charles James (1876-1960)

Churches served: Bodangra (NSW), Stanmore (NSW) 1902-1946

Notes: Spurgeon's College register does not record his name; born in Melbourne until family moved to Bathurst (NSW); became a school teacher before becoming a Home Mission agent at a small mining town near Wellington (NSW); entered Pastors' College; on return to Australia went to Stanmore church where he remained for 44 years

82. Vaughan, Edward (ca 1853-1897)

Churches served: South Rhine, Salt Creek and Eden Valley (SA) 1878-1882; Deloraine (Tas) 1882-December 1884; Shepparton (Vic) 1885-1886; Eaglehawk (Vic) 1886-1888; Minlacowie (SA) 1888-1890; Yorke's Peninsula (SA) 1890-1892; Sheffield (Tas) 1893-1896; Castlemaine (Vic) 1896 -1897; died 17 January 1897, aged 44

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states South Rhine and Salt Creek (SA) 1879-1882; Deloraine (Tas) 1882-1885; Shepparton (Vic) 1885-1886; Eaglehawk (1886-1888; Misdacowie (SA) 1888-1890; Minlater (*sic*) and Yorketown 1890-1892; Sheffield Kentishbury (Tas) 1892-1896; at Pastors' College 1872-1874; then at Surrey Lane, Battersea, London (1874-1877); owing to ill-health urged to take a sea voyage and came to Australia in 1878; initially welcomed to South Australia by the Rev H J Lambert at the Norwood church he said in reply in England he had a very limited idea of what the colony was. He imagined it was only a very small city so was very surprised to see the position at which they had arrived.

83. Walton, John E (1856-1914)

Churches served: Perth (Tas) January 1888- September 1897; returned to England; Devonport (Tas) Jul 1899- February 1900; Latrobe (Tas) August 1901- February 1905; Jireh Particular Baptist chapel (Qld) March 1905-February 1910; Harris Street, Sydney (NSW)

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Perth (WA) 1887-1889; Devonport (Tas) 1899-1900; Latrobe and Sassafras (Tas) 1900-1905; Harris Street, Sydney (NSW) 1910-1912; born Clay Cross, Derbyshire; student at Pastors' College 1880-1882; assistant at Edward Road, Balsall Heath, Birmingham, 1882; then pastor 1883-1886; suffered inflammation of the lungs; came to Tasmania in January 1888 recommended by C H Spurgeon; Spurgeon's College register states at Latrobe and Sassafras 1900-1905; Brisbane 1905-1910

84. Welch, Edward James

Churches served: General Secretary YMCA, Brisbane for six months; Sandgate (Qld) 1886-1888; preaching at Bendigo (Vic) in 1891; accepted into the Presbyterian ministry in 1892

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Sandgate (Qld) 1886-1890; Sandhurst (Vic) 1890-1892; student at Pastors' College 1879-1881; introduced to Baptist Association of Queensland bringing a letter of introduction from Hertfordshire Baptist Association

85. Whale, William (1842-1903)

Churches served: Wharf Street (later City Tabernacle), Brisbane 1885-1903

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Brisbane 1885-1899; The City, Brisbane 1890-1903 (Qld); born Redditch, Worcestershire; student at Pastors' College 1866-1868; pastor at Bury Street, Mary (near Sudbury) in Suffolk 1868-1870; Stoke Green, Ipswich (Suffolk) 1870-1877; Newport, Middlesbrough, Yorkshire, 1870-1885; arrived in Australia in 1885; President, Baptist Association of Queensland 1887-1888; 1893-1894; 1894-1895 z

86. Williamson, Robert (1848-1916)

Churches served: Parramatta (NSW) 1878-1880; Perth (Tas) May 1880 – August 1884; Kyneton (Vic) 1884-1886; South Yarra (Vic) 1886-1891; Hamilton (Vic) 1901-1902; Sheffield (Tas) February 1904- March 1908; Brighton (Vic) 1908-1912

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Parramatta (1879-1871 (*sic*); Perth (1881-1884); Kyneton (Tasmania – *sic*), 1884-1886; South Yarrow – *sic* (Vic) 1886-1892; St Kilda (Vic) 1893-1899; Hamilton (Vic) 1901-1908; Brighton (Vic) 1908-1920; born in Scotland ; after College at Paradise Row chapel, Waltham Abbey, Essex; (1883); came to Australia in 1885 due to ill-health and to Sydney in 1877; engaged in secular employment

87. Wilson, John G

Churches served: North Shore, Sydney (NSW) 1886-1888

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states North Shore, Sydney (NSW) 1886-1888; came from New Zealand to North Shore; wished church to be formed on open membership principles but resolution defeated at 1887 annual assembly by 18 votes to 11.

Further references to him preaching at Bathurst Street in 1893 and featured as 'from North Sydney' when the speaker at the Central Cumberland Baptist Association in 1926

88. Wood, Frederick James (ca 1892- 1946)

Churches served: Devonport (Tas) 1921-1925; Warrnambool (1926 - ; Elsternwick (Vic) 1931 – Warracknabeal (Vic) 1935 -

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Deloraine (Tas) 1919 - ? ; Son of the Rev Harry Wood; at Bracknell in 1910; went to Pastors' College then Hackleton, Northampton; Spurgeon's College states at Deloraine 1919- ?

89. Wood, Harry (d. 1935)

Churches served: Saddleworth (SA) 1880-1881; Deloraine (Tas) Match 1881- January 1882; Deloraine (Tas) January 1893-June 1895; Latrobe 1895-1899; Burnie (Tas) May 1899-November 1900; Longford (Tas) January 1901-October 1906; to Perth (Tas)

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Saddleworth (SA) 1879-1880; Deloraine (Tas) 1880-1895; Evangelist 1881-1883; Longford (Tas) 1883-1888; Woolloomooloo, Sydney (NSW) 1884-18885; Launceston (Tas) 1880-1890; Sheffield (Tas) 1890-1892; Latrobe (Tas) 1895-1899; Burnie (Tas) 1899-1903; began preaching to boys and adults at Brighton without any consideration of the ministry; someone connected with the Metropolitan Tabernacle believed he should go to Pastors' College and arranged an interview for Woods with C H Spurgeon; study and continued mission work proved too severe and as a result a breakdown in health occurred; medical advice was that the only chance of recovery was a change in climate; went to New Zealand but old symptoms returned and advised to try a drier climate in Australia; when studying at Pastors' College in 1879 realised his physique would not permit him to do both study and mission work together; ordered to the colonies due to his heart disease; sailed from London 11 October 1883 and arrived in Melbourne; assisted Rev A J Clarke at West Melbourne with branch church at Williamstown; requested by William Gibson to come to Tasmania; assists stays briefly in Tasmania and then moved to Thames (New Zealand); dies at Launceston 29 June 1935

90. Worboys, James S A

Churches served:

Notes: Spurgeon's College register states Melbourne (Vic) 1922 - ? ; Assistant minister to the Rev F W Boreham at Hobart Baptist Tabernacle when receives cabled advice of acceptance to Pastors' College in May 1913 and will sail for England next month; Spurgeon's College register states Melbourne 1922 - ?

91. Young, William Vicars (1840-1900)

Churches served: Ipswich (Qld) January 1884-July 1891; Woollahra (NSW) ; returns to Ipswich in retirement

Notes; Spurgeon's College register states Ipswich (Qld) 1883-1888; born Newtown, Longville, Buckinghamshire; lay pastor Swanbourne 1863-1867; student at Pastors' College 1867-1870; English ministries at Maidstone, Kent; New Mill church, Tring, Hertfordshire; Spurgeon's College register states at Ipswich 1883-1888

Appendix 9

Graduates of Rawdon College, Leeds (formerly Horton Academy) who came to Australia

Notes (1): This College was first known as Northern Education Society (1804-1817), Horton Academy (1817-1859) then Rawdon College, Leeds (1859- 1964), Northern College (1964-

(2): The author has compiled the first known list of Rawdon College graduates who came to Australia.

(3): Northern College as Rawdon is now known) advised it was unable to provide any information concerning graduates of Rawdon who came to Australia.

(4) The names have come from using Trove and other published sources but is limited by the availability of sources.

1. Beecham, Edward Leslie (1886-1970)

Churches served: Claremont (WA) 1928-1941; Dalkeith (WA) 1941-1944; from 1945 to 1954 references to him taking services in Adelaide

Notes: Born Watford, England; attended Watford Grammar School then later studied architecture; later at Dudley, Worcestershire (7 years); served some of that time with YMCA in France; in 1918 went to Liverpool then Longbuckby, Northamptonshire; came to Western Australia in December 1927

2. Binns, Grimshaw

Churches served: Claremont (WA) May 1908- April 1909; Perth 1909- 1913; St Peter's Adelaide (SA) 1913-1920 then returned to England St Helier's Jersey, Isle of Wight; Wycliffe Memorial, Reading; in 1935

Notes: Born Skipton, Yorkshire, educated at Victoria University, Leeds, Rawdon College; pastorates at Egremont, Liverpool assist, Queensbury, Bradford, to Australia

3. Brainsby, Arthur T

Churches served: North Adelaide (SA) 1911- April 1913; Wellington (New Zealand) 1913-1914

Notes: Native of Staffordshire and trained for the ministry in Manchester; first pastorate at Barnoldswick in the West Riding of Yorkshire (7 years), then Fulham, London and Graham Street, Birmingham; in August 1914 it was reported from that Rev A T Brainsby of Wellington, New Zealand had been sentenced to six months imprisonment for indecency in Christchurch

4. Bright, Charles (d. 1928)

Churches served: Bathurst Street, Sydney (NSW) 1885 - 1892; Norwood (SA) 1892-1910; retired to Mount Lofty in Adelaide Hills where induced to serve as pastor of the Congregational Church; died 13 December 1928

Notes: Left Rawdon in 1870 then pastor of English churches in Lancashire, Birmingham and King's Lynn (Norfolk); came to Caversham (New Zealand) for health reasons; described as 'a preacher of extraordinary power and enthusiastic social reformer'

5. Brown, L Bower, BA (1829-1881)

Churches served: Harris Street, Sydney (NSW) supply, Kyneton (Vic) went to Napier (New Zealand) in October 1880;

Notes: Born in 1829 at Berry Brow near Huddersfield; following study at Rawdon College pastor of George Street church, Halford, near Manchester (3 years); Barnsley, Berwick-on-Tweed; poor health caused him to leave for New Zealand in February 1876; arrived in May but continued ill-health led him to Harris Street, Sydney as supply; asked to take pastorate but health too poor;

6. Carter, L G

Churches served: North Adelaide (SA) 1876-1881; returned to England

Notes: After studying at Rawdon College pastor of Rose Street church, Edinburgh (1872-1876)

7. Chapman, Samuel (1831-1899)

Churches served: Stonehenge Street, Birmingham (10 years, Rochdale (England), Glasgow (Scotland); Collins Street, Melbourne (Vic) October 1877- September 1899

Notes: Born in Sheffield and employed in a cutlery firm from age 15; baptized when aged 24 and joined the church; in 1859 began studies at Edinburgh University; came to Australia in May 1877 with his wife and 8 children; one reason for acceptance was that Mrs Chapman was required each winter to seek a milder climate than that of Scotland; formerly co-minister with Dr Paterson of largest and influential Baptist church in Glasgow since 1870; 'he has proved himself a liberal-minded, large-hearted, sagacious man and one who develops in the people around him all the best qualities they possess'; died 11 September 1899

8. Claxton, W A 1833-1869

Churches served; Westrow, Leeds; missionary work in Madras, India (2 years); Westrow (about 2 years), Kapunda (SA), 1866-1868; South Yarra, Melbourne (Vic) 1868-1869

Notes: Became a Christian on 27 December 1852; following March he joined the Independent church at Diss but three years later owing to a change of views on believers' baptism he was baptized and joined the Baptist church; entered Horton Academy in autumn 1856; first pastorate at Westrow (Leeds) for 12 months then 2 years missionary work in India; returned to Westrow for about 2 years; came to Australia on recommendation of Dr Brock and Dr Landells; died 6 January 1869, aged 34

9. Crabtree, Thomas (d. 1873)

Churches served: Perth (Tas) September 1872 – 1873; returns to England

Notes: From Blackburn (Lancashire), England; first reference is evening preacher at Richmond Baptist church, Melbourne to celebrate fourth anniversary of recognition of Rev David Fenwick as church pastor on 21 April 1872; ill-health forces him to relinquish pastorate (see Appendix 12)

10. Field, William**Churches served:**

Notes: Sent by Bathurst Street, Sydney to Rawdon College through the influence of church's pastor, Rev James Voller, himself a Rawdon graduate; church paid passage money and to be supported by the Colonial Missionary Society; condition was that he return to New South Wales; left in April 1862 but in January 1864 he returned in an impaired state of health; went to Queensland in hope of recovery but died in June 1866 with Bathurst Street church meeting his funeral expenses.

11. Gawthrop, Benjamin (1869-1928)

Churches served: Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne (14 years); Petersham (NSW) 1908-1918; Katoomba (NSW). Newcastle (NSW) 1922-1925;

Notes: Born in Colne, Lancashire; came to New South Wales in 1908; President, Baptist Union of New South Wales 1914-1915

12. Gregson, John

Churches served: Bendigo (Vic) 1877-1885; Kyneton (Vic) 5 years; Elsternwick (Vic), Union Church, Caulfield (Vic), Elsternwick (Vic) 1894-

Notes: Came to South Australia in 1872 from Agra in India and speaker at Adelaide churches and South Australian Baptist Missionary Society; at Bendigo congregation increased so much church had to be enlarged at a cost of £650; at Kyneton church made such progress during his pastorate church had to be enlarged.

13. Harry, Frederick Edward (ca 1864-1930)

Churches served: Ford Forge near Berwick-on-Tweed, Northumberland; Newmarket (Vic) 1890-1892; Bathurst Street, Sydney (NSW) 1892- September 1899, Ballarat (Vic) 1899-1908; Auburn (Vic) 1908 – 1913; Museum Street, Perth (WA) 1913 – 1922; Wellington (New Zealand), 1922-1930

Notes: Born in Highworth, Wiltshire; ordained 6 May 1887; arrived from England in February 1890; married Helen Mary Hibberd (daughter of Rev Frederick Hibberd) on 17 October 1893 at Ashfield Baptist church (NSW); has the unique honour of being President of the Baptist Union in four jurisdictions: New South Wales (1898-1899), Victoria (1904-1906), Western Australia (1915-1916); New Zealand(?); died on 31 July 1930 in Wellington, New Zealand.

14. Holdsworth, William Henry MA (1866-1941)

Churches served: Trinity church, Huddersfield; Collins Street, Melbourne (assistant) 1898-1899; returned to England; Kew (Vic), 1901- 1911; College Principal

Notes: Born in Burnley, Lancashire; entered Rawdon College aged 19; awarded MA degree by Edinburgh University in 1895; suffered breakdown in health after two year Trinity church; came to Adelaide in 1898 hoping his health might improve

15. Hurst, Norman**Churches served:**

Notes: Announcement in 1930 he is going to study at Rawdon College; reported in 1933 he heads the list in all subjects except one; in 1937 announced he is to be a missionary in the Belgian Congo

16. Hurst, William E (1875- 1940)

Churches served: Astwood, Bank, Worcestershire (three and one half years); Robert Hall Memorial church, Leicester; Hither Green church, London; left ministry on account of failing health; City Tabernacle, Brisbane (Qld) 1927-1934

Notes: Born in Birmingham; Educated at King Edward's High School, Birmingham; teacher in an elementary school (one year); apprentice to a chemist (four years); entered Rawdon College in 1897; entered Baptist ministry in 1902; seeking a change in climate came to Australia in 1919 in a business capacity; President, Baptist Union of Queensland 1930-1931

17. Ings, Robert (d. 1936)

Churches served: Oxford Baptist church, Moonee Ponds (Vic) 1906-1920; Camberwell (Vic) 1921-1934; Darling (Vic) 1934-1936; appointed Secretary of the Baptist Union in 1921

Notes: Born in New Zealand; died 3 August 1936

18. Logie, Thomas Banks (d.1898)

Churches served: Glen Osmond (SA) (-1889); 1890 Renmark Congregational church (1892-1898);

Notes: Came from Rawdon College to Glen Osmond; half-yearly assembly SABA in April 1890 announces resigned from Glen Osmond and without a church; accepted position at Whinham College, North Adelaide as Classics Master; suffered first haemorrhage and left as an invalid in 1891; after some months rest appointed to Kew Congregational church in Melbourne; suffered another attack and later returned to Adelaide to assist at the Congregational Theological College; appointed to Renmark Congregational in 1892; died Monday 28 February 1898

19. McKaeg, John (1789-1851)**Churches served:**

Notes: Born in Lochgilphead, Argyllshire, Scotland; studied at Horton Academy 1818-1822; itinerant preacher for Irish Baptist Society in Ireland; arrival in Sydney late 1830; Baptist services advertised in April 1831 at meeting place Rose and Crown hotel, King and Castlereagh Streets, Sydney; in March 1833 leaves Baptist ministry; becomes a tobacconist but suffers business failure and ends in debtors' prison; death in Sydney on 22 December 1851

20. Mursell, James (ca 1861-1948)

Churches served: pastorates in Derby and London, Dublin Street, Edinburgh; Flinders Street, Adelaide (SA); 1905-1909; City Tabernacle, Brisbane (Qld) 1909 – 1915; Senior Chaplain, Australian Infantry Forces, 1911-1915; returned to England

Notes: Father and grandfather Baptist ministers as was an uncle, Rev Arthur Mursell; he was a frequent speaker at Conventions such as Keswick; retired to live in Queensland in late 1830s and prevented from returning to England because of the war; in 1945; in 1948 a collection of South Australian stamps were sold for 6,000 guineas in London, the proceeds devoted to Rawdon College; one son, Professor James Mursell of Columbia University, New York

21. New, Isaac (1803-1886)

Churches served: Loughborough, Arnsby, Salisbury, Bond Street, Birmingham, Albert Street, Melbourne, 1857-1868 .

Notes: Brought up in a Congregational home in Sheffield, England; served apprenticeship as a cutler; after conversion and baptism became a member of Sheffield Baptist church; church sent him in 1824 to Horton Academy; came to Australia in 1857 aged 54; instrumental in reconstituting the Baptist Association of Victoria in 1862; inaugural Chairman and chairman again in 1866, 1869-1870 and 1872-1873; died in March 1886

22. Raws. John G (1851-1929)

Churches served: Kimbolton, Huntingdonshire; Ulverstone, Lancashire 1880-1883; Union Chapel, Manchester (assist Dr Alexander Maclaren) 1883-1893; Harrogate, Yorkshire 1893-1895; Flinders Street, Adelaide 1895-1897 (assist) ; Flinders Street, Adelaide (SA) 1897-1905; Knightsbridge (SA), Magill (SA), Unley Park (SA)

Notes: Born in Bacup, on 8 October 1851 in a small manufacturing town in Lancashire; was educated for commercial pursuits; when aged 20 he began village preaching for which he showed much aptitude; entered Rawdon College in 1877; arrived in Adelaide in March 1895 to work as assistant minister to Rev Silas Mead at Flinders Street; two sons, Alec and Goldie were killed at Pozieres during World War 1; died 28 February 1929 aged 77

23. Rees, David (d. 1885)

Churches served: Aberdeen Street, Geelong Vic Sandhurst Bendigo, Kyneton; South Yarra May 1861-

Notes: Converted aged 19; entered Horton Academy aged 34; then served churches in Nottingham, Sheffield and Braintree, Essex; Baptist Missionary Society encouraged him to emigrate to Australia and arrived in Melbourne in July 1859; came as a widower with six children; at South Yarra church could not guarantee him a salary and never ever received more than £100 per annum; compelled to retire from ministry with throat ailment ; active in re-constitution of Baptist Association of Victoria in 1862 and Victorian Baptist Home Missionary Society in 1871; died in January 1885;

24. Scott, William Penford 1808-1856

Churches served: Zion Baptist Chapel, Colne, Lancashire, 1831-1836; Loughborough, Leicestershire. 1837-1844; Nottingham, 1844-1848, Collins Street, Melbourne (supply) 1850-1851, Albert Street, Melbourne 1852-1856

Notes: Born in Gasport, Hampshire in 1808; after his baptism received into the Maze Pond Baptist church in London in January 1827; church sent him to Horton Academy and upon completion in 1831 became pastor at Colne, Lancashire; Scott and family of six children set sail for South Australia in late 1848; Rev George Stonehouse wrote to Collins Street, Melbourne about an opening following departure Rev John Ham; Invited to supply for three months; invited

to supply for further 12 months; church divided by hyper-Calvinist groups; views of Scott too moderate; his followers left to form Albert Street church; Scott's health deteriorated but church supported him; died 7 April 1856

25. Shackleford, Lewis J

Churches served: Norwood (SA) May 1889- December 1891;

Notes: Came from Greendale Christchurch church (New Zealand) and welcomed to Norwood church on 27 May 1889; in October 1891 it is announced he has accepted a call to the Kapunda (SA) church; in March 1892 announced he intends leaving South Australia in April for six months to visit England ; unclear whether he assumed Kapunda pastorate; in May 1897 he had accepted the pastorate of the Clitheroe Baptist church in Lancashire

26. Stewart, Charles (ca 1820- 1858)

Churches served: Zion Chapel, Newhall Street, Birmingham; Toll End, Tipton 1847; United Evangelical Church, Brisbane (Qld) 1849-1854

Notes: Born in Edinburgh, Scotland; studied at Glasgow University 1840-1843; Horton Academy 1843-1846; arrived in Brisbane as chaplain on *Fortitude* in January 1849; first Baptist minister in Queensland (until 1859 known as Moreton Bay district)

27. Tolhurst, Adolphus Henry (1863-1930)

Churches served: Leicester, Superintendent, Bradford Central Mission; Burton Street Baptist Tabernacle, Sydney 1904-1905; Bathurst (NSW) 1905 -1906; entered Presbyterian ministry 1906

Notes: Born in Melbourne and was originally a home missionary before leaving for England; educated in England; studied Rawdon College 1890-1894; editor, *The Baptist* 1904-1906

28. Voller, James (1813 -1901)

Churches served: Salford, Lancashire 1842-1845; Bishop Burton, Yorkshire 1845-1848; Princes End, Tipton, Staffordshire 1848-1853; Bathurst Street, Sydney (NSW) 1854-1870; Enoggera and Samford (Qld) 1870-1876; Sandgate (Qld) 1876-1886; Taringa Baptist Mission 1886-1897

Notes: Born in London 1 June 1813; studied at Horton Academy 1839-1842; Inaugural President of Baptist Association of Queensland: 1877-1878, 1878-1879

29. Whitley, William Thomas (1861-1947)

Churches served: Bridlington (East Riding of Yorkshire); Fishergate church Preston, Lancashire 1902-1917; Droitwich, Worcestershire 1917-1928

Notes: Born in London and later joined the Highbury Hill Baptist church; entered Rawdon College aged 25; studied at King's College, Cambridge (MA, 1883 and LL.M 1889); in 1891 accepted invitation to become Principal of Victorian Baptist College; during his principalship 18 men completed their ministerial training (two sent by New South Wales and one by Tasmania , when he left in 1901 only one student remaining

30. Wing, Robert (1834- 1862)

Churches served:

Notes: Sponsored by the Colonial Missionary Society and arrived in Sydney in January 1862; publicly welcomed at Bathurst Street church; his ship to Australia **Prince Consort** dismasted

twice; changed ship and came on *Isles of the South*; seriously ill when he arrived so could only utter a few words in reply at welcome; only able to ever conduct two or three services; died 2 October 1862 at home of Rev James Voller aged 28

Appendix 10

Graduates of Regent's Park College, Oxford who came to Australia

Note (1): Graduates who came to Australia from this College have been identified by Ken Manley, "To the ends of the Earth: Regent's Park College and Australian Baptists", in *The Baptist Quarterly*, Volume 42, April 2007, pp. 130-147.

- 1. Bailhache, Philip**
- 2. Bell, William**
- 3. Benskin, F G**
- 4. Bottrill, Evan William**
- 5. Carey, Samuel Pearce**
- 6. Clare, William -**
- 7. Day, J Medway**
- 8. Eddy, W J**
- 9. Himbury, D Mervyn**
- 10. Jones, William**
- 11. Lambert, Henry John**
- 12. Malyon, Thomas J**
- 13. Martin, James**
- 14. Mead, Silas**
- 15. Moody, Ingram**
- 16. Moss, James**
- 17. Parsons, John Landon**
- 18. Smith, W Vizard**
- 19. Titherington, J B**
- 20. Tuck, Henry L**
- 21. Warriner, T C**
- 22. Woods, Edward Bushell**

Appendix 11

Graduates of Bristol Baptist College who came to Australia

Note (1) No known previous attempts have been made to identify graduates of Bristol Baptist College who came to Australia

(2) This list has been prepared mainly using Trove and is limited by the availability of sources.

(3) Mike Brealey of Bristol Baptist College has supplied a list of names from College archival records but for some of these names there are no details. .

(4) The many references on each person are held in manuscript form by the author.

(5) Details remain incomplete for some persons

1. Bell, A H (1886-1955)

Churches served: Rose Park Congregational church

Notes: Australian-born son of Rev William Bell; studied at Bristol College (*ca* 1913-1916); graduated BD degree from London University; graduated MA from Adelaide University; Lecturer, Parkin College, Adelaide President of the Congregational Union of South Australia in 1935

2. Burdett, Abraham (1809-1891)

Churches served:

Notes: First reference to him July 1870; President Baptist Union of New South Wales on four occasions: 1871-1872; 1874, 1879-1880, 1884-1885; did not hold a pastorate in New South Wales; died at his home in Woollahra on 19 April 1891 in his eighty-third year

3. Burleigh, Eric Charles (1901-1974)

Churches served: Geelong (Vic) 1928- 34; Camberwell (Vic) 1934-1944; taught Hebrew at Whitley College, Melbourne, 1933- ; Professor of Old Testament and Church History Lecturer, 1944-1951, Whitley College, Melbourne; Principal, Baptist Theological College of South Australia (later named Burleigh College) 1951-1969

Notes: Born and educated in Hobart (Tas); qualified as an accountant and company secretary at the University of Tasmania; studied at Bristol College 1924-1927

4. Davis, David, BA, BD

Churches served: Somerset, England

Notes: Born in South Australia; completed his BA degree at Adelaide University ‘with great perseverance’ in 1906; BD completed at London University; one English pastorate in Somerset, resigns to become tutor at Galabar College, Kingston Jamaica; sent by Baptist Missionary Society; remains there for 37 years including eight years as headmaster of Galabar High School; in 1949 recently in retirement

5. Dennis, W

Churches served: Beaufort (Vic); Stawell (Vic), Mount Barker (SA) 1877, The Grange (SA)? – 1893 (years of ministry unknown)

Notes: Name also spelt Dinnis; Bristol College has W Dennis incorrectly serving in Beaufort (WA); arrives in South Australia from Stawell (Vic) on 2 October 1876; Chairman of South Australian Baptist Association 1886-1887

6. Drew, W H

Churches served: Bratton (England 21 years); Enoggera (Qld)

Notes: Announcement in September 1893 he has left to go to New Zealand

7. Gardner, D B

Churches served: Morphett Vale (SA) April 1879 – February 1880 (approximate) , St Kilda (Vic) October 1883 -

Notes: Upon arrival in Adelaide announced on 1 February 1879 he will be preaching at Flinders Street church; resigns Morphett Vale pastorate due to failing health

8. Gill, Samuel

Churches served: Coromandel Valley (SA)

Notes: Arrived in Adelaide December 1839; was a schoolteacher who for a long time kept a day school in his church building; his son S T Gill became a well-known artist whose paintings of the early days of the colony were lithographed in London and sold recently in Adelaide (1886); date of death unknown but his widow died in 1886

9. Glasson, John Reed

Churches served: College Park church (Congregational) 1884-

Notes: At church welcome in December 1884 announces he had severed his association with the Baptists who he had been associated with for years because he did not agree with their fundamental tenet, namely, that baptism by immersion was a necessary preliminary to membership in the Church of Christ

10. Hannay, James (also known as John) (d.1890)

Churches served: Union Chapel, Angaston (SA)

Notes: Australian-born; entered Bristol College in 1849; remained at Union Chapel for 20 years; brother-in-law of George Fife Angas; instrumental in the formation of the South Australian Baptist Association; died 28 July 1890

11. Jackson, William Dodds, BA

Churches served: King's Lynn, Norfolk; 1921-1924; Collins Street, Melbourne (Vic) 1924-1935; returned to England in 1935; Ramsden Road Baptist church, London 1935-1946

Notes: Arrived in Adelaide in September 1924 en route to Melbourne
In January 1916 he enlisted as a gunner and was ultimately promoted to captain and adjutant of the 103rd Brigade of the Royal Field Artillery of their 23rd Division – he was at Messines and

Passchendaele and Asiago and Piave River (Italy) – was twice mentioned in despatches and awarded the Italian Croix de Guerre for conspicuous gallantry in the field

12. Kingdon, E F (ca 1842-1903)

Churches served: Gawler (SA) November 1869 – May 1870; Magill (SA) August 1874-1878; Fenwick Street, Geelong (Vic),

Notes: Missionary in China for three years until failing health compelled return to his native land; remained for some time before coming to South Australia for its genial climate; came with letters of introduction from Dr Underhill of the Baptist Missionary Society; died at his residence at Clarence Park (SA) on 13 December 1903 in his sixty second year; although in feeble health preached in his own home each Sunday; engaged in farming for a time

13. Parry, W-(also spelt Barry)

Churches served: Wells Baptist church, Somersetshire; Maitland (NSW) 1868-1869 (temporary)

Notes: Arrived in Sydney in 1868 and advertised preaching at church service in Bourke Street, Woolloomooloo 19 July 1868; Baptist Association of New South Wales annual report states in January 1869 Maitland church is struggling against difficulties both pecuniary and spiritual; announced he is about to sever his connection with the church and the ministry; in November 1869 it was announced he was late minister at West Maitland and was going to California

14. Poole, William (ca 1830-1913)

Churches served: Caulfield Union chapel, Melbourne 1863; South Melbourne (Vic) 1875 -1880; South Brisbane (Qld) 1880-1810;

Notes: Came from Bristol College with his wife in 1852; in 1870 became one of the proprietors of the Melbourne *Herald* then a year later sub-editor of the Melbourne *Age* for about seven years; deeply interested in temperance movement; died at his daughter's residence in Canterbury, Melbourne aged 83;

15. Price, W T

Churches served: St Kilda, Melbourne (Vic) 1881-1884

Notes: Came from Shortwood, Gloucestershire; first reference is preaching at anniversary services of North Adelaide Baptist church on 7 November 1880; in April 1881 preaching at St Kilda Baptist church, Melbourne; ordained Sunday September 21 1884 by the Bishop of Melbourne as an Anglican priest (at the same time Philip Baillache as an Anglican deacon – sermon Preached by Rev S C Kent, former Congregational minister

16. Rice, George Miller (1863-1949)

Churches served: Woodchester, Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1888 -, Lineholme, Todmorden, York, 1890-1898; Gildersome, Leeds 1898-1904; City Tabernacle, Brisbane (Qld) October 1904-December 1908; Union Church, High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire 1909-1915; St Mary's Gate, Derby, 1924-1926; Beckington, Somerset, 1926-1927; Brasted, Kent 1932-1933

Notes: Born in Plymouth; entered Bristol College in 1884 with intention of training for missionary work in Central Africa; served as a chaplain 1915-1920 then British and Foreign Sailors Service, 1920-1924; Chairman, Free Church Council

17. Roberts-Thomson, Edward, MA, DD (1909-1987)

Churches served: Hamilton (Vic) 1935-1937; Hobart Baptist Tabernacle (Tas) 1940-1949; Brunswick (Vic) 1949-1952; Principal, New Zealand Baptist Theological College 1953-1960; Principal, Baptist College of New South Wales, 1961-1964; joined Presbyterian ministry 1964 -

Notes: Born on 10 April 1909 in Worthing, Sussex (England) but family migrated to Australia at an early age; studied Bristol Baptist College 1937-1940;

18. Ruth, Thomas Elias (1875-1956) – later joined the Congregational Church ministry

Churches served: Southampton 1901-1905; Liverpool 1905-1911; Southport 1911-1914, Collins Street, Melbourne (Vic) 1914-1922; Congregational Church, Pitt Street, Sydney, 1925-1938

Notes: Born near Modbury in Devon he was brought up in the Church of England; later embraced Baptist beliefs and studied at Bristol College 1897-1899; renowned for his ardent British loyalism, anti-Catholicism and pro-conscription stance

19. Slade, George (1825-1890)

Churches served: Bedruth, Cornwall, Grampund, Cornwall, Fenwick Street, Geelong 1858-1877; Victorian Home Mission Society agent, 1877-1880; Rockhampton Qld 1881-1885

Notes: Born in 1825 and brought up on a farm near the village of Hanslope in Buckinghamshire; when 16 began attending Roade Baptist church in Northamptonshire; after his baptism in 1845 engaged in tract distribution in his native village; began study at Bristol College in 1848 followed by two pastorates at Bedruth and Grampound in Cornwall; at latter married Wesleyan minister's daughter; came to Australia in 1858 at request of Baptist Missionary Society; Chairman, Victorian Baptist Association, 1871-1872; climatic conditions and failing health forced retirement and return to Victoria

Appendix 12

Baptist ministers who came to Australia for health reasons

- Notes:** (1) No previous attempt has been made to identify such men who came to Australia
 (2) Research has been based mainly on incidences recorded in Trove and has been limited by the availability of sources.
 (3) Some ministers first went to New Zealand (Ezekiel Barnett, Alexander Gordon, Harry Wood) on the assumption it had a climate similar to Australia but it was found to be too cold.
 (4) Consumption (tuberculosis) and heart disease appear to be the two main causes.
 (5) Some of these names already appear as graduates of English Baptist Colleges.

1. Austin, Edward (d. 1907) – Came to Australia with wife and child on account of ill-health; at Goulburn (NSW) in 1906 compelled to relinquish position owing to ill-health; died from heart disease in 1907 following church service at Woonona (NSW); Sources: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 May 1904, p. 6; 26 March 1907, p. 6; *Australian Town and Country Journal* (NSW), 14 November 1906, p. 57

2. Barker, James (1848-1932) – Brought up a Methodist in Lincolnshire then became a Congregational minister and later a Baptist minister; migrated to Australia in 1889 due to failing health; at death aged 85 oldest Baptist minister in New South Wales; Sources: *South Australian Chronicle* (Adelaide), 1 June 1889, p.9

3, Barnett, Ebenezer (or Ezekiel) – Referred to as Ezekiel in death notice and obituary; Born in Carmarthen, Wales but family moved to Caerphilly near Cardiff; never enjoyed robust health so sought a milder climate; migrated with mother to New Zealand but climate too severe; moved to New South Wales then Queensland in about 1890; David Parker (ed.), *Something More than Gold: Baptists in Central Queensland*, p. 79f

4, Bell, William (1857-1940) – Graduate of Regent's Park College; see Ken Manley. 'To the Ends of the Earth'

5. Breewood, Thomas H – Arrived in Melbourne November 1887 from Waltham-Stowe, Essex and preaching at Eaglehawk (Vic) in 1888 before moving to Queensland; asked by Queensland Association to remain for one month; in June 1889 welcomed to Sandgate church but by June 1892 welcomed to Ipswich church; one reason for leaving Sandgate was to escape the sea winds for their effect on his wife's failing health; Sources: *Bendigo Advertiser* (Victoria), 7 June 1888, p. 5; *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld), 10 April 1888, p. 4; 23 June 1892, p. 6

6. Brooksbank, J H - Came to Western Australia in August 1930 to visit his son and for the benefit of his health following a fatal motor vehicle accident in which his wife was killed and he was seriously injured – he was ordered a trip abroad and was eulogistic concerning the wonderful climate of the State to which he largely attributes his complete recovery – represented Western Australia at the centenary celebration held in Sydney of the first Baptist service in Australia and preached at different churches *The West Australian* (Perth), 19 May 1931, p. 3

7. Brown, L Bower (1829-1881) – Born at Berry Bow near Huddersfield; baptized aged 19 and attended Rawdon College; first pastorate George-street, Halford, near Manchester for 3 years; then Barnsley, then Berwick-on-Tweed, then Salthouse Lane, Hull (13 years); due to poor health

sailed for New Zealand early February 1876; and arrived in May; continued poor health led him to Sydney; supplied Harris Street church but unable to accept pastorate due to poor health; invited to Kyneton (Vic) where there for 3 years (1877-1880); unable to do much pastoral work due to intense weakness and failing health caused him to resign; returned to Napier, New Zealand in October 1880 where death reported December 1881 *The New Zealand Baptist*, December 1881, p. 161

8. Clare, William (1850-1885) – arrived in South Australia in 1875 Angaston (SA) 1875-1880; Bathurst Street, Sydney (NSW) (1875-1880); died after sudden collapse at Angaston (SA) ON 13 December 1885; diagnosed as suffering from Addison's Disease *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* 9 Adelaide), 19 December 1885, p. 11; *New South Wales Baptist*, February 1886, p. 4; Ken Manley, 'To the ends of the Earth' p. 138

9. Clark, Henry (b. 1862) – arrived in Adelaide suffering from rheumatic fever and a month later was still in a very low state of health; *South Australian Chronicle* (Adelaide), 5 December 1891, p. 4; need for warmer climate brought him to Australia; *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 May 1934, p. 7; see Appendix 8

10. Clarke, Alfred James (1848-1916)- *The Argus* (Melbourne), member of Metropolitan Tabernacle Evangelization Society (ca 1873-1877) required rest but later resumed labours; *The Sword and the Trowel* states he has broken down again and 'appears utterly disabled' ; suffers tuberculosis; see Appendix 8

11. Coller, William (d. 1919) – came to Australia in quest of health *Banner of Truth*, October 1878, p. 3; *The Baptist*, 6 October 1894, p. 151

12. Collins, Archibald Henry – in 1883 he transferred to Auckland on health account; see Appendix 8 *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 19 October 1918, p. 13

13. Compton, William (d. 1887) – after two pastorates at Gosport in Sussex and death of wife poor health led him to leave two small children and go to Tasmania in 1887; died at Perth Laurence F Rowston, *Spurgeon's Men*, p. 81f

14. Crabtree, Thomas (d. 1873) – came from Blackburn, Lancashire to Melbourne in about April 1872; begins Perth (Tas) pastorate in September 1872; report of his death on 25 August 1873 in Lytham, Lancashire; he left Perth for Melbourne en route to England; 'he had been for some time previously suffering ill-health and it was hoped he would derive great benefit from the sea voyage *Launceston Examiner* (Tasmania), 30 October 1873, p. 2

15. Daniel, James (1804-1874) – *The South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 6 July 1874, p. 3; H E Hughes, *Our First Century: Baptist Church in South Australia*, p. 57.

16. Dennis, J E – is reputed to be a good preacher; only 18 months out of College; comes to Australia because of ill-health and goes to Newtown (NSW) *The Baptist*, 5 December 1898, p. 143

17. Eddy, W J – arrives in Maldon (Vic) in 1883 Ken Manley, 'To the Ends of the Earth', p. 141

18. Fairey, Samuel (1948-1926) – ‘health reasons compelled the young student to leave his homeland’ *The Register* (Adelaide), 25 August 1926, p. 11; H E Hughes, *Our First Century: Baptist Church in South Australia*, p. 94, pp. 236-238; see Appendix 8

19. Fulton, A P (1850-1876) – Originally from St Andrews he came to Australia for his health and was welcomed to the half-yearly annual assembly of the South Australian Baptist Association in April 1875; *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 14 April 1875, p. 6; see Appendix 8

20. Gardner, D B – “We regret that Mr Gardner’s health should have failed so soon after settlement. He came to the colony in search of health and we had hoped that a country sphere like Morphett Vale would have been just suited to his condition” *Truth and Progress*, 3 March 1880, p. 28

21. Gordon, Alexander – was for eleven years the minister of the Egremont church, Liverpool until his health gave way and he migrated to Dunedin. After giving the climate of southern New Zealand a fair trial and finding it didn’t suit him he came to Victoria *The Argus* (Melbourne), 12 January 1906, p. 6

22. Ham, John – Arrived in Melbourne 13 December 1842 from Birmingham with the intention of going to Sydney because he thought the warmer climate would assist him; suffered from asthma - *The Argus* (Melbourne), 16 November 1888, p. 6; F J Wilkin, *Baptists in Victoria: Our First Century*, p. 13; Basil S Brown, *A Cloud of Witnesses* p. 39

23. Harry, Frederick Edward (1864-1930) – memoir on him mentions both he and William Holdsworth came for health reasons *The Australian Baptist*, 5 August 1930, p. 4

24. Haughan, George – *The Australian Baptist*, 12 May 1947

25. Holdsworth, William Henry (1866-1946) When serving at Trinity church, Huddersfield his health gave way; came to Australia in 1898 to settle in Adelaide with the hope his health would improve; referred to in a memoir of the Rev F E Harry *The Australian Baptist*, 5 August 1930, p. 4; Basil S Brown, *A Cloud of Witnesses; Seventy Memorable Baptists in Victoria*, pp. 41-42

26. Hurst, William E (1875-1940) pastor of three English churches; at Hither Green in London due to failing health he resigns the pastorate and decides to come to Australia in 1919 in a business capacity *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld), 9 April 1927, p. 11; 17 September 1930, p. 22; “he went to Victoria in 1918 for health reasons and entered commercial life” *The Courier-Mail* (Brisbane), 29 June 1940, p. 7

27. Jones, D (ca 1835-1895) Originally from Liverpool came to colony of New South Wales about December 1894 acting upon medical advice; upon arrival his health materially improved and accepted Ashfield (NSW) pastorate; began making arrangements to bring out wife and family; from July 1895 concerns for his health and led to a rapid deterioration in last two months of life; died of a form of cancer at home of Baptist layman Mr E G W Palmer *The Baptist*, 1 August 1895, p. 102,116; *The Sydney Morning herald*, 28 August 1895, p. 4

28. Kingdon, E F Missionary in China for three years until failing strength compelled his return to his native land; remained there for some time and has now come to South Australia for its denial climate *Evening Journal* (Adelaide). 7 October 1869, p. 2

29. McCullough, Robert (1853 – 1932) Born in Randlestown, County Antrim, Ireland; after working for several years in a linen factory he entered Pastors' College; fellow-student was Rev E H Ellis of North Adelaide; owing to ill-health was advised to go to Australia; came with Thomas Spurgeon in 1879 *Adelaide Observer* (SA), 24 November 1900, p. 16; H E Hughes, *Our First Century: Baptist Church in South Australia*. p. 240f

30. Makin, Edwin R (1860 -) – Born in Hadleigh, Suffolk; influenced and converted aged 17 reading the sermons of C H Spurgeon; became a lay preacher while working around Cheltenham and Gloucester; engaged in evangelistic preaching in the city and preached at St George's Hall to large congregations; suffered a serious nervous breakdown in 1889; previously selected to study at Pastors' College but too incapacitated; upon advice of his doctor accompanied mother and sisters to Australia landing in Brisbane *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld), 24 April 1899, p. 6

31. Mead, Silas (1834-1909) – His health was considerably impaired when he left London owing chiefly to the effects of the winter weather *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 23 January 1902, p. 8

32. Moody, Ingram (1806-1895) – Born in Felstead, Kent he trained for the ministry at Stepney College and ordained at age twenty-seven. After pastorates in England he married in 1839 and migrated to the United States but returned in 1841. His wife died in 1847 and with his own health failing, he was advised to try Australia; Geoff Holland, "Baptist Beginnings in Geelong", in *Our Yesterdays*, 1994, p. 12

33. Ness, Thomas – "Came to that colony with a view of deriving from the change benefit to his health which is now so far restored as to enable him to commence services" *Empire* (Sydney), 13 August 1868, p. 2

34. Pugh, J R – *The Baptist*, 1 August 1891, p. 172

35. Rogers, Nicholas – Left for Australia due to poor health of himself and his wife *Truth and Progress*, July 3 1880. p. 75

36. Smith, W Vizard (1863-1889) – Born in Hereford, England he later studied at Regent's Park College; pastor of the Evesham Baptist church, Worcestershire for seven years; came to South Australia in October 1884 on advice of his medical attendants; as health improved he accepted pastorate of Morphett Vale church in 1885 for about three years; early in 1888 he became pastor of the Glen Osmond church in Adelaide; last months of life declining health necessitate retirement from the ministry
Sources: *Evening Journal* (Adelaide), 12 August 1889, p. 3; *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 19 August 1889, p.3

37. Stonehouse, George (1808-1871) – Born in Kent and son and grandson of Baptist ministers; educated at Newport Pagnel College; pastorates at Middleton Cheney, Northamptonshire (7 years); in 1838 went to Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire for 7 years; "owing to straining his voice he was laid up one winter and was subsequently later advised to move to a warmer climate" *The South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 25 July, 1871, p. 3; H E Hughes, *Our First Hundred Years: Baptist Church of South Australia*, p. 30f

38. Taylor, James – Appeal made by Collins Street, Melbourne church to the Baptist Missionary Society for a minister; Mervyn Himbury says ill-health brought him to Australia; D M Himbury, *Theatre of the Word: Collins Street Baptist Church*. p. 6

39. Vaughan, Edward – After he arrived in South Australia in 1878 was welcomed at a meeting of the Norwood Baptist church in September 1878; it was reported he had been doing a good job at Battersea, South London church but ill-health forced him to take a sea voyage; *The South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 17 September, 1878, p. 6

40. Wainwright, G - Late of Bournemouth who recently came out on account of his health has been advised by medical gentlemen in Sydney not to return. He has communicated this to his church officials in England and is now seeking a charge in Australia *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney), 4 September 1897, p. 7

41. Walton, John E (1856-1914) – Born in Clay Cross, Derbyshire and brought up a Baptist; entered Pastors' College in 1875 but upon death of his father had to bear responsibility for family's support; upon re-marriage of his mother he returned to College in January 1880 and studied for three years; in January 1883 he began five year ministry at Balsall Heath, Birmingham; called to the Perth (Tasmania) church through intervention of C H Spurgeon with passage money paid; as he had just recovered from an attack of inflammation of the lungs medical advice was that he should accept offer Laurence F Rowston, *Spurgeon's Men*, p. 82

42. Williamson, Robert – Baptized in Stirling, Scotland he later entered Pastors' College; when pastor of the Paradise Row Chapel in Waltham Abbey, Essex his health forced him to resign; upon return to his home town his health failed to recover; came to Sydney about September 1877 and took up secular employment meanwhile looking for opportunities to serve God; became pastor of the Parramatta (NSW) church (1878-1880) and during this period his health improved but in January 1880 illness forced him to take rest and a change in Tasmania; pastor of Perth (Tasmania) church May 1880 to August 1884; moved to Kyneton (Victoria). This church reported March 1885 he was having 'premonitory symptoms of a previous illness' and will in all probability return to Tasmania; *Banner of Truth*, May 1880, p. 114; Hubert Watkin-Smith, *Baptists in the Cradle City: The Story of Parramatta Baptist Church 1838-1986*, Baptist Historical Society of New South Wales, Eastwood, 1986, p. 51

43. Wood, Harry – When at Pastors' College in 1879 discovered his physique would not stand the strain of study and missions together and a breakdown followed. Ordered to the colonies because of his heart disease; College studies incomplete but proceeded to Auckland, New Zealand; after a month working in the Thames district found climate too damp; moved to South Australia and hoped expressed he would find strength in northern to work for God for years to come; after he was asked to speak at the Saddleworth church Sunday school anniversary he was asked to take the pastorate of the church; as he had no fixed intention of remaining in South Australia and being in feeble health offer declined; *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 24 September 1879, p. 6; Laurence F Rowston, *Spurgeon's Men*, p. 79f

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