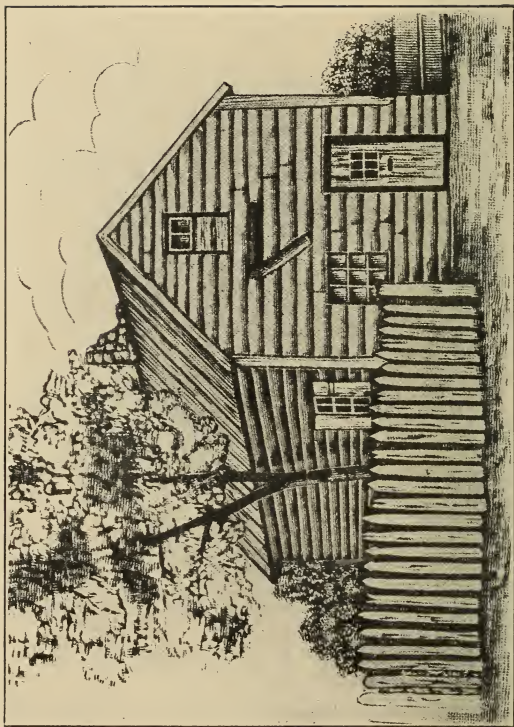




THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST



First Meeting House of the Disciples. Built at Brush Run, Pa., in 1810, by the Christian Association of Washington

The Story of the Churches

The Disciples of Christ

By

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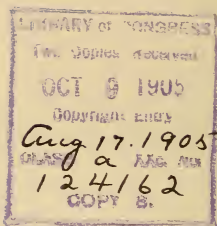
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of Baptists and Disciples"*



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Publishers' Note

The aim of this series is to furnish a uniform set of church histories, brief but complete, and designed to instruct the average church member in the origin, development, and history of the various denominations. Many church histories have been issued for all denominations, but they have usually been volumes of such size as to discourage any but students of church history. Each volume of this series, all of which will be written by leading historians of the various denominations, will not only interest the members of the denomination about which it is written, but will prove interesting to members of other denominations as well who wish to learn something of their fellow workers. The volumes will be bound uniformly, and when the series is complete will make a most valuable history of the Christian church.

Contents

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	THE CAMPBELLS	7
II.	RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND	17
III.	THE CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON	33
IV.	BARTON W. STONE AND THE SPRING- FIELD PRESBYTERY	64
V.	THE UNION WITH THE BAPTISTS	80
VI.	ALEXANDER CAMPBELL AS A BAPTIST,	100
VII.	THE REFORMERS AMONG THE BAP- TISTS	127
VIII.	THE SEPARATION OF THE REFORMERS FROM THE BAPTISTS	154
IX.	THE UNION OF THE REFORMERS AS DISCIPLES OF CHRIST	177
X.	EARLY GROWTH AND ORGANIZATION	212
XI.	THE RISE OF INTERNAL CONTROVERSY,	235
XII.	MISSIONARY ORGANIZATION	259
XIII.	EVANGELISM, JOURNALISM, EDUCA- TION AND CHURCH GROWTH	277
XIV.	RECENT TENDENCIES AND PROBLEMS,	304
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	335
	INDEX	339

64
27

The Disciples of Christ

CHAPTER I

THE CAMPBELLS

THE Disciples of Christ will complete the first hundred years of their history as a distinct religious movement in 1909. Their year in 1809 is marked by the withdrawal of Thomas Campbell from the Seceder Presbyterian church in Western Pennsylvania and the publication of the so-called *Declaration and Address*.

Thomas Campbell was born in County Down, Ireland, February 1, 1763. His ancestors were the Campbells of Argyleshire, Scotland, a clan famous in the political and military history of the country. He was the eldest of a family of four sons, all of whom showed marked religious dis-

8 The Disciples of Christ

positions and took leading parts later in life in local religious affairs. The father belonged to the Church of England, and always preferred to worship after the Episcopal ritual, but his sons turned with greater sympathy and pleasure to the simpler worship of the Covenanters and Seceder Presbyterians. Very early in life Thomas passed through a deep religious experience, which set at rest his fears of the divine displeasure and gave him assurance of salvation and acceptance with God. His religious experience conformed to the theological teaching which he met and accepted in attendance at Presbyterian churches. It was of that serious Calvinistic sort which laid particular emphasis upon the divine activity in conversion. The spiritual monitions attending his conversion were such as not only to give him assurances of salvation, but to lay upon him the duty of consecrating himself to the ministry of the gospel. The moment of his conversion was also the

moment of his dedication to the ministry.

He naturally turned to the Seceder church as a sphere for the exercise of his ministry, but the proposal met with the disfavor of his father; and being under age he yielded for the time to the wishes of his father and continued his work as a teacher in an English academy which he had established in the less enlightened regions of Ireland. Hitherto his education had not passed beyond a good English schooling, at a military regimental school near Newry, County Down, and what by his native genius and aptitude for study, he had acquired by self-education and in the practice of teaching; but upon his return from teaching in the central parts of Ireland, he was taken under the patronage of a Mr. Kinley, who encouraged him in his desire to enter the ministry and gave him financial assistance to continue his education in the University of Glasgow. After completing his literary

studies in the University, he entered the theological school of the Seceders at Whithburn, then in charge of Dr. Archibald Bruce. He completed his theological studies in five sessions of eight weeks each and was licensed to preach among the Anti-Burgher Seceders, as a probationer, under the supervision of the Synod.

Very little is recorded of his early life as a preacher. He was always obliged to carry on his teaching to eke out his meagre salary as a preacher and provide for an increasing family. He was married to Jane Corneigle, of French Huguenot descent, in County Antrim, Ireland, in 1787. Their first child, born in 1788, was a son, whom they named Alexander. The two men, father and son, were destined to be, the one the inaugurator, the other the promoter of the religious movement whose history is the theme of this work. As the son of Thomas Campbell and Jane Corneigle, Alexander Campbell had the best blood of Scotland and of

France flowing in his veins. He is said to have had a striking resemblance to his mother, both in character and physical appearance, while she possessed all that we have come to associate as best with the French Huguenot character.

The father accepted the pastorate of the Seceder church at Ahorey, County Armagh, and moved his family to a place called Rich Hill. The son was about ten years of age when this took place, and so far had given no evidence of anything unusual in his intellectual powers. He had received the rudiments of his early education under his father and in the academy of his uncles, but no scholastic regimen could subdue the native physical strength and buoyant spirits of the boy. He was well on towards sixteen years of age before he was distinguished by anything but his irrepressible love of sport and out-of-doors exercise. He was simply a normal, healthy boy, with a good mind and a well disposed moral

12 The Disciples of Christ

nature. Of early piety and precocious religious experience we hear nothing. His restless physical spirit must have fretted more than once under the long religious exercises of his Seceder home and church, for it was the rule of the church prescribed by the synod that "the minister should worship God in his family by singing, reading and prayer, morning and evening; that he should catechise and instruct them at least once a week in religion; endeavoring to cause every member to pray in secret morning and evening." Besides this it was the rule in the home that "every member should memorize, during each day, some portion of the Bible, to be recited at evening worship, and each again rehearsed on the evening of the Lord's day; that every one should go to meeting, and on returning home give an account of the text and of the discourse preached."

Such discipline had its effect upon the boy. His intellectual and religious awaken-

ing finally came when he was about eighteen years of age. They seem to have been coincident. He entered with zeal and efficiency into the work of assisting his father in the academy. He began to experience "great concern in regard to his own salvation." In a later account of this period he says: "From the time that I could read the Scriptures, I became convinced that Jesus was the Son of God. I was also fully persuaded that I was a sinner, and must obtain pardon through the merits of Christ or be lost forever. This caused me great distress of soul and I had much exercise of mind under the awakenings of a guilty conscience. Finally, after many strugglings, I was enabled to put my trust in the Saviour, and to *feel* my reliance on him as the only Saviour of sinners. From the moment I was able to feel this reliance on the Lord Jesus Christ, I obtained and enjoyed peace of mind." He was received as a member of his father's church at Ahorey and under the solicitation of his

14 The Disciples of Christ

father began to devote time to theological studies. It was not until later, however, that the son dedicated himself to the ministry of the gospel, though it was the father's wish that he do so from the beginning of his life.

The labors of the father were divided between his duties as pastor of the church at Ahorey and superintendent of his academy at Rich Hill, where he lived. His first interest was always the religious interest. He was a careful observer of and interested actor in all the religious affairs of his country and time. He was possessed by nature of a broad Christian spirit which transcended the sectarian boundaries of his own denomination. The "occasional hearing" of ministers of other religious bodies, reluctantly granted by his own denomination, and then only when there was no meeting at the same hour and in the same place in one of their own churches, was eagerly seized upon by Thomas Campbell

and improved. He was a frequent attendant at the evening meetings of the congregation of Independents at Rich Hill, and was on the most cordial terms with them as neighbors. He was found entering into cooperation with all religious movements whenever opportunity was offered. He became a member of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home," organized by the Haldanes and composed for the most part of members of the Church of England, whose object was the arousing of a deeper religious spirit throughout the British Isles to counteract the deadening influence of French infidelity and liberalism.

He felt that the religious need of the times was a union of all the people of God. It must have pained his soul to witness the divisions going on in the two branches of the Seceder church of which he was a member. The story of the division and subdivision of this church, the resulting narrowness and bitterness of spirit mani-

16 The Disciples of Christ

festes towards each other, is a fitting background against which to understand the spirit and motives of Thomas Campbell.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

IN Thomas Campbell's time sectarianism and religious bigotry had gone to seed in the Seceder church. It was conceived in pride and bitterness, born in narrowness, and grew up in exclusiveness. Its sources lie far back in the history of the Scottish church.

When the Reformation suddenly invaded Scotland in the year 1560, it found the Scottish people and the ruling nobility ready for it. "The Estates convened in August, the Calvinistic confession of faith was approved, the Roman Catholic religion was abolished, and the administering of the mass, or attendance upon it, was forbidden—the penalty for the third offense being death." "On the morning of the 25th of

18 The Disciples of Christ

August, 1560, the Romish hierarchy was supreme; in the evening of the same day, Calvinistic Protestantism was established in its stead." The nobility and the common people joined in their desire to see the overthrow of Roman Catholicism, and made common cause against the king and church. The nobility feared the power and craved the vast wealth of the Roman church, while the people longed for a purer ministry, a worship in their own language and a voice in the affairs of their parish churches. It was an expression of the democratic spirit in religion.

No form of Protestantism so completely satisfied this spirit as the Presbyterian. John Knox had gone to Geneva and sat at the feet of John Calvin. He brought back to his native Scotland and recommended to his people both the doctrine and the order of Calvinistic Presbyterianism. They found these to their liking. Presbyterianism was essentially democratic, and gave to the peo-

Conditions in Scotland and Ireland 19

ple the right to choose their own pastors and a representation in the government of the church. It was impossible that the old order could be completely wiped out and destroyed in root and branch. Some roots remained. One of the strongest to remain was the institution of patronage which the nobility was interested to maintain. When the property and revenues of the old church fell at one stroke into the hands of the reforming party, the nobles laid claim to it as a part of their estates which had been alienated by pious ancestors through donation and bequest to the church. It properly escheated to the owners of the estates from which it was originally set aside to maintain parish churches. The nobles had their way in spite of the protest of the religious leaders. Parish livings for the support of the pastors now fell into the hands of nobles and landowners who exercised the right of patronage or presentation to living. It was impossible that a pure Presbytery

could be grafted upon this old stump of patronage. The people might choose a man to be their pastor, but if he did not suit the patron, the holder of living, who might be a Romanist, an Episcopalian, or a Presbyterian, the chosen pastor could not settle with his parish.

After more than a century of struggle on the part of the Scottish people to keep their Presbyterianism against the encroachments of English Episcopacy, they were finally victorious at the time of the Revolution Settlement of 1690. By this settlement Presbyterianism was constituted by act of Parliament the established religion of Scotland, and with the overthrow of Episcopacy went patronage. But only for a time. It came back by act of the English Parliament, which now included the Scottish Parliament, in the year 1712, and was destined to remain, the principal cause of all the troubles of the Scottish church, until finally abolished in 1874.

Conditions in Scotland and Ireland 21

It was incident to the troubles growing out of restored patronage that the Seceder church arose in Scotland. The system of patronage completely nullified the free choice of the pastor by the people. The patron took the initiative and presented as a pastor for the church a man to his own liking, and was not necessarily governed by the desires of the people or the needs of the place. Private and pecuniary considerations very often operated in the presentation. The people were obliged to acquiesce in the appointment or go without a pastor.

It was the conflicting interests and wishes of patrons and people that often came before the presbyteries or assemblies for settlement. An attempt on the part of the Assembly to remedy the evil of vacant parishes by obliging presbyteries to induct pastors on call of heritors, if Protestant, and elders, (in cases where patrons refused to make a presentation within six months after a vacancy that they might obtain the

income for themselves,) called forth a bitter protest against the action of the Assembly by Ebenezer Erskine, in a sermon delivered as retiring moderator of the Synod of Perth and Stirling. He was rebuked by the Synod for offensive utterances in the sermon. He appealed to the Assembly of 1733 against the rebuke of the Synod and was joined by three other ministers. The Assembly approved the action of the Synod and ordered that Erskine be rebuked before the bar of the Assembly. He refused to submit in silence to the action, and was called on to retract, failing which in a year he was suspended from the ministry of the church. The protesters seceded from the established church and constituted themselves into a Presbytery. When the Assembly relented a year later and opened the door for their return by removing all censure and restoring their names to the ministerial roll, they stubbornly refused to return. They went on organizing churches and constituting

Conditions in Scotland and Ireland 23

presbyteries, and by 1742 constituted the first synod out of three presbyteries and thirty congregations. The ranks of the Seceders were from time to time increased by withdrawals from the establishment of churches and members who had been outraged by the violent intrusion of obnoxious pastors upon them. Rather than submit, they seceded. The secession profited for a long time by the workings of the law of patronage.

These Seceders, as they were called, began to regard themselves as the true church of God in Scotland and identified themselves with the church of the first and second reformations. When George Whitfield came to Scotland they demanded that he confine his ministrations to their churches; and when asked "why," they said, "because we are the Lord's people." "Are there no other Lord's people but you?" he inquired. "And supposing all others are the devil's people; certainly, they have the more

24 The Disciples of Christ

need to be preached to." August 4, 1741, was proclaimed throughout their body as a day of fasting and humiliation for the countenance given to Whitfield.

It was not long before strife broke out in their own ranks over the lawfulness of the oath administered to burgesses of towns. Some held that a Seceder who happened to be a burgess could not consistently swear "to profess and allow with his heart the true religion presently professed within the realm and authorized by the laws thereof," without promising to support the church from which they had seceded, and now regarded as "a household of Satan." Consequently they divided in 1747 into Burghers and Anti-Burghers. Each proclaimed itself to be the true church and anathematized the other.

The Burgher branch of the Seceders was for a long time stirred with dissension as to the power of the civil magistrate in religious matters. They divided on the question

Conditions in Scotland and Ireland 25

in 1796 into Old Lights and New Lights. A similar division took place in the Anti-Burgher branch in 1806. There were now four distinct parties of Seceders. The divisions of the parent body in Scotland were transferred to its new home in Ireland. Thomas Campbell became a member of the Old Light, Anti-Burgher branch of the Seceders.

All branches grew in narrowness and bitterness of spirit, as their ranks diminished in numbers through division. "In 1798 the Anti-Burgher Synod forbade the people to attend or give countenance to public preaching by any who were not of their communion; and a year afterwards actually deposed and excommunicated one of its ministers for having heard Rowland Hill and James Haldane preach." A case is on record where the Burgher Synod cited one of its members before it, for working as a mason on an Episcopal chapel in Glasgow, and decreed that he was highly censurable and

“ought not to be admitted to any of the seals of the covenant till he profess his sorrow for the offense and scandal that he had given and been guilty of.”

The spirit of bigotry and sectarian animosity was not confined to the Seceders. The established church herself and all dissenting bodies, including the Presbytery of Relief, finally narrowed the grace of God and his covenanted mercies to their own bodies. To the genial Christian spirit of such a man as Thomas Campbell, the spectacle of these divisions and animosities between Christians seemed more than childish; they were sinful. As he reflected upon them he must have inquired the reason for them and sought a remedy. His own church was rent asunder before his eyes and he was forced to take sides on a question which had no meaning in Ireland where the burgess oath never had been in use. So needless seemed the perpetuation of the division between Burghers and Anti-

Conditions in Scotland and Ireland 27

Burghers on Irish soil, that he led in an effort to unite the two bodies in 1805, but failed through the unwillingness of the Scottish General Synod to free the Irish Synod from its jurisdiction. The union was finally accomplished in 1818.

Other influences were at work upon both of the Campbells beside the hard and bitter sectarianism of the times. The church of Independents at Rich Hill, which they frequently attended, held to doctrines and practices which subsequently became characteristic of the churches founded by them in America. Independency in Scotland originated with John Glas, a minister of the established church, who was deposed in 1730 for teaching that "there is no warrant in the New Testament for a national church; that the magistrate, as such, has no place in the church, and has no right to punish for heresy; that both the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant are without scriptural grounds; and that the

true reformation is one that can be carried out, not by political and secular weapons but by the word and spirit of Christ only." He gathered around him a group of people who shared his views, and adopted in all his teaching the principle that the Scripture is the only standard of both doctrine and practice. He accordingly adopted the observance of the Lord's supper every Sunday, the practice of feet washing, the holy kiss, mutual exhortation in public worship, plurality of elders, community of goods, and other customs which he derived from the primitive church. His son-in-law, Robert Sandeman, took up his views and established churches. They were called Glassites or Sandemanians. They developed into a narrow, exclusive sect, and divided into no less than three parties, each disavowing all fellowship with the others.

The last decade of the eighteenth century was characterized by unusual ferment in religious circles in Scotland and Ireland. The

Conditions in Scotland and Ireland 29

older Presbyterian bodies threw off, by reason of the tyrannical power of the church courts, a variety of persons and groups of persons, all of whom took the direction of independency. In 1768 arose the "Old Scotch Independents"; in 1769, the "Old Scotch Baptists"; in 1780, the "Bereans"; in 1798, the "Modern Congregationalists"; and between 1790-1800, the evangelistic activity of Rowland Hill, the Haldanes and their associates, gave rise to many "Tabernacle Churches" throughout the British Isles, notably in Scotland and Ireland, which swelled the ranks of independency. Many of these new sects on acquaintance found themselves in agreement with each other and came together. The features which they shared in common were, independency in church government and a more strict adherence to the Scriptures in faith and practice. This appeal to the precedent of the primitive churches in its application to their doctrines and prac-

tices occasioned many internal controversies. The question of baptism inevitably came up for discussion, and finally determined the arrangement of independent bodies into two groups: those who adhered strictly to immersion, and those who treated the form of baptism as a matter of indifference. This question of baptism divided the Haldanean societies, both of the Haldanes adopting Baptist views. "The new notions spread over most of the churches of the connection, and contention, strife of words, jealousies, and divisions followed, of which none but such as passed through the painful scenes of those days can have any adequate idea." "The occurrences in question, while they embarrassed and weakened the churches, exposed them also to the triumph and sneers of adversaries, while at the same time much odium was brought on every attempt to follow out scriptural fellowship." Through the influence of Greville Ewing, one of the

associates of the Haldanes, their societies quite generally adopted the weekly communion of the Lord's supper.

The congregation of Independents frequently attended by the Campbells at Rich Hill seems to have been of the Haldanean order, for the Haldanes were occasionally heard in the church. It was in this church that the Campbells heard such men as J. A. Haldane, Rowland Hill, Alexander Carson, and John Walker, concerning the latter of whom Alexander Campbell wrote in 1815: "I am now an Independent in church government; of that faith and view of the gospel exhibited in John Walker's *Seven Letters to Alexander Knox*, and a Baptist so far as regards baptism."

Such were the religious conditions and influences surrounding the Campbells in Scotland and Ireland during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the opening years of the nineteenth. They were both negative and positive: negative,

32 The Disciples of Christ

in disgusting them with the petty differences and bitter animosities of sectarianism; and positive, in acquainting them with and disposing them towards the teachings of the Independents. This is shown in one matter—the weekly observance of the Lord's supper. "From the first all the Congregational churches, with the exception of a few in Aberdeen and the north, observed the Lord's supper every first day of the week, as a part of the usual morning service." Thomas Campbell introduced the weekly observance of the Lord's supper into the first church he established in America.

CHAPTER III

THE CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON

THE health of Thomas Campbell began to suffer some impairment from his excessive labors as preacher and teacher, and his physician recommended a sea voyage as a remedy.

Many of his neighbors had gone, and more were going, to America, to seek homes. Some of his Seceder friends had emigrated to the New World. To take a journey to America, whether to see the country as a visitor or remain as an inhabitant, would not be going alone or entirely among strangers. He bade farewell to his Seceder congregation at Ahorey, and took letters of dismissal and testimonials from the church and the Presbytery of Market Hill. Leaving his family behind and the academy in charge of his son Alexander, he set sail April 8,

34 The Disciples of Christ

1807, and arrived in Philadelphia thirty-five days later, where he found the Seceder synod in session. He presented his credentials, and was assigned to the Presbytery of Chartiers, in Western Pennsylvania.

The Seceders lost none of their peculiarities by being transplanted to the New World. They brought their Old World "testimonies" with them and perpetuated their divisions in America as they had in Scotland and Ireland against the better feeling and judgment of many of their members. The Anti-Burghers were the first to establish churches in America, and when the Burghers arrived on the ground there was a disposition to go into the Anti-Burgher fellowship. There was even less reason for the division of Seceders into Burghers and Anti-Burghers or into New Lights and Old Lights, in America than in Ireland, for the divisions grew out of political conditions which were completely changed in this country. Pennsylvania became the stronghold of Seceder-

ism. The Anti-Burgher branch, being the stronger, absorbed the Burgher element in the stream of emigration from the Old World, and put itself under the oversight of the Associate (Anti-Burgher) Synod of Scotland. This body in America became more exclusive and conservative than the body in Scotland, and in 1796 passed "an act against occasional communion, which ever afterward remained the law of the church."

Thomas Campbell had not been long at work among his New World Seceder brethren before he broke over the narrow boundaries of his denomination and violated one of its most cherished usages. It had decreed to have no fellowship with brethren of other Presbyterian parties, much less other denominations. But when Thomas Campbell went into the religiously desolate parts of his field, he invited his brethren of all Presbyterian parties who were without pastoral care and the sacraments of the

church, to join his Anti-Burgher members in communion service. Whether it was due more to the zeal of his ministerial brethren for the correct usages of Secederism or to their jealousy of his growing power and popularity, that they assumed a hostile attitude towards Mr. Campbell, is not clear; but it was not long before sufficient offense had been given to warrant them in openly proceeding against him before the Presbytery. He was charged with departure from the standard of Seceder faith and with violation of the rules and usages of the church. There is no record of the trial before the Presbytery, but judging from the contents of a letter written immediately after to the Synod, we may infer that he pleaded for larger liberty and fraternity than were allowed by the "testimony" of the church, and took his stand upon the authority and teachings of the Scriptures over against the authority of the "testimony." The Presbytery voted him deserving of cen-

sure. He protested and appealed to the Synod.

Mr. Campbell was desirous of continuing in fellowship with the Seceders and working harmoniously with them, but he was not willing to do so at the sacrifice of his Christian liberty and fraternity, or the primacy of the Scriptures as the law of his Christian conscience, and the rule of his faith and practice. By this time he had clearly grasped the principles by which he was to govern his own conduct in religious matters, and by which alone he believed the church of God could be brought to unity and purity. How long before this he had arrived at his position cannot be said. It first appeared in the letter to the Synod. The letter is too long to quote in full, but it is so important a piece of evidence in the development of Thomas Campbell's religious position, that it cannot be entirely omitted. He said : "Honored Brethren : Before you come to a final issue in the present business, let me

38 The Disciples of Christ

entreat you to pause a moment and seriously consider the following things : To refuse any one his just privilege, is it not to oppress and injure? In proportion to the magnitude and importance of the privilege withheld, is not the injustice in withholding it to be estimated? If so, how great the injustice, how highly aggravated the injury will appear, to thrust out from communion a Christian brother, a fellow-minister for saying and doing none other things than those which our Divine Lord and his Holy Apostles have taught and enjoined to be spoken and done by his ministering servants, and to be received and observed by all his people! Or have I, in any instance, proposed to say or do otherwise? If I have, I shall be heartily thankful to any brother that shall point it out, and upon his so doing, shall as heartily and thankfully relinquish it. Let none think that, by so saying, I entertain the vain presumption of being infallible. So far am I from this,

that I dare not venture to trust my own understanding so far as to take upon me to teach anything as a matter of faith or duty but what is already expressly taught, and enjoined by divine authority." "It is, therefore, because I have no confidence, either in my own infallibility or in that of others, that I absolutely refuse, as inadmissible and schismatic the introduction of human opinions and human inventions into the faith and worship of the church. Is it, therefore, because I plead the cause of the scriptural and Apostolic worship of the church, in opposition to the various errors and schisms which have so awfully corrupted and divided it, that the brethren of the Union should feel it difficult to admit me as their fellow laborer in that blessed work? I sincerely rejoice with them in what they have done in that way; but still, all is not yet done; and surely they can have no just objections to going farther. Nor do I presume to dictate to them or to

others as to how they should proceed for the glorious purpose of promoting the unity and purity of the church; but only beg leave, for my own part, to walk upon such sure and peaceable ground that I may have nothing to do with human controversy about the right or wrong side of any opinion whatsoever. By simply acquiescing in what is written, as quite sufficient for every purpose of faith and duty; and thereby to influence as many as possible to depart from human controversy, to betake themselves to the Scriptures, and in so doing, to the study and practice of faith, holiness and love."

This extract shows sufficiently the sincerity of the purpose and spirit of Campbell in his conflict with his brethren. It also contains echoes and reminiscences of the sectarian conflicts surrounding him in Ireland, and reflects the teachings of such men as John Glas, the Haldanes, John Walker and Archibald McLean. There is nothing new in his appeal to the authority of Scripture,

except the emphasis upon it and use made of it. Reforming spirits in all ages of the church have made their appeal back to Scripture, from Vigilantius and Jovinian in the early church through Arnold of Brescia, William of Occam, John Wiclif and John Huss, to Martin Luther and John Calvin in the modern church. The authority of primitive Christianity appeared in the church first as a principle of purity; Luther applied it as a principle of liberty, as well as purity; Campbell conceived of it as a principle of unity, as well as liberty and purity. He believed that a return to primitive Christianity would make a united, as well as a pure and a free church. The crying need of the Protestant church was unity; but the path to that unity lay through her deliverance from a new bondage into which she had fallen, a bondage to creeds and theological formularies of the faith as conditions of union and communion among Christians. Here appears for the first time in the history

of the church the annunciation of the authority of Scripture as a principle of Christian unity. Here lay the remedy for the church's divisions and strifes in his time and all time. He announces it with all confidence and sincerity, as a principle which his own brethren who were trying him for heresy already accepted, and upon which the entire Protestant church was built. He was conscious only of recalling an old faith. It is self-evident, axiomatic, consentient with the mind of all Protestant Christendom. With him the appeal to Scripture was the end of controversy between him and his Seceder brethren. It was equivalent to an *argumentum ad hominem*, and against the more open and flagrant departures from plain Scripture precept and example would be successful.

The result of the appeal to the Synod was to set aside the judgment of the Presbytery on the ground of the informalities of its procedure, and to release the protester from

the censure inflicted by the Presbytery; but it decided that there were sufficient grounds in his evasive and unsatisfactory answers to the charges to "infer censure." He submitted to the decision "as an act of deference to the judgment of the court," and that "he might not give offense to his brethren by manifesting a refractory spirit." He supposed this would settle the matter, and he would be enabled to go on in peace with his ministerial labors; but he was disappointed, for his enemies were all the more bitter in their hostility to him. Rather than try to continue his work in the atmosphere of suspicion and criticism, he deemed it his duty to sever his relations with the Seceders. He presented to the Synod a formal renunciation of its authority, and committed himself to the sympathy of the religious world.

Many persons not only among the Seceders but members of other religious bodies who had heard him sympathized with him

and shared his views. He began to hold meetings whenever there were opportunities, in barns, groves, schoolhouses, and the houses of his Irish friends who had settled in Washington County, and soon a clearly defined group of persons acknowledged his leadership. They agreed to meet at the home of Abraham Altars, to consummate plans for the future, and agree upon a basis of cooperation. In an address on this occasion he gave utterance to a sentence which was destined to become a kind of watchword among those who came under his leadership: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we are silent." He had scarcely finished speaking when one person present made the application of the principle to infant baptism, and concluded that the Scriptures nowhere speak of it. They, therefore, ought not to have anything to do with it. Mr. Campbell was not so easily convinced of this, and thought it ought to be treated as a matter

of forbearance. At a meeting held August 17, 1809, a committee of twenty-one was appointed, headed by Thomas Campbell, to draw up a program of action. They agreed to call themselves "The Christian Association of Washington." The results of the deliberation of this committee were the writing by Mr. Campbell and the adoption by the Association of what was called a *Declaration and Address*. It is the most important document in the entire history of the Disciples. It was forged out of the experiences and charged with the spirit of Thomas Campbell. It is free from bitterness or vindictiveness, but is passionate with the eloquence of one who had felt all the misery and meanness of sectarianism. Love and sorrow have conquered pride and revenge in his soul, and he pleads as a brother with his brethren.

The Christian Association thought of itself, not as a church or as a new religious denomination, but as a society for the pro-

46 The Disciples of Christ

motion of Christian union among all the denominations. Its members still held membership in the various churches of the region. They had no thought of being otherwise received by the various denominations than as kindly helpers in restoring their faith and order to the New Testament model. We cannot understand how they so mistook the disposition of the various denominations towards change and reconstruction as to suppose they would cordially or even quietly permit alterations in their faith and usages, except that the members of the Association had an unusually profound, if not naive, confidence in the magic of their principles. The *Declaration* sets forth the motives and purposes of the Association as follows: "Moreover, being well aware, from sad experience, of the heinous nature and pernicious tendency of religious controversy among Christians, tired and sick of the bitter jarrings and janglings of a party spirit, we would desire to be at rest; and,

were it possible, we would also desire to adopt and recommend such measures as would give rest to our brethren throughout all the churches: as would restore unity, peace and purity to the whole church of God." "Our desire, therefore, for ourselves and our brethren would be that rejecting human opinions and the inventions of men, as of any authority, or as having any place in the church of God, we might forever cease from further contentions about such things; returning to and holding fast by the original standard; taking the divine word alone for our guide; the Holy Spirit for our teacher and guide, to lead us into all truth; and Christ alone, as exhibited in the word, for our salvation: that by so doing we may be at peace among ourselves, follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord." Then follows a statement of the purpose and program of the Association: To form a religious association for

48 The Disciples of Christ

promoting simple and evangelical Christianity, under the name of the Christian Association of Washington; to contribute a certain sum to support a pure gospel ministry and supply the poor with the Scriptures; to encourage the formation of similar associations; to consider itself not a church, but as a church reformation society; to countenance only such ministers as adhere closely to the example and precept of Scripture in conduct and teaching; to entrust the management of the Association to a standing committee of twenty-one; to hold two meetings a year; to open each meeting with a sermon; and to look to the friends of genuine Christianity for the support of their work.

This is followed by the *Address* with the following dedicatory heading: "To all that love our Lord Jesus Christ, in sincerity, throughout all the churches, the following Address is most respectfully submitted." After an arraignment of the evils of division

in Christendom and an indictment of sectarianism, he goes on to plead with his "dearly beloved brethren," of "all the churches of Christ," "to unite in the bonds of an entire Christian unity—Christ alone being the *head*, the centre, his word the *rule*; and explicit belief of, and manifest conformity to it in all things—the *terms*."

There were certain "fundamental truths" of the nature of "first principles"—"truths demonstrably evident in the light of Scripture and right reason" which underlay the proposal for a union of Protestant Christians. These self-evident presuppositions he puts in the form of propositions as follows:

"1. That the Church of Christ upon earth is essentially, intentionally, and constitutionally one; consisting of all those in every place that profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him in all things according to the Scriptures, and that manifest the same by their tempers and conduct, and of

none else; as none else can be truly and properly called Christians.

“2. That although the Church of Christ upon earth must necessarily exist in particular and distinct societies, locally separate one from another, yet there ought to be no schisms, no uncharitable divisions among them. They ought to receive each other as Christ Jesus hath also received them, to the glory of God. And for this purpose they ought all to walk by the same rule, to mind and speak the same thing; and to be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment.

“3. That in order to do this, nothing ought to be inculcated upon Christians as articles of faith; nor required of them as terms of communion, but what is expressly taught and enjoined upon them in the word of God. Nor ought anything to be admitted, as of Divine obligation, in their Church constitution and management, but what is expressly enjoined by the authority

of our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles upon the New Testament Church, either in express terms or by approved precedent.

“4. That although the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are inseparably connected, making together but one perfect and entire revelation of the Divine will, for the edification and salvation of the Church, and therefore in that respect cannot be separated; yet as to what directly and properly belongs to their immediate object, the New Testament is as perfect a constitution for the worship, discipline, and government of the New Testament Church, and as perfect a rule for the particular duties of its members, as the Old Testament was for the worship, discipline, and government of the Old Testament Church, and the particular duties of its members.

“5. That with respect to the commands and ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ, where the Scriptures are silent as to the express time or manner of performance, if any

such there be, no human authority has power to interfere, in order to supply the supposed deficiency by making laws for the Church; nor can anything more be required of Christians in such cases, but only that they *so* observe these commands and ordinances as will evidently answer the declared and obvious end of their institution. Much less has any human authority power to impose new commands or ordinances upon the Church, which our Lord Jesus Christ has not enjoined. Nothing ought to be received into the faith or worship of the Church, or be made a term of communion among Christians, that is not as old as the New Testament.

“6. That although inferences and deductions from Scripture premises, when fairly inferred, may be truly called the doctrine of God’s holy word, yet are they not formally binding upon the consciences of Christians farther than they perceive the connection, and evidently see that they are

so; for their faith must not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power and veracity of God. Therefore, no such deductions can be made terms of communion, but do properly belong to the after and progressive edification of the Church. Hence, it is evident that no such deductions or inferential truths ought to have any place in the Church's confession.

“7. That although doctrinal exhibitions of the great system of Divine truths, and defensive testimonies in opposition to prevailing errors, be highly expedient, and the more full and explicit for those purposes they be, the better; yet, as these must be in a great measure the effect of human reasoning, and of course must contain many inferential truths, they ought not to be made terms of communion; unless we suppose, what is contrary to fact, that none have a right to the communion of the Church, but such as possess a very clear and decisive judgment, or are come to a very high de-

54 The Disciples of Christ

gree of doctrinal information; whereas the Church from the beginning did, and ever will, consist of little children and young men, as well as fathers.

“8. That as it is not necessary that persons should have a particular knowledge or distinct apprehension of all Divinely revealed truths in order to entitle them to a place in the Church; neither should they, for this purpose, be required to make a profession more extensive than their knowledge; but that, on the contrary, their having a due measure of Scriptural self-knowledge respecting their lost and perishing condition by nature and practice, and of the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, accompanied with a profession of their faith in and obedience to him, in all things, according to his word, is all that is absolutely necessary to qualify them for admission into his church.

“9. That all are enabled through grace to make such a profession, and to manifest

the reality of it in their tempers and conduct, should consider each other as the precious saints of God, should love each other as brethren, children of the same family and father, temples of the same Spirit, members of the same body, subjects of the same grace, objects of the same love, bought with the same price, and joint-heirs of the same inheritance. Whom God hath thus joined together no man should dare to put asunder.

“ 10. That division among the Christians is a horrid evil, fraught with many evils. It is antichristian, as it destroys the visible unity of the body of Christ; as if he were divided against himself, excluding and excommunicating a part of himself. It is antisciptural, as being strictly prohibited by his sovereign authority; a direct violation of his express command. It is antinatural, as it excites Christians to contemn, to hate, and oppose one another, who are bound by the highest and most endearing obligations

56 The Disciples of Christ

to love each other as brethren, even as Christ has loved them. In a word, it is productive of confusion and of very evil work.

“ 11. That (in some instances) a partial neglect of the expressly revealed will of God, and (in others) an assumed authority for making the approbation of human opinions and human inventions a term of communion, by introducing them into the constitution, faith, or worship of the Church, are, and have been, the immediate, obvious, and universally acknowledged causes, of all the corruptions and divisions that ever have taken place in the Church of God.

“ 12. That all that is necessary to the highest state of perfection and purity of the Church upon earth is, first, that none be received as members but such as having that due measure of self-knowledge described above, do profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him in all things according to the Scriptures; nor, secondly,

that any be retained in her communion longer than they continue to manifest the reality of their profession by their temper and conduct. Thirdly, that her ministers, duly and Scripturally qualified, inculcate none other things than those very articles of faith and holiness expressly revealed and enjoined in the word of God. Lastly, that in all their administrations they keep close by the observance of all Divine ordinances, after the example of the primitive Church, exhibited in the New Testament; without any additions whatsoever of human opinions or inventions of men.

“13. Lastly. That if any circumstantials indispensably necessary to the observance of Divine ordinances be not found upon the page of express revelation, such, and such only, as are absolutely necessary for this purpose should be adopted under the title of human expedients, without any pretense to a more sacred origin, so that any subsequent alteration or difference in

58 The Disciples of Christ

the observance of these things might produce no contention nor division in the Church.”

The starting point in his plan of Christian union was the sufficiency of the New Testament as a rule of faith and practice for the Christian church. Acknowledging this, as all Protestants were supposed to do, the next step was to distinguish in the teaching of the New Testament between *matters of faith* and *matters of opinion*. The former belonged to the essential conditions of Christian union and communion, were few, easily understood by all, whether learned or unlearned, and were not subject to interpretation; the latter belonged to the realm of non-essentials, were many, were subject to interpretation and speculation, and should not be made terms of union and communion among Christians. The Scriptures were to be the guide in distinguishing matters of faith from matters of opinion; what they made a matter of faith,

and required for salvation, should be essential to communion; what they left as matter of opinion, could be safely left to the exercise of liberty. The realm of liberty was to be made larger—as large as the realm of opinions. Christians were not to be persecuted or denied fellowship on account of their opinions. They were to be bound only where the Scriptures bound them. There never could be unity in opinions, for they were many; there can be unity only in faith, for it is one. The Scriptures leave no doubt as to what is of faith. He felt that this was a sure path to agreement in faith and practice among Christians, that it would put an end to theological strifes and divisions, and that all agreeing, would finally unite in one organic body. In the *Declaration and Address*, he does not go beyond this formal program of action. At this time he has not settled, is indeed uncertain of the practical determination of, what things are matters of faith and what of opinion, and

does not settle the final form of the united church. It is yet an untried principle, but of its efficacy and ultimate success he has no doubt. The task of definition, application, and experiment lay before him, and was to raise many questions he had not thought of. Not until the organization of the first church, when they were called upon to fix the terms of Christian fellowship for those seeking entrance, did they begin to define what they understood as primitive Christianity and to distinguish between matters of faith and matters of opinion. Nothing but matters of faith, things essential to salvation, were to be made tests of fellowship.

Here emerge two principles which Campbell designed should be cooperative and mutually corrective, the authority of primitive Christianity, and the obligation of Christian unity. The one was means, the other end, while both were equally binding. He did not anticipate that there would

be conditions where the principles would be mutually exclusive, and that a difference of emphasis would make them mutually destructive. Here lie the seeds of disagreement and controversy within the movement itself.

Alexander Campbell, the son, arrived in America just as the *Declaration and Address* was coming from the press. There had been no communication as to what was transpiring in the religious convictions of each, but when they met and discussed the events and changes that had taken place in the two years of separation, they found that they had come to practically the same position. The father in America, the son in Scotland, each unknown to the other, had broken with Secederism. The son fell in heartily with the action of his father and the principles of the *Declaration and Address*. He had spent one of the two years of separation in study at the University of Glasgow, where his father had formerly studied,

62 The Disciples of Christ

and while there came more intimately under the influence of the new ideas and movements of the country. Here he met Greville Ewing, the Haldanes, and other religious leaders of the time who were pressing for larger liberty of Christian service under the rule of a stricter conformity to the Scriptures. The son had not been long in the Christian Association of Washington before his gifts of leadership were recognized and acknowledged, and he was called upon to make public defense of the *Declaration and Address* against the criticisms and objections of the various religious parties of the community. He had dedicated himself to the ministry at the time of the shipwreck of the family when they first attempted to cross the Atlantic to join the father in the fall of 1808, and were forced to postpone the voyage until the next season. In the meantime the family, for the benefit of the son had decided to spend the winter at the University of Glasgow. This resolution on

shipboard to give himself to the ministry came providentially to make him the defender and promoter of the new reformation. He quickly stepped before his father as the destined leader of the movement. From the moment of his first effort at public discourse he showed those marked powers of eloquence and argumentation which lifted him subsequently to the front rank of pulpit orators.

CHAPTER IV

BARTON W. STONE AND THE SPRINGFIELD PRESBYTERY

THE main stream in the historic development of the Disciples of Christ took its rise in the Christian Association of Washington, led by Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander. As a consequence the influence of the Campbells has been dominant throughout their history. Later in its course the main stream was joined by another current, of independent origin and decided influence, which arose in "The Springfield Presbytery," led by Barton W. Stone.

Stone was born in the state of Maryland, December 24, 1772. His father died when he was still young and soon after his mother removed with a large family of children and servants to Pittsylvania County, Virginia. It was during the Revo-

lutionary War when the entire country was aflame with hatred of the English. The political events and conditions of the time made a lasting impression upon the mind of the boy. He was particularly impressed by the novel religious conditions which surrounded him in Virginia. The coming of Baptist preachers into the neighborhood of his home after the close of the war, with their peculiar manner of preaching and form of baptism, excited his interest and attention. The experiences narrated by the converts of their conviction of sin in dreams and visions, especially interested him. On the heels of the Baptists appeared Methodist preachers, of a prepossessing appearance—grave, holy, meek, plain and humble, who were bitterly opposed by the Episcopalians and Baptists. These religious excitements took hold of young Stone and created in him an earnest desire for religion, but not knowing how to get it, he turned his thoughts in other directions.

66 The Disciples of Christ

His first plan with reference to a career in the world was to become a barrister. With this in mind, he took the patrimony which had recently fallen to him, and went to an academy in North Carolina in 1790. He entered the academy in the midst of a great religious excitement under the leadership of James McGready in which thirty or more of the students were converted and began to hold prayer meetings every morning before recitations. The devout atmosphere of the school troubled him with thoughts of his own lost condition. He tried to find peace in associating with the worldly students, and joined them in making jests at religion. To get away from the annoyance of religious associations he even planned to go to another school. Under a sermon preached by McGready he was so profoundly moved that, "had he been standing, he would probably have sunk to the floor under the impression." Under the awful alarm of

being forever damned if he was not converted, he resolved "to seek religion at the sacrifice of every earthly good." He says: "According to the preaching and the experience of the pious in those days, I anticipated a long and painful struggle before I should be prepared to come to Christ, or, in the language then used, before I should get religion. This anticipation was completely realized by me. For one year I was tossed on the waves of uncertainty—laboring, praying and striving to obtain saving faith—sometimes desponding, and almost despairing of ever getting it." The doctrines then publicly taught were, that "mankind were so totally depraved, that they could not believe, repent, nor obey the gospel—that regeneration was an immediate work of the Spirit, whereby faith and repentance were wrought in the heart." Under continued preaching and the deepening of his despair and sense of helplessness, he sank into a state of apathy, in

68 The Disciples of Christ

which he remained for many weeks. He was again awakened by a sermon on "God is love." He says: "The discourse being ended, I immediately retired to the woods alone with my Bible. Here I read and prayed with various feelings between hope and fear. But the truth I had just learned, 'God is love,' prevailed." "I yielded and sunk at his feet a willing subject."

At the end of his course of study he desired to give himself to the ministry of the gospel, but "had no assurance of being divinely called and sent." He disclosed his state of mind to a Dr. Caldwell of the Presbyterian Church, who removed his difficulty by telling him that he had no right to expect a miracle to convince him of a call. He became a candidate for the ministry, and was assigned certain studies and reading in preparation for examination. His reading on the doctrine of the trinity seemed only to confuse him. He resolved to give up his study and go into other business, but

The Springfield Presbytery 69

was relieved of his difficulties on the trinity by reading Watts. He was examined before the Presbytery of Orange County, North Carolina, and was accepted; but before being licensed, took a trip to Georgia and engaged in school teaching. Returning to North Carolina in 1796 he was licensed to preach, and was assigned a preaching circuit in the lower part of the state. He was still troubled with doubts of his fitness for the ministry. To get out of the reach of all friends and acquaintances, he resolved to go to the Cumberland country, with the stream of emigration setting in that direction. He was prevailed upon to preach everywhere along the way through Tennessee; and by the time he reached Kentucky, he was quite restored to his desire to preach. He was induced to settle as permanent pastor of the Presbyterian churches of Cane Ridge and Concord.

When the time for his ordination at the hands of the Transylvania Presbytery, as

pastor of these congregations, came in 1798, it found his mind in a state of doubt and perplexity over the doctrines of the trinity, election, and reprobation, as taught in the Confession of Faith. When the Presbytery met he went to two of the leaders and told them of his difficulties. He says: "They asked me how far I was willing to receive the confession? I told them, as far as I saw it consistent with the Word of God. They concluded that was sufficient." "No objection being made, I was ordained."

The thing which disturbed his faith more than anything else was the doctrine of predestination and election taught in the Confession which he was supposed to accept. He says: "Often when I was addressing the listening multitudes on the doctrine of total depravity, their inability to believe—and of the necessity of the physical power of God to produce faith; and then persuading the helpless to repent and believe the gospel, my zeal in a moment would be

chilled at the contradiction. How can they believe? How can they repent? How can they do impossibilities? How can they be guilty in not doing them?" Under an experience of ardent love and tenderness for all mankind, as he was praying and reading his Bible one evening, he said to a person present that if he had power he would save them all. It came to him with startling power that if God loved all men, as he was taught to believe, why then, did not God save them? He has the power to save, and if he does not, is not that a contradiction of his love? He became "convinced that God did love the whole world, but that the reason why he did not save all, was because of their unbelief; and that the reason why they believed not, was not because God did not exert his physical, almighty power in them to make them believe, but because they neglected and received not his testimony given in the word concerning his son."

In the spring of 1801 occurred the strange

religious excitement in the south of Kentucky and in Tennessee, under the preaching of James McGready, who had created the awakening in the academy where Stone went as a student. Stone went down to witness the marvellous effects of the meetings and the "exercises" which seized the converts. He went in a skeptical and critical frame of mind, but returned to his congregations fully convinced of the genuineness of the conversions. His people came together to hear his account of the excitement. His own spirit seems to have caught the power of McGready, and the same scenes and exercises were reproduced under his own preaching. At a meeting which he opened in August, 1801, at Cane Ridge, there were as many as twenty or thirty thousand people, of all denominations, gathered together. Many persons came from Ohio and more distant parts to attend the meeting.

Stone was not the only preacher in the

The Springfield Presbytery 73

Presbyterian church of the region who demurred to the Calvinistic doctrines of the Confession. There were four others, Richard McNemar, John Thompson, John Dunlavy, and Robert Marshall. Stone says: "The distinguishing doctrine preached by us was, that God loved the world—the whole world, and sent his Son to save them, on condition that they believed in him—that the gospel was the means of salvation—but that this means would never be effectual to this end, until believed and obeyed by us—that God requires us to believe in his Son, and had given us sufficient evidence in his word to produce faith in us, if attended to by us—that sinners were capable of understanding and believing this testimony, and of acting upon it by coming to the Saviour, and obeying him, and from him obtaining salvation and the Holy Spirit." These preachers were known and singled out by their orthodox brethren for warning and reproof. The first one to be proceeded

against by the Springfield Presbytery of Ohio, for departure from the Confession was McNemar. His case was appealed to the Synod of Lexington, Kentucky. When it appeared in the course of the investigation that the decision would go against him, the five preachers held a conference and resolved to protest against the action of the Synod and withdraw from its jurisdiction, though not from the Presbyterian fellowship. Failing in an attempt to reclaim them, the Synod passed a decree of suspension, and published it in their respective churches. The five preachers, joined by several others, constituted themselves into a presbytery which they called "The Springfield Presbytery." Within a year they dissolved the Presbytery under the conviction that they were forming a new sect and thus adding to the divisions of the one Body of Christ; that there was no authority in the Scriptures for the name they bore, or the creed they confessed, or the Presbyterian organization

they adopted. In a semi-humorous vein they wrote what they called *The Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery*, in which they willed that the body sink into union with the Body of Christ at large; that their name of distinction be forgotten and that the name Christian be adopted; that each congregation govern itself by the precepts and rules of the New Testament, without delegating any authority to higher bodies; that ministers take the Scriptures for their study in preparation for the ministry, and obtain license from God to preach the gospel; that each church choose its own pastor; and that the people take the Bible as their only rule of faith and practice. The document was signed by six preachers who had led in the revolt against Calvinism and the authority of the Synod, and was dated June 28, 1804.

The ideas and motives at work in the Springfield Presbytery were strikingly like those at work in the Christian Association

76 The Disciples of Christ

of Washington. They were both guided by the desire for the unity of the people of God; both saw the way to that unity in the rejection of human creeds and authority, and in the adoption of the New Testament as the only rule of faith and practice; both originated in Presbyterianism and were precipitated in their course by the oppressive authority exercised by a presbytery and synod over the faith of a minister; but both acted independently and in ignorance of each other in the beginning—the Springfield Presbytery in Kentucky in 1804, the Christian Association in Pennsylvania in 1809. The development of the two bodies immediately after their inception took the same direction—towards the Baptist position. The first one of the ministers to adopt immersion, and this before leaving the Presbyterian church, was Robert Marshall. Stone heard of it and wrote trying to dissuade him from it. Marshall's reply in defense of immersion was so convincing that Stone

The Springfield Presbytery 77

was shaken in his mind concerning infant sprinkling. He called a meeting of his congregations for the discussion of the subject, with the result that both preacher and people submitted to the rite of immersion.

The influence of the teaching of Stone extended widely through Kentucky and Ohio. Through the defection of Richard McNemar and John Dunlavy to the Shakers, and the return of John Thompson and Robert Marshall to the fellowship of the Presbyterian church, Stone was the only one of the original five preachers left. He went on preaching, making converts, and organizing churches as an itinerant until he was called as settled pastor of a church he founded in Georgetown. On a journey which he made into Ohio to baptize a Presbyterian preacher who had adopted his views, he went into the meetings of a Baptist association. He says: "I exerted myself with meekness against sectarianism, formularies, and creeds, and

78 The Disciples of Christ

labored to establish the scriptural union of Christians, and their scriptural name." "The result was that they agreed to cast away their formularies and creeds, and take the Bible alone for their rule of faith and practice, and to bury their association, and to become one with us in the great work of Christian union." This union included about twelve Baptist preachers. He traveled extensively through Ohio preaching and baptizing people, his meetings attended by great crowds, and frequently marked by strange physical exercises and commotions on the part of converts.

Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone had heard of each other during several years, but they did not meet until 1824. They found themselves in mutual agreement on the fundamental principles of their work. Their disciples spread over the same regions of country, and established churches side by side. Two bodies of people so closely related in ideas and principles could not per-

The Springfield Presbytery - 79

manently remain apart. The story of their union, which took place in Kentucky in 1832, will be told in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE UNION WITH THE BAPTISTS

THE friendly overtures of the Christian Association to the various denominations to confer with them on a plan for the union of religious parties was not cordially received. The plan of union which was so captivating to the mind of Thomas Campbell and seemed to many others who joined with him a panacea for many religious ills, was bitterly opposed by all Christian bodies. They presumed too much upon the openness of the denominational mind to new teachings, and too little upon the devotion of religious parties to their customs and traditions. The denominations were not ready then for a union which contemplated any change in their usages or loss of their identity, and a hundred years of growth since then has not sufficed to dispose

The Union With the Baptists 81

them any more kindly towards the destruction of their systems as a condition of union. The instinct of self-preservation is about as strong in religious bodies as in living creatures. As a program of union it seemed to be born out of due time. No body was fond of it or saw anything in it to admire, but its progenitors.

The members of the Christian Association fell at once under the odium and ostracism of a new sect. It was the one thing they desired to prevent and regarded with the bitterest regret. That a society set for the termination of sectarianism should itself become another sect in the eyes of the world, was a position they could not tolerate. Their aim and character as a Christian union society must be maintained. Nothing would satisfy their expectations but a reduction of the number of religious parties, while they were in danger of increasing the number by one. To permit themselves

82 The Disciples of Christ

unwittingly to assume a denominational form of existence would be a travesty upon their principles. The unity of the people of God had become the highest obligation in their ideal of Christian duty. They made haste to get under cover of some existing denominational roof, rather than suffer the charge of building another.

In this state of mind proposals came to the Association asking them to unite with the Presbyterian church. They had come out of one kind of Presbyterianism and still shared the fundamental beliefs of the Presbyterians. They were urged in private by members of the Presbyterian church to cast in their lot with them and were led to believe that they would be a welcome accession to the ranks of that church. Thomas Campbell, against the advice of Alexander, made application to the Synod of Pittsburg, October 4, 1810, "to be taken into Christian and ministerial communion." He went before the Synod and made a full statement

The Union With the Baptists 83

of the plans and purposes of the Christian Association and of his own views on religious subjects. After questioning him carefully, and deliberating on the advisability of receiving him, the Synod decided that his views and the purposes of the Association were so baleful in their tendency and so destructive of the interests of religion, that they could not receive him into their fellowship. He made the application as a representative of the Association, so that his reception to fellowship would have included the entire Association. They did not propose to abandon the Association with its plans and purposes, but to bring it over and carry on their work of reformation under shelter of the Presbyterian church.

This rebuff received at the hands of the Presbyterian Synod was a serious blow to the hope and zeal of the Association in the cause of Christian union. They discovered that Christian union was not so simple a

84 The Disciples of Christ

matter as to be accomplished by offering to submit to the Scriptures alone. It completely changed the course of the Association. From being a society for the promotion of union and reformation among the churches, they saw that they would be obliged to form themselves into a church or be deprived of the benefits and offices of church fellowship. The hostile attitude of the Presbyterian Synod, their criticisms upon the position and principles of the Association, taught them to look no further for sympathy among the denominations. A public controversy arose between the Presbyterians and the members of the Association, in which Alexander Campbell took the leading part.

Both of the Campbells continued to preach regularly at various places in and around Washington, to members of the Association and their friends who began to take interest in the new religious teachings. Criticised by other parties, they felt called

The Union With the Baptists 85

upon to reply, and the replies were not conducive to harmony or mutual understanding between them. The leaders of the Association now took an aggressive attitude of criticism and arraignment of the sectarianism and errors of the denominations, and challenged them to test their forms and terms of communion by the express precepts and examples of the New Testament. A war upon the unscriptural faiths and practices of the churches from the standpoint of a severe conformity to the teachings of Scripture, began, which grew in extent and influence until it separated them completely as a new party from all other parties.

The time had now come for the Association to constitute itself into a church for "the enjoyment of those privileges and the performance of those duties which belong to the church relation." A church was organized out of the members of the Association, May 4, 1811, at Brush Run, Pa. Thomas

Campbell was appointed elder and Alexander Campbell was licensed to preach the gospel. Four deacons were chosen, consisting of John Dawson, George Sharpe, William Gilchrist, and John Foster; "and amidst the prayers and solemn services of the day, they united in singing Psalm 118, from the thirteenth to the twenty-ninth verses, in the old metrical version, which as Seceders, they had been in the habit of using." The following day being Sunday, they celebrated their first communion service and both Alexander Campbell and his father preached. The Lord's supper from the first was celebrated every first day of the week, as had been done in the Independent churches in Scotland. One or two persons were observed not to partake of the supper, and when asked, said they had never been immersed and did not consider themselves authorized to partake without a proper form of baptism.

The question of baptism now came up

The Union With the Baptists 87

for discussion in the new church. It is not the first time the question has been raised among them for it was pointed out to them by James Foster, and to Alexander Campbell by a Presbyterian minister, that upon the principles of the *Declaration and Address*, there was no place for infant baptism in their practice. Joseph Bryant, one of those who refused to commune, insisted on being immersed, which was done by Thomas Campbell in a creek near Brush Run, July 4, 1811.

Alexander Campbell was engaged in making preaching tours, with ever widening circuits, into the neighboring parts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia. He was developing a body of Christian doctrines and practices under the principle, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we are silent." He was ordained to the office of the ministry January 1, 1812, by the elders and deacons of the Brush Run church. He was married

88 The Disciples of Christ

to the daughter of a Mr. John Brown, a Presbyterian, by the Rev. Mr. Hughes, a Presbyterian minister, March 13, 1811. Their first child was born March 13, 1812. The duty of the parents towards the child with respect to baptism, which was recognized by every Presbyterian, must have been raised in the home of Alexander Campbell. Whether this precipitated the inquiry or not, it is certain that immediately after the birth of the child, he instituted a careful inquiry into the scripturalness of both infant baptism and sprinkling, which up to this time had been treated as matters of forbearance. He came to the conclusion that the immersion of a believer was the only proper scriptural mode of baptism, and that consequently, he himself had never been properly baptized. He applied to a Baptist preacher by the name of Matthias Luce to perform the rite of baptism for himself and wife; and when his father learned of his determination he also concluded to be

The Union With the Baptists 89

immersed, and with him his wife and daughter, and James Hanen and wife. At the place of baptism the greater part of the Brush Run church had assembled and Thomas Campbell delivered a discourse upon the principles of the new reformation. In arranging with Mr. Luce to perform the rite, Alexander had stipulated that no other condition should be required of them than a simple confession of their faith that Jesus is the Son of God.

From the time that the group of friends and sympathizers of Thomas Campbell adopted the principle, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; and where they are silent, we are silent," the direction of the movement seemed to be towards the Independent and the Baptist position. This fact is singularly like the tendency of the new parties that arose in Scotland in the last years of the eighteenth century; they gravitated towards the position of the Independents and the Baptists. Within a week

of the immersion of the Campbells and their group, thirteen other members of the Brush Run church asked to be immersed, and it was done by Thomas Campbell, upon a simple confession of their faith in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God. It was not long before the entire church of thirty or more members were immersed, for those who did not accept immersion withdrew from the church. The organization of the first church thus forced upon them a settlement of the terms of Christian fellowship. Immersion became a condition of union and communion with the Brush Run church. Its conversion into a society of immersed believers did not bring them any favor from the Pedobaptist churches of the region, but it did bring them into recognition and sympathy with the Baptist churches.

The Brush Run church had come to their position under the guidance of primitive Christian example and its application to

The Union With the Baptists 91

every item of religious faith and practice which they adopted in their order. They were not seeking agreement with any body of Christians. They were "a party of progress," bound, they knew not where, but ready to go where their principles led them; whether into agreement with Methodists, Baptists, or Quakers of modern parties, they could not tell, but they felt into agreement with a very ancient party of believers, "first called Christians at Antioch." They were seeking "the old paths," agreement with the "original standard," "that they might come fairly and firmly to original ground upon clear and certain premises, and take up things just as the Apostles left them." They were feeling their way and making sure of their ground as they went. They knew of no religious party that stood upon original ground; none that dared return to the original standard. The sense of freedom which they enjoyed in being bound only by the New

Testament with respect to all doctrines and usages, was equalled only by the sense of certainty they enjoyed in being infallibly guided by the New Testament to the true conditions of Christian union and communion. So keen was their sense of deliverance from the narrowness of sectarian testimonies and the tyranny of sectarian courts, that they would never again permit themselves to be bound by any party or creed. They now breathed the free air of liberty. They felt the call of destiny to the religious world.

When the Baptists of the region heard of the action of the Brush Run church in submitting to immersion and adopting it in their practice, they were highly elated and began to urge the church to join the Baptist association of churches. Alexander Campbell had not been favorably impressed with the Baptists, either as ministers or people, and had no idea of uniting with them. He, however, liked the people better, and the

The Union With the Baptists 93

ministers less, the more he got acquainted with them. He did not press himself upon their attention, but they knew his power as a speaker and often sent for him to preach for them. He visited their association at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, in the autumn of 1812, and being less pleased than ever with the Baptists, resolved never to go again. The question of a union with the Baptists was laid before the Brush Run church in the fall of 1813. "We discussed the propriety of the measure," says Alexander Campbell. "After much discussion and earnest desire to be directed by the wisdom which cometh from above, we finally concluded to make an overture to that effect, and to write out a full view of our sentiments, wishes and determinations on the subject. We did so in some eight or ten pages of large dimensions, exhibiting our remonstrance against all human creeds as bonds of communion or union among Christian churches, and expressing a will-

94 The Disciples of Christ

ingness, upon certain conditions, to cooperate or to unite with that association, provided always that we should be allowed to teach and preach whatever we learned from the Holy Scriptures, regardless of any human creed or formula in Christendom."

The significant thing to observe in the terms of this union is the attitude of the Campbells towards their own liberty of teaching under the guidance of the Scriptures. They had really begun to shift the emphasis from the obligation of Christian union to the authority of primitive Christianity. This was due to a certain loss of confidence in the practicability of Christian union under existing religious conditions, but more to the growing influence and leadership of Alexander Campbell, who never was so much of a Christian unionist as his father. Leadership was then passing from father to son, and emphasis from the principle of unity to the principle of apostolicity. They were not now ready for union at the

The Union With the Baptists 95

cost of their liberty or any conviction. Truth as they were led to see it in the light of the Scriptures was better than any union. Yet union was still desirable, though not immediately practicable, and sectarianism and division were still sinful. They had come, however, to justify their separation as a distinct party and were reconciled to it, if it must be. Under these circumstances and upon these conditions they were received into the Redstone Association of Baptist churches. But not without objection on the part of a few Baptist preachers who were either jealous or suspicious of Mr. Campbell.

The Campbells were conscious that they were not in full agreement with the Baptists at the time of the union, and gave them full warning as to the policy and principles of the Brush Run church. Not even on the subject of baptism, which was the most apparent point of resemblance, was there entire agreement. Alexander Campbell had

developed a doctrine of the design of baptism by 1812 which was opposed to the Baptist doctrine. He had already declared baptism to be "the first formal and comprehensive act of the obedience of faith." A very sacred custom in Baptist usage was the requirement of an examination and the relation of an experience previous to baptism; but Campbell declined to accept any other requirement as a condition of baptism at the hands of Mr. Luce than a simple confession of faith in Christ, as he thought was done in apostolic times.

The Brush Run church differed from Baptist churches in its practice with respect to the Lord's supper. It had become an essential part of the worship of the Brush Run church every first day of the week, while among Baptist churches it was celebrated once a quarter. So essential to the Lord's day worship seemed the Supper that Thomas Campbell declared as early as 1812 that "instituted worship can be nowhere

The Union With the Baptists 97

performed upon the Lord's day, where the Lord's supper is not administered. Wherever this is neglected, there New Testament worship ceases." The Brush Run church inclined at first to adopt the custom of close communion, and admit only immersed believers, but did not settle into the practice.

The Campbells held another doctrine which was soon to become the cause of the first and of a continuous controversy between them and the Baptists. They taught that there was a difference in the authority of the Old and New Testaments for the Christian. Thomas Campbell had drawn the distinction in 1809 in the *Declaration and Address* by declaring that "the New Testament is as perfect a constitution for the worship, discipline and government of the New Testament church," "as the Old Testament was for the worship, discipline and government of the Old Testament church"; and again in 1812: "How many disciples of Moses are to be found in the

professed school of Jesus Christ! and how few among the teachers of the New Testament seem to know that Christ's ministers are not able ministers of the Old Testament but of the New." To a Baptist of that time every part of the Scriptures was equally authoritative.

Their view of the meaning and value of ordination differed. While Alexander Campbell submitted to the ceremony, it was not regarded as indispensable to the ministerial character and office. It was pointed out that many in the New Testament were said to have preached and baptized, yet there is no record of their ordination. The Baptists insisted on it as essential to the exercise of the ministerial function.

The most serious departure of the Campbells from a Baptist point of view was in their conception of faith. They held to the orthodox, Calvinistic conception of faith, as "of the operation of God and effect of almighty power and regenerating grace," as

The Union With the Baptists 99

late as 1812; but in the same year their conception underwent a change and they declared that "the word of God is a means of regeneration" and that faith is "the full and firm persuasion, or hearty belief of the divine testimony concerning Jesus."

It is not probable that all these views held by the Campbells at the time of the union were known to the Baptists of the Redstone Association. They were glad to have their forces strengthened and their ranks filled by the accession of the Campbells and the Brush Run church, and were not disposed to lay down rigid conditions of fellowship. Accepted as a member of the Redstone Association, the Brush Run church was entitled to send messengers to the annual meetings and have a voice in all of its affairs.

L. O. C.

CHAPTER VI

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL AS A BAPTIST

THE union of the Campbells with the Baptists conditioned the course of their movement for the next twenty years. It opened a sphere of influence and activity to Alexander Campbell, now the acknowledged leader, which made possible the wider and more rapid dissemination of his views. It drew the attention and opened the ears of the entire Baptist brotherhood, then the numerically strongest denomination in America, to the new teachings. Without this affiliation with the Baptists all church doors would have been closed to him, and the progress of "the reformation" would have been in the teeth of the bitterest opposition and sectarian hatred. At one stroke he secured a great audience of friendly listeners.

Alexander Campbell as a Baptist 101

To all intents and purposes Campbell became a Baptist and deliberately and frankly accepted the denominational status which it gave him. The Brush Run church was lost in the larger fellowship of Baptist churches, and assumed with all others its part in the extension of Baptist views and influence. Campbell's first active interest in the Baptist cause was to offer his services for the purpose of raising money among the Baptist churches of the East to build a meeting house at Charlestown, Virginia. It was to provide a church home for his father-in-law's family, who had taken membership in the Brush Run church and was contemplating removal to Charlestown, where he had already established himself in business. He visited such cities as Philadelphia, New York, and Washington, preaching and raising money in Baptist churches, and returned with a thousand dollars with which a church was built.

At the meeting of the Redstone Associa-

tion, August 30, 1816, Alexander Campbell was present as one of the three messengers from the Brush Run church. In spite of opposition on the part of a few preachers, the demand of the people to hear him was so strong that they were obliged to give him a place on the program. He preached a sermon which afterwards became famous as the *Sermon on the Law*, and was the beginning of open opposition to him in the Redstone Association, and the cause of frequent charges of heresy against him in other Baptist associations. The subject of the discourse was the view adopted by him in 1812 that the law of Moses is not binding upon the Christian church, and that the preaching of the gospel is the all-sufficient means of conversion. The principle that the Old Testament with its authority, laws, and ordinances had been abrogated in Christ, was not with him a mere theological speculation, but of practical utility. It was this practical, far-reaching

scope of the doctrine, as intimated in a closing section of the sermon, which alarmed the Baptists. He said: "A fourth conclusion which is deducible from the above premises is, that all arguments or motives drawn from the law, or Old Testament, to urge the disciples of Christ to baptize their infants; to pay tithes to their teachers; to observe holy days or religious fasts, as preparatory to the observance of the Lord's supper; to sanctify the seventh day; to enter into national covenants; to establish any form of religion by civil law—and all reasons or motives borrowed from the Jewish law, to excite the disciples of Christ to a compliance with or imitation of Jewish customs, are inconclusive, repugnant to Christianity, and fall ineffectual to the ground; not being enjoined or countenanced by Jesus Christ."

This was novel doctrine, not only to the audience before him, but to most Christian communities of the time. It was not new,

however, to theologians, for it had appeared in the writings of the "Federal School" of theology, of which the Dutchman, Cocceius, was the reputed founder. The mind of Campbell seems to have been thoroughly saturated with the covenant ideas of this school. Some of the preachers present at the delivery of the discourse took alarm before it was finished and held a hurried consultation as to the best means of protest against it. It was finally decided that it was "better to let it pass and let the people judge for themselves." Opposition, however, did not rest here. A movement was quietly set on foot at this meeting with the avowed purpose of counteracting the influence of the Campbells and ridding the Association of them. At this same meeting Thomas Campbell, who lived in Pittsburgh, brought a letter from a small church, which he had gathered together there, asking union as a church with the Association. It was voted, "that as this letter is not

presented according to the constitution of this Association, the request cannot be granted." A "Circular Letter," or essay upon the "Trinity," presented by Thomas Campbell, met with a better reception, having been "accepted without amendment."

Alexander Campbell was engaged for the most part during the years from 1813 to 1820 in managing his farm, given to him by his father-in-law; conducting a seminary chiefly for young men at his home, called "Buffalo Seminary," at Bethany, West Virginia; and making preaching tours among Baptist churches in the neighboring regions. After the preaching of the *Sermon on the Law*, and on account of the suspicion and enmity arising out of it, his preaching among Baptist churches was somewhat restricted. He says: "Till this time we had labored much among the Baptists with good effect." "I itinerated less than before in my labors in the gospel

and confined my attention to three or four little communities constituted on the Bible, one in Ohio, one in Virginia, and two in Pennsylvania. Once or twice a year I made excursions amongst the regular Baptists, but with little hope of being useful to the Redstone Association."

[While Alexander Campbell was a Baptist in all essential respects, as he viewed it, yet he was not so thoroughly denominationalized that he could not be free in his attitude towards their beliefs and practices. The attitude of the Baptists towards him varied; some received him, others rejected him. But there was no doubt among Baptists that upon the mode of baptism, he stood upon their ground. He was chosen out of all defenders of the Baptist faith in that region to represent and champion the Baptist cause in a debate with a Presbyterian minister by the name of John Walker, of Mount Pleasant, Ohio. Mr. Walker challenged Mr. Birch, or any other Baptist, to debate the question of

baptism, and engaged to prove, "That baptism came in the room of circumcision; that the covenant on which the Jewish church was built, and to which circumcision was a seal, is the same with the covenant on which the Christian church is built, and to which baptism is the seal; that the Jews and Christians are the same body politic under the same lawgiver and husband, consequently the infants of believers have a right to baptism." Mr. Birch had some difficulty in persuading Campbell to enter the debate, on account of his doubt of the utility of it in promoting the truth or the unity of Christians. He finally consented, and the debate was held June 19-20, 1820, at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, twenty-three miles from Mr. Campbell's home. Mr. Walker based his argument for infant baptism upon the identity of the Jewish and Christian covenants, and upon the equal authority of the Old and New Testaments. Mr. Campbell entertained the contrary view which

appeared in his *Sermon on the Law*. In the baptismal controversy of the times as usually carried on between Baptists and Pedobaptists, they stood on the same ground in a common recognition of the authority of the Old Covenant. It was something new and startling to Mr. Walker, when Campbell cut the Gordian knot at a stroke by assuming the complete annulment of the Old Covenant in the death of Christ. The debate reduced itself to a discussion of the authority or validity of the Jewish Covenant in the Christian church.

Another novelty in the way of an argument against infant baptism introduced by Mr. Campbell in the debate was his view of the *design* of baptism. The argument is scarcely more than suggested in the following words: "Baptism is connected with the promise of the remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit." The doctrine was subsequently to play a large part in the debates of Campbell, in the controversy with

the Baptists, and in the evangelistic preaching of the Disciples.

The opportunities and issues of the debate were such as to convince Campbell that "a week's debating is worth a year's preaching," and to dispose him so favorably to the debate as a means of disseminating truth, that he issued a challenge at the close "to meet any Pedobaptist minister of any denomination and prove that Infant Sprinkling is a human tradition and injurious to the well-being of society, religious and political." The debate was printed and circulated very widely among the Baptists, who felt that they had the best of the argument, and extended the influence and fame of Campbell beyond the reach of his living voice. While some Baptists "remained extremely dubious in regard to the orthodoxy of their champion," others took grateful pride in him, and felt as one Baptist declared, that "he had done more for the Baptists than any man in the West."

In the printing and circulation of the debate, which was frequently heard from at a distance, Campbell discovered the power and usefulness of the press. He determined to make larger use of it as a means of getting his teachings before the Baptist world especially. He felt that the Baptists offered the best opportunity for reformatory work upon biblical principles because "they read the Bible and seemed to care for little else in religion than 'conversion' and 'Bible doctrine.'" He wrote in 1824 as follows: "There is one vast difference, one essential and all-important difference betwixt the Baptist and Pedobaptist views and societies. The Baptist views of the Church of Jesus Christ are constitutionally correct; the Pedobaptist views are unconstitutional." "The Baptist system is capable of being reformed or brought back again to the constitution of the kingdom of heaven; the Pedobaptist cannot."

While he believed that "the Baptist

society had as much liberality in their views, as much of the ancient simplicity of the Christian religion, as much of the spirit of Christianity among them, as was to be found amongst other people"; yet he also believed that "there was in the views and practices of this large and widely extended community, as great need of reformation, and of a restoration of the ancient order of things," "as of any sect in Christendom." To extend more widely and promote more rapidly among the Baptists and all Protestant denominations his reformatory teachings, he established in 1823 a monthly periodical which he called the *Christian Baptist*. He announced in the prospectus that its sole object should be "the eviction of truth, and the exposure of error in doctrine and practice. The editor, acknowledging no standard of religious faith or works other than the Old and New Testaments, and the latter as the only standard of the religion of Jesus Christ, will, intentionally at least, oppose

nothing which it contains, and recommend nothing which it does not enjoin." He dedicated the work "to all those without distinction, who acknowledge the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be a true revelation from God, and the New Testament as containing the religion of Jesus Christ; who, willing to have all religious tenets and practices tried by the Divine Word; and who, feeling themselves in duty bound to search the Scriptures for themselves in all matters of religion—are disposed to reject all doctrine and commandments of men, and to obey the truth, holding fast the faith once delivered to the saints."

The notable thing to be observed in this program of action is the absence of all reference to Christian union. The emphasis now rests upon the principle of scriptural authority and primitive precept and example. The watchword is now reformation not union. The principle of unity

Alexander Campbell as a Baptist 113

has been subordinated to the principle of apostolicity. Even the union of the Brush Run church with the Baptist association was quite as much an expression of devotion to apostolicity as of desire for unity. They made no concession for the sake of the union. The union of the people of God had become a hopeless task and must be postponed until their faith and practice had been squared with the Divine Standard. He did not doubt the validity or the correctness of his method of procedure or his principle of adjustment. Primitive Christianity which was put forth in the *Declaration and Address* as a principle of unity, but left undefined and uncertain, had been undergoing a progressive definition in the terms of a local Christian fellowship in the Brush Run church, and was now to be given still more careful definition and settlement in application to Baptist faith and practice. The results of that definition were the gradual separation and alienation

114 The Disciples of Christ

of the Christian Association, first from Pedobaptist churches and finally from Baptist churches. The more they learned from the Scriptures as to the terms of Christian union and communion, the more difficult it was to enter into union or to maintain union with existing religious bodies. They defined the essential elements of primitive Christianity in the direction of a growing separatism. It proved to be a principle of exclusion and division, rather than a principle of comprehension and union. The series of articles in the pages of the *Christian Baptist* on "The Ancient Order of Things," completed and fixed the definition of Christianity for those who attached themselves to "the new reformation." The essential elements of primitive Christianity were made to consist in "an order of things." They were very careful of the way they did things in the public worship, in the celebration and administration of the ordinances, in the organization

of local churches, and in the propagation of the gospel. In many instances it came very near being a tithing of mint, anise, and cummin, and a neglecting of the weightier matters of the law. Christianity was defined, the terms of Christian communion were fixed, according to the *letter* of Scripture, and the result was a legalistic formalism. The extreme literalism of the teaching of this first period was sure to produce a reaction and to create two parties within the movement, the literal and the spiritual. Campbell himself and the larger part of the body recoiled from this early position in the direction of a more spiritual interpretation of Christianity. The two parties have survived to the present time in the body, with varying degrees of cooperation or strife.

Scarcely three numbers of the *Christian Baptist* had appeared from the press before Alexander Campbell was called upon to engage in a debate with a Presbyterian

preacher of Kentucky. It grew out of the previous debate with Mr. Walker. Campbell's challenge at the close of that debate was accepted by the Rev. W. L. Maccalla, of Washington, Kentucky. He felt that the strongest word for infant baptism on the ground of the identity of the Jewish and Christian covenants, had not been spoken by Mr. Walker. The debate covered the same ground and dealt with the same arguments and counter-arguments as in the previous debate. It was an arrayal of the Baptist against the Pedobaptist position. On this occasion, as on the former, Campbell went as the representative and champion of the Baptist cause, and was received into Baptist churches and homes everywhere throughout Kentucky. He brought with him copies of the *Christian Baptist* which he gave to the Baptist preachers present, warning them in the meantime that he had quite as much against the Baptists as against the Presby-

terians. In this debate he developed at greater length his doctrine of the design of baptism as an argument against infant baptism and said: "The water of baptism, then, *formally* washes away our sins. The blood of Christ *really* washes away our sins. Paul's sins were really pardoned when he believed. Yet he had no solemn pledge of the fact, no formal acquittal, no formal purgation of his sins until he washed them away in the water of baptism." "One argument from this topic is that baptism being ordained to be to a believer, a formal and personal remission of all his sins, cannot be administered to an infant without the greatest perversion and abuse of the nature and import of this ordinance. Indeed, why should an infant that never sinned . . . be baptized for the remission of sins?" Feeling that this doctrine was new to both Baptists and Presbyterians, he said: "My Baptist brethren, as well as the Pedobaptist's brotherhood, I humbly con-

118 The Disciples of Christ

ceive, require to be admonished on this point. You have been, some of you no doubt, too diffident in asserting this grand import of baptism."

True to his promise made in the prospectus of the *Christian Baptist*, in the very first numbers he began a crusade against the errors in doctrine and practice of all the denominations, the Baptists in particular. His program was, first, the destruction of false doctrines and erroneous practices in the denominations that acknowledged allegiance to the Scriptures, and the reduction of their systems to a common agreement, and then would inevitably follow a union of Christians. As expressed by a writer in the *Christian Baptist*: "To attempt union among jarring sects which are established upon different foundations, without the explosion of their foundations, is altogether fruitless." The work of undermining and blowing up the foundations of other people's houses is not a very cordial way of ap-

proaching them, nor likely to be a very successful way of winning their sympathy. There was not a custom, or doctrine, or ceremony maintained by any denomination, which was not tried and tested, squared and measured, by a severely literal application of the text of Scripture. As a consequence there were very few denominational practices for which Campbell found any scriptural authority. The Scriptures nowhere spoke of "missionary societies," "Bible societies," "associations," "synods," "presbyteries," "creeds," "confessions of faith," "clergymen," "bishops," "reverends," "doctors of divinity," and a multitude of other innovations in use in modern Christian society, consequently they should have no place in the church of to-day. He cast them all out upon the ecclesiastical scrap pile. No matter if in the general renovation and house-cleaning some useful and valuable things were thrown out—the work must be thoroughly and finally done. He was

cautioned by Robert Semple, the most eminent Baptist of the time, that there was danger of "running past Jerusalem as one hastens out of Babylon"; but he replied: "We are convinced, that the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint of modern fashionable Christianity—that many of the schemes of the populars resemble the delirium, the wild fancies of a subject of fever, in its highest paroxysms—and that these most fashionable projects deserve no more regard from sober Christians, Christians intelligent in the New Testament, than the vagaries, the febrile flights, of patients in an inflammatory fever." He spoke this of Bible societies, but he included all other agencies for the spread of the gospel which were without the sanction of apostolic example.

He was moved with the spirit of the most furious iconoclasm. Nothing escaped his sarcasm and invective, in the use of which he was an adept. He cared little whether

Alexander Campbell as a Baptist 121

his remedy hurt or not; the disease was malignant, the remedy must be severe. As a consequence, Campbell did not get himself well liked by everybody. One man wrote in 1823: "I request you to send me the *Christian Baptist* no more, my conscience is wounded that I should have subscribed for such a work. It is a religious incendiary and will do a world of mischief." Another wrote: "Your paper is a disorganizer and I doubt not will prove deistical in the end." After sending the paper for some time to the reading rooms of a society at Hamilton Seminary at the request of the students, they wrote saying: "For reasons which we are willing frankly to avow, our society has recently come to the resolution to ask you to discontinue your publication." Spencer Clack, a Baptist minister, wrote to Campbell from Kentucky saying: "Some are for you, others against you; some approve, others censure and condemn; such is the state of affairs; such the effect pro-

duced by your writing. But let me ask, what is the great good which such division will achieve?" Campbell was denounced in public and in private by the Baptists as a "Unitarian," "a Socinian," an "Antinomian," "a Pelagian," and "a Deist"; and where that did not succeed in stirring up prejudice, they said, "he stole a horse," "was excommunicated for drunkenness," and "married his first wife's sister." He had put out in 1826 a revised edition of the New Testament, translated by Campbell, Doddridge and McKnight, and so bitter was the prejudice awakened against it that one man solemnly consigned a copy of it to the flames.

It was a serious question in the minds of many Baptists whether they could conscientiously include Campbell in their fellowship, or whether he could consistently and honestly call himself a Baptist. Concerning this he wrote in the *Christian Baptist* in 1826 as follows: "I and the church with

Alexander Campbell as a Baptist 123

which I am connected are in 'full communion' with the Mahoning Baptist Association of Ohio; and through them with the whole Baptist society in the United States; and I do intend to continue in connection with this people so long as they will permit me to say what I believe, to teach what I am assured of, and to censure what is amiss in their views and practices." When charged with inconsistency in claiming "full fellowship with the whole Baptist society" and yet censuring many of their views and practices, he said: "But what constitutes consistency? In acting conformably to our own professed sentiments and principles; or in acting conformably to the professed sentiments and principles of others?" He was ready to hold Christian communion with any person or group of persons who confessed that Jesus was the Christ, and was baptized as a testimony to it, and lived a blameless Christian life. Nothing more and noth-

ing less than this should constitute the conditions of Christian fellowship. On these terms he received all Baptists into fellowship. The difficulty was not on his side but on their side. They fulfilled all his requirements for communion, but he did not fulfill all their requirements. It was just this more-than-enough for simple Christian fellowship in Baptist requirements, such as the relation of an experience and subscription to a creed, with which he quarrelled. He refused to regard communion with a religious body as implying "an entire approbation of all their views, doctrines and practice, as a society or individuals." His principle was that "unity of opinion is not essential to Christian union."

It was still an unsettled question with him in 1825 whether immersion should be made a test of fellowship among Christians. He said: "I frankly own that my full conviction is that there are many Pedobaptist congregations, of whose Christianity I think

as highly as of most Baptist congregations, and with whom I could wish to be on the very same terms of Christian communion on which I stand with the whole Baptist society." He thought that there were as good scriptural grounds for Baptists and Pedobaptists to eat the Lord's supper together as to have fellowship in other acts of social worship. He was not ready, however, to go the full length of receiving the unimmersed into fellowship. Personally he would receive them, but he could not make his own personal disposition a law for the entire Christian brotherhood. He finally settled into the practice of making immersion a test of fellowship in the local congregation, but not a prerequisite to partaking of the Lord's supper. In this he broke with the Baptist custom of close communion, and settled the practice for all reforming Baptist churches.

The *Christian Baptist* grew rapidly in circulation, especially among Baptists, and

contributed in no small measure, together with his published debates and preaching tours through all parts of the country, in creating a rapidly increasing party in the Baptist denomination which was called "Reformers" or "reforming Baptists," and otherwise stigmatized as "Campbellites" or "Restorationers."

CHAPTER VII

THE REFORMERS AMONG THE BAPTISTS

THERE can be no doubt that Campbell had designs with reference to the Baptist denomination, and that he had reasons for gratification at the increasing success of his propaganda. There appeared from time to time in the columns of the *Christian Baptist* reports of the progress of "the reformation" that were characterized by a note of calm assurance and certainty of triumph. He felt that the Baptists were not living up to their principles and that he was conferring a favor upon them by calling their attention to primitive Christian customs in which they were lacking or from which they were going astray. He felt himself to be their best friend, and that "every well-meant effort to bring them up to the primitive state of the church, as far as Scripture

and reason approbate, ought to be countenanced, aided and abetted by every one that loves the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." Just here was his advantage and the secret of his success among them, that he stood on their ground and was in agreement with them on essential and distinctive Baptist principles. Spencer Clack wrote to him in 1827, saying: "Observe, between you and your Baptist brethren, there is no difference of opinion as to rule of faith and practice. On this subject we all speak the same language; we all acknowledge the same authority; all profess to be governed by it. What then, is the difference between us? Simply this: we cannot agree as to what the Bible teaches. The Baptists think the Bible teaches the doctrine contained in their creeds; you think it teaches what you have written and published, and what you will hereafter write and publish." Campbell was holding up Baptist faith and practice to a strict conformity to apostolic example,

and assumed as an underlying presupposition that the New Testament contained a perfect and complete model of the Christian institution, in faith, life, ordinances, organization and discipline.

He easily persuaded many ministers and laymen among them that his view of the matter was correct. His reformatory teaching first found acceptance in the minds of a few ministers who became centres of agitation in Baptist churches and associations. One of the earliest, and typical of all the rest, was P. S. Fall, the young pastor of the church at Louisville, Kentucky, who first made the acquaintance of Campbell's views by reading the *Christian Baptist* and the *Sermon on the Law*. He began to preach the new doctrines in his Louisville church. Alexander Campbell came to Louisville in 1824 and under the direction of Mr. Fall, made several addresses in the Baptist and Presbyterian churches. So completely was the Baptist church imbued with his ideas

that they repudiated their constitution and creed and adopted the Bible as their only rule of faith and practice and introduced the "ancient order of things" into the organization and worship of the church. At the meeting of the Long Run Association, of which the church was a member, September, 1825, Mr. Fall read the "circular letter" in which he maintained that "the word of God was the only sufficient and perfect rule of faith and practice," against the use of creeds, as was then customary in Baptist churches. The church sent the following queries to the Association for answer: "1. Is there any authority in the New Testament for religious bodies to make human creeds and confessions of faith the constitutions or directories of such bodies in matters of faith and practice?" "2. Is there any authority in the New Testament for associations? If so, what is it? If not, why are they held?" Similar queries, showing the leavening influence of Camp-

bell's ideas, were sent by the churches at Elk Creek and Shelbyville. By such queries the ideas of Campbell were forced upon the attention of entire associations representing many ministers and churches. The letter read by Fall was rejected by the casting vote of the moderator, Geo. Waller, so evenly was the Association divided. A strict Baptist element in the church at Louisville resisted the introduction of the "ancient order," and in 1829, at a stormy meeting, the leader seized the books of the church and cried out, "All who are for the old constitution follow me." About thirty persons withdrew and formed a new church. Two Baptist congregations were thus formed, the one called "Campbellites," the other "Wallerites." A lawsuit over the possession of the property took place in which the Reformers were victorious, though both parties continued to meet in the church at different hours. They retained the name of

“First Baptist Church of Jesus Christ” and membership in the Long Run Association until 1833, when they assumed the name “Church of Christ.” After leaving Louisville, Mr. Fall preached for a time for the Baptist church at Frankfort, where he laid the foundation of a “Reformed Baptist” church, and later became pastor of the Baptist church of Nashville, Tennessee. It was not long before this church introduced the “ancient order,” and refused to become a member of the Concord Association of Baptist churches, unless given perfect freedom with respect to the doctrine and government of the church. When the separation of the Reformers from the Baptists took place, this church stood solidly with the new reformation. Campbell came to Nashville in 1826 for the benefit of his wife’s health and spent several weeks, during which he delivered many sermons and addresses.

John Smith was another Baptist minister

Reformers Among the Baptists 133

of Kentucky who accepted the teachings of Campbell and was instrumental in indoctrinating many Baptist churches and forming new ones upon "the New Testament basis." Though he had heard much of Alexander Campbell, both for and against him, and had read the *Christian Baptist* and his debates, he first met him in 1824. By private conversation and public discourses Campbell removed many religious difficulties from his mind, and after a year of careful study of the Bible he "commenced the advocacy of the Bible as a sufficient rule of faith and practice." In his preaching he was distinguished by the keenness of his logic, the quaintness of his wit and humor, and the earnestness and fervor of his spirit. He was by all odds the most popular and successful of Baptist preachers with the common people. He had little or no school training, but was gifted by nature with mother wit and human sympathy as few men are. He worked his way up from

youth through the bitterest hardships, gave himself to the ministry in the Baptist church, and had thought his way out of the contradictions and blighting spiritual influences of hyper-Calvinism, when he began to read the writings of Campbell. He had felt the practical difficulty of preaching to sinners the doctrine of their utter depravity and moral helplessness without the aid of the Spirit, and then calling upon them to repent and believe the gospel on pain of eternal damnation. It was a moment of deliverance from bondage when his mind swung free from Calvinistic fatalism under the teaching of the New Testament as unfolded by Campbell in the *Christian Baptist*. The doctrine that it was in the power of every sinner to believe that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God, upon the testimony given in the Scriptures concerning him, and that this was saving faith, became the foundation of a new career of evangelism which he inaugurated in 1825. He went every-

where among Baptist churches in Kentucky calling on sinners to repent at once and believe in Jesus Christ, and be immersed for the remission of sins. The regions of his evangelistic activity were for the most part the boundaries of two or three Baptist associations—the North District, Bracken, and Boone's Creek. The greater part of his preaching had been done in four churches of the North District Association. One of these was the church at Lulbegrud, which at the meeting of the Association in 1827 presented charges against certain preachers who had departed from Baptist usage. They were aimed at Smith, who had been unwearied in preaching and baptizing people after "the ancient order of things." Crowds of people came to hear him and he baptized them by the score, sometimes constituting new churches out of the number, which took their places as members of some Baptist association. He was quite as zealous, however, against the old order as he was in favor of the new

136 The Disciples of Christ

order. He said to his wife, as he was summing up the results of a few months' work in 1828: "Nancy, I have *baptized* seven hundred sinners and *capsized* fifteen hundred Baptists." He was so successful in the latter activity among the Baptists of the North District Association that out of twenty-six churches composing it, eighteen stood on the side of the reformation when the division came. As an illustration of his dramatic and convincing methods, the following incident is related concerning him: A methodist minister had been seen to baptize a struggling, crying infant in the place where he was holding a meeting. The next day when Smith was baptizing some persons in a stream, he saw the minister in the crowd. He walked up and seized him by the arm and drew him towards the water—"What are you going to do, Mr. Smith?" said the preacher. "I am going to baptize you, sir." "But I do not wish to be baptized." "Do you not believe?" said Smith.

“Certainly I do.” “Then come along, sir, believers must be baptized.” “But I am not willing to go,” said the Methodist. “It certainly would do me no good to be baptized against my will.” “Did you not, but yesterday, baptize a helpless babe against its will?” Turning to the audience Smith said: “But friends, let me know if he ever again baptizes others without their full consent; for you yourselves have heard him declare that such a baptism cannot possibly do any good.”

In the districts covered by his preaching were many churches of the “New Lights” or “Stoneites,” the followers of Barton W. Stone, whose acquaintance and friendship he was zealous in cultivating, much to the scandal of his Baptist brethren. He was later to be one of the most diligent and successful promoters of the union between the “Disciples” and “Christians” or “Stoneites” in Kentucky.

There were many other able and influ-

ential Baptist preachers in Kentucky who gave themselves to the dissemination of Campbell's views, such as Jeremiah Varde-man, who was said to have baptized more persons than any other preacher in Kentucky; Jacob Creath, Sr., who was pronounced by Henry Clay to be "the finest natural orator" he had ever heard; J. T. Johnson, who was educated for a lawyer, but became a preacher, converted hundreds of persons in protracted meetings, in many of the central and southern states, and was active in promoting the union between the followers of Stone and Campbell.

The most rapid and sweeping success of the new reformation took place in the Baptist churches of the Mahoning Association in eastern Ohio, near Mr. Campbell's home. From the time of the preaching of the *Sermon on the Law* in 1816 before the Redstone Association, the enemies of Campbell were industriously working against him and planning to oust him as soon as they could

Reformers Among the Baptists 139

command a majority of the messengers of the Association. This did not seem imminent until 1823; and to defeat their plans, Campbell asked for letters for himself and wife and thirty others from the Brush Run church to form a new church in Charlestown or Wellsburg, as it began to be called. He had made the acquaintance of several preachers of the Mahoning Association, who had frequently urged him to be present at its meetings. The members of this Association were more favorably disposed towards him, were less rigidly bound by creeds and Baptist usages, and gladly welcomed the new church at Wellsburg into its fellowship. The preachers of the Association who came under the influence of Campbell, were Adamson Bentley, Sidney Rigdon, Jacob Osborne, Joseph Freeman, Marcus Bosworth, and others. They had carried on the work of reformation among the churches before Alexander Campbell appeared among them as a delegate from

the Wellsburg church in 1825. At the meeting of the Association in 1824 the following questions were presented from the church at Nelson: "1. Will this Association hold in its connection a church which acknowledges no other rule of faith and practice than the Scriptures?" "2. In what manner were members received into the churches that were set in order by the apostles?" "3. How were members excluded from those churches?" These questions indicate that the *Christian Baptist* had been circulating among the churches. Questions presented from other churches bore the same import. The church at Nelson passed a resolution in 1824, "to remove the Philadelphia Confession of Faith and the church articles, and to take the word of God for their rule of faith and practice." A minority objected and organized another church, and both churches sent messengers to the Association the next year.

At the meeting of the Association in

August, 1827, at New Lisbon, Ohio, the following petition was presented from the Braceville church: "We wish that this Association may take into serious consideration the peculiar situation of the churches of the Association, and if it would be a possible thing for an evangelical preacher to be employed to travel and teach among the churches, we think that a blessing would follow." The suggestion met with the approval of the members and Walter Scott of Steubenville, Ohio, was appointed as evangelist. Alexander Campbell had gone by way of Scott's home and had brought him to the meeting. The importance of the career and influence of this man upon the character of the movement is second only to that of Campbell himself. The creators and leaders of the movement are usually listed as follows: Thomas Campbell, Alexander Campbell, Barton W. Stone, and Walter Scott. The latter was born in Scotland in 1796; was educated at the University

142 The Disciples of Christ

of Edinburgh; came to America in 1818, and settled in Pittsburg. Through the influence of a Mr. Forrester, a teacher and preacher, who took the Bible as his only authority and guide in matters of faith and practice, Mr. Scott was led to study the Scriptures with reference to the subject of infant baptism. He came to the conclusion that it had no sanction in the word of God, and that the immersion of a believer was the true scriptural practice. He was immersed and became associated with Mr. Forrester in the work of teaching, and in charge of the small company of immersed believers gathered together by Mr. Forrester. Upon the sudden death of Mr. Forrester, he assumed oversight of the church. His study of the New Testament and his reading of the works of John Locke, brought him to the conviction that the central truth of Christianity was the messiahship of Jesus, and that the confession, "Jesus is the Christ," was the sole article of faith in the

creed of the primitive church. He had come to his religious position before he met Alexander Campbell, who came to Pittsburg in 1821 on a visit to his father. This led to a mutual acquaintance and a subsequent cooperation between the three men in the work of "reforming the Christian profession." Scott and Campbell were in perfect accord in their religious principles, and formed a personal and intimate friendship which lasted through life. They consulted together in the establishment of the *Christian Baptist* and in the first number appeared an article by Scott, "On Teaching Christianity," in which he said: "Times out of number we are told in Scripture that the grand saving truth is that Jesus is the Christ. This is the bond of union among Christians—the essence—the spirit of all revelation." This was Scott's contribution, *par excellence*, to the principles of the new reformation. The two men influenced each other in the clearer grasp of New Testa-

144 The Disciples of Christ

ment teaching, each contributing to the other his body of newly discovered truth.

It was this man who was chosen in 1827 to go among the Baptist churches of the Mahoning Association to preach "the ancient gospel" and to restore "the ancient order of things." By this time he had fully settled in his mind the "authorized plan of teaching the Christian religion," and of bringing men into the church. This may be said to have been a specialty with him, and now he was to have his first great opportunity of putting it into practice. His first step was (1) *faith*. The sole aim of the preacher should be to awaken faith in the unbeliever towards Jesus as the Son of God. Faith being the result of testimony, the preacher must proclaim the evidences of the messiahship as recorded in the four Gospels. This gave him an opportunity to contrast the prevailing Calvinistic doctrine of saving faith with the new doctrine. Instead of pleading with God to be merciful

to the sinner and grant him saving faith, the preacher pleaded with the sinner to accept the testimony God had given of his Son in the Scriptures. In this connection the metaphysical creeds of the churches which were imposed on the faith of men as a condition of peace with God and fellowship with his Son, were held up for ridicule and dissection, and were denounced as causes of division and strife among Christians. This gave him a chance to preach his doctrine of Christian union upon the basis of primitive Christianity. The next step was to call upon sinners to (2) *repent*. The emphasis was upon immediate and voluntary repentance, in contrast with the repentance of Calvinism which depended upon the disposition and choice of God. The sinner could not repent until God chose to grant it, or to intimate the sinner's election by some sign. The next step was to call upon the sinner to make a (3) *confession*. That confession was submitted in the

146 The Disciples of Christ

words of Peter's confession: "Do you believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God?" No other test or requirement was exacted. They were then told to submit to the ordinance of (4) *baptism*. He appealed to the example and precept of apostolic conversions. This gave him an opportunity to set forth the New Testament form and doctrine of baptism as he understood it. The form was immersion, the doctrine was, "for the remission of sins." The great text was the instruction of Peter to the multitude on the day of Pentecost. They were then taught to expect (5) *the gift of the Holy Spirit*. The Spirit did his work upon the sinner through the revealed and accredited testimony, but after baptism he was the personal guest and comforter of the believer. This was the "ancient gospel," the discovery and first preaching of which are accredited to Walter Scott.

This was the substance of the sermons Walter Scott preached among the Baptists.

To say that it thrilled some and shocked others, would be putting it mildly. It had never been heard on that wise before. To the sinner, troubled with fears and doubts of his election, denied all supernatural tokens of his acceptance with God, agonizing in prayer for saving faith and the guiding power of the Holy Spirit, it came as a welcome and peace-bringing evangel. To staid Calvinistic Baptists who had found peace and acceptance with God in the old way, it was shocking. It was only after a great struggle that Scott got himself to the point of putting it in practice. He believed it was done that way in apostolic times, why would it not work to-day? The first place he tried it was in the Baptist church at New Lisbon, Ohio. It worked, for the first person to respond to the appeal was the most eminent and influential member of the Presbyterian church. This man had once said to his wife: "When I find any person preaching as did the apostle Peter in

the second chapter of Acts, I shall offer myself for obedience and go with him." He found that person in Walter Scott. Within a few days seventeen persons "believed and were baptized." The church and entire community were aroused. He went from one town to another repeating the same message and meeting with the same results. At the close of the first year of work the Association met at Warren, Ohio. The result of his work was the conversion of nearly one thousand persons. The total membership of the sixteen churches comprising the Association the year before was scarcely five hundred. The success of the "ancient gospel" this first year under Scott completely transformed the Association, and in 1830, at the meeting at Austintown, it was voluntarily dissolved in its Baptist form and met ever after as a "yearly meeting" for fellowship and acquaintance.

Commingled in the message of these Reformers were a proselytism and an evangel-

Reformers Among the Baptists 149

ism. To many members of Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist churches it came as a new gospel, and they were unable to tell whether it was the correction and enlightenment of their views of religion, or the stirring of their moral natures, which won them. In the stream which flowed into the rapidly filling ranks of "reforming churches" were both sinners and church members. The success was unprecedented. Through Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky the movement spread with rapidity among Baptist churches; while there are not wanting records of the capture of entire Methodist or other Protestant churches, as in the case of the Methodist church at Deerfield, Ohio.

The secret of such success lay first of all in their appeal to the simple teaching of Scripture. Every one was able to open his Bible and apply the motto, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we are silent." It was a democratic

movement, founded upon the right and the ability of every person to interpret the Scriptures for himself, and upon the desire of every person to have a voice in the management of his religious heritage. It may be said that the movement gave to the people in religion what they had obtained in the state, "a government of the people, for the people, and by the people." They took the government of the church and the interpretation of the Scriptures out of the hands of the clergy and councils, and put them into the hands of the people. The destruction of "the rule of the clergy" was an oft repeated phrase and a fixed ideal of the Reformers. The people were pleased and followed them.

The message met the religious needs of the time, just as the message of Lyman Beecher and Charles G. Finney, and on the same ground. They all preached the doctrine of "free agency and the sinner's immediate duty to repent." The background

Reformers Among the Baptists 151

of the movement was the dark, benumbing fatalism of Calvinistic theology. But neither Beecher nor Finney had grasped the clear and simple "plan of salvation" as set forth in the sermons of such men as Barton W. Stone, Walter Scott and John Smith. Over against the perplexing supernaturalism and mysticism of the theological preaching of the time, was set the plain instruction of those pentecostal preachers—"repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, unto the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit." As illustrating the practical working of their method, the following incident is told of John Whitacre: On one occasion in a meeting, among several at the altar praying for divine power to come down, was a lady of intelligence. "When she ceased, Whitacre spoke to her: 'Madam,' said he, 'what would you give for faith in Mahomet?' 'Nothing,' was her somewhat indignant reply. 'Why not?' he continued.

‘Because I believe him to be an impostor.’
‘But why are you so anxious for faith in Jesus Christ?’ ‘Because I believe he is my only Saviour.’ ‘Well,’ said Whitacre, ‘why are you praying for that which you say you have? Why not go forward and obey the gospel and be made free from sin?’”
Such intelligible instructions to sinners, perplexed and mystified by Calvinistic teaching, came as lights in the deepest darkness. It is notable that the great leaders and preachers of the movement came up under Presbyterianism and broke with it either on account of its government or its theology.

Not less appealing was their message of unity and fraternity among warring, competing sects. Their vision of a united church upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ himself as the chief corner stone, may have been Utopian, but it was beautiful and alluring, and gave to the people, sickened with the pettiness of sectarian differences, a noble ideal to

Reformers Among the Baptists 153

work for. In spite of the incongruity of its setting many times, and the inconsistency of its advocates, the doctrine of Christian union was felt to be providential.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SEPARATION OF THE REFORMERS FROM THE BAPTISTS

THE Baptists had many reasons for holding the new reformation in doubt. Its advocates were often intemperate in their use of language and inconsiderate in their use of means against what they believed were erroneous beliefs and customs in Baptist churches. They were indifferent to the consequences of changes they were seeking to bring about in the Baptist order. It was the privilege of every person to apply the principle, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we are silent," and many of the Reformers seemed to vie with each other in the number of novel and absurd changes they could introduce.

The principle had both a positive and a

The Separation of the Reformers 155

negative application. It was with respect to the "order of things" in the primitive church that they were chiefly concerned. It was a simpler task to put into practice the ritual precepts and examples of the New Testament than its ethical and spiritual precepts and examples. They were not oblivious of the fact that the New Testament taught a "spirit of things" as well as an "order of things" but they joined issue upon the order. They found that the Scriptures not only spoke of the Lord's supper as being celebrated on the first day of the week, and of baptism as an immersion or burial in water, and of deacons and elders as constituting the official organization of the local church, and of reception of persons into the church upon a confession of their faith and baptism—all of which they put into practice; but they also found that the Scriptures spoke of the holy kiss, of feet washing, of mutual exhortation in public meetings, of the "amen" at the close of prayer,

of eating the Lord's supper in the evening, of baptism in streams of water, of kneeling in prayer, of a community of goods, of the silence of women in churches—all of which were tried in various churches in the beginning, but never with the approval of the leaders. These things were regarded as "the circumstantialia of Christian worship," which should be treated with freedom and forbearance. The Baptists, however, could not tell where the principle would lead them, for it was capable of endless application and experiment. The churches had not found a common level of belief and practice. They were passing through the experimental stage. While each church was perfectly free and independent, yet there was one master mind, one controlling genius, who was leading them. He spoke through the pages of the *Christian Baptist*. The mind and personality of Alexander Campbell dominated the entire movement. After he had spoken there was no

The Separation of the Reformers 157

use for any one else to speak. Through his writings and suggestions in the *Christian Baptist* he regulated and controlled the conduct of all the preachers and churches. He introduced the widely separated congregations of Reformers to each other, and was the connecting link that bound them together.

But these Reformers respected the "silence of Scripture" quite as much as the "speech of Scripture." This plunged them into extravagances and extremes in the other direction, much to the annoyance and alarm of the Baptists. Where there was not a "Thus saith the Lord" *for* a Baptist belief or usage, there was ready a "Thus saith the Reformer" *against* it, and the Scriptures were made to speak quite as loudly against some things as for other things. One after another the cherished customs and institutions of the Baptist order were swept away, as having no sanction in the word of God, and there was no telling what would go next. There was no pre-

158 The Disciples of Christ

cept or example in the New Testament for the use of creeds as bonds of fellowship, or for the examination of converts as to their Christian experience, or for ministerial calls, clerical authority, associations of churches, missionary societies, Bible societies, tract societies or Sunday-schools. Wherever the new reformation prevailed all these things were done away. No wonder it looked like disorganization and anarchy to a Baptist who was not captivated by it. What response but opposition could be expected on the part of a strong, established, and respectable body, such as the Baptist denomination, to the inroads of such lawlessness? Whether in the majority or the minority the faithful among the Baptists stood up in defense of their system. The leading Baptist papers of the country, such as the *Western Luminary*, the *Western Recorder*, the *Pittsburg Recorder*, *Columbian Star*, and the *New York Baptist Register*, entered the controversy against Campbell.

The Separation of the Reformers 159

The appearance of his teachings in local churches was the signal for opposition and strife which usually ended in division. Such inquiries as the following began to come from the churches to the associations: "What must a church do with her preacher who has embraced Campbellism?" The association replied: "As we know not what Campbellism is, we cannot tell her what to do." There were many divisions in churches between the Reformers and Baptists from 1824 to 1828; as at Nelson, Ohio, in 1824, and at Salem, Ohio, in 1828; but these resulted in merely local estrangement between two parties, each of which established a church of its own. Such divisions were not long in finding their way into associations. Both parties usually claimed to be the original Baptist church of the place, and sent messengers to the association. The recognition of one party or the other was sure to divide the association. It was the beginning of the end of relation-

ship between Baptists and Reformers when associations began to divide, and pass resolutions against "Campbellism."

The first association to take definite action against the Reformers was the Redstone of Pennsylvania. A rule had been passed by the Association requiring the churches to mention the Philadelphia Confession in their letters, as a condition of representation in its meetings. In 1825 several churches failed to mention the Confession and their messengers were denied a seat. In 1826, by a reduction of representation in the Association, the opponents of the Reformers organized it out of ten churches and cut off thirteen other churches. These churches cut off from the Association met in November the same year and organized a new association under the name, "The Washington Association." This action was followed by the Beaver Association of Pennsylvania in 1829, and in a series of resolutions it disfellowshipped the Mahoning Association of

The Separation of the Reformers 161

Ohio, for “disbelieving and denying many of the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures.” This Association had come completely under the influence of Mr. Campbell and was going on under the leadership of Walter Scott, triumphantly “restoring the ancient order of things.” The Beaver resolutions were as follows:

“1. They, the Reformers, maintain that there is no promise of salvation without baptism.

“2. That baptism should be administered to all who say they believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, without examination on any other point.

“3. That there is no direct operation of the Holy Spirit on the mind prior to baptism.

“4. That baptism procures the remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit.

“5. That the Scriptures are the only evidence of interest in Christ.

“6. That obedience places it in God’s power to elect to salvation.

“7. That no creed is necessary for the church but the Scriptures as they stand. And

“8. That all baptized persons have the right to administer the ordinance of baptism.”

These resolutions were scattered widely among other Baptist associations, and their boldness gave courage to many who had been waiting for the signal of attack. The Franklin Association of Kentucky passed them without change and warned all the churches against the errors of the Mahoning Association. In June, 1830, Tate's Creek Association excluded the Reformers, passed the Beaver resolutions, and added four more as follows:

“9. That there is no special call to the ministry.

“10. That the law given by God to Moses is abolished.

“11. That experimental religion is enthusiasm. And

The Separation of the Reformers 163

“12. That there is no mystery in the Scriptures.”

They named six preachers in the Association who were accused of these heresies, by which, they said, “We have seen associations thrown into commotion, churches divided, neighbor made to speak evil of neighbor, brother arrayed against brother, the father against the son, and the daughter against the mother.” This action was taken by ten out of the twenty-six churches composing the Association, the other sixteen having introduced the reformation. Nearly all the associations of Kentucky took some action with reference to “Campbellism” before the close of 1830, so that the line was pretty sharply drawn between Baptists and Reformers. This was true of Elkhorn, Bracken, Boone’s Creek, North District, Union, Campbell County, Russell Creek, South Concord, and others.

The action against the Reformers spread to Virginia and was led there by two of the

most eminent Baptists of the time, Robert Semple and Andrew Broaddus. After passing the resolutions of the Beaver Association, the Appomattox Association at its meeting in 1830, passed the following recommendations:

“1. Resolved, that it be recommended to all the churches composing this Association, to discountenance the writings of Alexander Campbell.

“2. Resolved, etc., not to countenance the new translation of the New Testament.

“3. Resolved, etc., not to invite into their pulpit any minister who holds the sentiments in the Beaver anathema.”

The most significant and influential action was taken by the Dover Association which included in its membership the churches of Richmond and vicinity, and such men as Semple and Broaddus. A very long list of the errors and heresies of Campbell was drawn up and passed by the Association in December, 1830. It was called out of the

The Separation of the Reformers 165

regular time, the Reformers being omitted, for the purpose of initiating some action against persons in the Association who were preaching "Campbellism." After passing the Association the resolutions were referred to the churches. When they came before Semple's church they were defeated, though both Semple and Broaddus were present. In 1832 the Association withdrew fellowship from six ministers who had "adopted the name of Reformers."

The darkness of the time for Baptist churches in the regions touched by the propaganda was voiced in many sets of resolutions and gloomy reports. The Dover Association at the close of its resolutions recommended to the churches "the observation of a day of solemn humiliation, with fasting and prayer, with reference to the state of religion, and the distress which had given rise to the meeting." The circular letter of the Bracken Association in Kentucky in 1830, begins as follows: "Dear

166 The Disciples of Christ

Brethren:—In addressing you at this time, we lament to have to say that a dark and gloomy cloud overspreads our horizon unequalled since the establishment of the Baptist society in Kentucky. Associations and churches are dividing and of course peace and harmony have departed.” A very comprehensive account of the state of affairs in Tennessee, from the pen of Mr. McConnico, appeared in 1830. It reads as follows: “My beloved brethren:—Campbellism has carried away many whom I thought firm. These wandering stars and clouds without water ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, make proselytes much more the children of the devil than they were before. O Lord! hear the cries and see the tears of the Baptists; for Alexander hath done them much harm. The Lord reward him according to his works. Look at the Creaths of Kentucky. Look at Anderson, Craig, and Hopwood, of Tennessee. See them

The Separation of the Reformers 167

dividing churches and spreading discord, and constituting churches out of excommunicated members. Such shuffling—such lying—such slandering—such evil speaking—such dissembling—such downright hypocrisy—and all under the false name of reformation.” “They have made divisions in Cool Spring church.” “The Association pronounced the old party the church, and excluded Anderson, Craig, and all who had gone off with them.” “These were a large minority—they say the majority.” “At Lepres Fork church a small party have gone over to Campbellism.” “At Big Harpeth church, where I lived and served thirty-two years, ten or twelve members have left us.” “At Nashville, P. S. Fall, native of England, and Campbell’s best friend, has led off most of that church which was a member of Cumberland Association.” “On Saturday before the first Lord’s day in September, Willis Hopwood, as is expected, will be excluded and per-

168 The Disciples of Christ

haps most of Liberty church will follow him." "Robertson's Fork church, Giles county, will divide, and probably a number will follow Hopwood." "Zion church, Bedford County, I fear, will suffer much from the same new ancient gospel." "Other churches may have some partial sifting." "The calf, too, is set up in Alabama."

A similar account could be written of the majority of Baptist churches in Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and Virginia. Very few escaped the influences of the reformation in these districts. As soon as the Baptists had made up their minds that no good would come to their order from the toleration of this new system, that it meant the overturning of customs and beliefs which had made them what they were, a definite policy of resistance towards the Reformers was adopted. They were given no choice between rejection of "Campbellism" and separation from their Baptist

The Separation of the Reformers 169

brethren. The reformation took them by surprise at first. There were many unmistakably true things in it, and if it could only be restrained within proper bounds, the Baptists thought they could tolerate it. But under success the Reformers grew bold and confident, and under restraint they grew defiant. They felt that they had the truth and that the Baptists needed it; and like a child refusing bitter medicine for its malady, so the Baptists were resisting the truth of the Reformers—the less they liked it, the more they needed it.

At the bottom of the conflict lay two classes of differences, doctrinal and practical. The doctrinal differences consisted of disagreement as to (1) *the relative authority of the Old Covenant and the New*. Campbell denied that the Old had any binding obligation on the Christian. Its abrogation seemed to the Baptist a form of antinomianism, if not irreverence. They differed in their (2) *doctrine of baptism*.

Campbell taught that baptism was in some way connected with the remission of sins; and that as far as he could understand New Testament teaching and apostolic practice, baptism should precede entrance into the church or the fellowship of Christian people. He did not give baptism alone regenerating efficacy, but in connection with faith and repentance, it constituted the process of regeneration or conversion. To the Baptists this view made too much of baptism and constituted it a direct means of salvation. In practice both Baptists and Reformers insisted upon it, but in theory they held it differently. They also differed in their view of (3) *the operation of the Holy Spirit in conversion*. Campbell taught that he operated on the sinner indirectly through the Word of God, the testimony of the Spirit; the Baptists believed that he operated directly upon the sinner, through a direct, physical impact upon his heart and conscience while he was still dead in trespasses

The Separation of the Reformers 171

and in sins. Both held that the Spirit dwelt in the heart of the believer as his personal guide and comforter. They differed as to his method in constituting one a believer. The Baptists taught that the sinner had need of the Spirit in producing faith and quickening the spiritual life, while the Reformers taught that faith was a faculty already possessed by the human mind, and was awakened towards Jesus Christ by the submission of testimony to his messiahship out of the Scriptures.

They differed also in many practices. As to the (1) *value and use of creeds*. The Reformers believed that they were both unnecessary and unscriptural, and the cause of strife and division among Christians. The Baptists used them and believed that they were necessary to keep error out of the church and as convenient summaries of the essential doctrines of the Christian faith. They differed in the (2) *method of receiving persons into the church*. The Reformers

baptized a person upon the confession of his faith in the messiahship of Jesus, and received him without further test into the church. The Baptists required an examination of the person before the officers or the entire church, the relation of an experience which should be acceptable as evidence of a change of heart, and by vote of the congregation admitted him to baptism. The Reformer's haste seemed loose and dangerous to the Baptists, who by inheritance from the past were careful to guard the church from unregenerate persons. They differed in the (3) *administration of baptism*. The Reformers held that baptism could be validly administered by any believing Christian; the Baptists required the offices of an ordained minister. In (4) *the observance of the Lord's supper*, the Reformers celebrated it every Sunday, the Baptists only monthly or quarterly. The Reformers held that, in (5) *the call to the ministry*, the fitness of the person, both morally and intellectually, con-

The Separation of the Reformers 173

stituted the call; while the Baptists insisted upon a supernatural summons attested by some spiritual or physical sign. Other differences existed, but these are the ones that were the chief causes of conflict, and made their appearance the most frequently.

In spite of the differences with the Baptists the Reformers were determined to stay with them, partly because of old associations, and partly because they were conscientiously opposed to divisions. Alexander Campbell had said in 1826: "I and the church with which I am connected are in full communion with the Mahoning Baptist Association of Ohio; and through them with the whole Baptist society in the United States; and I do intend to continue in connection with this people so long as they will permit me to say what I believe, to teach what I am assured of, and to censure what is amiss in their views and practices. I have no idea of adding to the catalogue of new sects. This game has been played too

long." He looked upon separation from the Baptists as equivalent to the formation of a new sect. A Baptist said to John Smith: "Why is it that you Reformers do not leave us? Go off quietly now and let us alone." "We love you too well for that," replied Smith. "My brother Jonathan once tried to swap horses with an Irishman, but put, perhaps, too great a price on his horse. The Irishman declined to trade, and by way of apology said: 'It would be a great pity, Mr. Smith, to part you and your horse, for you do seem to think so very much of him.' So we feel towards you Baptist brethren." Each party accused the other of being the cause of the divisions and distresses, but each felt justified in maintaining its position against the other unchanged. The Baptists were sure that so old, well tried, and successful a system as theirs, could not be far wrong; while the Reformers were sure that their system was just a little older, for it went back to

The Separation of the Reformers 175

the very beginning, and “started where the apostles left off.” To the degree that the Reformers urged the Baptists to give up their creeds, their doctrines, and human inventions, to that degree they held on to them and discovered new reasons for holding on. In this controversy as in most controversies, where there is truth and honesty on both sides, and error and prejudice on both sides, it is difficult, if not impossible, to say which side should surrender. In this, as always, it was fought out to the bitter end. Since that time the Baptists have given up their creeds, have modified their Calvinism, their requirements of an examination and experience for membership in the church, and have reduced the authority of associations; while the Reformers as “Disciples of Christ” have given up their opposition to missionary, Bible, and tract societies, salaried clergy, association of churches, have recoiled from the literalism of the authority of primitive pre-

176 The Disciples of Christ

cept and example, and above all have sweetened in spirit towards those that differ from them. Such modifications and moderations did not seem possible to the parties in the midst of the conflict.

CHAPTER IX

THE UNION OF REFORMERS AS DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

It is apparent by the year 1830 that a new period has dawned in the movement for the union of all Christians by the restoration of primitive Christianity. The Baptists have declined to lend their organization to the purposes of the "Restorationers" and have thrust them out into a separate existence. There are scattered through Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Virginia, larger or smaller groups of persons called "Reformers" or nicknamed "Campbellites," composing a religious community of twenty or thirty thousand.

It must not be forgotten that the movement was for the most part a propaganda among Baptist churches from 1813 to 1830. We shall look in vain for any wide diffusion of the "ancient order of things," out-

178 The Disciples of Christ

side of Baptist churches or in regions not covered by them. The movement travelled most rapidly over the way prepared for it by the diffusion of Baptist principles and societies. The people who became Reformers were first of all Baptists. The separation was against their choice and seemed without reason when they agreed with their Baptist brethren in the majority of fundamental Christian doctrines, such as the authority of Scripture, the divinity of Christ, justification by faith, the atonement, and the forgiveness of sins. It was impossible for them entirely to shake off their Baptist proclivities and inheritances, or to cut all the ligaments which bound the new body to its mother. The mother could not disown the child, and the child could not deny the mother, so striking were the resemblances between them. Many churches of Reformers were separated with the expectation of continuing as Baptist churches. They could scarcely be-

lieve that it was the end of fellowship with the Baptists until the crisis came in a general separation in 1829-30. Cut off in one place, they entered into fellowship with Baptists in another and felt themselves in the larger fellowship of the entire body. It was some time before and only by degrees that the Baptists convinced the Reformers that they would have to go alone. In some places Baptist churches admitted Reforming preachers to their pulpits, while in other places they were debarred. By 1832 the Reforming element was practically eliminated from the Baptist churches, and wherever their preachers went they were obliged to seek a new opening and to establish a new society, if their converts desired Christian fellowship. Hitherto the Baptist churches had profited by the recruits of Reforming preachers.

That the process of separation was not a painless one is evidenced by the violent

closing of church doors against Reforming preachers, the many estrangements between lifelong friends, and the many legal contests over the ownership of church property. Very often the property of a Baptist church passed over to the Reformers without contest, as at Warren and Hubbard, Ohio. But besides these various material inheritances, the Reformers took with them the remnants and forms of Baptist organization. In this way they got their start in the new world into which they were thrust. Fragments of local churches that were cut off, simply changed their places of meeting and went on. The same was true of associations. When the Mahoning Association of Ohio was dissolved in 1830, though Alexander Campbell was present and used his influence against the action, yet he could not stem the tide that was setting against all forms of institutional authority or control in religious matters, and he reluctantly consented

to its transformation into a "Yearly Meeting" for edification and mutual acquaintance. When the Reforming churches of North District were disfellowshipped in 1829, they met under their Baptist constitution in 1830, and again in 1831; but at the last meeting the Association was dissolved to meet at Sharpsburg the following year, "and there communicate with one another, either by letter or otherwise, information respecting the progress and affairs of each church."

The Reformers of different neighboring Baptist associations, conscious of their sympathy with each other, began to hold separate meetings, from which were omitted those known to be out of sympathy with them. Such a meeting was held at Mount Zion, Clark County, Kentucky, in October, 1829. In 1830 a notice was sent out calling a meeting of those friendly to the reformation, under the name of "Baptist Reformers," to be held at Mayslick,

Kentucky. This meeting was attended by Campbell. Such meetings grew more common after 1830, and were the earliest form of association of Reformers. Every element of authority or control over either persons or churches was eliminated from them, and they amounted to little more than meetings for worship, instruction, and acquaintance. Since nothing was undertaken by them in the way of missionary or evangelistic work, it was inevitable that people would lose interest in them, until they passed away, to be succeeded later, in the period of organized missionary effort, by the "convention" system. Campbell deprecated the loss of cooperation and urged some form of organization to take the place of the old Baptist associations. The Reformers were indifferent to it, or were occupied in the work of propagandism, to the exclusion of every other interest. The thing that bound them together was the common devotion to the

restoration of the "ancient order" and the proclamation of the "ancient gospel." Every preacher was a missionary of this new crusade.

The Reformers were now confronted by all the difficulties and problems that lay before the setting up of independent ecclesiastical housekeeping. They had nobody to please but themselves, and they alone were responsible for failures or successes. That a new era had dawned was apparent to Alexander Campbell. He recognized that his teaching had created a party, which had begun to be designated by various distinguishing names, as "Reformers," "Restorationers," "Campbellites," and "Christian Baptists"; and for fear that the last name might cling to them, he decided to terminate the publication of the *Christian Baptist* in 1830. It was to be succeeded by a publication with a broader scope and a different spirit, and was to be called the *Millennial Harbinger*. He felt that the

Christian Baptist had served the purpose for which it was established, but that new conditions had arisen which called for another method. He regretted many things that had appeared in the *Baptist*, on account of their harshness and severity, but he felt that "desperate diseases require desperate remedies." He began to caution writers for the *Harbinger* to preserve a spirit of mildness and meekness and went so far as to decline to publish some articles sent in by Reformers because "they were at least seven years after date," and admonished them "to reform as the reformation progresses; and if there be any flagellating or scalping to do, let it be reserved for capital offenses." There was present in the first articles of the new periodical the consciousness of a new task with new duties and responsibilities. It was no longer the task of destroying the old and uprooting the false, but of establishing the new, of guiding and developing an unorganized community into

cooperation for service. The *Harbinger* became the agency for its welding together.

One of the first problems to concern them was the *name* they should wear. The question had been discussed from the early days of the *Christian Baptist*. The choice lay between two New Testament designations for the people of God, "Christians" and "Disciples of Christ." The former name had been taken by the followers of Stone, and was thought by Campbell to have become a sectarian badge because of the heretical teachings attributed to them. For this reason he preferred the name Disciples of Christ, as one that could be worn by all Christians, without carrying with it any sectarian distinction or assumption of superiority. Both names came into use by the Reformers, the name Christian preferably by those who came under the influence of Stone, and the name Disciple of Christ by Alexander Campbell and those who came under his influence. As a matter of course

they came to repudiate the name Reforming Baptists, or Campbellites, or Restorationers, and every other name without New Testament sanction. A part of their testimony against other religious bodies was their use of names to distinguish them as followers of great theological teachers or party leaders, such as Lutheran or Wesleyan; or to call attention to some peculiarity of faith or practice, such as Methodist, Presbyterian, or Baptist. They opposed them on the ground that they were both unscriptural, unnecessary, and divisive in their tendencies.

The question of supply of ministers for the new churches created by the separation from the Baptists, seems to have solved itself, as no measure was adopted to enlist men in the service of the Reformers. Enough preachers from the Baptists and other religious bodies joined the Reformers to provide for the pastoral needs of the new congregations. Very few of them had set-

bled pastors. The missionary spirit of the preachers and the evangelistic cast of their preaching, as well as the smallness of the congregations, made them by choice and necessity itinerant preachers. With such low requirements for entrance upon the ministry, and with such a simple, clear-cut message to proclaim, it was not difficult to enlist or find men of sufficient preparation to go out and win converts. Learning was held in low esteem and was not considered necessary for the exposition of the Bible, the preacher's text-book, which was capable of neither a double nor a doubtful meaning in its vital parts. Most of the communities into which the preachers went did not require a high degree of learning. Piety, mother-wit, and a ready tongue were far more important than the contributions of the schools. The first school that was established to supply a ministry for the Disciples was not opened until 1840. It was founded by Alexander Campbell and

188 The Disciples of Christ

called "Bethany College." Without preparation of any sort, from the farm and the shop, scores of young men went out to preach the "ancient gospel." Among such were John Henry, who was born in 1797, and died in 1844. He learned to play on nine kinds of instruments in his youth, was brought into the church by Adamson Bentley at thirty years of age, started out to preach from the farm where he had spent most of his life, and became one of the most powerful and eloquent masters of religious assemblies among the Disciples. He and Alexander Campbell were to speak at the same meeting. He spoke first and many who did not know either of the speakers supposed it was Campbell. After Campbell had spoken some time at the close of Henry's sermon many of the hearers said: "We wish that man would sit down and let Campbell get up, for he knows how to preach." His ministry was spent chiefly in Ohio. Another Ohio man was William

The Union of Reformers 189

Hayden, who was born in 1799 and died in 1863. He was without education, became a Baptist, passed from the farm to the pulpit, and of him Walter Scott said to the Mahoning Association in 1828: "Brethren, give me my Bible, my head and William Hayden, and we will go out and convert the world." He became singing evangelist to Scott "and during a ministry of thirty-five years he travelled ninety thousand miles, fully sixty thousand of which he made on horseback. . . . The baptisms by his own hands were twelve hundred and seven. He preached over nine thousand sermons." There were many other preachers of lesser talent and influence whose educational opportunities were as limited as those of Henry and Hayden.

Of a somewhat different type was David S. Burnet, who was born at Dayton, Ohio, in 1808, and died in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1867. His father was a lawyer and for twelve years mayor of Cincinnati, Ohio.

He was brought up as a Presbyterian, but at sixteen years of age, after careful study of the New Testament, was baptized into the Baptist church. He began preaching at once, and at twenty years of age became pastor of the Baptist church at Dayton, Ohio. He began to read the writings of Campbell and at the time of the separation of Baptists and Reformers he went with the latter. His activities were various. He was preacher, pastor and college president, editor and author, and in every capacity he excelled. If in any particular he excelled more than another it was as a speaker. He was a pulpit orator of no mean ability and occupied the most responsible positions and was held in the highest esteem among the Disciples.

The most significant event in the development of the body of Reformers, following close upon the heels of their separation from the Baptists, was the union of the Reformers and the Christians, the followers of

The Union of Reformers 191

B. W. Stone. We have traced the process by which Stone broke with the Presbyterians in 1803, followed by the organization, and within a year, the dissolution of the Springfield Presbytery, with the abandonment of creeds, human organizations and names; by which he made converts to his plan of Christian union upon the Bible alone, and organized churches in Ohio and Kentucky under the name Christians. The Reformers among the Baptists and these Christians were continually meeting upon the same field of labor from 1826, and upon discovery of agreement in many principles and practices, began to fraternize.

There were present at the meeting of the Mahoning Association at New Lisbon, Ohio, in 1827, three Christian preachers, J. Merrill, John Secrest, and Joseph Gaston, who were invited to have a seat in the Association. They had come up from Kentucky and were preaching the doctrines of Stone everywhere through Ohio. Secrest, the

most able and influential of the Christian preachers in Ohio, after visiting Alexander Campbell at his home, came away convinced that "he was a man of great talent, a scholar, and forty years ahead of this generation; and that if he carries the thing through as he has commenced, he will revolutionize the whole Protestant world, for his foundation can never be shaken."

There was one difference in teaching and practice between the Reformers and these "New Lights" and that was as to the requirement of baptism. The Christians did not make it a condition of fellowship in their churches. They received persons into their churches by giving "the right hand of fellowship" and left it to each one as to whether he should be baptized afterwards. When Secrest learned the design and place of baptism as taught by Campbell, he went back to the churches he had established, calling upon the people to be "immersed for the remission of sins."

The Union of Reformers 193

John Gaston was led into the fellowship of the Christians by Secrest and became a close personal friend and preaching companion of Walter Scott, by whom he was brought over to the views of the Reformers. They went together among Baptist and New Light churches, bringing them together, where they existed side by side, as in Salem, New Lisbon, East Fairfield, Green, New Garden, Hanover and Minerva, all in Ohio. Among the preachers of the school of B. W. Stone in Ohio who fell in with the teachings of Campbell and Scott, were Joseph Pancoast, James Hughes, Lewis Hamrick, Lewis Comer, William Schooley, John Flick and John Whitacre.

It was in Kentucky, however, the home of the movement, where the formal union took place between the Reformers and the Christians. They were stigmatized as "Arians" and "Unitarians," on account of the opposition of Stone to the metaphysical doctrines of the trinity, the divinity of

Christ, and the atonement. He was disposed to bring forward these doctrines in his preaching and writing, not to make them tests of Christian fellowship but to criticise and speculate upon them, to the neglect of the simple and essential doctrines of Christianity. His opposition to Calvinism began as a revolt against these orthodox doctrines, and without pausing to understand his own view of them, his enemies drew the conclusion that he passed over to the extreme Unitarian position. As a matter of fact he taught an evangelical and biblical doctrine upon these subjects which would be regarded as orthodox to-day. But enemies of the movement were glad to believe and circulate the worst constructions of their teaching, so that prejudice against them was bitter in orthodox circles. They had no stronger haters than the Baptists, and when some of the Reforming Baptists were found to be mixing with them in purely religious intercourse, the orthodox

were outraged. In 1828 the North District Association, notwithstanding the presence of a strong Reforming party, resolved not to have correspondence with any association that would retain in its connection a church that communed with Pedobaptists or with Arians. The Baptists of the Mayslick church were grieved that some of their brethren were opening the meeting houses to the Arians. Bracken association voiced her grievances against the Reformers as those who were not satisfied until they had brought into the churches and to the communion table every one that professed faith in Christ, regardless of whether they were Arians or anything else. Presbyterians and Methodists held the Christians in the same light.

It was under reproaches such as these that the Reformers began to associate with the Christians. The latter seems to have been the party principally influenced by this association. Stone always acknowledged his

debt to Campbell for many important truths and wrote to him in 1827 as follows: "Brother Campbell, your talents and learning we have highly respected; your cause we have generally approved; your religious views, in many points, accord with our own; and to one point we have hoped we both were directing our efforts, which point is to unite the flock of Christ, scattered in the dark and cloudy day." "From you we have learned more fully the evil of speculating on religion, and have made considerable proficiency in correcting ourselves." But he goes on to lament the tendency in some of Campbell's writings to speculate upon religious questions in a metaphysical way. Campbell replied: "Some weak heads amongst my Baptist brethren have been scandalized at me because I called you *brother* Stone. What! say they, call an *Arian heretic* a *brother*? I know nothing of his Arianism, said I, nor of his Calvinism." "I am truly sorry to find that certain

opinions called Arian or Unitarian, or something else, are about becoming the sectarian badge of a people who have assumed the sacred name Christians; and that some peculiar views of atonement or reconciliation, are likely to become characteristic of a people who have claimed the high character and dignified relation of "the Church of Christ." I do not say that such is yet the fact; but things are, in my opinion, looking that way; and if not suppressed in the bud, the name Christian will be as much a sectarian name as Lutheran, Methodist, or Presbyterian."

From time to time friendly communications passed between the two great leaders of the movements, calling out the position and attitude of each as to the practicability of the union of their respective followers. What seemed to be serious obstacles to the union in the way of differences in practice were discussed. In 1831 Stone wrote as follows: "The question is going the round

198 The Disciples of Christ

of society, and is often proposed to us, Why are not you and the Reformed Baptists one people? Or, why are you not united? We have uniformly answered: In spirit we are united, and that no reason exists on our side to prevent the union in form." But there were certain differences which kept them apart, and these Stone states as follows: "1. That we have fellowship and communion with unimmersed persons. They contend—so we understand them—that, according to the New Institution, none but the immersed have their sins remitted, and therefore they cannot commune with the unimmersed. . . . We believe and acknowledge that baptism is ordained by the King a means for the remission of sins to penitent believers, but we cannot say that immersion is the *sine qua non*, without maintaining the awful consequences above, and without contradicting our own experience. We therefore teach the doctrine 'Believe, repent, and be im-

mersed for the remission of sins,' and we endeavor to convince our hearers of its truth, but we exercise patience and forbearance towards such pious persons as cannot be convinced.

“2. Another cause or reason why they and we are not united as one people is, that we have taken different names. They acknowledge the name Christian as most appropriate; but because they think this name is disgraced by us who wear it, and that to it may be attached the idea of Unitarian or Trinitarian, they reject it, and have taken the older name Disciple. This they have done in order to be distinguished from us. . . . We are ready any moment to meet and unite with those brethren, or any others who believe in and obey the Saviour, according to their best understanding of his will, on the Bible but not on opinions of its truth.”

While the great leaders were discussing their differences and the obstacles to union,

the preachers and the people were consummating union between Reformers and Christians wherever it was possible to do so in local communities. John T. Johnson, as soon as he made the acquaintance of the views of both Campbell and Stone, concluded that there was not sufficient difference to keep their followers apart and began at once to urge a union. Stone lived near to him at Georgetown, Kentucky, and an intimate intercourse sprang up between them which resulted in Johnson's joining Stone as one of the editors of the *Christian Messenger*—a periodical established by Stone in 1826. To promote a closer relationship and acquaintance between the Disciples and Christians Johnson invited John Smith, who was known to be friendly with the Christians, to come to Georgetown in November, 1831, to hold a meeting with him, and confer upon the practicability and conditions of union between the two bodies. Several conferences were held and they arranged to

have a general conference at Lexington, January 1, 1832. Representatives of the two movements were invited, and Smith and Stone, the one for the Disciples and the other for the Christians, were appointed to speak. They agreed in their proposals to make the Scriptures the basis of their union, and began the consummation of it by extending the hand of fellowship before the company then and there present. The members of the two bodies followed the example of the two speakers and gave to each other the hand of fellowship amidst universal thanksgiving and rejoicing. Some persons asked the Christians after the union, "Are there no differences of opinion between you and the Reformers?" To which they replied, "We are not concerned to know; we have never asked them what their opinions were, nor have they asked us. If they have opinions different from ours, they are welcome to have them, provided they do not endeavor to impose them

on us as articles of faith, and they say the same of us."

This act of union could not bind any one but those present and parties to it. To extend it among the two bodies throughout Kentucky and other regions, two evangelists were chosen, John Smith for the Disciples and John Rogers for the Christians, to go together among the churches consummating the union. The event was felt to be a signal victory for the cause of Christian union as advocated by both parties. Similar coalitions between Disciples and Christians took place at the same time in Indiana, Illinois, and Tennessee. There was an element, however, among the Christians that looked with no favor upon union with the Disciples because of their teaching concerning baptism and the Holy Spirit, and who refused to go into it. They have survived, after union with the followers of James O'Kelley and Abner Jones, as the "Christian Connection Church." There were prejudices

against the union on the part of many Reforming Baptists because of the reputation of the Christians for Arianism, and loose teaching on baptism. John Smith had no little difficulty in convincing his friends in the churches about Mt. Sterling that the union was wise and scriptural, and he felt it needful to put out an "Address" to his Reforming brethren defining his action and correcting false impressions concerning the teaching and practices of the Christians. They had never heard any of the preachers of the Christians and knew of them only by hearsay. Wherever the two evangelists went they met with objections and prejudices against the union on the part of members of one body or the other. The congregations of the two bodies in Lexington came together at first, but later separated on account of differences and did not finally unite until 1835.

The contributions of the Christians to the joint movement were by no means unim-

portant. The biographer of John Smith estimates the number of Christians who came into the union in Kentucky alone at 8,000. The number must have reached a third or a half more in other states. They contributed to the movement, besides Stone, several other preachers of superior talent and character. Samuel Rogers was born in Virginia in 1789; came to Kentucky in 1793 with his parents, and finally settled there in 1812. He was converted under the preaching of B. W. Stone, and after serving as a volunteer soldier in the war of 1812, began to preach the gospel as he had learned it from the Christians. He travelled extensively as a preacher through Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, and everywhere met with success. His early life, as narrated by himself, was full of the labors and privations of an itinerant preacher in the wilds of backwoods settlements, for which he received in payment scarcely enough to support himself. On many long

journeys by boat and on horseback, he received less than he had expended along the way. From reading the writings of Alexander Campbell and after meeting and hearing him at Wilmington, Ohio, in 1825, "cloud after cloud rolled away from his mind, letting in upon his soul light and joy and hope that no tongue can express." The members of the church at Antioch, where he lived and preached, began to study the Bible in the new light, and within a year unanimously introduced "the ancient order of things" into their government and worship. He was thus prepared for the coalescence of the Disciples and Christians which began in Ohio in 1827 and was consummated in Kentucky in 1832. During a ministry which continued past the eighty-fourth year of his age he baptized more than seven thousand persons. Associated with him in the work of the ministry and as a companion on many of his travels, was his younger brother, John Rogers, whom he

introduced to the ministry in 1819. He was baptized by Stone in 1818 and studied under him at Georgetown, Kentucky, and was ordained to the ministry by him in 1820. He met and heard Alexander Campbell at Carlisle, Kentucky, in 1824, from whom he "learned the true design of baptism—the necessity for weekly communion—the distinction between faith and opinion—and the true basis of union upon the great and all-comprehensive proposition that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God." He "cordially embraced the views of the Reformation about the year 1831," and was one of the most active promoters of the union between the followers of Campbell and Stone in 1832. He was chosen by the Christians to travel with John Smith, the representative of the Disciples, to unite the two bodies in Kentucky.

Thomas M. Allen was born in Virginia in 1797. He was brought up under Presbyterian influences, studied and practiced

law until he was converted by Stone in 1823. He was one of the six original charter members of the "Old Union" church, Fayette County, Kentucky. He began to preach and was ordained by Stone in 1825. He established churches at Paris, Antioch, Clintonville, and Cynthiana, Kentucky. After the union of the Christians and Disciples, in which he took a leading part, he moved to Missouri, and was one of the earliest as well as the most influential preachers of the Disciples in that state.

John Allen Gano was another preacher who came under the influence of Stone, first as a student in his school at Georgetown, and later as an attendant upon his ministrations in the pulpit. He was converted and baptized in 1827 by T. M. Allen, and began at once to preach as he had opportunity. He had prepared himself for the practice of law, but his fervent religious nature and his readiness of expression so admirably qualified him for the preaching

of the gospel, that he found no difficulty in turning away from his long-cherished purpose to practice law. He was the grandson of the eminent Baptist preacher of New York City, Rev. John Gano, who came to Kentucky and died there in 1804. He met Alexander Campbell in 1827 and came at once under his influence.

Among other preachers who came by way of the Stone movement into the ranks of the united body must be mentioned the two brothers, F. R. Palmer and H. D. Palmer, B. F. Hall, Tolbert Fanning and Elijah Goodwin. The readiness with which the leading preachers espoused the cause of Campbell justified the observation of Samuel Rogers when he declared: "Stone, and those laboring with him, had constituted churches throughout central and northern Kentucky upon the Bible and the Bible alone, and all these without exception came early into the reformation. Stone's reformation was the seed

bed of the reformation produced by Alexander Campbell." These preachers and many others of lesser note had prepared the way for the teaching of Alexander Campbell not only in Kentucky, but through Ohio, Virginia, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri.

Stone and his followers were primarily Christian unionists, as had been Thomas Campbell and the Christian Association of Washington. There was emphasis upon reformation of faith and practice in their advocacy, as a preparation for union, but the union of the children of God was ever the end before them. As a consequence, their basis of fellowship was broader, and larger liberty was allowed to the individual conscience. They did not insist upon baptism as a condition of fellowship in their churches. Stone's conception of union was more spiritual than that of Campbell. He looked to a diffusion of the spirit of holiness and love among Christians to unite

them, while Campbell rested his hope of union upon an agreement in New Testament faith and practice. Campbell and many of his followers held aloof from the Christians at first on account of their supposed departure from sound doctrine, and it was not until the Christians had practically signified their acceptance of the teaching of the Reformers upon the subject of baptism and the Lord's supper, that union with them was deemed advisable. Union came because the two parties found themselves upon the same ground of faith and practice. The Stone movement was born out of a religious revival and the preachers of that connection were primarily winners of souls. They were all evangelists; and it was due to this fact that the movement spread so rapidly and widely. Alexander Campbell was not an evangelist. He was essentially a teacher and set for his aim the transformation of the minds of Christian people with respect to the doctrines of Chris-

tianity. The Campbell movement started as a propaganda among the churches and would have resulted in a proselytism when separated from the Baptists had it not been leavened by the evangelism of Walter Scott and the Stone movement. These two elements, a proselytism and an evangelism, have survived side by side throughout the history of the Disciples, and have contributed more than all other elements to their growth.

CHAPTER X

EARLY GROWTH AND ORGANIZATION

WITH the separation of the Reformers from the Baptists, and their coalescence with the followers of Barton W. Stone, a new religious party assumed form among American denominations under the name, Disciples of Christ or Christians. They were charged with a message of reformation to their religious neighbors and a gospel of immediate repentance to the unconverted. Every preacher of the new communion was a propagandist and travelling evangelist. Their one purpose now was to plant churches of the primitive order wherever they could get a large enough company together.

The movement spread principally from two centres, Ohio and Kentucky. From Ohio it was carried eastward into New York and Pennsylvania; and westward into Michi-

Early Growth and Organization 213

gan, northern Ohio and Indiana, and Wisconsin. From Kentucky it was carried eastward and southward into Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, Tennessee, and Alabama; and westward into Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. The movement spread chiefly in a westward direction from Kentucky along the lines of emigration. Very often a sufficient number of emigrants to establish the nucleus of a society found themselves settled together in the same neighborhood and sent for a preacher to hold meetings and constitute them into a church. The movement was essentially a westward movement. It never made any notable progress east of the place of its origin, and remains comparatively weak and unknown to the present time east of the Alleghanies. Churches sprang up in this early period in all of the principal cities of the East, as Philadelphia, Buffalo, New York and Baltimore, by a sifting process from the Baptists and other churches,

and by the occasional removal of members from the West; but they have remained small and have survived only through a critical struggle for existence. The reading of the *Christian Baptist* and the *Millennial Harbinger* and numerous tracts and books did much to propagate the movement beyond the circuit of the travelling evangelist, so that before 1850 there were churches in the British Provinces and in all of the British Isles, as well as in most of the states of the Union.

The movement spread westward by leaps and bounds, first among Baptist churches and in regions touched by the Stone movement, and then independently through emigration and evangelization. The beginnings of the movement in Ohio were among the Baptists of the Mahoning and Stillwater associations. Both associations, with few exceptions among either preachers or churches, were brought over to the views of Campbell and composed the first

churches of the Disciples. In these churches was also a large ingredient of the followers of Stone. The churches multiplied rapidly under the labors of such men as Walter Scott, William Hayden, J. H. Jones, Isaac Errett, Jonas Hartzel, J. J. Moss, A. B. Green, W. A. Belding and others. The early history of the Disciples in eastern Ohio is incidentally connected with the rise of Mormonism, on account of the conversion to that faith of Sidney Rigdon, the early associate of Alexander Campbell and Walter Scott. His conversion occurred in 1830, through the influence of two missionaries who came to his home at Mentor, Ohio. He is said to have obtained more influence over Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, than any other living man; and to him was due the transfer of the seat of Mormonism from New York to Kirtland, Ohio, and its transformation into a communistic society. Alexander Campbell was one of the earliest antagonists of the system.

216 The Disciples of Christ

The Disciples were greatly disturbed by its progress and suffered the loss of several churches. There were very few churches in the northwestern and central sections of the state in this early period. There were a few churches in the southwestern section in and around Cincinnati. The first church in Cincinnati was an offshoot from the Enon Baptist Church, under the leadership of James Challen, its pastor, who adopted the teachings of Campbell, and became the pastor of the first church of Reformers. This city received frequent visits from Campbell, and was the scene of two of his debates, one with the skeptic Robert Owen, in 1829, on the "Evidences of Christianity," and the other with Bishop J. B. Purcell of the Roman Catholic Church, in 1837, on the "Roman Catholic Religion." Both debates widened the fame and influence of Campbell, while the one with Owen put the entire Christian world under obligation to him. The movement in this region

of the state was principally promoted by Walter Scott, James Challen, D. S. Burnet, L. L. Pinkerton, L. H. Jameson, Dr. R. Richardson and J. J. Moss. The first form of association among the Disciples in Ohio was the "yearly meeting"; but this was felt to be useless for missionary purposes, and in 1852 they organized a state missionary society for "the proclamation of the original gospel within the bounds of the state of Ohio." At this time there were about 300 churches and 18,000 members in the state. With the multiplication and growth of the churches arose the need of an educational institution to provide a properly equipped ministry. To meet this need and to provide a school for the sons and daughters of Disciples in the state, the Western Eclectic Institute was established in 1850 at Hiram, Ohio, about thirty miles from Cleveland. The name was later changed to Hiram College.

The beginnings of the movement in

Kentucky, as in Ohio, were among Baptist churches. The writings of Campbell preceded his visit to Kentucky in 1823, on the occasion of his debate with Maccalla. This visit greatly extended his influence, and, through the publication of the *Christian Baptist*, he became a regular monthly visitor to an ever increasing number of subscribers in Baptist churches. One Baptist preacher after another adopted his views and taught them to the churches. In this state the movement made more extensive conquests in the early period than in any other state. The city of Lexington became the centre from which it radiated in every direction. It was propagated under the preaching of P. S. Fall, John Smith, J. T. Johnson, John Rogers, B. W. Stone, Alexander Campbell, Aylett Raines, and many other great preachers under their leadership. As soon as the Reformers were separated from the Baptists they began to hold "yearly meetings" for edi-

Early Growth and Organization 219

fication and mutual acquaintance. It was not long before a more profitable form of association for missionary work was adopted. The effective work done by John Smith and John Rogers, in establishing new churches and uniting the Christians and Disciples after the formal union at Lexington in 1832, demonstrated the value of supporting evangelists by cooperation. The two men were kept in the field in 1833 and 1834, and in 1835 four evangelists with limited fields were appointed. These evangelists were sent out and supported by groups of neighboring churches, by special voluntary agreement to provide their salary for a year; and such arrangements were renewed from year to year. This was the customary form of cooperation in the early period, and was characteristic of Kentucky; but we meet it in Ohio, Indiana and Missouri. State meetings began to be held as early as 1844, and mission-

ary work by the state as a whole began in 1850. A school under the management of Disciples was established at Georgetown in 1836, through the initiative of T. F. Johnson and J. T. Johnson. It was called Bacon College, after the philosopher, Sir Francis Bacon. It was removed to Harrodsburg in 1839, where its work was suspended in 1850. Through the efforts of J. B. Bowman, a graduate of the college, its charter was renewed and enlarged and became the basis of a new institution in 1858 called Kentucky University. It was moved to Lexington in 1865. A Bible College was established in connection with it, which has probably educated more men for the ministry than any other single school among the Disciples.

The movement in Indiana had its sources chiefly among the Christians and Baptists, though the Dunkards contributed somewhat to the early period. The pioneers in the

Early Growth and Organization 221

work were Beverly Vawter, J. P. Thompson, John Wright, John O'Kane, Elijah Goodwin, J. M. Mathes, L. H. Jameson, S. R. Hoshour, B. K. Smith, and Benjamin Franklin. Co-operative missionary work was begun in 1833 by the churches of Rush and Fayette Counties in uniting to send out and support John O'Kane as a missionary through the state. In 1839 a state meeting was held at Indianapolis, and in 1844 at a similar meeting at Connersville the state was divided into four districts and an evangelist put in each. The scheme fell through before the end of the first year, and no further cooperative work was done until 1849. Under the leadership of Ovid Butler, Northwestern Christian University was established in 1850 at Indianapolis. The name was later changed to Butler College.

Illinois received the reformation from Kentucky in the early period through the evangelistic labors of Christian preachers.

222 The Disciples of Christ

When B. W. Stone removed from Kentucky to Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1834, he found in the place a church of Christians and one of Disciples that had not united as they had in other places. He refused to become a member of either church until they united. The preachers under whom the body was extended and organized throughout the central and southern parts were B. W. Stone, D. P. Henderson, W. W. Happy, Josephus Hewet, and John T. Jones. The Disciples began to hold annual state meetings in 1832 but there was no organization for missionary work until 1856 when the Illinois Christian Missionary Society was organized. At the annual state meeting at Abingdon in 1852 a resolution was brought before the convention by an educational committee appointed the previous year, recommending to the churches the recognition of Walnut Grove Academy as the institution of learning of the Disciples in the state of Illinois. The Disciples were urged to foster it by sending

Early Growth and Organization 223

to it their sons and daughters, and donating to its library and apparatus, and raising such means as would enable the trustees to place it upon a sure and permanent basis. This school was started as a private enterprise by A. S. Fisher, a student from Bethany College, in 1848, under the patronage of several members of the Church of the Disciples in the community. It was chosen as the school of the church because it was the only institution of learning in the state controlled by Disciples, and because it proposed to educate men for the ministry without charging them tuition. The churches organized a board of education in 1852 to promote primitive Christianity by establishing schools exclusively under church control. Walnut Grove Academy was chartered as Eureka College in 1855. Abingdon College, organized and conducted by Disciples in the interest of religious education since 1853, was consolidated with Eureka College in 1884. From the beginning the college

has been an important factor in supplying men for the ministry and developing the work of the body in the state.

The state of Missouri lay in the path of emigration to the west and was among the first to receive visits from Christian preachers from Kentucky. Thomas McBride came under the teaching of B. W. Stone in Kentucky, moved to Missouri in 1816, and was the first Christian preacher who crossed the Mississippi River to preach the Bible alone as the basis of Christian union. He preached and established churches in Howard, Boone, Franklin and other adjacent counties lying along the Missouri River. Samuel Rogers was the second Christian preacher to go to Missouri. He made his first journey in 1819 and found many churches already established by McBride. These early Christian churches, together with many Baptist churches, provided congenial soil for the teachings of Alexander Campbell and out of them came the first churches of the Disciples in the

Early Growth and Organization 225

state. The reformation was developed in the early period under the preaching of such men as J. H. Haden, T. M. Allen, M. P. Wills, F. R. Palmer, Absalom Rice, James Love, Jacob Creath, Allen Wright, Jacob and Joseph Coons, Henry Thomas, and Duke Young. The churches began to hold state meetings very early and by 1837 had begun to cooperate in missionary work. By 1850 there were estimated to be 16,000 members in the state.

The first church of the Disciples in Iowa was organized by David R. Chance in 1836 at Lost Creek, and the first regular ministers to devote all their time to preaching were Aaron Chatterton and Nelson A. McConnell. In addition to the preaching by these two men the cause was represented in the pioneer period by John Rigdon, S. H. Bonham, Jonas Hartzel, John Martindale, Pardee Butler, David Bates, D. P. Henderson, Allen Hickey, S. B. Downing and J. K. Cornell. The first cooperative missionary work was

226 The Disciples of Christ

done in 1845, and the first state meeting was held at Marion in 1850. At that time there were thirty-nine churches and 2,000 members. The state missionary society was organized in 1855, and N. A. McConnell was the first evangelist sent out. The churches took steps in 1856 to establish a college at Oskaloosa. The establishment of Drake University in 1881 by Gen. F. M. Drake, at Des Moines, came to overshadow Oskaloosa College, and withdrew the support and patronage of the churches from it to such a degree that it was obliged finally to abandon its work.

The first converts to the teaching of Alexander Campbell in England were from among the Scotch Baptist churches founded by Archibald McLean. In 1833 P. C. Wyeth, of Virginia, a disciple of Campbell, went to Europe to study art, and while in London wandered into a Scotch Baptist church presided over by Wm. Jones. He found himself among Christians of like

faith and order and told Mr. Jones of the "restoration movement" in America. Correspondence arose between Mr. Jones and Mr. Campbell upon the teachings of the Disciples and by 1835 the writings of Campbell began to be published in England under the title, *British Millennial Harbinger*. To James Wallace, who started a periodical called the *Christian Messenger*, belongs the principal credit for the early development of the movement in England. By 1842 the churches of the Disciples in the United Kingdom numbered forty-two, with a membership of 1,300.

The first centre of the movement was Bethany, West Virginia, the home of Alexander Campbell, from which issued the *Christian Baptist* and *Millennial Harbinger*. While it was not long before each state had its own centre and leaders, its own religious papers and schools, yet Campbell continued to be the most authoritative person and his paper the most repre-

228 The Disciples of Christ

sentative and influential, and his college the most popular among the Disciples to the time of his death in 1866. His writings were read in every state in the Union, and before 1840 nearly every state had churches established upon the principles he advocated.

The rapid growth of the body as an independent movement and its continued successes after separation from the Baptists, confirmed the belief of its leaders in the correctness of their principles and teachings. They approached other religious bodies, confident of their advantage over them, and accepted the frequent secessions of members from them to their own ranks as evidence of it. As a consequence they became and were reputed to be inveterate proselytizers. With such an attitude, all cordiality departed from their relationships with other denominations, and the frequent public debates engaged in did not promote fraternity, much less unity, between them.

Early Growth and Organization 229

Scores of debates were held between representatives of the Disciples and Baptists and other bodies upon the subject of baptism and other differences. The most notable of these discussions was that between Alexander Campbell and Rev. N. L. Rice, a Presbyterian minister, at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1842, upon the subjects of baptism, the Holy Spirit, and creeds. The presence of Henry Clay as president of the board of five moderators, contributed much to the dignity and notoriety of the occasion. After the example of Campbell it was considered good form and a valiant enterprise to get into a debate, and there were very few of the leading preachers who did not bring about such an engagement on some subject. While it was not always possible to avoid a public debate, yet it is highly probable that many preachers coveted the fame and courted occasion of debate. They justified the custom on the ground that it was a condition of self-preservation as well

as a means of publishing the truth to the world. In the midst of such religious warfare one is surprised on the one hand at the proposals for union, but on the other hand not surprised at the poor success of such proposals.

A meeting between the Disciples and all other religious bodies for the discussion of a basis of union was suggested and arranged by J. T. Johnson, to be held at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1841. All religious parties were invited and were promised "equal privileges." Alexander Campbell and the Disciples were present in full force, but only one representative of other religious bodies came in the person of Dr. Fishback, and he was a Baptist in partial sympathy. After a three days' discussion of the practicability of union on the basis of the things held in common by the denominations, the following resolution was adopted: "That the Bible, and the Bible alone, is a sufficient foundation on which

Early Growth and Organization 231

all Christians may unite and build together." To the surprise of the promoters of it, the meeting was not merely ignored but bitterly opposed by other bodies, the Baptists in particular. The reason for this is not far to seek. The Disciples proposed the meeting and went to it with a ready-made plan of union to submit and defend. They themselves were already building according to the plan, and to other bodies it was equivalent to an invitation to discuss the position of the Disciples. Their plan had failed to work in the case of the Baptists, with whom they were in closest agreement on most doctrinal points, and there was less likelihood that it would succeed in the case of Presbyterians or Methodists. They were simply inviting other parties to come to them, and union was equivalent to absorption. In the discussion of the question of union they were conscious of having everything to teach and nothing to learn. There could be but one

plan of union, that of the New Testament, and it was one they had received and were not at liberty to change. The problem of union was not an open one to them. Naturally, other denominationalists were not willing to put themselves in the attitude of learners, and not having plans of their own to submit, the meeting would be reduced to a discussion on the Disciples' own ground.

The body very early developed a consciousness of scriptural correctness and infallibility which placed them in the light of a very narrow and exclusive sect. There was an element among them that contracted the spirit of a sect, though all the time professing hatred of sectarianism. They reprobated the state of other Christians and declined to acknowledge the Christian status of those not in fellowship with them. This element was aroused by the admission of Alexander Campbell in an article in the *Millennial Harbinger* of 1837

Early Growth and Organization 233

that there were Christians among all Protestant sects. He had always held that view, but had not so plainly expressed it as in reply to a letter asking his view of the matter. His definition of a Christian as "one that believes in his heart that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, the Son of God; repents of his sins, and obeys him in all things according to his measure of knowledge of his will," aroused the bitter criticism of many who held, that, since baptism is for the remission of sins, and only immersion is baptism, those who have not been immersed are still in their sins and unsaved. Campbell repudiated this view with indignation. This discussion developed the presence among the Disciples of two divergent parties, a narrow, literal party, and a broad, spiritual party. The former party went on to identify the true church of Christ by certain external marks—its creed, worship, organization, and discipline—and identified the true Christian as one in fel-

lowship with this order of things. They practically went so far as to affirm that no one could be saved outside of a church of the Disciples, or a church organized according to the primitive model in its external features. Campbell and other leaders never gave this conception any sympathy, and arrayed themselves on the side of a broader, more spiritual conception.

CHAPTER XI

THE RISE OF INTERNAL CONTROVERSY

THE plan of Christian union founded upon a uniform interpretation of the Scriptures, as set forth in the *Declaration and Address* and as held and taught by the Reformers, did not insure or effect unity among those who held it. The possibilities of disagreement lay in the great watchword of the movement: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we are silent." Between the authority of Scripture and the Scriptures themselves, always lies the interpretation of them. In the last analysis, the authority of Scripture is the authority of the interpretation. There being no authoritative interpretation of Scripture among Protestants who accept the principle of private or free interpretation, there are bound to be differences of interpretation

236 The Disciples of Christ

upon many fundamental teachings of Scripture. Freedom of interpretation was carried to its fullest extent among the followers of the Campbells, and each person was encouraged and trusted to make application of the rule, a "Thus saith the Lord" for every item of religious faith and practice. This very freedom developed differences all through the early period between the extremely literal interpreters and the more spiritual. We found that in the earliest interpretation or definition of primitive Christianity among the Reformers the literal method prevailed and resulted in an emphasis upon the "order of things" in the primitive church. "The restoration of the ancient order of things" became the formula of development. But while Alexander Campbell was writing that famous series of articles in the *Christian Baptist* under the above title, he turned aside in a separate article on "The Spirit of the Ancient Christians" to say: "To have an ancient order

The Rise of Internal Controversy 237

of things restored in due form without the spirit or power of that order, would be mere mimicry, which we would rather, and we are assured the primitive saints would rather, never see." "If the spirit of the ancient Christians and of their individual and social conduct was more inquired after, and more cultivated, we would find but little trouble in understanding and displaying the ancient order of things." He found this spirit in the words: "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"

It began to be evident to the Disciples that primitive Christianity was something more than an order of things in public worship and church organization. The zeal which consumed the primitive Christians was not directed to forms of public worship. The form and order which their new life assumed were taken up unconsciously from the customs with which they were most familiar as Jews. Their Master's consuming interest had been in the saving of lost men

and women, and he communicated his passion to his followers. The principal business of the primitive church was the missionary enterprise. Campbell said in an address in 1851 that "the spirit of Christianity is essentially a missionary spirit." It began to be felt by the Disciples that as a people claiming the distinction of restoring primitive Christianity they could not consistently neglect that which was the essential spirit and distinguishing mark of the primitive Christians—the seeking and the saving of the lost in all lands and among all peoples. The conversion of the heathen world had already become an enthusiasm in several denominations. Before 1840 the Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians had organized societies for the proclamation of the gospel in foreign lands.

Stimulated by the example of other denominations, as well as by the precept of

The Rise of Internal Controversy 239

Christ and the example of the primitive church, the Disciples began to see that they were in need of a more effective form of cooperation, if they were to develop and properly use the spiritual and material forces represented in the rapidly increasing numbers of members in their churches. It was this sense of an increasing responsibility growing out of an increasing membership which led to the formation of the American Christian Missionary Society in 1849. Since 1844 Alexander Campbell had been urging his brethren to unite in some more effective form of cooperation. There had been for many years local and limited forms of cooperation between churches in the same states for purposes of denominational evangelization and education. The example of a wider cooperation for unsectarian purposes had been set in the organization of the "American Christian Bible Society" in 1845 at Cincinnati, Ohio, under the leadership of D. S. Burnet, for

the publication and distribution of Bibles. The organization of this society stirred the Disciples to action. Cooperation of the entire body in the great enterprises of Christian education, Christian missions, and Bible circulation, began to be urged in every quarter. But cooperation meant organization, and organization meant a society.

The first serious internal controversy arose on account of the organization of this first missionary society. The society was opposed on the ground that there was neither precept nor example in the New Testament for the organization of societies for the spread of the gospel. Some of the bitterest satire in the columns of the *Christian Baptist* had been directed against the "mercenary schemes" of the missionary, tract and Bible societies of the various denominations. Campbell's approval of the organization of the new society did not save it from the assaults of many of his

The Rise of Internal Controversy 241

brethren. The enemies of the society went back to the *Christian Baptist* for their most effective epithets against the new scheme, and Alexander Campbell of 1823 was arrayed against Alexander Campbell of 1849. While he distinguished between the missionary purpose and the missionary plan in his early diatribes, and aimed them at the latter, the enemies of all missionary work applied them to both alike. His support of the new society was frank, open, and positive, and he did not hesitate to accept the office and honor of first president imposed upon him in his absence by his brethren in the convention at Cincinnati which created it.

The struggle for organized missionary work among the Disciples was begun, and progress was contested at every step by a bitter and relentless opposition, which became a party within the ranks with its leaders and newspapers. The first leader of the anti-missionary element was Jacob

242 The Disciples of Christ

Creath, Jr. Scattered throughout the ranks of the denomination were many individuals and churches which joined in the cry against "human innovations." The society with its "money basis" and delegated membership was feared as the beginning of apostasy from a pure New Testament congregationalism. The convention which met to create the society was taxed to the utmost in its ingenuity to avoid the various rocks of offense in the course before it. It found it impossible to please everybody, no matter how hard it might try. Even the friends of organized cooperation were not pleased with some articles in the constitution, though they offered no objection to the society as such. The one article which gave more offense than any other, and continued to give trouble down to 1881, was "Article III," which read as follows: "The society shall be composed of annual delegates, life members and life directors. Any church may appoint a delegate for an annual con-

The Rise of Internal Controversy 243

tribution of ten dollars. Twenty dollars paid at one time shall be requisite to constitute a member for life; and one hundred dollars paid at one time, or a sum which in addition to any previous contributions shall amount to one hundred dollars, shall be required to constitute a director for life." This was the "money basis" of the society and created "the moneyed aristocracy" so much feared in the missionary work of the church. Each church was invited to become an auxiliary to the society by making a contribution and sending a delegate to the annual convention. When this invitation came to the church in Connellsville, Pennsylvania, it drew up a series of resolutions against the society, embodying its objections. While favoring the purpose of the society to carry the gospel to all men, it was opposed to the society and its plan. The second resolution stated its position as follows: "That we consider the church of Jesus Christ, in virtue of the commission

given her by our blessed Lord, the only scriptural organization on earth for the conversion of sinners and the sanctification of believers." These resolutions became the model and voiced the sentiments of all other churches opposed to the society.

All the officers of the society served without salary until 1857, when Benjamin Franklin, as secretary, was the first to be paid a salary. In his report to the board he said: "There has been strong prejudice against the missionary society. This we have labored to counteract, and I think, to a considerable extent it has abated." After holding the office one year he was succeeded by Isaac Errett. From the time he severed his relation with the society he began to oppose it, and opposition in one point broadened to include every point, until he stood opposed to the very idea of organized missionary work. He became the leader of the anti-missionary forces, and by voice and pen, as editor of the *American Christian*

The Rise of Internal Controversy 245

Review, he menaced and cramped the work of the society until 1870. His paper became the most influential next to the *Millennial Harbinger*. He succeeded in creating a party among the Disciples which consistently opposed every agency and expediency in the church, from the missionary society to organs and tuning forks, for which there was not express scriptural precept or example. This party was the logical outgrowth of the literal principle of interpretation and dated back to the first definition of primitive Christianity as an order of things. The opponents of the society forced it to change its constitution from time to time until 1869, when it was forced to adopt "The Louisville Plan" to conciliate the opposition. Instead of bringing "harmony and peace to the brotherhood" it brought poverty and helplessness to the society, and in 1881, it was superseded by the present plan which was a return to the original money basis of control. It was

felt that there was no longer use of trying to harmonize the elements, as had been done at the expense of the missionary cause for thirty years, since the anti-missionary party had taken up a position of irreconcilable opposition and was practically out of fellowship with the larger missionary party. It could now afford to ignore it, which it has steadily done to the present time, with an ever increasing fund in the treasury.

In the midst of the missionary controversy, the slavery question loomed large upon the horizon and disturbed the councils of the Disciples. The body was distributed over both the North and the South, probably with a larger element in those states committed to slaveholding or which were divided over the question. Few of the denominations escaped the influence of the question; several suffered division on account of it. There had been unity and cooperation between the churches of both North and South so long as the slavery

question was not forced upon them for decisive action. When the Civil War broke out, all eyes turned towards Bethany, Virginia, to know which side Alexander Campbell would take in the struggle. He had defined his position on the slavery question as early as 1846, and held that the relation of master and slave was sanctioned by the New Testament, but not the institution as existing in America or any other country. He said: "I have always been anti-slavery, but never an abolitionist"—a position which many persons in the South held, but which was felt to be inconsistent by the extreme anti-slavery men of the North. He was opposed to the Civil War and all war as unchristian, and thought the question at issue ought to be settled by arbitration. The attitude of neutrality which he assumed towards the conflict between North and South did much to moderate the spirit among the Disciples and save them from the division which was threatening.

248 The Disciples of Christ

The preachers among the Disciples in Missouri took formal action with respect to the conflict by issuing a circular, "Concerning the Duties of Christians in this Conflict," in which they declared that Christians ought not to go to war. Among those who signed the document were B. H. Smith, J. W. McGarvey, T. M. Allen and T. P. Haley. There were three questions under discussion in religious circles at the time: first, as to whether a Christian should go to war; second, as to whether the southern states had a right to secede; and third, as to whether slavery should be abolished. It was possible for many Christian people to take refuge behind the first, and remain non-committal with respect to the others. The question found its way into the convention of the missionary society in 1861, at Cincinnati, Ohio, in a resolution by J. P. Robinson of Ohio, calling upon "the brethren everywhere to do all in their power to sustain the proper and constitutional au-

thority of the Union." The resolution was lost. Reports began to be circulated that the Disciples and the missionary society in particular were "to a certain degree disloyal to the government of the United States." At the meeting of the society in 1863 resolutions were adopted declaring allegiance to the government and tendering sympathies to the soldiers in the field who were defending the country from the attempt of armed traitors to overthrow the government. This action cut off from the society the support of the southern churches, and rendered it comparatively bankrupt. When President Lincoln proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves in 1862 the bond which bound the northern and southern churches together was strained almost to the breaking point. But it did not break, and the war closed with the denomination in the North and South united in the bonds of Christian love and service. It was cause for unfeigned rejoicing, and was due in

large measure to the Christian wisdom of the members in the two sections, the moderation of the leaders, but more to the congregational form of government which prevented any action in the body as a whole.

The organ controversy was the missionary controversy in a new form, for both grew out of the opposition to human innovations in the work and worship of the church. Most churches were without musical instruments in their public worship down to the middle of the century. The controversy broke out in 1860 through the introduction of a melodeon into the services of the church at Midway, Kentucky, then in charge of Dr. L. L. Pinkerton. Benjamin Franklin as editor of the *American Christian Review*, led in the attack upon the innovation. He was opposed to it as ministering to the pride and worldliness of the churches, as without the sanction of New Testament precept or example, and consequently as

The Rise of Internal Controversy 251

unscriptural and sinful. Franklin and those who shared his view refused to worship or hold membership in a church that used an organ. Through his influence the old enemies of the missionary society were lined up against the organ. The thing that intensified the warfare was the element of conscience which entered into it. The organ party treated it as a question of expediency on which there should be forbearance and liberty. The anti-party treated it as a matter of principle. With the gradual improvement in the music of the churches through the use of an organ in leading, and the introduction of choirs, the older congregational method began to appear rude and old-fashioned, and offended the cultivated and modern tastes of the younger members. As the churches introduced the organ more widely, the greater need there seemed to be for it, and the progressive, modern elements grew impatient of the objections of the more conservative and forced

it into the worship against their consent. There were many divisions in churches, and it was not uncommon to see two churches in a community—the one using the organ, the other without it—but alike in all other respects.

Isaac Errett became the leader of the progressive party, and through the pages of the *Christian Standard*, after its establishment in 1866, favored and promoted every helpful expedient in the work of the church. It was he who fought the battle of the missionary society, and reminded his brethren in 1867 that the *Standard* was the only weekly paper advocating missionary societies. Against him were the *Gospel Advocate* and the *American Christian Review*, and to them was added in 1869 the *Apostolic Times* under the editorship of Moses E. Lard, L. B. Wilkes, Robert Graham, W. H. Hopson, and J. W. McGarvey, established with the avowed purpose of resisting the tide setting in favor of modern methods and or-

The Rise of Internal Controversy 253

ganizations in church work. The new paper opened its batteries at once upon the *Christian Standard* to which Errett replied: "Our editorial brethren of the *Times* are, with us, guilty of a great innovation in publishing a weekly religious newspaper; and if they do this as children of God, they are doing what they well know has neither a divine command nor an approved precedent to support it. When they preach they go into a meeting house, which is an innovation, and give out a hymn, which is an innovation, and this hymn is sung to a tune, which is an innovation, by the aid of a tune-book and a tune-fork, which are innovations."

As a result of these differences, divisions and separations took place in churches between 1860 and 1880 which formed a separate party, that has gone on establishing papers and schools and churches. They regard the Disciples as corrupt and apostate and will have no fellowship with them.

254 The Disciples of Christ

They insist upon the abandonment of all missionary organizations and expedients in church work, as a condition of fellowship and cooperation with them. They submitted a "Memorial" to the Convention of the Disciples which met in Nashville in 1892, calling upon them to "abandon their organizations that found no necessity or recognition in apostolic times, for the sake of union and cooperation." Their strength lies principally in Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas. They have planted missions among the Indians, and in Turkey and Japan, which they support by voluntary contributions without the mediation of a "human society."

In these controversies the scheme of Christian union as advocated by the Disciples received its second critical test, and met with its second failure. Unity was wrecked in both cases upon the same rock—a literal application of the principle, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are

The Rise of Internal Controversy 255

silent, we are silent," to the interpretation of primitive Christianity. The failure to preserve unity within their own ranks was a serious blow to the Disciples, but it did not shake their confidence in the principle of Christian union. They went on preaching union upon the Bible alone while their churches were dividing over the interpretation of the Bible. They still believed that the separation of matters of faith from matters of opinion was a true principle of unity, although they were unable to make a separation satisfactory to both parties. The anti-organ party said the use of an organ in public worship was a matter of faith, the organ party said it was a matter of opinion and expediency. They could not agree and separated.

At this juncture Isaac Errett appeared upon the stage of action, full of wisdom and experience, with a timely message to the confused and distracted body. He had been for several years one of the trusted

and honored leaders among his brethren; and as preacher, writer and thinker, as secretary of the missionary society in its most critical period, as teacher in Hiram College, as co-editor of the *Harbinger*, he had demonstrated that he possessed the essential elements of leadership. He had already held every position of trust and honor among the Disciples, before he was made first editor of the *Christian Standard* in 1866. The year that the *Standard* was established was the year in which the great leader, Alexander Campbell, died; and by common consent of his brethren, after they had recovered from the first shock of the loss, Isaac Errett took his place of leadership. He sounded a new note when he announced his purposes as editor to be: "(1) the turning of the world to Christ; (2) the union of believers in the fellowship of the gospel; (3) the education of Christians into a nobler spiritual life."

The Disciples had been progressively re-

The Rise of Internal Controversy 257

storing primitive Christianity as they progressively grasped it as *an order of things*, then as a *missionary enterprise*; but it was left for Isaac Errett to propose to restore primitive Christianity as a *spirit of things*. He began to emphasize the *spirit* over against the *letter*. Unity based on the letter of the New Testament had failed; he saw new hope for a unity based on the *spirit* of the New Testament. He saw that the Disciples could go no further in their emphasis upon the letter of Christianity than the anti-organ party had gone. As literalists they were more consistent, but not perfectly consistent, for they also used many innovations in public worship. The extravagances of this party produced a reaction in the direction of a more spiritual definition of Christianity, and gave the principle of union a new meaning. He signalized the change of emphasis that was called for by the experiences of the past by

258 The Disciples of Christ

saying in 1868: "Let the bond of union among the baptized be *Christian character* in place of *orthodoxy*—*right doing* in place of *exact thinking*."

CHAPTER XII

MISSIONARY ORGANIZATION

BY 1850 the Disciples of Christ had grown to be a body numbering nearly 200,000, and were distributed widely throughout the states. On account of the strict independency of church government among them, cooperative work was very slowly developed, and often under severe opposition, from fear of creating ecclesiastical organizations likely to become a menace to freedom. The various missionary, Bible, and educational enterprises that had sprung up among them grew out of individual or local initiative. They would countenance nothing but the freest and loosest kind of cooperation. The widest cooperations thus far were those of state churches for work in their own borders. But there was work to be done beyond the borders of states for which there

was no provision. Some enterprises, such as the educational and foreign missionary, which were general, could only be carried on by general support. The advisability of providing an agency for doing something for the general causes of education, missions, and Bible circulation, was discussed for many months in the papers and finally issued in a call for a general convention, to be held at Cincinnati, Ohio, in October, 1849.

Of the one hundred and fifty-five delegates which composed the convention, some were appointed at state meetings of churches to represent the various states, some were appointed by local churches, and others came on their own motion. No one had any authority to do anything that would bind the churches sending them. They were simply sent as representatives to confer and suggest, but if they organized no one could be a member of the organization but those who voluntarily joined.

After wrestling with the problem of the scope of their business as a convention, they finally settled to the serious task of missionary organization. They started in to settle a variety of questions troubling the churches, such as the ordination of ministers, the discipline of unworthy ministers, the organization of Sunday-schools, and the publication of a Sunday-school library. During the five days of the convention they discussed fifty-eight different resolutions upon a wide range of subjects and interests, many of which they concluded did not belong to their business. The one thing which came out of their deliberations was the organization of the American Christian Missionary Society. They drafted a constitution providing for a board of managers for the foreign field and a board for the home field; for annual delegates, life-members and life-directors, according to the amount of money paid into the treasury. The following leading men were present in the convention:

262 The Disciples of Christ

D. S. Burnet (chairman of convention), W. K. Pendleton, John O'Kane, Elijah Goodwin, James Challen, John T. Johnson, L. L. Pinkerton, Benjamin Franklin, J. J. Moss, T. J. Melish, Walter Scott, B. U. Watkins, and James Mathes. The society was regularly incorporated in the state of Ohio in 1850.

The first work which the society undertook was the sending of Dr. J. T. Barclay as a missionary to Jerusalem. This field was selected for reasons that were largely sentimental. The mission was interrupted in 1854, and finally abandoned during the Civil War, on the ground that, "The field was as sterile as the rock on which Jerusalem is built." The only other foreign mission undertaken by the society was in Jamaica in 1858: and after the organization of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society in 1875 it confined its operations exclusively to the home field. The offering for the first year, under James Challen as secretary, was

\$2,496.79; the largest offering between 1850 and 1884, was in the year 1860, under Isaac Errett as secretary, when \$15,831.25 were contributed; the largest offering in the history of the society was in 1899, under Benjamin L. Smith as secretary, when \$115,004.00 were contributed. The total amount of money raised to 1903 was \$1,383,611.11. It has organized through its missionaries 2,848 churches, and has brought 138,960 persons into the churches by baptism. During 1904, \$85,755.96 were contributed, 225 churches were organized, and 16,861 persons were baptized by its missionaries. Its work lies principally in the states where the Disciples have few churches, and in the larger cities. In 1903 the convention created a Bureau of Evangelization under the management of the society, to devote its attention to evangelism in the cities, to reenforce the general evangelism of the body by producing a literature and holding assemblies on modern evangelistic methods. Besides

the general society, each state has its own local missionary society for work within the state, which should be included in home missionary work. The amount of money raised by these state societies for 1904 was \$226,633.67.

The American Christian Missionary Society was the pioneer in the struggle for organized missionary work among the Disciples, and consequently bore all the blows and suffered all the experiments incident to pioneer work. By 1874, when the next general society was organized, the idea of missionary work through organized societies had won a place in the program of the Disciples. When the severest of its battles were over, the era of specialization in missionary work began in the organization of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions. This society was organized at the General Convention of the Disciples in Cincinnati, in 1874, to utilize the consecration and services of the women of the churches in

cultivating a missionary spirit, encouraging missionary efforts, disseminating missionary intelligence, and securing systematic contributions for missionary purposes. With Mrs. C. N. Pearre originated the suggestion of an organization among the women of the Disciples for missionary purposes. To Isaac Errett and his interest and advocacy, belongs the credit for its actual organization. The plan was to band together the women of the churches in "auxiliary societies" which should become feeders of the society's treasury. It has demonstrated the value of systematic giving, for it has taken the "monthly dues" of ten cents from each of the members of its auxiliaries and has swelled them from a total contribution of \$1,200.35 the first year, to \$167,084.72 in 1904. The total receipts for thirty years amount to \$1,468,721.73. It supported two missionaries the first year and 287 missionaries in 1904. It had a total membership of 41,211 women in its aux-

266 The Disciples of Christ

iliaries in 1904, through which it reached 600,000 women in the churches. Its field of work covers all forms of missionary service—educational, medical, and evangelistic—both home and foreign—among women and children. It is doing work in thirty states of the Union, in Mexico, Porto Rico, Jamaica, and India. It has 500 children in its orphanages, 3,000 pupils in its schools, and treats thousands of sick in its hospitals. The Society has developed a new form of missionary service, and was the first to introduce Bible instruction into state universities. The inauguration and development of this work in its first stages were due to the leadership of C. A. Young and H. L. Willett. The later development has been carried on under the leadership of Geo. P. Coler, W. M. Forrest, and W. C. Payne. The first Bible Chair was established in 1893 at the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor); the second Chair, in 1899 at the University of Virginia (Charlottesville);

the third Chair, in 1900 at the University of Calcutta, India; the fourth Chair, in 1901 at the University of Kansas (Lawrence). The Chairs at Ann Arbor and Charlottesville have been endowed with permanent funds of \$25,000 each. These Bible Chairs provide instruction in the English Bible for students in the state universities, and have not only served the purpose of placing the literature and history of the Bible alongside of the Greek and Latin literatures for the intellectual and moral benefit of the students, but they have served to foster the religious life in many young persons and to turn some to ministerial and missionary service. The multitudes of young men and young women in the state institutions without religious instruction in their courses of study, proved to be a ripened field for the society which it has been quick to appreciate. As rapidly as possible it is projecting the work into all of the larger state universities.

268 The Disciples of Christ

Other denominations are following the example.

In the further development of specialized missionary activity the Foreign Christian Missionary Society was organized in 1875, to do work solely in heathen lands. Opposition to societies had prevented the American Society from doing anything either at home or abroad, but the wisdom of specialization and division of the field to utilize the effectiveness of the foreign appeal was recognized, and resulted in the creation of the Foreign Society at the Convention of the Disciples at Louisville, in 1875. The leading spirits in this new enterprise were Isaac Errett, W. T. Moore, B. B. Tyler, Thomas Munnell, Robert Moffett, A. I. Hobbs, F. M. Green, J. S. Lamar, and W. S. Dickinson. Its first president was Isaac Errett; its second C. L. Loos, and its third A. McLean. Its official management and financial basis are similar to the American Society. It is an independent, volun-

tary society, and looks for support to the friends of foreign missions among the churches. So indifferent were the Disciples to the foreign missionary interests at first that the society was unable to find men to go to the foreign field. Its first work was done in England; its second field was Denmark and the Scandinavian countries; its third field was Paris, France; while the first work among distinctly non-Christian peoples was begun in Turkey in 1879. India was entered in 1882. In 1904 the society was doing work in India, Japan, China, Turkey, Africa, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, England, Cuba, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, and Thibet. The income of the society the first year was \$1,706.35; in 1904 the income was \$211,318. The total amount received by the society since its organization is \$2,244,151. The whole number of missionaries in the service of the society at the present time is 143, and of native helpers 295, making a total mission-

ary force of 438. The annual income of the Foreign Society exceeds that of any other missionary society among the Disciples. Within three years it had outstripped the pioneer American Society and has gone on steadily increasing its receipts, taking the lead of all others as the favored missionary activity of the denomination. It has set the mark to which all others have aimed, and it has helped others up as it has gone up the ascending scale. This is probably due in large measure to the advantage of an ideal and persuasive appeal, of which it has had the exclusive use; but in some measure to the time of the year at which it makes its appeal to the churches. It reaps the benefit of the year's first missionary offering, the first Sunday in March. But no account of the society's success would be complete which did not take into account the wisdom and consecrated leadership of A. McLean, its secretary for eighteen years and its president since 1900.

In the course of its work the American Society encountered one serious need of the churches with which it dealt—the need of houses of worship as a condition of their permanence and highest efficiency. Appeals for loans of money to help them build frequently came to the secretary from churches too weak to undertake it alone. This led to a recommendation by Robert Moffett, the secretary, to the convention of 1883, that a Church Extension Fund be created by the Board to be loaned to churches needing help to build. A special committee under the Board was created to have this work in charge. The receipts the first year amounted to \$2,105, and by 1887, when a secretary was appointed to devote all of his time to the work, the fund amounted to \$5,648.83. A regular Board of Church Extension was created in 1888, and was located at Kansas City, Mo. The receipts of the Board the first year of its history were \$2,105; in 1904, under George W.

272 The Disciples of Christ

Muckley, as secretary, they were \$58,988.30. The total amount in the fund at the last report (1904) was \$435,183.70. It has assisted in building 821 churches during its existence. With this fund many struggling churches have been helped to larger life and not a few actually saved from death. It has stepped in many times to save a valuable property to a church that has met with temporary reverses while carrying a building debt. In 1892 it inaugurated the policy of going into places of strategic importance and buying ground in growing centres to be held for future church building purposes. In 1904 the Board was holding lots in commanding locations in fifty-six cities of the Union. During its entire history it has lost on uncollectable debts but \$563, and has handled in its operations \$828,454.29.

The more benevolent side of Christian work was not begun by the Disciples as an organized national movement until 1895, in

the organization of the Board of Ministerial Relief. This work owes its inauguration to A. M. Atkinson, a Christian business man, who was its first secretary and gave himself to its promotion until his death in 1899. It has for its field of service the care of disabled and aged ministers, their widows and orphans. While the ministry among the Disciples has never received generous or even ample support, yet there has not been any unusual distress among them. The compensation of the early preachers was notoriously, if not infamously, small, and the majority were obliged to engage in business to eke out a living. Alexander Campbell had decried the "salaried clergy" as a part of the corruption of the popular systems of religion until the acceptance of compensation for services on the part of ministers was looked upon as a degradation of the calling. As a result of the early tendency to lower the ministerial qualification, and admit men to the ministry

without education or training, and the early practice of allowing the minister to look out for himself in some business calling along with his preaching, the ministry among the Disciples has been the most poorly paid of any of the denominations. Yet the denomination did nothing to provide for the period of disability in the lives of its ministers until 1895, and has not yet provided for honorable retirement under sickness or advanced age, such as other denominations have done. The Board of Ministerial Relief is poorly supported and does not have more than \$10,000 a year to devote to its work. In 1904 its income amounted to \$11,562.

The National Benevolent Association was organized in 1886, and did work principally in St. Louis, Mo.; it did not become national in its activities until about 1901 when it appointed a general secretary to urge its cause on behalf of the orphaned young and the aged upon the entire denomination. Since then it has rapidly con-

solidated the local state benevolent enterprises of the Disciples under its auspices, and has increased its income from \$85 the first year, to \$77,040.28 in 1904. The association supports two old peoples' homes, one at Jacksonville, Illinois, and one at East Aurora, New York; a babes' home and free hospital, at St. Louis, Mo.; and orphanages at St. Louis, Mo., Cleveland, Ohio, Dallas, Texas, and Loveland, Colorado. The association is entirely under the management of Christian women.

The Disciples have from time to time undertaken the work of education among the negroes of the South. A beginning was made in a mission to the Freedmen at the close of the Civil War. The Southern Christian Institute was organized in 1875 and finally established near Edwards, Miss., in 1882. The Board of Negro Evangelization and Education was organized in 1890; C. C. Smith was appointed secretary in 1891; the Board was merged with the American

276 The Disciples of Christ

Society in 1898; and in 1900 it was taken under the care of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions, as part of the work of that society. It supports four schools in the South for the education of negroes, and for the training of negro ministers.

A Board of Education was organized in 1894 and has struggled for ten years to make a place for itself in the sympathies of the people and in the missionary calendar of the churches, with some success. The cause of education has not kept pace with the development of the missionary enterprises of the Disciples.

The missionary development of the Disciples becomes really impressive when it is remembered that in 1873 there was but one society with an income of \$4,159, contributed by a body numbering 450,000 communicants; while in 1904 there were seven or eight societies—missionary, benevolent, and educational—with an income of \$661,737, contributed by a body numbering 1,200,000.

CHAPTER XIII

EVANGELISM, JOURNALISM, EDUCATION, AND CHURCH GROWTH

WE have seen how one current of the movement arose out of an evangelism in 1803, and how the main current issued in an evangelism about 1827. From 1809 to 1827 the Campbells had established but two or three churches through their own efforts, and these out of persons already members of churches; but as soon as Walter Scott made the discovery of the "ancient gospel" and threw himself into its proclamation in 1827, new churches sprang up as if by magic. Stone and his fellow preachers were evangelists to begin with and swept rapidly through the states converting persons and constituting churches. By 1832 the Disciples were confirmed in their evangelistic habits through coalition with the

278 The Disciples of Christ

Stone movement. Every preacher was an evangelist. The aim of every sermon was to produce immediate conviction in the unconverted among the hearers, and no meeting closed without giving convicted and penitent persons an opportunity to make a public confession of their faith in Christ. The process of conversion was completed by an immersion of the person, after which he was received to membership in the church, by the "right hand of fellowship."

This simple and clearly defined evangelistic program, obtained from the practice of the apostles as recorded in the *Acts of Apostles*, was learned and followed by every preacher from that day to this. It made every preacher and church an enlistment agency. They perfected in their method and manner of preaching, as well as in their treatment of inquirers and penitents, an evangelism which was both instantaneous and effective. The point at which many evangelisms break down is in

Evangelism, Journalism, Education 279

producing assurance in the penitent. A doctrine of definite, immediate, and accessible assurance of salvation underlay their "plan of salvation," and brought immediate relief to burdened souls. They taught inquiring sinners that forgiveness was to be obtained by obedience to certain commands. The commands of the gospel were: believe, repent and be baptized; and the promises were: the remission of sins, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and eternal life. The efficiency of this plan as an evangelism was that the person could put himself through the process of obedience, and need not wait for the Spirit to move him or God to elect him. He moved himself, he elected himself to eternal life through faith. The blessings promised would as surely follow obedience, as effect follows cause. If an inquirer asked, "What must I do to be saved?" the answer was ready: Believe, repent and be baptized. It was thus that the apostles preached and dealt with peni-

tent souls, as in the case of Peter on the day of Pentecost, and of Philip with the eunuch. These are the so-called "first principles" which have played so large a part in the preaching and writing of the Disciples; they are simply the primitive, apostolic evangelism reproduced in the preaching of to-day. The one book with which their preachers have been more familiar than any other is the *Acts of Apostles*—a book illustrating the methods of the primitive evangelists.

With this evangelistic method in mind one does not have far to seek for an explanation of the rapid growth of the Disciples through all of their history. Minister and evangelist were for several decades almost synonymous terms. The Disciples have always regarded themselves as specialists in the doctrine and machinery of conversion. Their ministry has always been an evangelistic, recruiting ministry, whether itinerant or settled. They have always

vied with one another in their efforts to excel as winners of converts; and the denomination has stimulated this talent in its ministers by bestowing special honor upon its successful achievement. The consequence is that the denomination has grown rapidly from the first, and continues to grow.

With the increase of the churches in members and wealth, the pastoral side of the ministry was developed to meet the needs of Christian nurture, local church development, and social service. The following men distinguished themselves as pastors in the early period of the pastoral ministry : D. S. Burnet, James Challen, W. H. Hopson, L. L. Pinkerton, D. P. Henderson, L. B. Wilkes, A. S. Hayden, Wm. Baxter, Isaac Errett, Thomas Munnell, O. A. Burgess, Alexander Proctor, J. A. Brooks, J. S. Lamar, Joseph King, David Walk, W. T. Moore, J. S. Sweeney, and T. P. Haley. To these men and many

282 The Disciples of Christ

others like them, the churches owed their deeper and broader development in Christian faith and beneficence, as well as their gradual increase in membership and influence in the community. They were succeeded by a younger generation of pastors, equally worthy and successful, such as B. B. Tyler, J. Z. Tyler, R. T. Matthews, F. D. Power, J. M. Tribble, A. I. Hobbs, George Darsie, A. N. Gilbert, Jabez Hall, J. J. Haley, I. J. Spencer, and D. R. Lucas. Connected with the transition from the earlier evangelistic to the later pastoral ministry, was a form of specialization or division of labor between the pastor and evangelist. It was recognized that the two kinds of service—the enlisting of converts, and the training of converts—called for two kinds of talent, not often joined in a high degree in the same person. Hence arose the “professional evangelist,” who was especially qualified to hold “protracted meetings,”

Evangelism, Journalism, Education 283

and did little else. One of the earliest, greatest and most honored of this type of evangelist was Knowles Shaw. He was born in Ohio in 1834, and was killed in a railroad wreck in Texas, in 1878. He was gifted with rare musical talent, which in youth he used to enliven social gatherings in the neighborhood of his home, but in later life used with marvellous power in revival meetings. He was preacher and singing evangelist in one. In his most successful meetings he had as many as two hundred and fifty conversions in the course of four or five weeks. More recent evangelists of the type of Knowles Shaw, such as J. V. Updike, H. A. Northcutt, J. H. O. Smith, J. V. Coombs, Chas. Reign Scoville, Allen Wilson, and W. E. Harlow, have been even more successful—the number of converts in a single meeting sometimes surpassing four or five hundred.

While the evangelism of the Disciples has had its most direct bearings upon their

growth, yet it has influenced to a remarkable degree the character of their literature. The bulk of their literature consists of books of sermons and tracts. The Disciples have never forgotten that they were propagandists of "peculiar views," which have always furnished them with texts for preaching and writing. The printed sermons are, as a rule, little more than tracts upon the various phases of denominational doctrine or practice. A few sermonizers have attempted excursions into the field of general Christian culture with some success. Aside from Alexander Campbell's writings, the books which have been most read are the sermons of Benjamin Franklin; while more recently the writings of Isaac Errett, Robert Richardson, J. S. Lamar, Robert Milligan, J. W. McGarvey, B. B. Tyler, A. McLean, J. H. Garrison, W. T. Moore, and F. D. Power, have been widely read and have exerted a notable influence upon the movement. Isaac Errett's tract,

Our Position, has been read by the thousands and remains unequalled as a statement of the position of the Disciples in relation to other religious bodies.

Evangelism has also deeply influenced the doctrine and life of the Disciples. The doctrine of assurance through obedience propagated in all their evangelistic preaching, was easily understood and readily seized upon as a balm for a distressed conscience. The satisfaction which was found in baptism, and in the scriptural guarantee of correctness, loosed many persons from the inner pain of spiritual imperfection and gave them security in external obedience to commands. It was this legalistic conception of Christian duty and service which partly accounts for the slow reception of the missionary enterprise, and for the tardy acceptance of the duty of social service.

Reference has been made from time to time in these pages to various periodicals,

monthly and weekly, which have played so large a part in the history. As promoters of the cause without and as moulders of thought and leaders of action within, the editors and newspapers have stood second only to the ministry. Alexander Campbell was the first editor and set the example of an efficient journalism in the *Christian Baptist* and *Millennial Harbinger*. They had their imitators in a score of similar periodicals before 1830, and from that time to this, scores have been established, and have gone their way after a brief career. They have not always reproduced the best side of their prototypes, but they have not failed to do valiant, and often militant, service on behalf of the cause they espoused. Every leader, and every one who aspired to leadership, has in some way and at some time been connected with a newspaper. While at various times they have been the instruments through which internal feuds and parties have been created, yet no great mis-

sionary, benevolent, or educational cause has arisen and succeeded without the help of a journal.

When a journal has grown to a position of universal influence, its power for good or evil has been greater than that of any man or group of men. They have consequently made and unmade many individuals and causes. In a pure congregationalism, such as exists among the Disciples, the newspapers came nearer being authoritative oracles and tribunals than any other organized institution. Two papers in the recent period have succeeded to the wide influence of the *Baptist* and *Harbinger* in the early period—the *Christian Standard*, under the editorship of Isaac Errett, and the *Christian Evangelist*, under the editorship of J. H. Garrison. The *Standard* was the sole product of the spirit and genius of Isaac Errett, and was the exponent of a more liberal and spiritual order of things until the death of the editor in 1888. As the friend

and advocate of missionary societies, instruments of music in public worship, and a more cordial relation with other religious bodies, he fell under the suspicion of being too liberal. He drew around him men of the broadest spirit and some of the best writers of the church, and set an example of the highest and best religious journalism. The simplicity, modesty, and dignity of his character, the catholicity and unselfishness of his spirit, constituted him the greatest leader since Alexander Campbell. After his death his paper fell into the hands of men of a different spirit. Men who had opposed Isaac Errett in his day became influential in the direction of its policy and spoke behind his authority in the columns of his paper upon the new questions and problems that had arisen. Upon some of the old questions the paper continued to speak as Isaac Errett had spoken, and when it spoke upon the new questions many people thought it was Isaac Errett still speaking.

Evangelism, Journalism, Education 289

Upon all new questions of biblical criticism and denominational policy and mission, it has taken a conservative, reactionary position.

The *Christian Evangelist* has had a complicated ancestral history. After the consolidation of many papers in many states covering a period of many years, it took form in 1882 under the editorship of B. W. Johnson and J. H. Garrison and was published at St. Louis, Missouri. In 1894, upon the death of B. W. Johnson, J. H. Garrison became sole editor. The editor was a man of spiritual vision, and desired for the Disciples a larger spiritual life and a larger place in the world's religious work. He joined hands with Isaac Errett in the task of delivering the body from legalism and a narrow sectarianism, and of promoting every missionary and educational cause which foretold spiritual emancipation. He has consistently stood for larger liberty, for hospitality to-

wards new truth, and for the practice of Christian union in every form of cooperation with other denominations. J. H. Garrison succeeded to the religious leadership laid down by Isaac Errett at his death.

These journals, with a multitude of others, have taught the position of the Disciples week by week in their columns, and have defended it against criticism and objection; have opened their columns to the advocacy of the various missionary societies, educational institutions, and benevolent enterprises, and have thus unified the sentiment and concerted the action of ministers and churches with reference to them; have chosen and guided the denominational attitude towards many questions and its policy with reference to many enterprises; and have been indispensable agencies in the interrelation and effective workings of the various organizations, interests, and forces of the body. The influential editor occupies a place of generalship and superintendence

Evangelism, Journalism, Education 291

over the widely separated parts of the denominational army. With few exceptions journalism among the Disciples has been wise, conscientious, and progressive, and the present state of unity and efficiency among them is due in no small degree to intelligent and responsible editorship. In 1904 the Disciples were publishing twenty-seven general newspapers, the most widely circulating of which were: the *Christian Standard*, of Cincinnati; the *Christian Evangelist*, of St. Louis; the *Christian Century*, of Chicago; the *Christian Companion*, of Louisville; the *Christian Courier*, of Dallas; the *Christian Union*, of Des Moines, and the *Pacific Christian* of San Francisco, all of which are weekly papers.

Education among the Disciples began as an effort to supply the churches with an educated ministry. The early leaders, Campbell, Scott and Stone, were educated men and recognized the value of education for the ministry. The emphasis was laid

upon the minister's training in the knowledge and use of the English Bible. The study of theology, as usually carried on in theological seminaries, was held in small favor. When Alexander Campbell undertook the task of establishing a school for the training of ministers, he founded a college and made the Bible a text-book along with text-books in the sciences and arts. At the close of his college course a young man was ready to begin to preach without any further preparation. No provision was made, and none thought necessary, for special, professional training beyond the college course. Theological seminary and college were merged in one. Such a school served the ends not only of ministerial training but of general Christian education for the sons and daughters in the families of Disciples, and thus made a double appeal to the churches. To serve this twofold purpose, Bethany College was founded by Alexander Campbell, at Bethany, West

Evangelism, Journalism, Education 293

Virginia, in 1840. With similar purposes in view Hiram College was founded at Hiram, Ohio, in 1850; Butler College, at Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1850; Eureka College, at Eureka, Illinois, in 1855; Christian University, at Canton, Missouri, in 1853 (the first college in the United States to grant women equal privileges with men); Oskaloosa College, at Oskaloosa, Iowa, in 1856; Kentucky University, at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, in 1858. With the removal of Kentucky University to Lexington in 1865, specialized ministerial education was begun among the Disciples in the organization of the Bible College as a separate college of the University. Other colleges began to separate ministerial studies from the college course and to offer specialized elective courses which could be pursued as post-graduate work. When Drake University was opened at Des Moines, Iowa, in 1881, the Bible Department was separated from the other departments. More recently the Disciples have

294 The Disciples of Christ

established other colleges, such as, Texas Christian University (originally Add Ran College, located at Thorpe's Springs, but in 1890 changed to Add Ran Christian University, and in 1895 moved to Waco, where it became Texas Christian University); and Cotner University established at Lincoln, Nebraska in 1889. Besides these leading institutions there were in 1905, thirty-five different educational institutions of all grades, controlled by the Disciples or conducted in their interest or under their name, in the United States. The aggregate value of their property was \$2,459,000; the value of their endowment, \$1,968,000; the total number of students in attendance, 5,819, 868 of whom were preparing for the ministry.

In spite of the meagre support and inadequate equipment of these colleges, they have been one of the most important factors in the growth and development of the Disciples. They have stood close to the

Evangelism, Journalism, Education 295

churches, and have met their first and most pressing need, in giving them educated ministers. They have demonstrated their value and necessity to the churches by numbering among their graduates the leading workers in every department of work—evangelists, pastors, teachers, editors, and missionaries. The leaders of thought and action since the first college was founded have come from the colleges. Many fields of work are always waiting for the coming of the properly equipped man. This is true preeminently of missionary and educational work, and pastoral work in the larger cities. The quiet, accumulative influence of the great teachers of the colleges has never been sufficiently recognized or honored. To the first generation of teachers who have had an incalculable influence upon the movement, belong W. K. Pendleton, who was professor in Bethany College from 1841 to 1887, and president from 1866 to 1887; Robert Richardson who was pro-

296 The Disciples of Christ

fessor in Bethany College from 1841 to 1859, the biographer of Campbell, co-editor of the *Harbinger*, and author of *Office of the Holy Spirit*, and other works; Silas E. Shepard, who was president of Hiram College from 1867 to 1870; and S. K. Hoshour, who was president of Butler College from 1858 to 1861, and afterwards professor of modern languages in the same institution.

The first generation was succeeded by a second generation of educators, composed of a large and brilliant company of men of the deepest piety and consecration, many of whom distinguished themselves first as preachers and never lost touch with the pulpit. A few are still living, and are the last connecting links with the pioneer days of education. Robert Milligan was professor in Bethany College, 1854-59; president of Kentucky University, 1859-66; the first president of the College of the Bible, 1866-75 (the year of his death); co-editor of the *Harbinger* and author

Evangelism, Journalism, Education 297

of the *Scheme of Redemption, Reason and Revelation*, and other works. Robert Graham was president of Kentucky University, 1866-69; president of Hamilton College, 1869-75; president of the College of the Bible, 1875-95, and professor of philosophy in the College of Arts until 1898. He died in 1901. James A. Garfield was a teacher in Hiram College with brief intermissions, 1852-66. He died as president of the United States in 1881. B. A. Hinsdale was president of Hiram College, 1870-82; superintendent of schools in Cleveland, 1882-86; professor in the University of Michigan, 1888 to the time of his death in 1900. George T. Carpenter was president of Oskaloosa College, 1861-81; organizer and chancellor of Drake University, 1881-93. J. M. Atwater was president of Hiram College, 1868-70, and served as professor for longer or shorter periods in Eureka College and other institutions and died in 1900. H. W. Everest was a

298 The Disciples of Christ

teacher in Hiram College, 1855-62; president of Eureka College, 1864-72, and 1877-81; president of Butler College, 1881-86; dean of the College of the Bible, Drake University, from 1897 to his death in 1900. He was the author of a book on the evidences of Christianity called *The Divine Demonstration*. D. R. Dungan was professor in the Bible Department, Drake University, 1883-90; president of Cotner University, 1890-96. He is still living and is dean of the Bible Department of Drake University. He is the author of several books, the best known of which is, *On the Rock*. J. W. McGarvey is still living and has been connected with the Bible College, as professor from 1865 to 1895, and as president from 1895 to the present time. He is the author of *Commentary on the Acts*, and other works on biblical criticism. B. J. Radford was professor in Eureka College and part of the time president, 1870-81; president of Drake University, 1882-83; and

Evangelism, Journalism, Education 299

professor in Eureka College from 1892 to the present time. C. L. Loos was president of Eureka College, 1857-58; professor in Bethany College, 1858-80; president of Kentucky University, 1880-97; and professor in the same institution from 1897 to the present time.

Evangelism, journalism, and education have had principally to do with the growth, the present state and character, of the Disciples of Christ. The growth of the body was assured from the beginning of its separate existence. In 1850 the number of communicants, as given by unfriendly calculators, was 118,000, while the Congregationalists numbered 197,000; in 1870 the Disciples numbered 450,000, the Congregationalists, 306,000; in 1880, the Disciples 591,000, the Congregationalists, 384,000; in 1890, the Disciples, 641,000, the Congregationalists, 512,000; in 1900, the Disciples, 1,118,000, the Congregationalists, 628,234. In 1850 the Congregationalists numbered

300 The Disciples of Christ

about twice as many communicants as the Disciples; in 1900 the position of the two bodies was exactly reversed. The Congregationalists are chosen for comparison with the Disciples because the two bodies have many resemblances, both in doctrine and organization, and have occupied the same territory.

The Disciples have churches in every state of the Union but one (1904)—New Hampshire, with the possible addition of Nevada. They are most numerous in Missouri (1,710 churches, 180,000 members); Indiana (956 churches, 130,000 members); Kentucky (910 churches, 120,500 members); Illinois (815 churches, 120,000 members); Texas (780 churches, 93,000 members); Tennessee (562 churches, 52,300 members); Ohio (558 churches, 85,500 members); Iowa (501 churches, 57,000 members). They are weakest in the New England and eastern states, and in the extreme northern and southern states. Their strength lies in the

central western states, where they first took root in the early days.

Outside of the United States, the growth of the Disciples has not been so marked. In the Canadian Provinces there are only 158 churches, with a membership of 12,150; in Great Britain, 155 churches, with a membership of 14,000; in Australia, 235 churches, with a membership of 17,298; and on the foreign missionary field, 148 churches, with a membership of 9,773.

The Disciples began as a movement in the country and smaller towns and villages and have not made notable progress in the larger cities until the last fifteen years. The most striking gains in the last decade have been made in Washington, D. C., where the churches have increased from one to four, and the membership from 600 to 2,050; in St. Louis, where the churches have increased from four to eleven and the membership from 1,129 to 3,784; in Pittsburg, where the churches have increased

from eight to eighteen, and the membership from 1,494 to 4,545; in Kansas City, where the churches have increased from six to fourteen, and the membership from 2,199 to 4,600; in Des Moines, where the churches have increased from three to eight, and the membership from 1,500 to 4,420; in Chicago, where the churches have increased from six to eighteen, and the membership from 1,060 to 4,945; and in Buffalo, where the churches have increased from one to four, and the membership from 300 to 1,107. The American Society has devoted special attention to the development of churches in the cities during the last ten years, under the conviction that the cities are the key to the evangelization of America. This remarkable advancement could not have been accomplished without the leadership of an able company of younger pastors who have rendered or are rendering distinguished service in the following cities: W. F. Richardson, in Grand Rapids and Kansas

Evangelism, Journalism, Education 303

City; A. B. Philputt, in Philadelphia and Indianapolis; H. O. Breeden, in Des Moines; E. L. Powell, in Louisville; F. G. Tyrrell, in St. Louis; J. M. Philputt, in New York City; G. H. Combs, in Kansas City; A. M. Harvuot, in Cincinnati; G. A. Miller, in Covington; T. E. Cramblett, in Pittsburg; E. B. Bagby, in Washington City; Carey E. Morgan, in Richmond; I. N. McCash, in Des Moines; W. B. Craig, in Denver; F. P. Arthur, in Rochester and Grand Rapids; E. W. Darst, in Chicago; Mark Collis and I. J. Spencer, in Lexington; B. B. Tyler, in New York City and Denver; J. Z. Tyler, in Richmond and Cleveland; A. C. Smithers, in Los Angeles.

CHAPTER XIV

RECENT TENDENCIES AND PROBLEMS

ONE of the serious problems which has exercised the minds of preachers, editors, and leaders, during the last quarter of a century, has been, how to develop, train, and utilize the rapidly increasing strength of the churches. The churches were growing faster than the agencies for their proper care and training. The tendency in this period has been to emphasize Christian culture, moral and spiritual growth, alongside of evangelism. It was felt that evangelism had overshadowed nurture and education—that quantity had taken the place of quality as a test of religious progress. The churches were growing more rapidly in size and wealth than in knowledge and beneficence.

The value of great meetings in which there were large numbers of additions was

Recent Tendencies and Problems 305

sometimes held in doubt, when the churches receiving such increases, did not show a corresponding increase in missionary contributions. It sometimes happened that after a year such churches did not contain a very large proportion of the converts in their active membership, and were even weakened in their hold upon the community. The tide was rising in favor of a new evangelism, which should depend more upon instruction than upon emotional excitement to produce results. Pastors began to fear the large ingatherings into their churches as laying upon the church a burden of training and assimilation too great to bear. They came to prefer meetings which edified the saints as well as converted the sinners; and for this purpose the safest man was felt to be the preacher who was under the responsibilities and understood the problems of the settled pastor's office. Professional evangelism was discredited in favour of

306 The Disciples of Christ

pastoral evangelism. It became a very common practice for pastors to exchange meetings from year to year; while the professional evangelist assumed more frequently the pastoral relation. More recently pastors and evangelists have come to agree to eliminate the more objectionable features of professional evangelism, and to give it a new, but somewhat restricted, place in the church.

The Disciples have eagerly adopted many modern agencies of an instructional character for the development of Christian life in the churches, such as Christian Endeavor societies, Reading Circles, Bible lectures, and in some few instances, Institutional Church work. More and more they are beginning to share the common life and enterprises of the churches around them, and to be willing to adopt any method or society which has been found helpful to the larger social usefulness of the church. They are sharing with others the awakening to the duty of

making the church a factor in social improvement and regeneration. They have ceased to raise the cry of "innovation" against modern methods and devices in church work. One of the most recent developments is the employment of women as pastoral helpers in the larger churches. A school for the training of such helpers was organized in 1900, by A. M. Harvuot, at Cincinnati. After three years it was transferred to Drake University.

The rapid development of educational institutions, with the rise of the educational ideal in the last twenty-five years, has forced education as a problem upon the Disciples. They have never competed with the older denominations in educational equipment, nor have they kept pace with their advancement. The state institutions, with their inexhaustible resources, have made the problem all the more serious. The colleges of the Disciples, after applying all their resources to the first require-

ments of the literary courses, have had nothing left to devote to the enlargement and specialization of their Bible departments. Liberal conditions of entrance to the larger institutions of the East, and their immense opportunities, began to attract the young men of the church, and before 1890 a few had crossed the Alleghanies in quest of the larger educational advantages. Just before and after 1890 there were to be found in Harvard, Yale, and Union Seminary, larger or smaller groups of Disciples from the various colleges of the West, among whom were Levi Marshall, John McKee, W. C. Payne, Clinton Lockhart, H. L. Willett, E. S. Ames, Hiram VanKirk, L. W. Morgan, B. A. Jenkins, W. E. Garrison, Baxter Waters, C. B. Coleman,—at Yale; C. C. Rowlison, Silas Jones—at Harvard; J. M. Philputt, S. T. Willis, C. A. Young, A. B. Phillips, Errett Gates, and L. S. Batman—at Union. The contrast between the meagre equipment of the

Recent Tendencies and Problems 309

colleges they had left and the vast equipment of the richly endowed institutions to which they had gone filled them with pain and surprise. It made every man of them a missionary of the cause of education to his own people. Many of these young men gave themselves to the neglected cause of education and a few have been called to the presidencies of the colleges—H. L. Willett, as dean of the Divinity House, in 1894; B. A. Jenkins, as president of Kentucky University, in 1901; Hiram VanKirk, as dean of Berkeley Bible Seminary, in 1900; W. E. Garrison, as president of Butler College, in 1904; C. C. Row-lison, as president of Hiram College, in 1905.

The task of immediately bringing the educational standards and equipment of the Disciples up to those of other religious bodies seemed an impossible task. Yet the demand of the times was for a thoroughly trained and educated ministry. To meet the needs of the immediate present for the

310 The Disciples of Christ

ministry of the Disciples, the plan of cooperation with the larger institutions was adopted. The Disciples in California were the first to take advantage of this plan by cooperating with the state institution already established and equipped beyond their ability to equal. The funds obtained from the property of a college which was obliged to close its doors were devoted to the establishment of a Bible Seminary at Berkeley, in proximity to the State University. The University was glad to have biblical and theological instruction put in reach of its students, and the Seminary was glad to be given the privileges of the University.

A similar yet a wider purpose was served in the establishment of the Disciples' Divinity House at the University of Chicago. In this instance the relation of the House to the University was organic, as it could not be in the case of a state institution; and besides taking advantage of an academic

foundation, took advantage of the Divinity School as well. It was an effort to provide for the Disciples professional ministerial training under the broadest and amplest provisions which Christian munificence and scholarship could create. The movement to establish the Divinity House originated with H. L. Willett and was carried out in cooperation with the Acting Board of the American Christian Missionary Society in 1894.

Eugene Divinity School was founded in 1895 by E. C. Sanderson, at Eugene, Oregon, to take advantage of the State University located at that place. The school is under the management of the Disciples and was organized primarily for the training of men for the ministry.

The Disciples of Missouri established a Bible College in connection with the University of Missouri to provide biblical instruction for the University students; but it has gradually grown into a college for the training of men for the ministry.

312 The Disciples of Christ

Thus by a succession of annexations with the larger, older, and better equipped institutions, the Disciples have sought to meet the educational situation which confronted them. There are evidences of a rising tide of interest and devotion to the cause of education in the denomination at large, which is destined to make the next twenty-five years preeminently an era of educational enlargement, as the last twenty-five years has been an era of missionary organization.

Modern biblical criticism, which had obtained a foothold in the higher institutions of learning and theological seminaries of the east, and was disturbing the theological position and dividing the ecclesiastical councils of the various religious bodies in America, began to receive some consideration from the Disciples before 1890. Not until the *Christian Standard* opened a department of "Biblical Criticism" under the editorship of J. W. McGarvey in 1890, were

the problems of the higher criticism brought to the general attention of the Disciples. Professor McGarvey had made for himself a foremost place as preacher and author before 1870. He was one of the group of influential men who established the *Apostolic Times* in opposition to the *Christian Standard*, and has consistently stood in opposition to modern innovations to the present time. He fought the introduction of the organ into the churches, including the one in which he held membership; and when it introduced the organ in 1901 he withdrew his membership from it. When the new problems of the higher criticism appeared he entered the field against it and fought its progress at every step with every weapon of argument, ridicule, and innuendo. He has been the centre and brain of the opposition to higher criticism among the Disciples.

The questions raised by the new criticism were entirely strange to the rank and file of

the ministry. The *Standard* committed its influence and authority against the newer critical methods from the beginning, and identified the higher criticism, in use in all European universities and most American, with the infidelity of Celsus, Voltaire, Renan, Strauss, and Robert Ingersoll. There were some students among the Disciples who did not look upon the higher criticism in that light, but insisted upon distinguishing its principles and methods from its conclusions.

The first voices raised in favor of clearness of distinction and calmness in the discussion were those of J. J. Haley and J. H. Garrison. Many articles were written in explanation of the principles, purposes, and workings of the higher criticism to moderate the hatred and fear of it, but very few were written in espousal of any of its conclusions. Those who did venture to accept any of its conclusions which contradicted the traditional opinion, were denounced

Recent Tendencies and Problems 315

and defamed as unsafe and unsound. It became nearly fatal to usefulness for a teacher, preacher, or newspaper to give occasion for being read out as a higher critic. In the case of a teacher, colleges either cautioned him or dismissed him; in the case of a preacher, churches and his ministerial brethren avoided him; in the case of a newspaper, subscribers stopped it and Sunday-schools refused to buy its supplies and helps. Many teachers, preachers, newspapers, and even colleges hastened to put themselves on record against the higher criticism, for silence was construed as confession of guilt. There can be no doubt that several publishing companies were materially benefited by assuming a judicious attitude against it; while one company was actually threatened with disaster for refusing to join in the indiscriminating cry against it and for employing men suspected of leanings towards it as writers in its columns and of its Sunday-school sup-

316 The Disciples of Christ

plies. Higher criticism was the question which formed parties in conventions, influenced the action of missionary societies, drew the line between teachers and preachers, and divided the denomination into two more or less clearly defined camps. Out of this question have grown the new controversies within the body which have disturbed its peace and harmony during the last fifteen years.

The first controversy which drew upon itself general attention and was warmly discussed in the newspapers was the case of H. C. Garvin, which occurred in 1895 while he was professor in Butler College. He had been greatly influenced by the new ideas in his views and methods, and began to question the correctness of some of the doctrinal positions of the Disciples. The question which came to the front in the controversy was as to the priority of faith or repentance in conversion. He expressed the opinion

that repentance preceded faith both in the teaching of Scripture and in experience, contrary to the usual teaching of the Disciples. Other opinions of a heretical nature from the orthodox denominational point of view were drawn from him, which aroused the opposition of the authorities of the college and forced him to resign. A group of his students who thought him unfairly treated, and could see no serious departure in his teachings, left the denomination with him.

A continuous controversy has centred in the person of Herbert L. Willett since 1894. He sprang into prominence as pastor of the church at Dayton, Ohio, and as a Bible lecturer of exceptional attractiveness and power about 1894. He had been a student at Bethany College and Yale University, and came to the University of Chicago as a student and instructor at its opening in 1893. As Dean of the Divinity House he came in for a share of the criticism aroused

over its establishment. He was known to be in sympathy with the new learning, and his influence over a large group of younger men was feared. An unbroken opposition to him and the work of the Divinity House has been waged by a conservative element and has involved everything with which he has been connected. His connection with the *Christian Evangelist* drew that paper under fire, and his later connection with the *Christian Century* has involved that paper in all the suspicion and opposition attaching to his name. An attack calling in question his loyalty to the teaching of the denomination, was made upon him by the editors of the *Standard* in 1901. Certain passages in his book on *Our Plea for Union and the Present Crisis*, in which he set forth his position with reference to the place and mission of the Disciples, were made to bear a meaning not intended by him, and awakened widespread discussion and bitter criticism. The opposition to

Recent Tendencies and Problems 319

Professor Willett which was intended to destroy his influence in the denomination, has only partly succeeded, for in spite of it he has steadily grown in favor and influence and in demand as a lecturer upon Bible themes.

When S. M. Jefferson resigned as Dean of the Berkeley Bible Seminary in 1900, Hiram VanKirk, then instructor in the Disciples' Divinity House, was selected to succeed him. Suspicion rested upon him from the first, coming as he did from a suspected institution. He was growing rapidly in favor with the Disciples in California when a group of men opposing him entered into a conspiracy in 1903 to drive him from his position. Their charges of heresy were sent to the *Standard*, as having the widest influence in California and reputed for its zeal against the new learning, and without investigating them published them and sent hundreds of extra copies into the state to make sure of a general uprising against the

Dean. The charges were denied by him and laid before his board of directors for investigation. He was cleared of the charges and retained in his position. After investigation the *Standard* discovered the groundlessness of the charges and acknowledged that the persecution against Professor VanKirk was unjust.

Another Butler College professor fell under criticism in 1898, in the person of E. S. Ames, professor of philosophy, on account of certain utterances made in an article in the *New Christian Quarterly*. He became pastor of the Hyde Park Church, Chicago, in 1900, and shortly after published a sermon entitled, *A Personal Confession of Faith*. No notice was taken of the sermon until two years after its publication, when, in connection with a sermon advocating "Associate Church Membership," he was denounced by the editors of the *Standard* as a Unitarian and apostate from the accepted teachings of the Disciples, and pro-

nounced unworthy of fellowship among them. The church of which he was pastor was called upon to dismiss him or acknowledge its agreement with his opinions. The church took action in a series of resolutions declaring its loyalty to the doctrinal position of the denomination, and affirming its right to liberty in local church government, as well as in doctrinal matters not involving the essential teachings of Christianity.

The missionary societies did not entirely escape the influence of these controversies. Moved by the conviction that the persons who were known to be friendly to the new learning were dangerous to the well-being of the churches, the editors of the *Christian Standard* sought to commit the American Society against them by calling upon its secretary, B. L. Smith, to sign a statement disavowing all sympathy with the higher critics or disposition towards the employment of such persons in its service. Inspired by their success with the secretary

of the American Society they turned their attention to the Board of Church Extension and asked its secretary, George W. Muckley, to assure the churches by a public statement that he would have no fellowship with men suspected of sympathy with the higher criticism. By this time many men of influence thought they saw danger in making the missionary societies parties to theological controversies, and protested against the action of the editors of the *Standard*. The Extension Board and other societies concluded that it was not in their province to pass judgment upon the orthodoxy of their servants, and that it was not in the province of a newspaper to require it of them.

These controversies have been the nearest approach to "heresy trials" among the Disciples in recent years. There being no court of inquiry outside of the local churches, a heresy trial in the usual sense and form as carried on in some other bodies, has never

been known among them. The newspapers have usually assumed the functions of prosecutor of errorists and defender of the faith. Since it is not always possible in such trials, where there is no authority over the accused to secure his appearance in his own defense or carry out any decision with reference to him, heretics prosecuted by newspapers have usually gone unpunished except in the suspicion and prejudice awakened against them in the churches.

Involved in all of these controversies was the appeal to the principle of Christian liberty or freedom of opinion, which had always been the boasted and peculiar possession of the Disciples. A larger liberty of thought and opinion was one of the first principles laid down in the *Declaration and Address*. Liberty to think and differ with one another upon many truths of Christianity was a sacred privilege demanded and accorded by all the great leaders. It was felt to have a place in the discussion and

settlement of the new questions concerning biblical criticism.

The discussion of all the learned problems connected with these controversies was carried on in the weekly newspapers, and laid before all the people of the churches for their perusal. It was felt by many persons to be unwise if not injurious to introduce the technicalities of these discussions to the unlearned. As an outlet for the discussion of all modern biblical, theological, and philosophical questions, the Congress of the Disciples was organized and met for the first time in St. Louis in 1899. It has served as a clearing-house for many of these controverted questions, and has been the means of a better understanding among the conservative and progressive elements.

The Disciples have never forgotten that their special mission among the various Protestant denominations was to teach them the desirability, and if possible, show them the

way to Christian unity. Their own anomalous position as a separate communion, looked upon as a sect among the sects, they have never accepted as justifiable or final. Their separation from the Baptists they laid at the door of the Baptists, and would not be held responsible for it, because it was a recourse which they did not choose and never willingly consented to. Since the separation they have constantly proclaimed Christian union as a duty and as the goal of their mission in Christendom. Many conferences have been held between the Disciples and Baptists, and the Disciples and Congregationalists, to discuss the differences which separated them, and the principles and terms on which union could be consummated.

A conference to consider the union of Baptists and Disciples was held at Richmond, Virginia, in April, 1866, attended by J. B. Jeter, A. M. Poindexter, W. F. Broadus, and others on the part of the Baptists; and W. K. Pendleton, J. W. Goss, J. Duval,

W. H. Hopson, and others on the part of the Disciples. Party spirit between the two bodies ran high in Virginia from the days of the separation, and was intensified by the publication in 1854 of an attack upon the position of the Disciples by J. B. Jeter, in a book entitled, *Campbellism Examined*. Numerous replies were made, the most elaborate of which was by Moses E. Lard in a book published in 1857, called, *A Review of Campbellism Examined*. The books were not designed to moderate the spirit of opposition between the two bodies. The proposal which led to the conference at Richmond originated with W. F. Broaddus and was quickly endorsed by J. W. Goss on the part of the Disciples. The conclusion deliberately yet reluctantly reached by the conference and published to the two bodies in the state of Virginia was: "That the time has not yet come when the Baptists and Disciples are, on both sides, prepared, with a prospect of perfect harmony,

Recent Tendencies and Problems 327

to commit themselves with any degree of cooperation beyond such courtesies and personal Christian kindnesses as members of churches of different denominations may individually choose to engage in." Similar conferences were held in different states, as in North Carolina, in December, 1868, between the Disciples, Free Baptists, and Union Baptists.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the rise of a notable interest in the question of Christian union among all the larger Protestant denominations. In 1853 arose the Memorial Movement in the Protestant Episcopal Church which was designed as an important step "towards the effecting of a church unity in the Protestant Christendom of our land." In 1863 the "Christian Union Association" was organized in New York as an effort on the part of sympathetic spirits of the leading Protestant denominations "to diffuse the great principles of Christian union." In 1864 the

328 The Disciples of Christ

“Christian Unity Society” was organized within the Protestant Episcopal Church. By 1880 the Disciples were not alone in their prayer for Christian union. The appeal began to be heard in all the denominations. The Disciples are to be credited with some influence in the revival of this new enthusiasm, but to the Protestant Episcopal Church belongs the larger credit for the consideration Christian union has received in American religious thought during the last twenty-five years. The Memorial Movement bore fruit in a *Declaration Concerning Unity*, promulgated by the House of Bishops at Chicago, in 1886. After submitting the so-called “Quadrilateral Basis” of union as the essential foundation of a true, catholic, apostolic church, they closed by announcing: “We hereby declare our desire and readiness, so soon as there shall be any authorized response to this declaration, to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian bodies seeking the restoration

Recent Tendencies and Problems 329

of the organic unity of the church, with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which so priceless a blessing might happily be brought to pass."

This *Declaration* was transmitted to the General Convention of the Disciples which met at Indianapolis in 1887. A committee consisting of Isaac Errett, J. W. McGarvey, D. R. Dungan, J. H. Garrison, B. J. Radford, C. L. Loos, and A. R. Benton, was appointed to draw up a reply. The reply consisted in a statement of the principles and basis of union advocated by the Disciples. The Episcopalians submitted a description of themselves as a basis of union, and the Disciples responded with a description of themselves. Both bodies submitted bases which they regarded as "incapable of compromise or surrender." It is not surprising that nothing further came of this correspondence in the way of "brotherly conferences." It was a foregone conclusion that each would be content

330 The Disciples of Christ

with nothing but the absorption of the other, or a remodelling of the other, after its own pattern as the final goal of a union.

As ended this correspondence, so has ended every correspondence and conference between the Disciples and other denominations looking to a union, except the conference which issued in the union of the Christians and Disciples in 1832. That was a union by agreement in doctrine and practice. Yet a union between the Disciples and Baptists or Free Will Baptists, has never been possible, notwithstanding their essential agreement in doctrine and practice. The poor success attending the union efforts of the Disciples, and the slow acceptance of their principles by other denominations, during the last hundred years, has led a large and influential group among them to the conclusion that something more immediate and practicable than a program of union by doctrinal and formal

agreement should be attempted by the present generation. It has resulted in a more cordial and appreciative attitude of the Disciples towards other bodies, and in the conviction that the closely related denominations could and should enter into cooperation with each other in many social and civic, missionary and evangelistic movements, which would not interfere with the freedom or integrity of each other's denominational life and activity. They have rejoiced in the growing spirit of fraternity among the churches in recent years manifested in the various union movements, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, Sunday-school Associations, League of Church Federation, and Union Evangelistic Meetings, and have freely participated in all of them. Many are feeling that since the Disciples have been preaching Christian union for nearly a hundred years without tangible results, it

is time now to practice it as a method of promotion.

There has come to some of the best spirits of the denomination a new and intense appreciation of its mission as a Christian union movement. They feel that its chief justification for existence as a separate body lies in what it can contribute towards the union of Christians in this generation. They are not content to wait for the consummation of a far-off, ideal union in some future generation, but desire to prepare the way for it by a larger cooperation and freedom of relationship with other bodies in the present generation. The leaders in this reviving sense of obligation to the principle and practice of Christian union are J. H. Garrison and Herbert L. Willett, who are doing all they can as editors of the *Christian Evangelist* and *Christian Century*, respectively, to inspire the denomination with this new eagerness for a united church. There is no disposition on their

part to abate the insistence upon a return to primitive Christianity as the principle of a true consensus, but primitive Christianity is receiving a larger meaning and a new emphasis. It is no longer held to be in its essence a form of public worship or a method of church organization, but an attitude of the human spirit in all of its social relationships, as child of God and brother of man.

There is new hope for union in the increasing agreement among all Christians to regard Christianity as something essentially spiritual and ethical, and therefore universal and practical. The hope of a universal unity lies in the spiritual. The one lesson of this history is, that the letter destroys unity while the spirit makes it alive.

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Index

- ABINGDON COLLEGE, 223.
Allen, T. M., 206, 207, 248.
American Christian Missionary Society, The, controversy
over, 239 ; organization of, 259-262 ; work of, 262-
264.
Ames, E. S., 308 ; controversy concerning, 320.
Appomattox Association, action of, against Reformers,
164.
Arthur, F. P., 303.
Atkinson, A. M., 273.
Atwater, J. M., 297.
- BACON COLLEGE, 220.
Bagby, E. B., 303.
Baptism, design of, 108, 117, 170.
Barclay, Dr. J. T., 262.
Baxter, William, 281.
Beaver Association, resolutions of, against Reformers,
160-162.
Benevolent Association, The National, 274.
Belding, W. A., 215.
Benton, A. R., 329.
Berkeley Bible Seminary, 310.
Bethany College, 292.
Bible chairs, 266.
Biblical criticism, as a recent problem, 312-322.
Bowman, J. B., 220.
Breedon, H. O., 303.
British Millennial Harbinger, 227.

Brush Run Church, organization of, 85; immersion of, 90; union with the Baptists, 93, 94, 100.

Burgess, O. A., 281.

Burnet, D. S., 181, 189, 217, 239, 262, 281.

Butler College, 221, 293.

CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER, birth, 10; education, 11, 12; religious discipline in home of, 12, 13; conversion, 13; at the University of Glasgow, 61, 62; arrival in America, 61; licensed to preach, 86; ordained to ministry, 87; marriage of, 88; immersion of, 88, 89; disagreement with Baptist doctrines, 95-99; debate with John Walker, 106-109; attitude towards Baptists, 100, 110, 112, 124, 127, 128; debate with W. L. Maccalla, 116; attitude of Baptists towards, 120-124; success among Baptists, 127-129; withdraws from Redstone and joins Mahoning Association, 139; influence over Reformers, 156, 157; influence over B. W. Stone, 195, 196; correspondence and discussions with Stone, 196-199; contrasted with Stone, 209, 210; debate with Robert Owen, 216; debate with J. B. Purcell, 216; debate with N. L. Rice, 229; defines a Christian, 233; position on missionary question, 240, 241; on slavery question, 247; death of, 256.

Campbell, Thomas, ancestors, birth, 7; conversion, 8; preparation for the ministry, 9, 10; marriage of, 10; the spirit of, 14, 15, 26; influence of Independents upon, 27-32; union efforts of, in Ireland, 27; removal to America, 33, 34; trial of, by Presbytery of Chartiers, 36, 37; letter of, to Synod, 37-40; withdrawal from Seceder church, 43; plan of Christian union, 58-61; a Christian unionist, 94, 209.

Carpenter, George T., 297.

Challen, James, 216, 217, 262, 281.

Christians, The, the name, 185; union with Reformers, 190-203; difference between Disciples and, 192; opposed by other bodies, 194-197; number of, 204; characteristics of, 209.

- Christian Association of Washington, The, origin of, 44, 45 ; plan and purpose of, 46-58 ; 81, 82.
- Christian Baptist*, The, 111 ; circulation and influence of, 121-126, 140 ; publication ceases, 183.
- Christian Century*, The, 291, 318, 332.
- Christian Evangelist*, The, 287, 289, 290, 291, 318, 332.
- Christian Standard*, The, 252, 256, 287, 288, 312, 313, 318, 319, 321.
- Christian union, conference on, at Lexington, 230 ; as a recent problem, 324-337 ; Richmond conference on, 325, 326.
- Christian University, 293.
- Christian Women's Board of Missions, 264-267.
- Church Extension, Board of, 271, 272.
- College of the Bible, 293.
- Collis, Mark, 303.
- Columbia Bible College, 311.
- Combs, G. H., 303.
- Congress of the Disciples, 324.
- Controversy, missionary society, 240-246 ; slavery, 246-250 ; organ, 250-253.
- Coombs, J. V., 283.
- Cotner University, 294.
- Craig, W. B., 303.
- Cramblett, T. E., 303.
- Creath, Jacob, Sr., 138.
- DARSIE, GEORGE, 282.
- Darst, E. W., 303.
- Declaration and Address*, 45, 46, 49-58.
- Disciples, growth of the, 299, 300 ; in the United States, 299-301 ; in foreign countries, 301 ; in the cities, 301, 302.
- Disciples' Divinity House, 310.
- Disciples of Christ, The, the name, 185 ; origin as a separate party, 212 ; parties among, 233, 253.
- Dover Association, resolutions of, against Reformers, 164.
- Drake, General F. M., 226.

Drake University, 226, 293.

Dungan, D. R., 298, 329.

EDUCATION, BOARD OF, 276.

Education, 291-299; as a recent problem, 307-312.

England, beginnings of the reformation in, 226.

Errett, Isaac, 215, 252, 255-258, 265, 268, 281, 284, 287, 329.

Erskine, Ebenezer, 22.

Eugene Divinity School, 311.

Eureka College, 223, 293.

Evangelization, Bureau of, 263.

Evangelism, method of, 279; success of, 280; influence of, upon the literature of the Disciples, 284; influence upon doctrine and life, 285; a new, 305, 306.

Everest, H. W., 297.

Ewing, Greville, 30, 62.

FALL, P. S., 129, 218.

Foreign Christian Missionary Society, 268-270.

Franklin, Benjamin, 221; opposes missionary society, 244, 245, 250, 251, 262.

GANO, J. A., 207, 208.

Garfield, James A., 297.

Garrison, J. H., 284, 287, 289, 290, 314, 329, 332.

Garrison, W. E., 308, 309.

Garvin, H. C., controversy concerning, 316.

Gilbert, A. N., 282.

Glas, John, 27.

Goodwin, Elijah, 221, 262.

Graham, Robert, 252, 297.

Green, A. B., 215.

Green, F. M., 268.

HALDANE, JAMES A., and ROBERT, 29-31.

Haley, J. J., 282, 314.

Haley, T. P., 248, 281.

Hall, Jabez, 282.

Harlow, W. E., 283.
 Hartzel, Jonas, 215.
 Harvuot, A. M., 303, 307.
 Hayden, A. S., 281.
 Hayden, William, 189, 215.
 Henderson, D. P., 222, 281.
 Henry, John, 188.
 Heresy Trials, 322.
 Hinsdale, B. A., 297.
 Hiram College, 217, 293.
 Hobbs, A. I., 268, 282.
 Hopson, W. H., 252, 281.
 Hoshour, S. K., 221, 296.

ILLINOIS, beginnings of the reformation in, 221, 222.
 Immersion, as a test of fellowship, 90, 124.
 Iowa, beginnings of the reformation in, 225.

JAMESON, L. H., 221.
 Jenkins, B. A., 308, 309.
 Jeter, J. B., 325; his work on *Campbellism Examined*,
 326.
 Johnson, B. W., 289.
 Johnson, J. T., 138, 200, 218, 220, 230, 262.
 Jones, J. H., 215.
 Journalism, 285-291.

KENTUCKY, beginnings of the reformation in, 217-220.
 Kentucky University, 220, 293.
 King, Joseph, 281.
 Knox, John, 18.

LAMAR, J. S., 268, 281, 284.
 Lard, Moses E., 252; his book on *A Review of Camp-
 bellism Examined*, 326.
 Loos, C. L., 268, 299, 329.
 Louisville church, 131, 132.
 Lucas, D. R., 282.

- MACCALLA, W. L., 116.
 Mahoning Association, The, 123, 138, 173, 191.
 Mathes, J. M., 221, 262.
 Matthews, R. T., 282.
 McBride, Thomas, 224.
 McCash, I. N., 303.
 McGarvey, J. W., 248, 252, 284, 298, 312, 313, 329.
 McGready, James, 66, 72.
 McLean, A., 268, 270.
Millennial Harbinger, origin of, 183-185.
 Milligan, Robert, 284, 296.
 Ministerial Relief, Board of, 273, 274.
 Missouri, beginnings of the reformation in, 224.
 Moffett, Robert, 268, 271.
 Moore, W. T., 268, 281, 284.
 Morgan, Carey E., 303.
 Mormonism, connection with the Disciples, 215, 216.
 Moss, J. J., 215, 217.
 Muckley, G. W., 271, 321.
- NEGRO Evangelization and Education, Board of, 275.
 Northcutt, H. A., 283.
- OHIO, beginnings of the reformation in, 214.
 O'Kane, John, 221, 262.
 Oskaloosa College, 226, 293.
- PENDLETON, W. K., 262, 295, 325.
 Philputt, A. B., 303.
 Philputt, J. M., 303.
 Pinkerton, L. L., 250, 262, 281.
 Powell, E. L., 303.
 Powers, F. D., 282, 284.
 Primitive Christianity, the authority of, 41; as a principle of Christian unity, 41, 60; missions, an essential element of, 236-238.
 Proctor, Alexander, 281.
 Protestant Episcopal Church, the Memorial Movement of, 327; Quadrilateral Basis of union of, 328.

- RADFORD, B. J., 298, 329.
Raines, Aylett, 218.
Redstone Association, 101; opposition in, to Campbell, 104, 105, 138; action of, against Reformers, 160.
Reformers and Baptists, differences between, 169-173.
Richardson, Robert, 217, 284, 295.
Richardson, W. F., 302.
Rogers, John, 202, 205, 206, 218, 219.
Rogers, Samuel, 204, 205, 224.
Rowlison, C. C., 308, 309.
- SANDEMAN, ROBERT, 28.
Scott, Walter, evangelist of Mahoning Association, 141-144; the preaching of, 144-149, 193, 211, 215, 217, 262, 277.
Scotland, the Reformation in, 17; patronage in the church of, 19-21.
Scoville, Charles Reign, 283.
Scriptures, the authority of, 40-58; the interpretation of, 235, 236, 255.
Seceder church, origin of, 17-23; narrowness of, 23-26; division of, into Burghers and Anti-Burghers, 24; Old Lights and New Lights, 25; in America, 34, 35.
Semple, Robert, 120, 164, 165.
Sermon on the Law, 102.
Shaw, Knowles, 283.
Shepherd, Silas E., 296.
Smith, B. L., 263, 321.
Smith, C. C., 275.
Smith, J. H. O., 283.
Smith, John, 132-137, 200, 202, 218, 219.
Smithers, A. C., 303.
Spencer, I. J., 282, 303.
Springfield Presbytery, 74; *Last Will and Testament of*, 75.
Stone, Barton W., birth, 64; education, 66; conversion, 66-68; theological difficulties, 70, 71; doctrinal beliefs, 73-76; withdrawal from Presbyterian Church, 74; immersion, 77, 191, 222.

Sweeney, J. S., 281.

TATE'S CREEK ASSOCIATION, action of, against Reformers, 162, 163.

Texas Christian University, 294.

Trible, J. M., 282.

Tyler, B. B., 268, 282, 284, 303.

Tyler, J. Z., 282, 303.

Tyrrell, F. G., 303.

UPDIKE, J. V., 283.

VAN KIRK, HIRAM, 308, 309 ; controversy concerning, 319, 320.

WALK, DAVID, 281.

Walker, John, 31.

Walker, John, debate with, 106.

Wilkes, L. B., 281.

Willett, H. L., 266, 308, 309, 311 ; controversy concerning, 317, 332.

Wilson, Allen, 283.

YEARLY MEETINGS, origin of, 181, 182, 217, 218.

Young, C. A., 266, 308.

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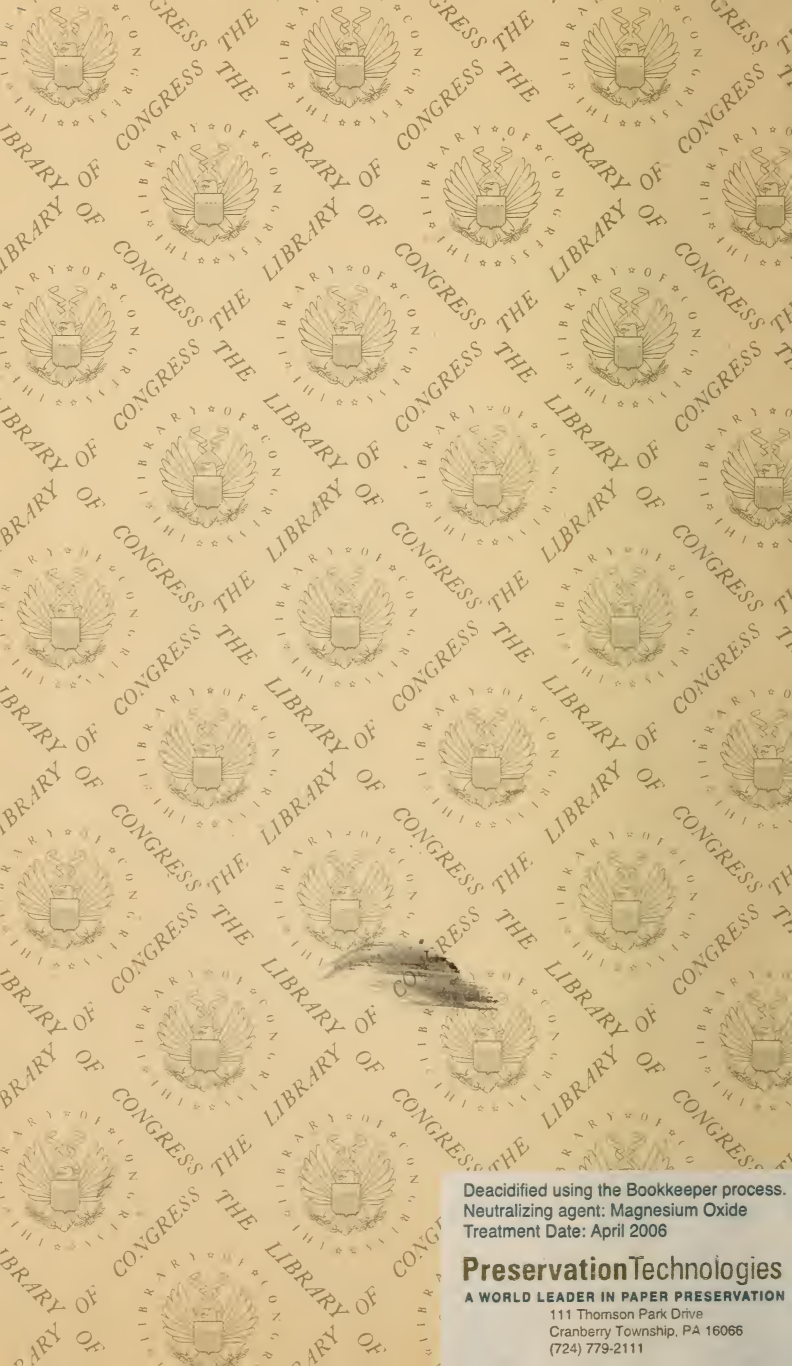
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