Explorations in the Stone-Campbell Traditions

Dunn

Explorations in the Stone-Campbell Traditions:

Essays in Honor of Herman A. Norton

Edited by
Anthony L. Dunnavant and Richard L. Harrison, Jr.

Explorations in the Stone-Campbell Traditions:

Essays in Honor of Herman A. Norton

■

Edited by
Anthony L. Dunnavant and Richard L. Harrison, Jr.
With a Foreword by James M. Seale

Published for the Disciples Divinity House at Vanderbilt University
By the Disciples of Christ Historical Society

Nashville, Tennessee
1995

Published by The Disciples of Christ Historical Society
1101 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212-2196

Cataloging Data

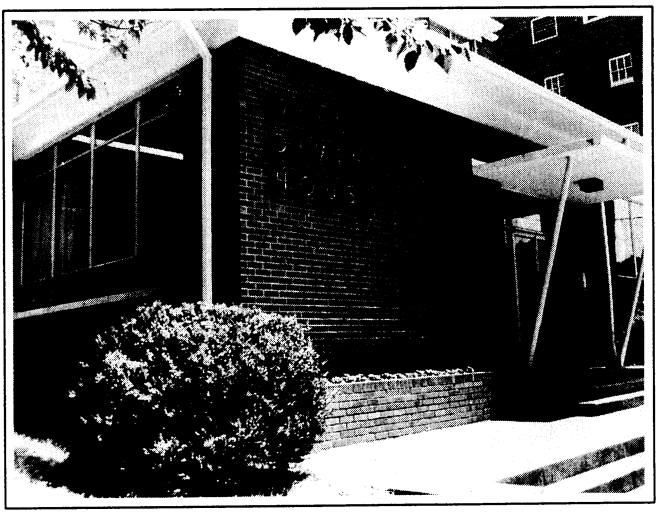
Explorations in the Stone-Campbell Traditions:
Essays in Honor of Herman A. Norton/ ed. by Anthony L. Dunnavant and Richard L. Harrison, Jr.;
foreword by James M. Seale. – Nashville, Tennessee:
Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1995.
x, 198 p. includes index: illus. ; 23 cm.

1. Stone-Campbell Movement (Christianity)–United States. 2. Norton, Herman A., 1921–1992. I. Dunnavant, Anthony L. 1954– . II. Harrison, Richard L., Jr. 1946– . III. Seale, James M. 1930– .

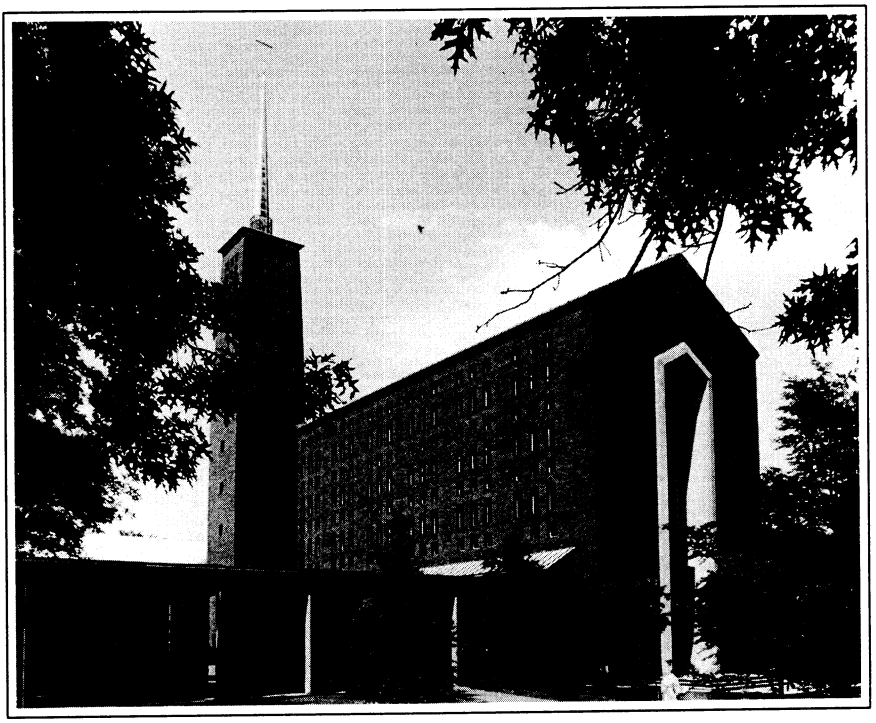
Printed in the United States of America

Contents

Illustrations



The Disciples Divinity House at Vanderbilt University

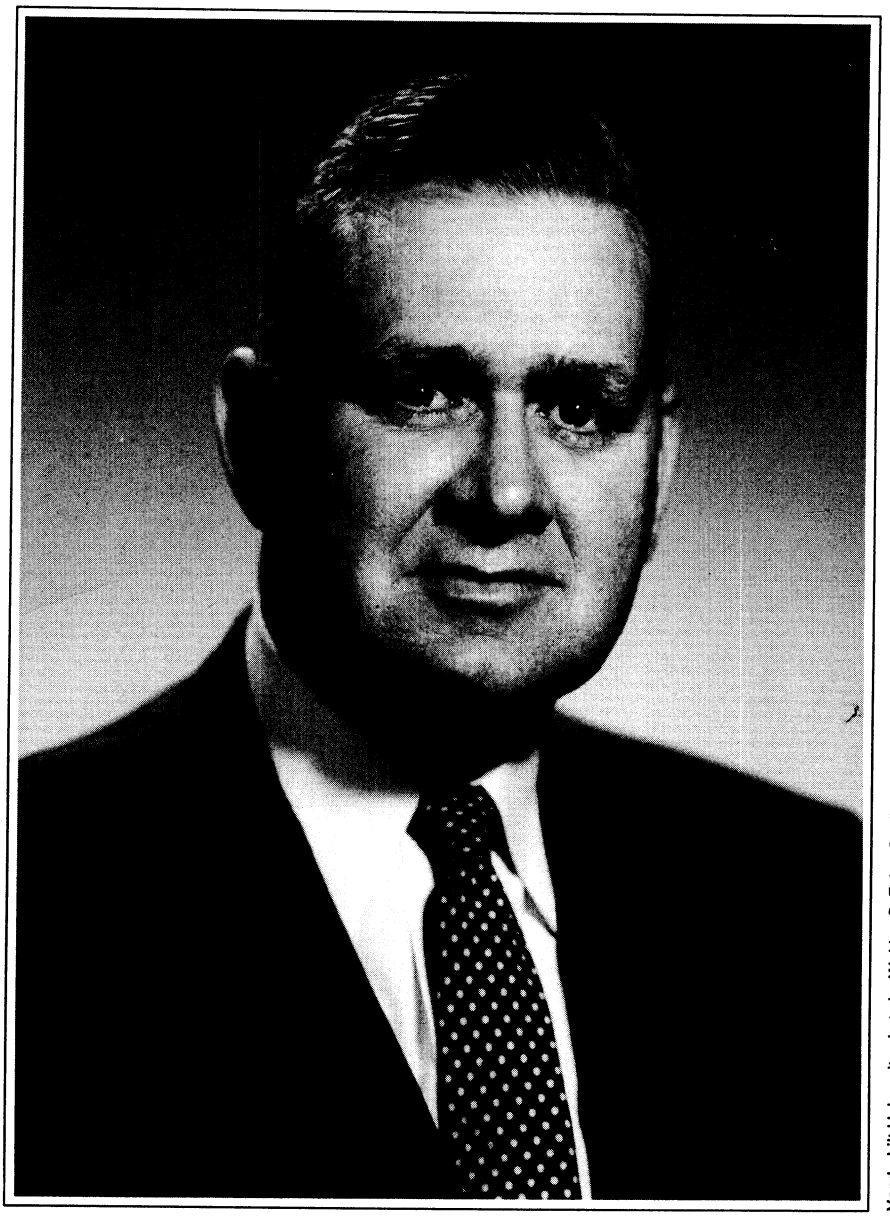


Vanderbilt University photograph by Gerald Holly.

Oberlin Quadrangle, The Divinity School, Vanderbilt University

Explorations in the Stone-Campbell Traditions

■



Vanderbilt University photo by Walden S. Fabry Studios

HERMAN A. NORTON

Foreword

The Disciples of Christ Historical Society takes genuine pleasure in joining with the Disciples Divinity House at Vanderbilt University in the publication of this Herman A. Norton Festschrift. The important place Herman Norton had in the early life and development of the Historical Society is noted several times in the chapters of this book. He wrote articles that were published in *Discipliana*, spoke numerous times at Disciples of Christ Historical Society breakfasts at Tennessee Regional Assemblies, and was one of the lecturers for the first Congregational Historians Seminar sponsored by the Historical Society and held in its Thomas W. Phillips Memorial. Herman never took honorarium but always returned it to the Society.

Yet Herman Norton was far more than a friend of the Historical Society. He was a friend and confidant of the President of the Society. Across the years I have served as President, Herman would stop in for a friendly visit. Sometimes he would be doing research, and sometimes he just wanted to talk about the Society, the Church, or history. All three were deeply steeped in his blood.

This publication not only honors the memory and life of Herman Norton, but also sets forth concerns in the life of the Church. Although several of these essays were written several years ago, the writings are fresh and vivid reminders of concerns and actions in the life of the Church and among the people of God. The articles were, for the most part, crafted under the tutelage of Herman Norton and his guidance of them adds to their credibility.

The Disciples Divinity House at Vanderbilt University and the Disciples of Christ Historical Society have had a close and long standing association. The Historical Society has provided a place of research and study for many of the students who lived at, or were supported by, the Divinity House and its program. Here at the Historical Society we look forward to a continuation of this relationship and we are honored to participate with the Disciples Divinity House in the publication of this volume.

JAMES M. SEALE

Acknowledgments

The editors thank Laura ClenDening who, as Administrative Assistant at the Disciples Divinity House at Vanderbilt University, helped prepare the early drafts of this collection. We also thank Walter A. Johnson, Jr., Director of Information Services at Lexington Theological Seminary, for designing the layout of the illustration pages for this book and Nancy Gragson Dunnavant, who was responsible for the typography and cover design.

Our gratitude is extended to the Board of Directors of the Disciples Divinity House at Vanderbilt for their steadfast commitment to this project in the midst of important transitions at the House. Disciples House Acting Dean Robert Howard helped to manifest this commitment. Similarly, we have been delighted by the enthusiastic embrace by the Disciples of Christ Historical Society of the idea of a Festschrift for Herman Norton. President James Seale and archivist David McWhirter have placed us in their debt by their labors on behalf of this volume. We thank the writers for their efforts and have been pleased to have had the opportunity to work with each one of them. We are especially grateful to Alma Allen Norton for her counsel and assistance in the preparation of this volume. We have been privileged to enjoy the Norton family's support of this project. Of course, this entire volume expresses our gratitude, and that of our contributors, for the unique role played in our lives by Herman A. Norton.

Introduction

This collection of essays honors Dr. Herman A. Norton (1921–1992) who served as the Dean of the Disciples Divinity House at Vanderbilt University from 1951 until his retirement in 1986. As Dean of the Disciples House and a member of the church history faculty of the Divinity School and Graduate Department of Religion of Vanderbilt University, Dr. Norton had a ministry of many dimensions in theological education. He was a fundraiser, recruiter, and administrator for the Disciples House, an adviser and pastor to seminarians at the Divinity School, and an energetic and winsome classroom teacher. He was also a research scholar in American church history. This series of essays, however, grows most directly from Dr. Norton's influence as a mentor and role model to generations of Vanderbilt doctoral students in church history whose work focused on the Stone-Campbell traditions. Because many of the papers collected here were originally written under the direction of Dr. Norton as seminar professor or dissertation adviser, they not only honor him but also illustrate his influence.

Herman Norton supported his students' interests in a variety of approaches to church history. These included traditional event-oriented narratives, intellectual histories, and historiographic studies. It is to Dr. Norton's credit that no single ideological or methodological dogma characterizes the work of his students and, thereby, defines a "Norton School" of the history of the Stone-Campbell traditions. That does not mean, however, that no hallmarks of his guidance can be identified.

Dr. Norton good-naturedly modeled for his students a healthy skepticism about much Disciples historiography with its underlying romanticisms of the theological Right and the theological Left. As critic Lesley Brill has written, "Romance establishes a universe in which time cycles and rejuvenates: night comes round to day, winter to spring, age . . . to youth." In this sense of the term, both conservative Disciples Restorationism and liberal Disciples progressive optimism share an essential "romanticism." The tone and content of Dr. Norton's teaching relativized each of these romanticisms both by serious juxtaposition and by often humorous criticism. In this way he helped to free his students from Disciples traditional devaluation of the history of Christianity that had intervened between the apostles and Campbell. And he helped us to face squarely the ironic in our history. For much in our history fits more truly into an ironic sense of time which, "appears linear and unprogressive, entropic, neither returning to origins nor getting anywhere new."[1] The weakening of the grip of Disciples romanticism helped to open students to such possibilities as discovering more nuances of the Augustinian, Reformation, and Reformed theological strands in our heritage.

Dr. Norton contributed to the continuing broadening of the chronological scope of historical investigations of the Stone-Campbell movement. Although there have been a number of important works in the movement's historiography of very sweeping chronological vision, there has also been a perceived tilt toward engagement with the founding generation and especially with the Campbells. Part of this is merely a perception, driven to a degree by too little acquaintance in some church-historical quarters with the array of doctoral scholarship on the Stone-Campbell movement done in such departments as History, English, Speech, and Education at a wide range of institutions across the country. Many of these relatively neglected dissertations, with more recent chronological foci, have been done by Churches of Christ scholars.[2]

Nevertheless, part of the situation that Dr. Norton confronted was that the towering figure of Alexander Campbell loomed especially large upon Stone-Campbell historiography in both the works of admirers and, by Norton's time, in those of a number of detractors. Neither Dr. Norton nor his students can be placed definitively in one of the other of those two camps. Rather, Mr. Campbell's appearances in the works of Norton's students were most frequently in broader contexts. This is illustrated in this collection in the essays by J. Brooks Major and G. Richard Phillips and, even more clearly, by the treatment of Alexander Campbell in the dissertations of these two writers. Major's primary focus was on the "The Role of Periodicals in the Development of the Disciples of Christ, 1850-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1966). Phillips's work placed Campbell in comparative perspective with Barton W. Stone ("Differences in the Theological and Philosophical Backgrounds of Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone and Resulting Differences of Thrust in Their Theological Formulations" [Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1968]).

Part of the breadth of the chronological vision cultivated among Dr. Norton's students was their significant engagement with the history of the Barton W. Stone movement, which preceded and, to a degree, merged with the followers of the Campbells. In addition to Phillips's research, Dr. Norton directed a dissertation by David C. Roos,"The Social Thought of Barton Warren Stone and Its Significance Today for the Disciples of Christ in Western Kentucky" (D.Div. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1973) and another by D. Newell Williams,"The Theology of the Great Revival in the West as Seen Through the Life and Thought of Barton Warren Stone" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1979) that explored dimensions of Stone's life and thought. Professor Williams's essay in this volume grows out of his research on Stone. Other early figures associated with the Stone movement were also examined by Norton students. For example, T. M. Allen, who worked closely with Stone in Kentucky, was the subject of a paper by Edward F. Coffman ("Elder T. M. Allen: Pioneer Evangelist; 'the Artillery of Heaven' " [D.Min. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1972]).

Equally important as his support of research on the early Stone movement was the fact that Professor Norton encouraged his students in Disciples history to move their research forward in time beyond the founding generation of the Stone-Campbell traditions. The doctoral dissertations of several contributors to this collection gave major or primary attention to late nineteenth and twentieth century developments. This fact is illustrated in the essays here by Douglas Foster, D. James Atwood, William Paulsell, and Anthony Dunnavant, that are drawn from, or grew out of, their dissertations.

Dr. Norton encouraged his students to move beyond apologetic "party" polemics. Scholarship in the Stone-Campbell tradition has been greatly affected by the fact that the movement was born with a deep commitment to Christian unity and, yet, has divided into three major Christian fellowships. The pain of this historical irony has lent a special urgency in Stone-Campbell historiography to the natural and widespread tendency to both assume and justify the theological position of one's own group. That is, since we are the unity movement that has repeatedly divided, we have been eager to show that our stream of the tradition is particularly true and faithful. The upshot has been that one of the first questions that traditionally needed to be asked of works of historical scholarship in the movement was "Which of the branches of the Stone-Campbell family tree is being advocated?" There was often an explicit or at least clearly implicit response. Dr. Norton had little interest in contributing directly or indirectly to such "party" apologetics. The Stone-Campbell movement was born with profound distaste for "partyism" in Christianity and Professor Norton lived his professional life in harmony with that traditional commitment of his communion.

One aspect of his unapologetic approach to history was that Dr. Norton worked well with, and counted among his doctoral students, scholars from each of the three branches of the Stone-Campbell movement. It is fitting that each of those branches is represented in this collection. Dr. Norton would wish for us to notice that the community of scholars represented in this volume is "ecumenical" in this special way. Manifestations of Christian unity among the alienated members of a small family of churches may be one of the most difficult and painful forms of ecumenism. It is well known folk wisdom that "there are no fights like family fights." Because we share a common heritage we feel that so much is at stake. Being a student historian of the Stone-Campbell tradition at Vanderbilt during the Norton era meant becoming a part of a community of scholars that cut across the lines of the divisions in the tradition. It meant being professionally socialized to respect persons in the other branches of the movement for their seriousness and scholarship. It meant being open to what one might learn about one's own heritage from another's different reading of it.

The contributors to this volume do represent all three branches of the movement, but Dr. Norton would be especially proud of the fact that the essays

do not make it obvious which writers come from which branch. That there came to be a community of Stone-Campbell historical scholars that was diverse but not acrimoniously divided is one facet of the legacy of the Vanderbilt of Dr. Norton's era. Part of the advent of this body of scholars is attributable to geography. That is, Nashville is in the very heartland of Churches of Christ territory, and geographically close to centers of strength for the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the undenominational fellowship of Christian Churches and Churches of Christ.

The fact that Vanderbilt was the only first-rank Ph.D.-granting Graduate Department of Religion in the mid-South during the period of Dr. Norton's career there helped draw Stone-Campbell movement theology, historical theology, and church history students to that department.[3] But Dr. Norton's own fairness of mind, ideological moderation, and genuine support of students within and beyond his own branch of the tradition helped to keep students at Vanderbilt and moving through their programs. Dr. Norton was a member of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), but he was not an uncritical member of this communion. He demonstrated the conviction that his own church was strong enough to stand the light of critical scrutiny and that we had nothing to fear from an appreciative engagement with other churches within and beyond the Stone-Campbell heritage.

A very significant dimension of Dr. Norton's mentoring of Stone-Campbell movement scholars was his facilitating students' access to all that the Divinity School and the Graduate Department of Religion at Vanderbilt had to offer as an academic and religious community. He displayed no jealousy of his colleagues or possessiveness of his students. He urged graduate students to study with his colleagues in the Divinity School and the University. Contributors to this volume remember with appreciation their theological and historical studies with professors Wilhelm Pauck, Langdon Gilkey, Walter Sikes, Bard Thompson, Richard Wolf, Jack Forstman, Frank Gulley, Gene TeSelle, and Dale Johnson at the doctoral level. The scholarly interests of most of these teachers included the theological legacies of Augustine and of the Reformation. This fact, in light of Dr. Norton's tendency to undermine Disciples romanticism and encourage the long view helps to explain the phenomenon that one emphasis in the work of a number of Vanderbilt-trained Disciples historians is the relationship between the Disciples tradition and the heritage of the Reformation.

Students who also did their first graduate and/or basic theological degrees at Vanderbilt engaged with a yet larger group of faculty that included women and men, African-Americans and Euro-Americans, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. Dr. Norton's part in encouraging students to relate broadly with a range of teachers helped to cultivate a breadth of perspective. This, of course, was in harmony with the ideals of the Disciples House, the Divinity School, and the University.

Dr. Norton's approach to the history of the Stone-Campbell tradition was also highly compatible with the mission of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society. The Disciples of Christ Historical Society is the Administrative Unit of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) charged with preserving and making available historical resources for the denomination. The Society maintains the library and archives of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ); since 1952 it has been in Nashville, Tennessee. Dr. Norton was a member of the ten-person Planning Committee that facilitated the Historical Society's move to Nashville.[4] The Society has the most comprehensive collection of materials related to the Stone-Campbell tradition and seeks to serve researchers in all three major branches of that tradition (as well as others).

Since its dedication in 1958, the magnificent Thomas W. Phillips memorial building on Nineteenth Avenue, South, has housed the Society's collection just a few hundred yards from the Divinity School of Vanderbilt to the west and a few hundred yards from the Disciples House to the north. The advantages of the geographical proximity of the Historical Society to the university and to the Disciples residence was enhanced by the philosophical closeness of Dr. Norton's vision to that of the Society.

Dr. Norton was present when the cornerstone of the Phillips Memorial was laid in 1956[5] and in subsequent years he urged students from across the spectrum of the Stone-Campbell communities into the Society's rich resources and into productive partnership with a dedicated staff there who stood eager to facilitate research on a wide range of historical projects. Most of the contributors to this volume would acknowledge their debt to the Historical Society for assistance in their graduate student and/or subsequent research. It is most fitting that the Disciples of Christ Historical Society take part in the publication of this collection.

Dr. Norton urged his students to see the Stone-Campbell movement in the contexts of a wider American church history and, especially, American History.[6] Obviously, Herman Norton did not invent the idea that much of the history of the Stone-Campbell tradition is tied to the stories of American Christianity and of the United States. He did, however, encourage and cultivate this perspective in at least three ways.

1) Dr. Norton's own scholarship exhibited a strong link between the American church story and the American national story. This is illustrated by such works as his histories of the Confederate and Unites States Army chaplaincies: *Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1961) and *Struggling for Recognition: A History of the Army Chaplaincy, 1791-1865* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1977).

2) Dr. Norton maintained a strong and mutually appreciative relationship with the History faculty at Vanderbilt University. Part of the structure of

Vanderbilt's Graduate Department of Religion Ph.D. program in church history was that candidates often had at least one doctoral committee member from the History Department. This committee member would be involved in both the qualifying examinations of candidates and the direction of their dissertations. This participation by "secular" historians in church history programs has been a concrete way of keeping church historians aware of and responsible to issues in the wider historical profession. In classes, on committees, or in informal relationships, Vanderbilt historians such as Henry Lee Swint, Jacque Voegeli, Dewey Grantham, Lewis Perry, and Paul Conkin became significant contributors to the intellectual formation of Dr. Norton's graduate students.

3) Dr. Norton helped a number of students to define their dissertation research in ways that located their projects in relation to signal events in general American history. The essays in this volume by D. James Atwood and William O. Paulsell illustrate this feature of Dr. Norton's mentoring. Atwood's research related the Disciples' development to World War I and Paulsell's study focused on the Disciples and the Great Depression. The significance of this point is too easily downplayed or overlooked. It is the case, however, that church history has sometimes suffered from its relative inattention to large events and social forces in the world around it.

Dr. Norton drew his students' attention to the margins of the Stone-Campbell movement as well as to its more elite streams. Much as some American Church historians have complained of a disproportionate preoccupation in their profession with New England Puritanism, so historians of the Stone-Campbell traditions have remarked on an historical fixation upon the movement's founders–especially on Alexander Campbell. Norton students have not neglected Mr. Campbell,[7] who by almost any measure represents the most elite leader of the movement's first half-century, but they have also engaged with a number of more marginal figures. For example, the aforementioned studies of Barton Stone not only illustrate a lengthening chronological perspective on the movement's history, but also a broadening sociological one. In spite of what has been identified as a distinguished, if not aristocratic ancestry, Barton Stone's personal economic experience was far more marginal than Alexander Campbell's and included episodes of genuine poverty.

The same point may be made with perhaps greater emphasis with regard to David Lipscomb. Lipscomb appeared with some prominence in a number of dissertations in which Norton had a guiding hand in the 1970s and 1980s, including those of Arthur Van Murrell, Anthony Dunnavant, and Douglas Foster. This interest in Lipscomb is reflected in Professor Foster's essay for this volume. Although Lipscomb became "elite" in terms of his influence upon the Churches of Christ, both he and significant portions of the community that he led were marked by both the experience of poverty and by a theologically articulated suspicion of wealth.[8]

Dr. Norton's own research interests in sectarian religious communities kept his students aware of fellowships and figures that were often both socio-economically and theologically marginal with respect to the mainline. Theological marginality would, in fact, be an apt concept for understanding the experience of Jesse Ferguson as recounted by J. Brooks Major in this volume. Certainly one of the most significant examples of a Norton student's attention having been drawn toward a marginalized and too-neglected group is seen in the work of Hap Lyda on African-American Disciples. Lyda's essay in this work and his "A History of Black Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) in the United States through 1899" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1972) are important contributions to the growing literature on African-Americans in the Stone-Campbell movement.

It is noteworthy that Lyda's essay has a focus on a specific geographic region because Dr. Norton demonstrated and encouraged engagement with particular regions and congregations. In the past generation the field of congregational studies has grown up as a specialty standing on the border of the "micro" sociology of religion, practical theology, and local church history. Major new publications and endowment-sponsored projects have brought new attention to local-church studies. Dr. Norton's commitment, as a church leader and an historian, to the local and regional church long pre-dated its recent fashionableness in scholarly circles. This commitment was manifested in a number of ways that are detailed in Richard Harrison's essay in this volume.

Dr. Norton was a committed and active member of the Woodmont Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Nashville, Tennessee. He was in constant circulation among the student churches of his Divinity School students and other congregations–especially those in western Kentucky and middle Tennessee. This was so much so that he became a figure both familiar to and beloved by these churches. Dr. Norton's pastoral care and advice to the student pastors of many small congregations within commutable distance of Nashville had an incalculable impact on these churches.

Dr. Norton's own scholarship constantly returned to the sectional, regional, or local. Observe the refrain of geographic particularity in the titles of his own works: "Fall of Vine Street" (M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University), "Philip Slater Fall: The Father of Southern Disciples," *Harbinger and Discipliana* 14 (January 1954):6; *Religion in Tennessee, 1777-1945* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), and *Tennessee Christians: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Tennessee* (Nashville: Reed, 1971).

Dr. Norton's students imbibed this commitment to the congregation. Many served as pastors of churches while studying at Vanderbilt. Some Norton students, including the editors of this volume, have written regional and congregational histories subsequent to their graduate-school years. The essays by Major and, again, by Lyda in this collection have a specific congregational or regional focus.

In sum, Dr. Norton sought to cultivate an approach to the history of the Stone-Campbell movement that was: a) varied in its methodologies, b) de-romanticized or even "ironic" in outlook, c) long in its chronological view, d) "denominationally" unapologetic, e) attentive to wider American Church and United States histories, f) sensitive to the socioeconomic, theological, and ethnic margins, and g) thoroughly grounded in the local. His leadership, as anyone's, was not without its faults and limitations. But many of these could be corrected by further progress on the trajectories he helped to set. For example, later students will further explore and more fully represent the diversities that lie beyond the traditionally dominant gender, classes, and ethnicities.

Readers of this collection will need to keep in mind its character as an anthology of works produced over a long period of time. It does not purport to be a scholarly work of 1995. Rather, because its component chapters are largely drawn from work done under Dr. Norton's direction during his long career, it is a primary document of his ministry of historical counsel and guidance. The outline of Dr. Norton's intellectual legacy finally follows closely the contours of his convictions and, preeminently, of his personality. Over the years it has been the memories of Herman Norton's dogged insistence on the reality of the living God, of his unfailing personal graciousness, and of his good citizenship in both civil society and church that have continued to haunt and to challenge. That is the legacy of Herman Norton that these essays seek to honor.

ANTHONY L. DUNNAVANT
RICHARD L. HARRISON, JR.

Notes

1. Lesley Brill, *The Hitchcock Romance: Love and Irony in Hitchcock's Films* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 72. Professor Brill uses the terms "romance" and "irony" in the ways that are strongly associated with Northrop Frye. See, for example, Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

2. See Richard Hughes's list of "Restoration Dissertations Since 1957" in "Twenty-five Years of Restoration Scholarship: The Churches of Christ, Part II," *Restoration Quarterly* 26:1 (First Quarter 1983):39-62.

3. Claude Welch, *Graduate Education in Religion: A Critical Appraisal,* A Report of a Study Sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies with a Grant from the Henry Luce Foundation, Inc. (Missoula, MT: University of Montana Press, 1971). Professor Welch listed eight programs as "Older and Established Programs of the First Rank." Five of these are in the Northeast

(Columbia, Harvard, Princeton Seminary, Union Seminary, and Yale); one in the Midwest (Chicago), one in the Southeast (Duke), and only one in the mid-South (Vanderbilt).

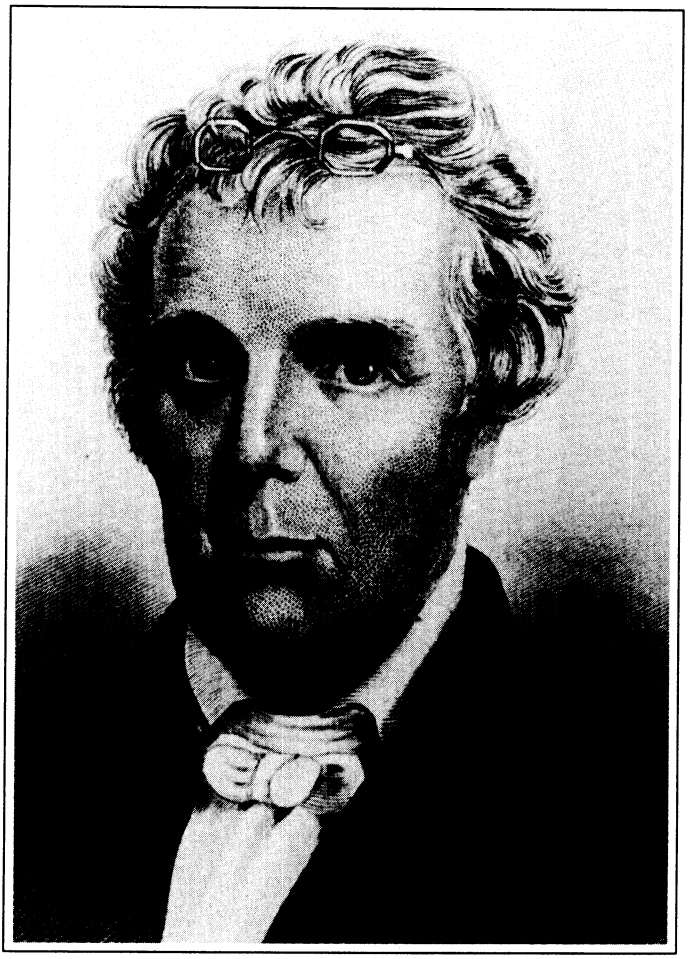
4. James M. Seale, *Forward from the Past: The First Fifty Years of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society* (Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1991), 19-20.

5. Ibid., 38.

6. Of course, both Dr. Norton and his students were aware of the global dimensions of the Stone-Campbell movement. Much of the scholarship he guided, however, related to the United States of America as a formative locale for this movement.

7. In fact, fairly early in Dr. Norton's career he helped guide Gustave Adolf Ferre in the writing of "A Concept of Higher Education and Its Relation to the Christian Faith as Evidenced in the Writings of Alexander Campbell" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1958).

8. See Anthony L. Dunnavant, "David Lipscomb on the Church and the Poor," *Restoration Quarterly* 33:2 (Second Quarter 1991):75-85.



BARTON WARREN STONE

" The social and ecclesiastical impact of the theology that (Barton Warren) Stone shared with other leaders of the Great Revival in the West was significant. It helps to explain the 'plain folk' style of much antebellum Protestantism in the South and the West. . . "

(D. Newell Williams, page 33)

The Social and Ecclesiastical Impact of Barton W. Stone's Theology

D. Newell Williams

A Common Perspective

Barton W. Stone (1772-1844) was a young Presbyterian minister when he hosted the most famous event of the Great Revival in the West (1800-1805)—the legendary Cane Ridge meeting. Conducted on the grounds of the Cane Ridge meeting house in Bourbon County, Kentucky, August 6-12, 1801, the meeting is estimated to have drawn a crowd of between 10,000 and 15,000. Baptists and Methodists, as well as Presbyterians, participated in the Cane Ridge Meeting and also in other meetings of the Revival which spread from Kentucky, Tennessee and southern Ohio, to northern Georgia and the Carolinas.

Within the course of the Revival, Stone separated from the Presbyterians, along with four other ministers, and became known for distinctive views on faith, atonement, and the Trinity. These views were adopted by participants in the Great Revival who became members of the Christian Church in the West. Though Stone's "new" theology was in accord with the rapid conversion experiences that characterized the Revival (as distinguished from the lengthier conversion experiences that had previously been the norm) and addressed the intellectual needs of a segment of the participants in the Revival, it was opposed by many Baptists and Methodists who participated in the Revival, as well as by most of Stone's former Presbyterian colleagues.

Despite differences over the distinctive features of Stone's theology, Stone and other leaders in the Revival shared a number of basic theological convictions. The impact of these convictions can be clearly seen in Stone's views regarding the Christian's relationship to the "world," the Christian's relationship to the self, the nature and purpose of the church, the integrity of mission (Stone's reaction to the Missionary Movement), and the Christian's relationship to society. Similar views were expressed by leaders of the Revival who opposed the distinctive features of Stone's theology. Thus, notwithstanding the fact that Stone's distinctive views on faith, atonement, and the Trinity were accepted only in the Christian Church in the West, it is appropriate to speak of Stone's social and ecclesiastical views as representative of the social and ecclesiastical impact of the theology of the Great Revival in the West.

The Christian's Relationship to the "World"

Chief among the fundamental convictions shared by Stone and other participants in the Great Revival was that humanity was created to know and enjoy God. Sin had separated humanity from relationship with God and led persons to seek happiness and fulfillment in the "things of this world." Thus, worldly things were "snares" that could divert one from relationship with God. Stone included wealth, honor, and popular amusements in his catalog of worldly things.

In March of 1841, Stone stated in his monthly journal, *The Christian Messenger,* that "wealth, rightly, and religiously used, is a great blessing," but he warned that it often became an idol that led its possessors to destruction.[1] In a later article in the *Messenger,* he asserted that the rich were never preeminent in religion because the "necessary cares" of maintaining their wealth and "the deceitfulness of riches" prevented their spiritual growth. He further noted that "it was not the design of our Lord that his people should be rich in this world, or he would have set the example, and he would never have said, it is easier for a camel to enter into a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven."[2]

Similar views on wealth were expressed by the Cumberland Presbyterian, Finis Ewing. Because of its practical value, wealth was especially dangerous to the Christian. Noting that "pursuit of the world" is "lawful" and even a "duty," Ewing warned that "the subtle enemy, taking advantage of these things, true in themselves, *draws* and *drives* the unwatchful professor, from step to step till *mammon* is more in his thoughts, if not affections, than the true God."[3]

In Stone's autobiography, written in 1843, he used an incident from a tour that he made of Charleston, South Carolina, in the winter of 1795, to warn against the danger of "honor." Stone reported that while in Charleston he met up with a former classmate, Samuel Holmes, who joined him in touring the islands and the surrounding country. Holmes was on his way to becoming a successful academician and had already attained a high level of "popularity." Stone noted that he soon noticed a change in Holmes's manner. The proof of a change in Holmes's spiritual state came during one of their excursions from the city. While riding aboard a "pleasure vessel" they came upon some rough waves. Holmes "manifested strong symptoms of fear," indicating to Stone that the change in Holmes's manner had been accompanied by the substitution of worldly success for relationship with God. Stone warned his readers that "few men can bear prosperity and popularity, so as to retain the humble spirit of religion."[4]

A similar warning against the lure of honor was provided by the Baptist preacher, Lemuel Burkett, in his account of the conversion of a prominent Virginian. Early in life, the subject of Burkett's account had been made Captain of the Militia, Justice of the Peace, and Sheriff of Sussex County, Virginia.

Commenting upon this period in his subject's life, Burkett observed that "all the time he was anxiously pursuing popularity he had no concern about religion or anxiety for the salvation of his soul." Burkett then showed how a particular conversation had made his subject "willing to part with all his worldly honor and preferments for that honor that comes from God only."[5]

Stone also warned of the danger of "fashionable or popular amusements." Of all the amusements with which he was acquainted, he believed that dancing, "balls," and theaters stood "preeminent to captivate the mind, and to destroy all serious and religious impressions of the heart." He asserted that the pious had no interest in such "diversions," since their "affections are attracted to nobler objects, being set on things above, and not on things on earth."[6] He acknowledged that balls, dancing, and theater were nowhere condemned in Scripture, but averred that such activities were "soul destroying" and insisted that their results, alone, proved that they were in opposition to the Biblical revelation.[7] Stone was also suspicious of tea parties, noting from personal experience that such "fascinating pleasures" had nearly caused him "to make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience."[8]

There is abundant evidence that Stone was not alone among the revivalists in his view of amusements. Part of the common folklore of Western evangelicals was the story of the preacher who accepted an invitation to a "ball" only to disrupt the whole affair by offering prayer! The obvious premise of the story, told of several preachers, was that prayer and "dancing" could not be conducted in the same room![9] Finis Ewing extended the ban on amusements to cover "frothy conversation, immoderate laughter and jestings" which, he asserted, could become as dangerous to the religious life as wealth, honor, or the more formal amusements.[10] In a sermon entitled "No room for Christ in the Hearts of Sinners" the Presbyterian, James McGready, summed up the whole matter of amusements for leaders of the Revival by warning that the danger in so-called "no harm" sins, such as balls, horse racing, and gambling, is that they "leave no room in the heart for holy things."[11]

Thus, leaders of the Great Revival were of one accord on the issue of the Christian's relationship to the "world." If one were to have relationship with God, one must be watchful of attachments that would divert one's attention from God. The danger facing Christians and nonbelievers, alike, was that they might choose worldly enjoyments over the happiness of knowing and loving God.

The Christian's Relationship to the Self

Another fundamental conviction shared by Stone and other leaders of the Revival was that human salvation was achieved by God's grace, alone. Relationship with God, though a result of the believer's faith, was possible only by God's

action. The impact of this conviction was evident in Stone's view of the Christian's relationship to the self.

Stone taught that the Christian's relationship to the self was one of humility. In *The Messenger* for August of 1842, Stone wrote that the Christian is "well convinced of his natural poverty of divine things, as holiness, righteousness and peace–he is convinced of his spiritual weakness to withstand evil, and to do good–and of his ignorance of God, and divine glories. . . ." Thus, the Christian "is humbled in heart or spirit in the sight of God." The Christian is also humbled in the sight of other Christians. "Not knowing the heart-imperfections of such Christians," Stone wrote, "and well acquainted with his own, like the eminent apostle, he thinks himself 'less than the least of saints,' and 'esteems others better than himself.'" The Christian was even humbled in the sight of wicked sinners. Stone wrote that upon seeing wicked sinners the Christian exclaims: "Who made me to differ from them? God only in His matchless grace."[12] Stone asserted that for persons to boast of their "religiousness" was incongruous. Such behavior could only indicate a lack of *true* religion.[13]

Other leaders of the Revival shared Stone's view of the Christian's relationship to the self. Describing the process of conversion, John Taylor stated that the "discovery of sin" creates a "running issue in the heart" of the Christian that is never healed. Taylor explained that "the use of running issues, is to take down swellings and throw off mortal diseases." Thus, the discovery of sin cured the sinner of pride and boastfulness. "O!" says the Christian to himself, Taylor wrote, "I am worse than all other men, for I have a monstrous unclean running issue." Taylor concluded that "This makes him always peaceable as a lamb in the church of Christ, esteeming every other better than himself."[14] In a letter to a ministerial colleague, Finis Ewing suggested that a good way to prevent the growth of pride is "to ask ourselves, who maketh us to differ?, etc. And what have we that we do not receive from the Lord?"[15] The Methodist, Henry Smith, gave similar advice to all who would preach the gospel. "Let the humble man of God," Smith wrote, "be a man of much prayer, and have his mind constantly impressed with this truth, 'that all good that is done in the earth, the Lord doeth it.'"[16]

Thus, the leaders of the Revival were also agreed on the Christian's relationship to the self. Salvation was God's doing. The mark of a spiritually healthy self was humility.

The Nature and Purpose of the Church

Another fundamental conviction shared by Stone and other leaders of the Revival was that through conversion believers received the Holy Spirit to glorify God and bring sinners to salvation. Thus, the church or fellowship of Christians

was a community created by the Holy Spirit to glorify God and bring sinners to salvation.[17] The impact of this conviction can be seen in Stone's views on the qualifications and duties of church membership, the importance of church discipline, the qualifications for ministry, the purpose of church polity, and character and end of Christian unity.

Stone taught that no one should be admitted to the church who did not possess the Spirit–the power by which God was glorified and sinners were brought to salvation. During the 1830s, the Christians united with the followers of Alexander Campbell. According to Campbell, baptism was the means by which penitents were to obtain an assurance of God's forgiveness.[18] Some of the Campbellite preachers baptized believers into the church without asking the approval of the church. In Stone's view this was a dangerous practice, especially if the person doing the baptizing were a visiting evangelist who might not know anything about the persons who presented themselves as penitents. In the August issues of *The Messenger* for 1841 Stone argued that "After the applicants have confessed the Lord, the congregation should be asked, 'can any man forbid water that this person should not be baptized?'"[19] Stone was criticized for this position on the grounds that the church has no right "to object to the reception of a sinner who confesses to desire salvation." Nevertheless, Stone maintained that the church must exercise care to determine that applicants for baptism were truly penitents if it were to remain the church.[20]

Stone taught that the duty of church members (persons who had received the Spirit!) was to glorify God and bring others to salvation. Christians glorified God and brought others to salvation through the exercise of justice and charity in their dealings with other members of society.[21] Members of the church also glorified God and brought others to salvation by "delighting in prayer" and in the "ordinances of God's house,"[22] observing the Lord's day in their homes as a day of worship and religious instruction, conducting family worship twice a day with the members of their household,[23] exhorting one another to grow in the Christian life, instructing and comforting young converts, and "recommending" Jesus to nonbelievers.[24]

Like Stone, other leaders of the Revival advocated care in admitting members to the church. Presbyterians and Methodists practiced infant baptism. Neither of these groups, though, considered baptized infants to be full members of the church until they had been duly converted (i.e. until they had received the Spirit).[25] The Methodists devised a provisional form of membership for "seekers"–persons who had been awakened to their dangerous situation, desired to "flee the wrath to come without delay," but had not yet experienced conversion. Regular membership, however, was granted only after the seeker had received the Spirit.[26] Other leaders of the Revival also taught that members of the church were to glorify God and bring others to salvation by exercising justice and charity in their dealings

with others, conducting "family worship," and recommending Jesus to nonbelievers.[27]

Stone taught that the church must be vigilant in the practice of discipline if it were to remain the church. He argued that the church that fails to practice discipline "brings reproach upon the profession of religion, and disgrace upon the cause which they have espoused." Such a church also became "a stumbling block" to the "weak" members within its fellowship.[28] Stone did not believe that the church on earth could be perfect in its practice of discipline. A final sorting of the wheat and the tares would take place at the great judgment day.[29] Nevertheless, Stone argued that a church must practice church discipline if it were to serve as a light that beckoned persons to God. Using the imagery of the book of Revelation, Stone wrote, "A church must be careful to attend to strict discipline without partiality; or the Lord will remove the candlestick out of its place."[30]

Procedures for the practice of church discipline varied from denomination to denomination. Nevertheless, the revivalists were agreed that the strict practice of discipline was essential to the vitality of the church. In a sermon berating Cumberland Presbyterians for a growing laxity with regard to church discipline, Finis Ewing stated the matter as follows:

> You all will and do in theory, admit that it is not *numbers* which constitute the strength of any branch of the church. It is the purity of their manners, it is such an upright and an unexceptional course of conduct which will commend itself to every man's conscience which constitutes the real *power* of any church.[31]

For Stone the indispensable qualification for the ministry was "the Spirit." If ministers did not possess the Spirit, Stone did not see how they could minister the Spirit to others. In *The Messenger* for January of 1844 Stone observed:

> Christ, the great teacher, never preached the Gospel until he was full of the Holy Spirit–His apostles were forbidden to leave Jerusalem until they had received the Holy Spirit upon them–endued with power from on High. Even deacons, who were to attend solely to the temporalities of the church, must be full of the Holy Ghost as a qualification of their office. The Lord will have no servants in His church without this qualification. Without we have the Spirit, how can we minister it to others?[32]

Stone valued an educated ministry. In an article published in *The Messenger* for November of 1843, Stone noted that study of the sciences included in the college curriculum of the time was of great value in the administration of the

gospel.[33] Stone also believed that ministerial education beyond the college level was of great benefit. In a letter of advice to a young man who had just graduated from college and who wished to become a preacher Stone outlined a course of instruction that included the Biblical languages, study of the Bible with the aid of a variety of commentaries, church history, practice in public prayer and exhortation, and regular consultation with a neighboring minister.[34] The importance of an educated ministry for Stone was summed up by his statement that "ignorant, enthusiastic preachers, disgrace the word, and ordinances of God."[35]

At the same time that Stone lauded an educated ministry, he made it clear that no amount of education could take the place of the Spirit. In *The Messenger* for September of 1844 Stone wrote:

> Give me a husbandman in the Spirit of truth in preference to the learned doctor of divinity without the Spirit. The one with his homely rusticity is a blessing to the world; the other with all his learned lore, is a curse; whereby such the world has been lulled to sleep on the very edge of ruin. . . .[36]

Toward the end of his life Stone began to fear that the growth of colleges among the Christians was an indication that the Christians were beginning to place more emphasis on the educational qualifications of their ministers than on their spiritual qualifications. In one of the last articles he was to prepare for *The Messenger*, Stone warned that if this were the case the Christians would "surely degenerate, lose what little of the Spirit" they might possess, and "sink into carnality."[37]

Like Stone, most of the leaders of the Revival affirmed the value of an educated ministry.[38] Presbyterians, Methodists, and Cumberland Presbyterians put flesh and bones on these affirmations through the establishment of ministerial libraries and courses of study which covered the sciences, philosophy, Bible, church history, and theology.[39] But, again, like Stone, the other revivalists did not believe that any amount of education could take the place of the Spirit as the primary qualification for ministry.[40]

Like other nineteenth century Christians influenced by the Reformed tradition, Stone believed that the New Testament contained a divine plan for the order of the church. Believing that the purpose of the church was to glorify God and bring sinners to salvation, Stone believed that the goal of that divine plan was to further the honoring of God and the conversion of sinners. In June of 1804, Stone and the other members of the Springfield Presbytery, who had already separated from the Synod of Kentucky, dissolved their independent presbytery and affixed their names as witnesses to a document titled the "Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery."[41] In the "Witnesses'

Address," the signers declared that they have been led to dissolve their presbytery by the conviction that such bodies served only to maintain divisions in the church, coupled with the discovery that there was "neither precept nor example in the New Testament for such confederacies as modern Church Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, etc." In conclusion the signers wrote, "Let all Christians join with us, in crying to God day and night, to remove the obstacles which stand in the way of his work, and give him no rest till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth."[42]

The congregational polity advocated by the "Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery" might lead one to argue that Stone was motivated to dissolve his presbytery not so much by a commitment to a divine order of the church that he believed would further the honoring of God and the salvation of sinners, as by a commitment to the freedom of the local congregation. This view is challenged, though, by Stone's subsequent statements regarding polity. In the "Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery" the signers willed that each congregation choose its own preacher. In later years, Stone made it clear that the congregation did not have the right to choose whomever it might to be its preacher. Rather, the congregation must mind the qualifications for ministers set forth in the New Testament and select only those who fit those qualifications. Stone warned that if the congregation were given the right to select whomever it might choose as preacher, it might "reject the man whose heart burned with zeal for the cause, and send one, who is a man of learning and eloquence, yet with an iceberg heart."[43] The signers of the "Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery" transferred cases of discipline from the session (the minister and lay elders) to the whole congregation. Experience led Stone to believe that this had been a mistake. In *The Messenger* for July of 1843, Stone noted that the majority in most of the congregations of the Christians was composed of women and children, and men who had only recently been converted; all of whom, in his judgment, were unfit to exercise church discipline in a strict and efficient manner. Stone stated that as a result many persons were able to remain in the church whose "misdeeds" were "the disgrace of religion." Stone suggested that a way must be devised by which the "ignorant and children" and possibly all women could be excluded from the vote in judiciary matters.[44]

Stone's fellow revivalists shared his view that the purpose of church government was not the protection of rights, but the establishment of a church that furthered the honoring of God and the salvation of sinners. During the 1820s, Methodists in the Baltimore area sought to restructure the Methodist Church along more democratic lines. Advocates of the plan argued that Episcopal government was an embarrassment in a free land and would hinder the growth of American Methodism.[45] Significantly, this effort to restructure Methodism

was resisted by Western Methodists who argued that the objects of church government were entirely different from those of civil government.[46]

Stone taught that Christian unity was created by the Spirit and led to the conversion of sinners. This was reflected in his delineation of the various types of church union. Stone argued that there were four kinds of church union: "book union," "head union," "water union," and "fire union." Book union was union "founded on a book, containing certain articles of faith, called a creed, confession of faith, or a discipline." Stone claimed that the history of the church showed that rather than maintaining unity these books have "been the unhappy cause of disunion." Head union was "a union founded on opinion." Stone noted that many persons who denounced creeds and confessions as sectarian and who extolled the Bible, boasting that it alone was their creed and discipline nevertheless made union rest upon a unity of opinion concerning all things taught in the Bible. Stone stated that the only difference between head union and book union was that in one case the opinions were printed in a book and in the other they were retained in the head. Water union was "a union founded on immersion in the water," and the history of the church showed that water union "is easily dissolved, and that immersion will not keep those who are immersed, united." Fire union, on the other hand, was "the unity of the Spirit–a union founded on the Spirit of truth." Stone stated that the Spirit "leads us to love God and His children" and that "this is the very union . . . by which the world will believe."[47]

Stone's understanding of the character and end of Christian unity, coupled with his experience as an advocate of Christian unity, led him over time to modify his strategy for achieving church union. During the early part of his ministry, Stone called upon the denominations to give up their party names and party creeds, take the name "Christian" and unite upon the Bible alone.[48] The union of churches that Stone envisioned, however, did not materialize. Thus, Stone ceased calling upon denominations to unite and began calling upon the "obedient believers" in each party to throw off their party names and party creeds and unite upon the Bible. In accounting for this change of strategy, Stone wrote, "I saw that the union of the sects, as such, would not be a desirable work, as the majority of all the sects are carnal and have not the Spirit, and cannot amalgamate with the truly spiritual."[49] Believing that the purpose of the church was to glorify God and bring sinners to salvation, Stone had no difficulty shifting from a strategy of "church" union to the strategy of Christian union. For Stone, a union of churches that was not a union of true Christians–even if such could be achieved–would not be the Christian union born of the Spirit that would honor God and bring sinners to salvation.

Several of the other revivalists shared Stone's view that Christian union born of the Spirit would bring sinners to Christ. In an essay on the Lord's Supper,

Finis Ewing made a case against the practice of "close" communion on the grounds that such practices denied the power of the gospel to make Christians love one another. For one body of Christians to close the table to other Christians, Ewing asserted, was to demonstrate that we love "in words and tongue only" and not "in truth."[50] The Methodist bishop, Francis Asbury, reprinted extracts from a Puritan work which called for an end to divisions in the church as hampering the Spirit's work in conversion.[51] Not surprisingly, a number of church unions were actually attempted during the course of the Revival.[52]

Thus, Stone and his fellow revivalists were united in their understanding of the nature and purpose of the church. The church was a community created by the Spirit to glorify God and bring sinners to salvation. This understanding of the church required evidence of the Spirit as a qualification for church membership and called for the members of the church to glorify God in their lives. It also required evidence of the Spirit as the indispensable qualification for ministry, determined that the goal of church polity was the furthering of God's honor and the salvation of sinners, and viewed Christian unity as a work of the Spirit that honors God and brings others to Christ.

The Integrity of Mission

The conviction that through conversion believers received the Holy Spirit to glorify God and bring sinners to salvation also influenced Stone's response to the Missionary Movement. Born of the Second Great Awakening in New England, the Missionary Movement called upon Americans to fight "infidelity" and "vice" through the support of missionary efforts at home and abroad. The movement was closely associated with New England Congregationalists and the Presbyterians, with whom the Congregationalists had entered a Plan of Union.[53]

Stone opposed the Missionary Movement. In his view, the Missionary Movement was not a "religious" movement born of a Spirit created desire to glorify God and save sinners, but a "worldly" movement born of the human desire of the clergy of particular denominations to control the "wealth and power of the nation." In an article published in April of 1829, Stone noted that the leaders of the Missionary Movement seemed blind to the fruitful ministries of Baptist, Methodist, and Christian preachers. In a sarcastic manner uncommon to him Stone observed,

> You hear them in their missionary reports, *mournfully* declaiming that such a part of the country is a *moral* waste, destitute of an efficient or competent ministry. . . . The picture is drawn in vivid colors, and the

> sympathies of many, ignorant of the real case, are excited–so excited that money flows to make more efficient ministers, and to send them to these moral wastes. We have inquired, and found these moral wastes well supplied with Baptist, Methodist, and Christian preachers, by whose labors hundreds have professed religion, and adorn their profession equally as well as the people under the *efficient ministry*.[54]

In *The Messenger* for June of 1828, Stone had reported that the Pennsylvania legislature had refused to grant a charter to the American Sunday School Union. "The design of this union," Stone had written, "was to govern all of the elections in the union, from the civil magistrate to the President of the United States, so as to keep out of every civil office in government all not orthodox." Stone had supported this statement by quoting an extract from the promotional literature of the Sunday School Union which promised that within ten to twenty years of the establishment of Sunday Schools throughout the land, "'the political power of our country, would be in the hands of men whose characters have been formed under the influence of Sunday Schools.'"[55]

One of the goals of the Missionary Movement was the evangelization of the Valley of the Mississippi. Leaders of the movement sought support of this effort on the grounds that the expanding West would soon control the life of the nation.[56] In an article concerning the evils of "the sectarian spirit" published in January of 1835 Stone declared,

> In America it [the sectarian spirit] sighs to possess the vale of the Mississippi–why? Because it is viewed as the "helm of the nation." If possessed, then bow submission, ye rebels, or die for your heresy.[57]

For Stone to assert that a movement was "worldly" or "sectarian" was, of course, to assert that it was not of the Spirit. In an article published in April of 1829, Stone made a direct attack upon the piety of the leaders of the Missionary Movement. Noting that those leaders seemed to delight in proud titles such as "president" and "general secretary," Stone observed, "Certainly the meek and self-denying principles of the Gospel frown indignantly upon such a spirit."[58] In Stone's view the Missionary Movement was not advancing the gospel, but opposing it! In an article published in January of 1830 Stone declared,

> Sunday Schools and Tract Societies are now made the engines to support the most anti-Christian monster in all its various forms; I mean sectarianism. Who does not see that sectarianism stands in opposition to the very essence of religion, which is love, peace and union among the whole family of God?[59]

Stone also published articles by other authors who attacked the piety of the Missionary leaders and questioned the "religious" goals of the Missionary Movement.[60]

Stone's view that the Missionary Movement was not a religious movement motivated by a desire to glorify God and save sinners, but a sectarian movement born of the worldly desires of certain sects seems to have been shared, at least in part, by many of the leaders of the Revival. In contrast to Stone, the Methodists were friendly to the Sunday School Union.[61] Methodists were opposed, however, to the home and foreign missionary societies.[62] The Methodist spokesman, Nathan Bangs, accounted for their opposition to the latter societies by noting that these societies were viewed by Methodists as the tools by which the self-seeking Congregational clergy, who had once been established by state laws, hoped to regain a place of influence in American life.[63] The Cumberland Presbyterians supported the Sunday school and tract societies.[64] Nevertheless, the Cumberland Presbyterians opposed the home and foreign missionary societies.[65] In a sermon on the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints, Finis Ewing stated that although he opposed the doctrine of the Methodists on this subject, he hated to say anything against them since they were doing as much as any other society to prevent the pernicious influence of another large and respectable society of Christians which, in his humble view, were seeking to secure an establishment of religion.[66] Since the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints is affirmed in the Westminster Confession, it seems clear that Ewing was making a pointed reference to the Presbyterians who were major supporters of the Missionary Movement in some sections of the nation. It is also significant that in a resolution endorsing the Sunday school and tract societies the Cumberland Presbyterians promised to support these institutions as long as they remained "free from sectarian influences."[67]

The Baptists divided over the issue of missions. None of the Baptists supported the Congregationalist and Presbyterian backed home and foreign missionary societies. But Baptists did organize a missionary society to support the work of Luther Rice and Adoniram Judson, two Congregationalist missionaries who were converted to Baptist views while en route to Burma. Rice and Judson had been immersed at Calcutta, and Rice had then returned to the United States to raise money to support a Baptist mission. Opposition to this society soon arose among Baptists.[68] As a result, Baptists were divided into "missionaries" and "antimissionaries." The antimissionaries were further divided into "Hardshells," who made acceptance of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination a term of fellowship, and "Campbellites," who adopted Alexander Campbell's plea for the union of Christians on the basis of the Bible, alone.

One of the first Baptists to write against the Baptist missionary society was the revivalist, John Taylor. In his *Thoughts on Mission*, published in 1820, Taylor charged that the leaders of the Baptist missionary society were motivated

by a "carnal desire for wealth and power" and warned that if they should be successful the Baptists would soon become as corrupt as the Congregational church of New England and the Papal Church of Rome.[69] In Taylor's view, the Congregationalist background of Rice and Judson was the key to understanding the true character of the Baptist missionary society. In 1812, Congregationalists Samuel J. Mills and John F. Schermerhorn had been sent west to examine religious conditions on the frontier.[70] Taylor reported that Mills and Schermerhorn had suggested to him that if he could get the people to give money for missionary purposes, they would soon develop a habit of giving money and consequently ministers at home would also be adequately supported. Commenting upon this conversation with Mills and Schermerhorn in which Taylor believed that he had been shown the real purpose of the Missionary Movement, Taylor observed,

> These young men meant friendship to me and to preachers in general . . . but surely it will not be thought uncharitable to say, that I did begin strongly to smell the New England rat. It may be well remembered that this Mills and Schermerhorn, were educated in the same school, and sent on a mission from the same board that Judson and Rice were, though to different parts of the world. Their being baptized at Calcutta is no evidence of their religious or political principles being changed, only in the use of much water.[71]

A survey of available data suggests that the majority of Baptists with ties to the Great Revival ended up in some part of the antimissionary camp. In Kentucky a large percentage of the "Separate" Baptists, who historically had no creed but the Bible, and who had generally supported the Revival with marked enthusiasm, became Campbellites.[72] There is evidence that some of the remaining Separates were also antimissionary.[73] Among the Kentucky Baptists of the Regular or "united" tradition, who had typically subscribed to the Calvinist Philadelphia Confession, the Licking Association went Hardshell,[74] while the Campbellites gained a large segment of Elkhorn, Bracken, Franklin,[75] Boones Creek, Long Run, and North District associations.[76] Only the South District and Baptist associations gave united support to the Missionary Movement.[77] According to the missionary Baptist historian, J. H. Spencer, Baptists in Kentucky "lost" one-half of their membership to antimissionary groups.[78] In North Carolina the historic Kehukee Association, which had spearheaded the Revival in North Carolina, also led the way in opposing the Baptist Missionary Movement.[79] The antimissionary movement also made significant gains in upland South Carolina, the only region of South Carolina that the Revival penetrated,[80] and at least one of the leading Baptist preachers of the Revival in South Carolina, Moses Holland, is known to have been opposed to the Missionary Movement.[81] In Virginia an ecclesiastical civil war was fought over

the issue of missions, resulting in an equal division of Virginia Baptists, with the Campbellites and Hardshells on one side and the missionary Baptists on the other.[82] At least one of the foremost leaders of the Revival in Virginia, Leonard Page, is known to have become a Campbellite.[83] Georgia was the exception to the rule among Baptist associations. The Georgia and Savannah associations were prominent both in the Revival and in the Missionary Movement.[84] But even in Georgia, associations composed of churches involved in the Revival went antimissionary,[85] and the most prominent leader of the Revival in the Savannah Association, Henry Holcomb, was an active opponent of the Baptist Missionary Movement.[86]

There were individual exceptions to the rule that placed Baptist supporters of the Revival in the antimissionary camp. It is significant, however, that the three most prominent exceptions to this rule, John Culpepper, Jesse Mercer, and Robert B. Semple, were all persons whose piety Stone might well have questioned. John Culpepper was a man of wealth and influence. Following the Revival he was elected to the United States Congress.[87] Though Culpepper continued to preach, the historian of the Sandy Creek Association reported that his "zeal and success were much diminished."[88] When the controversy over missionaries arose, Culpepper's congregation went antimissionary and chose a black freeman, who had been Culpepper's assistant, to serve as their pastor.[89]

Jesse Mercer was also a man of wealth and influence.[90] Upon the death of the governor of Georgia, Mercer made the following comments:

> Your late excellent Governor was the pleasant and lovely companion of my youth; my constant friend and endeared Christian brother in advancing years, and, till death, my unremitted fellow-laborer and able support in all the efforts of benevolence and philanthropy in which I had the honor and happiness to be engaged, calculated either to amend or ameliorate the condition of man.

Mercer also stated that "piety" is the "crown" that makes a man of intelligence and education truly "great" and that such men are the "strong pillars of the state, the pledges of the public safety.[91] Given Stone's revivalist view of the Christian's relationship to the "world," it is hard to imagine him speaking of efforts of benevolence and philanthropy in which he had the "honor" to be engaged or of piety as a "crown" that makes one truly "great." Surely, such language would have seemed to Stone to savor more of the world than of the Spirit.

Robert B. Semple, though not wealthy, was also a man of influence. In a sermon exalting the value of humility, Semple observed,

> Many excellent lessons may be learned by turning our reflections to our own day. Various characters have passed before our view. Some

> have risen to great usefulness and weight of character; and some, like the glow-worm, have strutted for a moment and sunk into oblivion. What are the causes? It will be found, upon impartial examination, that whatever might have been the effects of talents, connections, or popular sentiments, the far greater part of their high standing ought to be ascribed to the successful cultivation of a meek and Christian spirit and that the insignificance or downfall of the opposite party oftener arose from the pride which precedes a fall than from the want of talents or personal endowments.[92]

Again, given Stone's revivalist view of the Christian's relationship to the "world," it is hard to imagine him commending humility in terms of its worldly value!

The Second Great Awakening in New England, which launched the Missionary Movement, also popularized the New Haven theology. The father of the New Haven theology was Nathaniel W. Taylor, Professor of Theology at Yale.[93] The New Haven theology centered on the free will of the sinner. According to Taylor, the Holy Spirit effected conversion by convincing sinners of their dangerous state. Since sinners had free will, they could act for their own good and comply with the terms of the gospel. For Taylor, it was not necessary for the sinner to be *made* willing to comply with the terms of the gospel by the Spirit's disclosure to the sinner of the glory of God revealed in Jesus Christ, as it was for Stone and other leaders of the Revival in the West. Rather, sinners, recognizing the consequences of their sin, could simply choose to act for their own salvation.[94]

Stone did not accuse the missionaries of "preaching another gospel," but several of the leaders of the Revival did. The Hardshell Baptists, for example, came to view the controversy over missions as largely a theological matter. In their view, the missionaries exalted the power and ability of humanity over the sovereignty of God.[95] In other words, Hardshells believed that the missionaries denied the Western revivalists' view of the Christian's relationship to the self. Methodists also attacked the missionaries for ignoring the work of God in the salvation of sinners. In his autobiography, the Methodist itinerant, Peter Cartwright, reported that one of the missionaries attended a Methodist "Quarterly Meeting" and promised the mourners who were praying for conversion that if they would merely "change their purpose" all would be well. Cartwright remarked,

> It is very strange to me to think these educated and home-manufactured preachers do not understand the plain, Bible doctrine of the new birth better. They say man is a free agent in so far as to change his purpose, and in changing his purpose he is constituted a new creature. Thus, he makes himself a Christian by his own act without the Spirit of God.[96]

Another Methodist itinerant, Lewis Garrett, pronounced a "woe" against the missionary preacher who "handles the word of God deceitfully–that heals the wound slightly–that cries peace, peace when there is no peace."[97]

The Presbyterians divided over the "free will" theology of many of the missionaries and the Plan of Union that had united their missionary efforts with those of the Congregationalists. In the North, Presbyterians who supported the missionary movement and cooperation with the Congregationalists, known as the New School, were the majority. In the South, the majority of Presbyterians were antimissionary and opposed to cooperation with the Congregationalists or Old School.[98] One of the foremost leaders of the Old School in the South was Joshua L. Wilson, who is known to have preached to great effect in the Revival.[99] Another vigorous opponent of the missionaries was Robert Marshall, who had left the Presbyterians with Stone following the Revival, but later returned to the Presbyterians.[100] Only in Tennessee, where the ranks of the Presbyterians had been greatly decimated by the schism between the Synod of Kentucky and the strongly revivalist Cumberland Presbytery, did the majority of Presbyterians side with the missionary or New School Presbyterians.[101] It has been suggested that abolitionist sentiments among the New School in the North was a secondary factor in Southern support of the Old School. Be that as it may, the great majority of Presbyterians with ties to the Revival ended up in the antimissionary camp along with the Christians, the Methodists, the Cumberland Presbyterians, the Hardshell Baptists, and the Campbellites.

Not all of the supporters of the Missionary Movement advocated the New Haven theology. Jesse Mercer, for example, was a staunch Calvinist.[102] Nevertheless, antimissionary Baptists such as Daniel Parker believed that "the mission spirit" had a tendency to unwittingly draw preachers "into the armenian [sic] principle or method of preaching" which emphasized human ability over the sovereignty of God, even when they professed other beliefs.[103] Noting the difference between Baptist preaching before and after the advent of the Missionary Movement, John Leland, the father of the Baptist antimission movement, observed,

> A new order of things has taken place in the religious department, since I began to preach. Then, when I went to meeting, I expected to hear the preacher set forth the ruin and recovery of man, and labor with heavenly zeal to turn many unto righteousness. . . . But now, when I go to meeting, I hear high encomiums on Sunday Schools, tract societies, Bible societies, Missionary societies, anti-mason societies, etc. with a strong appeal to the people to aid with their money those institutions which are to introduce the millennium; assuring the people that "every cent may save a soul."[104]

Joshua Lawrence, of the Kehukee Association, asserted that the missionary spirit had "corrupted the pulpit from pure Gospel to–Go yet into all the world and preach money to every creature; and he that giveth shall help save the world, and he that giveth not, in effect, helps to damn the world."[105]

Examination of the views of Stone and other revivalists concerning the Missionary Movement suggests that there was a fundamental religious difference between the missionaries and antimissionaries. In the view of Stone and many of the other leaders of the Revival, the Missionary Movement was not a movement born of the Spirit that sought to glorify God and save sinners. On the contrary, it was a worldly scheme meant to lend influence to the clergy of certain denominations. Some of Stone's fellow revivalists also attacked the theology of the missionaries. In their view, the content of missionary sermons denied the glory of God. A basic factor in the antimissionary stance of the Western evangelicals was their conviction that the missionaries cared not for the glory of God and the salvation of sinners, but for worldly power and influence.

The Missionary Movement was ultimately successful throughout the United States. Its greatest monument in the South was the large and powerful Southern Baptist Convention. However, the Missionary Movement would not claim its greatest victories in the South and the West until Stone and most of the other participants in the Revival were dead.

The Christian's Relationship to Society

The conviction that through conversion believers received the Spirit to glorify God and save sinners also influenced Stone's view of the Christian's relationship to society. As noted in connection with Stone's understanding of the nature and purpose of the church, Christians were to glorify God through the exercise of justice and charity in their dealings with other members of society. This duty extended not only to the believer's dealings with individuals, but to the Christian's relationship to society as a whole. The influence of this conviction may be seen in Stone's views on slavery and the Christian's involvement in government.

Stone believed that slavery was a crime against the slave. Thus, Christians should oppose slavery. For a Christian to fail to oppose slavery brought disgrace on the profession of religion.[106]

During the latter years of the eighteenth century, many of the persons who were to be leaders of the Revival went on record against slavery. In August of 1789, delegates from seven Virginia Baptist associations had met at Richmond to discuss matters of mutual concern. The subject of slavery had been canvassed and the following resolution had been approved:

> Resolved, that slavery is a violent deprivation of the rights of nature and inconsistent with the Republican form of government, and therefore recommend it to our brethren to make use of every legal measure to extirpate this horrid evil from the land; and pray Almighty God that our honorable legislature may have it in their power to proclaim the great jubilee, consistent with the principles of good policy.[107]

In the early 1790s, the "father" of Kentucky Presbyterians, David Rice, had called for the gradual abolition of slavery in Kentucky.[108] In 1794, Transylvania Presbytery had seconded Rice's efforts by passing a resolution calling for the gradual abolition of slavery in Kentucky.[109] In 1800, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church had directed annual conferences "to draw up addresses for the gradual emancipation of slaves to the legislatures of the states in which no general laws have been passed for that purpose."[110]

Opposition to slavery was also voiced by revivalists during the Revival. Stone noted with satisfaction that many slaves were emancipated as a result of the Revival.[111] Nevertheless, slavery continued in the South. Slaveholders argued that to free slaves unprepared for liberty into a society unwilling to receive them would be a crime against both society and the slave. The result would be an increase in lawlessness and disorder.[112]

Stone and other revivalists seem to have acquiesced in the "emancipation would mean lawlessness and disorder" defense of slavery. In an article published in December of 1827, Stone wrote,

> To emancipate the slaves among us would be to open the floodgates of incalculable evils both to the emancipated and the emancipators. Though we have evinced our hostility to slavery by emancipating those under our power; yet we should be the first to leave the land in which this should become universal.[113]

In 1819 the Tennessee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church had voted to accept slaveholders as candidates for the ministry.[114]

Although Stone and other revivalists seemed to have accepted the status quo, they continued to believe that slavery was a crime against the slave. The problem, as they saw it, was finding a way to liberate the slaves without endangering the peace and order of society. With the organization of the American Colonization Society for the purpose of sending free blacks to Africa, Stone and other leaders of the Revival believed that a solution had been found. Beginning in February of 1827, Stone used *The Messenger* to encourage Christians to lend their influence and financial support to the work of the Colonization Society.[115] In March of 1827, the Christian Conference of Northern Kentucky passed the following resolution:

> The legislatures of many of the states, as well as our own, have embraced the subject [of colonization] with their warm approbation. Shall we be silent? Many of their unhappy population have already been borne over the Atlantic to Liberia, where they live happily and freely . . . be persuaded brethren, to engage in this work, and thus lay up treasures for yourselves in Heaven, and secure the blessing instead of the curses of our greatly injured fellow-creatures.[116]

In 1823 the Synod of Kentucky had appointed committees to further the work of the American Colonization Society throughout the state.[117] In 1832 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church passed a resolution authorizing bishops to appoint agents in behalf of the Colonization Society.[118] A year later the General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterians also voted to endorse the work of the Colonization Society.[119]

Stone continued to call Christians to support the Colonization Society through February of 1833.[120] In time, though, he became discouraged by the failure of the efforts of the Colonization Society to promote an end to slavery in the United States, and despite his earlier fear that a large-scale freeing of slaves would be dangerous for the peace and order of society, he became an advocate of immediate abolition. He was encouraged to adopt this later position by reports of the successful abolition of slavery in England which he printed in *The Messenger* for October of 1831.[121] Stone reasoned that if abolition could be successfully accomplished in England, it might also be successfully accomplished in the United States.[122] In April of 1835, Stone began printing installments of "An Address to the People of the United States on the Subject of Slavery" published by the New England Anti-Slavery Convention.[123]

Stone's support of immediate abolition was short-lived. The installments of the "Address" of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention came to an abrupt halt with the June issue of *The Messenger* for 1835. In the November issue of *The Messenger* for 1835, Stone explained that he had ceased publication of the "Address" because he had "heard of the evil effects of the ultra-abolitionists in the North" and had thus concluded that to continue publishing the address "would do no good in the present ferment, and might do harm."[124] Stone did not state what the evil effects of the ultra-abolitionists in the North were, but it seems clear that he had come to believe that the call for immediate abolition would not bring an end to slavery in America. "I have . . . been," Stone wrote in the same article, "a conscientious opposer of slavery for near forty years; but how to remedy the evil I know not. I am persuaded it will be done; but I am ignorant of the means by which it shall be accomplished."[125]

There is evidence that some of Stone's former Presbyterian colleagues may have shared his temporary support of the immediate abolition of slavery.[126] Most of the revivalists, though, seem to have shared Stone's later view that the

efforts of the radical abolitionists would not result in an end to slavery. Benjamin Northcutt's son wrote that although his father was an antislavery Methodist all of his life, he refused to become a "modern" abolitionist on the grounds that the efforts of the modern abolitionists "would fasten the chains on the black."[127]

Thus, in the later 1830s, the earlier call to action by the revivalists on the issue of slavery was generally replaced by silence. There is no reason to believe that this silence was based on a belief that the church should not speak on social issues. Rather, it seems that the antislavery evangelicals simply did not know what to propose. This view is supported by the fact that when the Methodist Church divided over the issue of whether or not a slaveholder could serve as bishop, antislavery forces in the Southern church were successful in maintaining a strong antislavery statement in the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.[128]

Stone's view that the Christian should glorify God by acting for the good of society can also be seen in his stance on the role of the Christian in government. During the early years of his ministry, Stone described involvement in government as public service. In 1826, Stone wrote approvingly of an early Christian preacher who "had long served his country as a legislator."[129] This view of involvement in government seems to have been shared by several of the other participants in the Revival. Three leaders of the Revival, the Presbyterians David Caldwell and David Rice, and the Methodist Phillip Gatch, served as delegates to state constitutional conventions.[130] David Caldwell had also served as a delegate to the North Carolina convention called to ratify the Federal Constitution.[131] The Methodist revivalist, William Burke, served as a county judge in Ohio[132] and the Baptist, Daniel Parker, was a member of the Illinois legislature.

Toward the end of his ministry, Stone argued against the Christian's involvement in government. This shift does not represent a change in Stone's view that the Christian should act for the good of society. Rather, it reflects his perception of the changing character of American political life in the 1840s.

One of the most significant developments in nineteenth century America was the emergence of the two-party system. The founders never envisioned a two-party system. In their view, parties were formed by self-seeking individuals and were a threat to the order of society and the rights of the citizenry.[133] Indeed, the Constitution was meant to establish a form of government that would function without parties.[134] The first American party, the Jeffersonian Republicans, was organized not as a party, but as a movement to defend the rights of the people against the Federalists, whom Thomas Jefferson viewed as having become a party. The Federalists, for their part, accused the Jeffersonians of seeking to form a party.[135]

During the 1830s and 1840s, the two-party system came to be accepted by a large segment of the population.[136] Stone, however, continued to view

political parties as institutions formed by self-seeking individuals which threatened the peace of society and the rights of citizens. Furthermore, Stone came to believe that "parties" organized to oppose parties were doomed to ultimate failure.

Stone's view of the tendency of parties organized to oppose parties was reflected in his stance on antimasonry. During the 1830s, many Americans became concerned about the political power of the Masonic lodges which inducted members in a secret rite, required secret pledges of fidelity from their members, and promised "charitable" assistance to those persons who were members of the lodge. Evangelical Christians, such as the Baptist John Taylor, were also concerned about the "spiritual" power of the Masons, since the Masonic lodges could be seen as competing with the church for the loyalty of the individual.[137] Many of Stone's readers believed that Stone should join the antimasonic movement. Referring to the antimasonic movement, Stone wrote in *The Messenger* for February of 1832, "Will not this principle distract and divide society, instead of uniting them in peace? I am afraid that antimasonry is designed to be a political engine; it may be to effect what it ostensibly proposed to put down." Not wanting to be mistaken as a proponent of the Masonic movement, Stone made it clear that this controversy rested with the "party principle."[138]

By 1840, to participate in government required participation in a political party. Thus, by the early 1840s Stone was convinced that participation in government was a snare. In the August issue of *The Messenger* for 1843 Stone wrote, "I have never seen a man much engaged in politics and religion at the same time. As he advanced in the spirit of the former, he declined in the spirit of the latter, and vice versa."[139] Stone accounted for this observation by noting that persons engaged in politics must "mingle with the wicked, and conform in some degree with their spirit, and manners."[140]

Stone's belief that participation in government was a snare was strengthened by the new campaign techniques popularized during the 1830s and 1840s, such as parades, barbecues, and the free use of alcoholic beverages. These techniques were successful in catching and holding the attention of the populace. In September of 1840, one of the first years to witness the widespread use of the new campaign techniques in a Presidential election, Stone made the following note in *The Messenger*: "Religion in the 'far west' has almost been suffocated by the dust of politics. . . . "[141] Two years later, during the Congressional elections, Stone made the following comment in *The Messenger*:

> There has been recently and yet continues, a great political excitement throughout the country. The minds of the people have been turned from religion to politics. The spirit of religion, and the spirit of noisy politics–or the spirit of God and the spirit of the world, cannot exist at the same time.[142]

In one of his last articles written for *The Messenger*, Stone again made note of the ill effects of politics upon religion. This time he referred to politics as an "opiate which has induced a senseless torpor to religion."[143] In an article published in August of 1843 Stone had asserted that observation of the effects of American politics upon the progress of religion must lead one to conclude that "the politics of the day are in opposition to the politics of heaven."[144]

Stone's view that Christians should not participate in government may have also been influenced by the sectional conflicts of the antebellum period. In the May issue of *The Messenger* for 1842, Stone wrote that Christians had no need for laws other than those given by Christ. Noting that human laws were always changing, Stone stated that "even our best of human governments, for this very reason, is now tottering and unstable, and must ultimately submit to the divine government, and unchanging laws of our king before it becomes right."[145] In Stone's view the American government was unable to maintain justice and order. Justice and order would be established only when the world recognized its "obligation to receive and obey the government and laws of the king Jesus."[146] Meanwhile, Christians should withdraw from the American political process and quietly seek to live by the laws of God.

Stone's view of political parties and participation in government in the 1830s and 1840s was shared, at least in part, by one of the other leaders of the Revival. In the early 1830s, David Rice gave the following advice to his children: "Meddle but little in political matters unless you have a better opportunity for usefulness than seems now to present itself." Referring to party politics in general and the modern campaign techniques in particular, Rice stated that some persons who practiced politics in this fashion might "imagine" that they were "serving their country" but that they were "greatly mistaken." In Rice's view, "the means they use to obtain their election do more injury, by corrupting the morals and political principles of men, than all their services in the legislature do good." As was the case with Stone, Rice saw the solution to America's political depravity not in the organization of another party but in a revival of true religion. "I think it morally impossible," Rice wrote, "that we should long continue free and happy, without a reformation in our principles and manners; and know of nothing that can produce this reformation but religion; religion to influence the mind, and give it a happy direction."[147]Western Methodists may well have also shared something of this view of the American political process in the 1830s. In 1836 the General Conference declared that "it is highly improper for any member of an annual conference to engage in political strife, and to offer for a seat in the legislative councils, or congress hall. . . ."[148]

Thus, Stone and other leaders of the Revival agreed that Christians should glorify God by seeking society's good. This meant opposition to slavery.

It also meant that the revivalists were susceptible to the defense of the status quo that argued that immediate abolition would result in lawlessness and disorder. Early in the nineteenth century leaders of the Revival affirmed the participation of Christians in government. However, as the two party system emerged in the 1830s and 1840s, leaders of the Revival withdrew their support of participation in the American political process.

End of an Era

The social and ecclesiastical impact of the theology that Stone shared with other leaders of the Great Revival in the West was significant. It helps to explain the "plain folk" style of much antebellum Protestantism in the South and the West, the importance placed on church discipline, the character of the debate over qualifications for ministry, and the attractiveness of Christian unity. It also helps to explain the mission-antimission controversy that divided the Baptists and Presbyterians, the character of Protestant involvement in the antislavery movement of the first third of the nineteenth century, and the later withdrawal of some evangelicals from the political process.

By the 1840s, Christians who shared Stone's views were diminishing in influence. It was no coincidence that many of Stone's warnings against wealth and honor, as well as his observation of the negative impact of the American political process date from the final years of his life. In the fall of 1844, Stone made a preaching tour of Missouri. En route to the home that he had established in 1834 in the free state of Illinois, he became ill and was taken to the home of his daughter and son-in-law in Hannibal, Missouri. By November 9 it had become obvious that Stone did not have long to live. In keeping with the fundamental convictions he shared with other leaders of the Revival, he called his family together and admonished them "to fill the various relations they occupied, with honor to themselves and to the glory of God." Asked to comment upon his ministry, he responded, "It is of grace, it is all of grace." Finally the moment of death came, and Stone dropped his head against his breast as if in sleep.[149] D. P. Henderson, a younger colleague of Stone's who had become co-editor of *The Messenger*, reporting Stone's death in the November issue, noted that there were not many left like "brother" Stone. Indeed, there were not. In the 1830s and 1840s, a new America was coming to birth. It would be an America of wealth, pride, missionary societies, proslavery Christians, and political parties. To Henderson, who had admired the older man, it seemed that God was calling home the saints.[150]

Notes

1. Barton W. Stone, *The Christian Messenger,* 11 (March 1941):249.
2. Ibid., 14 (March 1845):329-30.
3. Finis Ewing, "The Duty of the Church," *The Cumberland Presbyterian Pulpit, A Series of Original Sermons by Clergymen of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, 2 vols. ed. James Smith (Nashville: James Smith, 1833), 2:24. For similar views in the writings of other revivalists, see John Taylor, *A History of the Baptist Churches of Which the Author Has Been Alternately a Member in Which Will Be Seen Something of the Author's Life, For More Than Fifty Years* (Frankfort, Ky.: Printed by J. H. Holeman, 1823), 87; Robert Paine, *Life and Times of William McKendree*, 2 vols. (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, 1874), 1:402.
4. Barton W. Stone, *Biography of Eld. Barton Warren Stone, Written by Himself, with additions and reflections by Eld. John Rogers* (Cincinnati: Published for the author by J. S. and U. P. James, 1847; reprinted in *The Cane Ridge Reader*, ed. Hoke S. Dickinson, n.p., 1972), 28.
5. Lemuel B. Burkett, "Part 1," in Joseph Biggs, *A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association, from Its Original Rise to the Present Time* (Tarborough, N.C.: George Edwards, 1839; reprint ed., Philadelphia, n.p., 1850), 50; for a similar view in the writings of other revivalists, see Taylor, *A History of the Baptist Churches*, 102; and Paine, 1:402.
6. Stone, *The Messenger* 5 (February 1831):71.
7. Ibid., 5 (8 August 1831):175-76; see also 13 (February 1844):313-14.
8. Iden, *Biography*, 15.
9. Abel Stevens, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 4 vols. (New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1878):3:101-102; Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* with an Introduction, Bibliography, and Index by Charles L. Wallis (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), 142-44.
10. Ewing, "Why the Prayers of the Church are Unanswered," *The Cumberland Presbyterian Pulpit*, 2:142.
11. James McGready, "No Room For Christ in the Hearts of Sinners," *The Posthumous Works of the Reverend and Pious James McGready, Late Minister of the Gospel in Henderson, Kentucky*, 2 vols., ed. James Smith (Louisville, Ky.: W. W. Worsley, 1831 and Nashville, Tenn.: Lowry and Smith, 1833), 1:167-68.
12. Stone, *The Messenger* 13 (November 1843):205.
13. Ibid., 12 (August 1842):305; see also 14 (September 1844):135.
14. Taylor, *A History of the Baptist Churches*, 249.
15. Franceway Ranna Cossitt, *The Life and Times of Rev. Finis Ewing, One of the Fathers and Founders of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church to Which is Added Remarks on Davidson's History, or a Review of His Chapter on the*

Revival of 1800, and His History of the Cumberland Presbyterians (Louisville, Ky.: Rev. Lee Roy Woods, Agent for the Board of Publication of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, 1853), 241.

16. Henry Smith, *Recollections and Reflections of an Old Itinerant* (New York: n.p., 1848), 150-51.

17. Stone, *The Messenger* 11 (September 1840), 30-31.

18. Alexander Campbell, *The Christian System in Reference to the Union of Christians and a Restoration of Primitive Christianity As Plead in the Current Reformation*, fourth edition (Cincinnati: H. S. Bosworth, 1863), 179-250.

19. Stone, *The Messenger* 11 (August 1841):425.

20. Ibid., 23 (October 1842):367.

21. Ibid., 11 (August 1842):423-24; see also 13 (January 1844):259; and 13 (June 1843):37.

22. Ibid., 14 (June 1844):40-41; see also 13 (September 1843):132-33.

23. Ibid., 5 (January 1831):11; see also 13 (November 1843):198.

24. Ibid., 13 (September 1843):132-33.

25. Henry Patillo, "The Scripture Doctrine of Election Asserted and Objections Answered," *Sermons, Etc.* (Wilmington, N.C.: James Adams, 1788), 65-66; Samuel McAdow, "Hebrew Church-Peace-Holiness, A Sermon," *The Theological Medium*, 1 (February 1846):126-34.

26. Wade Crawford Barclay, *History of Methodist Missions*, 2 vols. (New York: Board of Missions and Expansion of the Methodist Church, 1949), 1:304, 308.

27. McGready, "The Young Instructed to Come to Christ," 2:263-64; for similar instructions in the writings of other revivalists, see John M'Lean, *Sketch of Rev. Philip Gatch, 1751-1835* (Cincinnati: Swormstedt and Poe, 1854), 89; Ewing, "Why the Prayers of the Church," 138-39; *A Series of Lectures on the Most Important Subjects in Divinity* (Fayetteville, Tenn.: Printed by Y. E. and J. B. Hill for the Cumberland Presbyterian Synod, 1827), 119-21; "Minutes of the Kehukee Association for the Year 1800," in Biggs, 1:104.

28. Stone, *The Messenger* 5 (February 1831):71; see also 13 (February 1844):313-14.

29. Ibid., 14 (May 1844):27.

30. Ibid., 14 (July 1844):74.

31. Ewing, "Why the Prayers of the Church," 140-41; see also *A Series of Lectures on the Most Important Subjects in Divinity*, second edition (Louisville: Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1854), 244; Barclay, 348; Patillo, 65-66; and McAdow, 131.

32. Ibid., 13 (January 1844):258.

33. Ibid., 13 (November 1843):197.

34. Ibid., 14 (March 1845):330-32.

35. Ibid., 11 (April 1841):283.

36. Ibid., 14 (September 1844):146-47.

37. Ibid., 147-48.

38. McGready, "Qualifications and Duties of a Minister of the Gospel," 1:313; Letter to the General Assembly, printed in James Smith, *History of the Christian Church* (Nashville: Cumberland Presbyterian Office, 1835), 624; B. W. McDonald, *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Nashville: n.p., 1888), 59-61, 171; "Minutes of the Cumberland Presbytery, 1810-1813," *The Theological Medium and Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly* 9 (April and October 1871):224, 481, 488; James Smith, 647-48; Ewing, Lectures, second edition, 221-24, 217-18; Asbury Speech printed in Paine, 1:32; Lewis Garrett, *Recollections of the West to Which are Added Fletcher's Six Letters on the Spiritual Manifestation of the Son of God* (Nashville: Printed at the Western Methodist Office, 1834), 57; Biggs, 1:65-66; Daniel Parker, *A Public Address to the Baptist Society and the Friends of Religion in General on the Principle and Practice of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions* (Vincennes: n.p., 1830), 54.

39. "Minutes of the Cumberland Presbytery, 1810-1813," *The Theological Medium and Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly* 9 (April and October 1878):224, 481, 488, and *Illinois Conference Journal* for September 21, 1827, quoted by Theodore L. Agnew, "Methodism on the Frontier," *The History of American Methodism*, 3 vols. Emory Stevens Bucke, ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1964), 1:534. It has been argued that educational qualifications of the ministry was one of the major issues dividing the Cumberland Presbyterians from the Synod of Kentucky. See Ben M. Barrus, Milton C. Baughn, Thomas H. Campbell, *A People Called Cumberland Presbyterians* (Memphis, Tenn.: Frontier Press, 1972), 84-86. This is not true. The first full-length history of the Cumberlands states that the issue was not educational standards, but the fact that the Cumberland ministers did not require their candidates to accept the Westminster Confession in full. See James Smith, 637. This view is supported by the earliest Presbyterian account of the controversy published by the Synod of Kentucky which denies emphatically that educational standards were an issue in the conflict (see Thomas Cleland, *A Brief History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the Actions of the Synod of Kentucky Relative to the Late Cumberland Presbytery in Which is Brought to View a Brief Account of the Origin and Present Standing of the People Usually Denominated Cumberland Presbyterians; As Taken From Official Documents Published by Order of the Synod at Their Sessions Held in Harrodsburgh, October 1822* [Lexington, Ky.: n.p., 1823], 26-27) and the fact that two of the Cumberland candidates, Thomas Nelson and Samuel Hodge, neither of whom had a knowledge of the "original languages," were admitted to the Presbyterian ministry simply upon a successful examination over the disputed points of theology (James Smith, 637).

40. McGready, "Qualifications and Duties," 1:313-14; Ewing, *Lectures*, first edition, 209; Garrett, 57; Henry Smith, 50; Taylor, *A History of the Baptist Churches*, 299; Biggs, 1:65-66.

41. "Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery," in Stone, *Biography*, 52.

42. Ibid., 54-55. The Presbytery had earlier rejected creeds on the same basis. See Robert Marshall, *et al.*, "Apology of the Springfield Presbytery," in Stone, *Biography*, 218-20.

43. Stone, *The Messenger*, 11 (April 1841):283.

44. Ibid., 13 (July 1843):65.

45. Nicholas Snethen, *Snethen on Lay Representation; or Essays on Lay Representation and Church Government, Collected from the Wesleyan Repository, the Mutual Rights, and the Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* (Baltimore: J. J. Harrod, 1853), 56, 77.

46. Ibid., 63. For the arguments of the Western Revivalists see Thomas E. Bond, "Appeal to the Methodists in Opposition to the Changes Proposed in Their Church Government (An Answer to M'Caine's History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy)," in *The Economy of Methodism Illustrated and Defended: In a Series of Papers*, ed. Thomas E. Bond (New York: Lane and Scott, 1852).

47. Stone, *The Messenger* 7 (October 1833):314-16; see also 9 (May 1843):312-17. Stone sometimes referred to the type of union that he advocated as union on the Bible, noting that the Bible "inculcates holiness." See 2 (January 1828):50.

48. Ibid., 13 (September 1843):138-40.

49. Ibid., 13 (September 1843):139-40; see also 11 (March 1841):237-38; and 7 (October 1833):314-15.

50. Ewing, *Lectures*, second edition, 306, 307, 315.

51. Francis Asbury, *The Causes, Evils, and Cures of Heart and Church Divisions Extracted from the Works of Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs and Mr. Richard Baxter* (Philadelphia: John Dickins, 1792).

52. For evidence of such an effort led by Baptists in Georgia see *Georgia Analytical Repository* 1 (July, August 1802):55-59 and 1 (March, April 1803):282-88. For evidence of a successful though apparently temporary union among Cumberland Presbyterians and Methodists see "Minutes of the Cumberland Presbytery, 1810-1813," *Theological Medium and Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly* (April and October 1878):216, 219-20. A major obstacle in the way of union among the evangelical sects was their common belief that the Bible contains directions for the divine ordering of the church. Each of the evangelical bodies believed that their particular polity represented a faithful restoration of the Biblical order of the church. It is not surprising then that Stone's efforts at union succeeded only with Alexander Campbell's followers who already shared a polity similar to that of the Christians.

53. See Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960).

54. Stone, *The Messenger*, 3 (April 1829):131-32; see also 6 (October 1832):344.

55. Ibid., 2 (June 1828):169; see also 4 (March 1830):91.

56. Foster, 183-85.

57. Stone, *The Messenger*, 9 (January 1835):4-5. It is not clear how seriously one should take Stone's fear that if successful, the leaders of the Missionary Movement would persecute the Christians. On one hand it is tempting to believe that Stone was simply trying to demonstrate the evil of sectarianism when he warned that an inherent consequence of sectarianism is the persecution of Christians. On the other hand, Finis Ewing seems to have believed that the persons who led the missionary movement would persecute groups such as the Cumberland Presbyterians if given the opportunity. New England Congregationalists who later supported the Missionary Movement had seen Britain as a bulwark against revolutionary France and had been reluctant to enter into a second war with Britain or to support the American war effort once the War of 1812 had commenced. In a sermon preached during the War of 1812, Ewing warned that if the British were successful they would establish by law the American church that had supported them and that the freedom of the Cumberland Presbyterians to worship as they saw fit, to ordain whom they would, and to conduct camp meetings at will would be curtailed. See Ewing, "Substance of a Discourse on National Affairs," *The Theological Medium* 6 (December 1850):41-63.

58. Stone, *The Messenger*, 3 (April 1829):131-32.

59. Ibid., 4 (January 1830):29.

60. Ibid., 2 (September 1828):234; and 6 (June 1832):161.

61. See *Illinois Conference Journal*, 1 (October 10, 1831):121, quoted by Agnew in Bucke, 544; see also W. W. Robertson, "Reminiscences of Presbyterians in Missouri," *St. Louis Evangelical* 3 (February 1877):2.

62. Robertson, "Reminiscences," 2 (November 1876):3.

63. Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 4 vols. (New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1880), 3:24-25 and 4:38.

64. *Religious Intelligencer* 3 (August 15, 1818):176-78; Finis Ewing to William Harris, 26 January 1818, in Cossitt, 242; see also Cossitt, 224, 274; Robertson, "Reminiscences," 3 (February 1877):2; *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church for 1830,* available on film at the library of the Memphis Theological Seminary, Memphis, Tenn.; articles by Finis Ewing, reprinted from the *Revivalist* of October 16, 1843 in M. B. Dewitt, "Sources and Sketches of Cumberland Presbyterian History, No. IV." *The Theological Medium and Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly*, n.s. 6 (January 1876):15-16, 24-27.

65. Finis Ewing, *Lectures*, first edition, 205, 206.

66. Ibid.

67. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church for 1830.*

68. Byron Cecil Lambert, "The Rise of the Anti-Mission Baptists, Sources and Leaders 1800-1840: A Study in American Religious Individualism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1957), 126.

69. Taylor, *Thoughts on Missions*, 9-10.

70. Foster, 184.

71. Taylor, *Thoughts on Missions*, 5, 6.

72. See David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America*, 2 vols. (Boston: Manning and Loring, 1813), 242-45; J. H. Spencer, *A History of Kentucky Baptists: From 1769 to 1885, including More than 800 Biographical Sketches, the Manuscript Revised and Corrected by Mrs. Bucilla B. Spencer*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati: Printed for the author, 1886), 1:277-78, 637-38; Frank M. Masters, *A History of the Baptists in Kentucky* (Louisville: Kentucky Baptist Historical Society, 1953), 171-72.

73. Spencer, *A History of Kentucky Baptists*, 377-78.

74. Masters, 178-80; Benedict, 242-56.

75. Spencer, *A History of Kentucky Baptists*, 616-37.

76. Ibid., 640.

77. Ibid., 637-40.

78. Spencer, *Life of Thomas J. Fisher, The Celebrated Pulpit Orator and Evangelist* (Louisville, Ky.: John P. Morton and co., 1866), 68, quoted in William Dudley Nowlin, *Kentucky Baptist History, 1700-1922* (Louisville, Ky.: Baptist Book Concern, 1922), 112.

79. Biggs, 2:163.

80. Benedict, 163; T. H. Garrett, *A History of the Saluda Baptist Association* (Richmond, Va.,: B. F. Johnson, 1896), 56; see also Joe M. King, *History of South Carolina Baptists* (Columbia: General Board of the South Carolina Baptist Convention, 1964), 178-79 and 230-31.

81. *Georgia Analytical Repository*, 1 (September-October 1802):112; Benedict, 166; T. H. Garrett, *A History of the Saluda Baptist Association*, 105-10.

82. G. H. Ryland, *History of the Baptists of Virginia* (Richmond, Va.: Virginia Baptist Board of Missions and Education, 1966), Chapters 13, 14.

83. Robert Semple, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia* (Richmond, Va.: Published by the Author, 1810), 163.

84. Samuel Boykin, *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia* (Compiled for the Christian Index (Atlanta: J. P. Harrison and Co., 1881), 44; James A. Lester, *A History of the Georgia Baptist Convention, 1822-1872* (Nashville: Curley Printing Co., 1872), 80.

85. Benedict, 173-78; Lester, 100-102; Boykin, 168-69; Emerson Proctor, "Georgia Baptists, Organization and Division, 1772-1840," (M.A. thesis, Georgia Southern College, 1969), 105-6.

86. Lambert, 221; Jesse H. Campbell, *Georgia Baptists: Historical and Biographical* (Macon: J. W. Burke and Co., 1874), 192.

87. M. A. Huggins, *A History of North Carolina Baptists 1727-1932* (Raleigh: General Board, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1967), 170; see also George W. Purefoy, *A History of Sandy Creek Baptist Association* (New York: Sheldon & Co., 1859), 328-29.

88. Purefoy, 328-29.

89. Henry Sheets, *A History of the Liberty Baptist Association* (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co., 1907), 13; Huggins, 171-72.

90. C. D. Mallary, *Memoirs of Elder Jesse Mercer* (New York: Printed by J. Gray, 1844), 100-121.

91. Ibid., 50-53.

92. James B. Taylor, *Virginia Baptist Ministers*, Series 1 (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1859), 334.

93. Sidney E. Mead, *Nathaniel William Taylor, 1786-1858, A Connecticut Liberal* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1967), 97-111, 121-27.

94. Ibid., 109-27, 227-28.

95. Spencer, *A History of Kentucky Baptists*, 606.

96. Cartwright, 243-44.

97. Garrett, *Recollections of the West*, 39.

98. Ernest T. Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1963), 409-11.

99. Jacob Young, *Autobiography of a Pioneer: Or, The Nativity, Experience, Travels, and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Jacob Young; With Incidents, Observations, and Reflections* (Cincinnati: L. Swormstedt & A. Poe, 1857), 81-82; see also Robert Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky: With a Preliminary Sketch of the Church in the Valley of Virginia* (New York: Robert Carter, 1847), 346-65.

100. *Calvinist Magazine* 5 (November 1831):330. For information on Marshall's return to the Presbyterians see Robert Marshall and John Thompson, *A Brief Historical Account of Sundry Things in the Doctrines and State of the Christian, or as it is Commonly Called, The Newlight Church, Containing their Testimony Against Several Doctrines Held in that Church, and its Disorganized State; Together with Some Reasons Why those Two Brethren Purpose to Seek for a More Pure and Orderly Connection* (Cincinnati: J. Carpenter and Co., 1811).

101. Ernest T. Thompson, 409-11. Two exceptions to the rule that place Presbyterian revivalists in the antimissionary camp are Stone's old opponent, Thomas Cleland, and Stone's old associate, John Thompson, who, like Robert Marshall, had returned to the Presbyterians in 1811. For information on Thompson, see Davidson, 209. According to Ernest T. Thompson, Cleland was a staunch advocate of Presbyterian polity and was led to support the New School by his belief that the Old School had violated Presbyterian polity in some

of its measures against the New School. See Ernest T. Thompson, 407-9. There is evidence that John Thompson may have ultimately ended up in the Old School. See reference to J. Thompson in *Calvinist Magazine* 4 (November 1831):342.

102. Boykin, 190.

103. Parker, *A Public Address*, 57-58.

104. Letter to John Taylor quoted in Lambert, 141.

105. *The Primitive Baptist* 1 (January 9, 1836):6, quoted in Proctor, 102.

106. Stone, *The Messenger*, 3 (May 1829):198-99; 5 (January 1831):11; and 1 (April 1827):141.

107. Semple, 78-79.

108. David Rice, "Slavery Inconsistent With Justice and Good Policy," in Robert H. Bishop, *An Outline of the History of the Church in the State of Kentucky, During a Period of Forty Years: Containing the Memoirs of Rev. David Rice, and Sketches of the Origin and Present State of Particular Churches and of the Lives and Labors of a Number of Men Who Were Eminent and Useful in Their Day* (Lexington: Thomas T. Skillman, 1829), 337.

109. Ernest T. Thompson, 205.

110. *Minutes* of the General Conference of 1800 printed in Stevens, 1:145-47; and Barclay, 2:80-82.

111. Stone, *Biography*, 44.

112. Stone, *The Messenger*, 2 (December 1827):37; see also 3 (May 1829):198-200.

113. Ibid., 2 (December 1827):37.

114. A. H. Redford, *The History of Methodism in Kentucky*, 3 vols. (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, Vol. 1, 1868; Vol. 2, 1869; Vol. 3, 1870), 2:502-3.

115. Stone, *The Messenger*, 1 (February 1827):95.

116. Ibid., 1 (April 1827):141.

117. Bishop, *An Outline of the History of the Church in the State of Kentucky*, 337.

118. Bangs, 4:98-99.

119. *Minutes of the 1833 General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church,* available on film at the library of the Memphis Theological Seminary, Memphis, Tennessee.

120. Stone, *The Messenger*, 7 (February 1833):63-64; see also 2 (December 1827):37; 3 (October 1829):285; 4 (June 1830):164; 5 (January 1831):11; 3 (May 1829):198-99.

121. Ibid., 5 (October 1831):228.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid., 9 (April 1835):82; see also 9 (May 1835):97; 9 (June 1835):121.

124. Ibid., 9 (November 1835):263.

125. Ibid. Stone's decision to abandon publication of the "Address" of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention may have also been influenced by the response of several of this readers from the slave-holding states who had angrily requested that their names be removed from the subscription list of *The Messenger.* See Ibid.

126. Walter B. Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest, 1778-1838* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1952), 78-80; see also Ernest T. Thompson, 346.

127. Northcutt, 88-90; see also Paine, 1:101-2; and Ernest T. Thompson, 388-89.

128. William Warren Sweet, *Virginia Methodism, A History* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1955), 240-45.

129. Stone, *History of the Christian Church*, 38.

130. E. W. Caruthers, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of the Rev. David Caldwell, D.D.* (Greensborough, N.C.: Swaim & Sherwood, 1842), 248; Rice, "Slavery Inconsistent with Justice," 365f; John Marshall Barker, *History of Ohio Methodism* (Cincinnati: Curts and Jennings, 1898), 150.

131. Caruthers, 246-47.

132. John Marshall Barker, 150.

133. See Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780-1840* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

134. Ibid., Chapters 1 and 2, "Party and Opposition in the Eighteenth Century" and "A Constitution Against Parties," 1-73.

135. Ibid., Chapter 3, "The Jeffersonians in Opposition," 74-121.

136. Ibid.

137. Taylor, *A History of the Baptist Churches*, 120-21.

138. Stone, *The Messenger*, 6 (February 1832):59.

139. Ibid., 13 (August 1843):123; see also 12 (May 1842):202.

140. Ibid., 12 (May 1842):202.

141. Ibid., 11 (September 1840):35.

142. Ibid., 13 (September 1843):130-31.

143. Ibid., 14 (December 1844):225.

144. Ibid., 13 (August 1843):123.

145. Ibid., 12 (May 1842):202.

146. Ibid.

147. Rice, "Advice to His Children," *The Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine*, 2 (June 1819):259-60.

148. Bangs, 4:265f; Barclay, 2:25 states that this action was an outgrowth of tension over the issue of abolition.

149. "Obituary," *The Messenger*, 14 (November 1844):221-23. See also Stone, *Biography*, 101-4.

150. Henderson, *The Messenger* 14 (November 1844):212.

Black Disciples Roots in Kentucky and Tennessee 1804-1876

Hap C. S. Lyda

Blacks were pioneer members of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Kentucky and Tennessee.[1] While the founders of this American religious movement were white, virtually from the beginning blacks[2] were accepted as members. The founders considered the church to be a united fellowship based upon a rational confession of faith in Jesus as the Christ. The invitation was extended to all who would come.

The first black members probably were slaves. Alexander Campbell, Barton W. Stone, and early converts to the movement owned slaves who accompanied them to preaching services. The slaves, present in servant capacities or because of their masters' concern for their spiritual welfare, or both, were encouraged to present themselves at the altar to confess their faith in Christ; and if they did, they were confirmed as members through the ordinance of baptism.

Kentucky

The earliest record of blacks as members of the Disciples in Kentucky is on the membership role of one of the oldest and most historic congregations, the Cane Ridge meeting house.[3] The church there was begun as two Presbyterian congregations, but was reorganized as a Christian Church by Barton W. Stone in 1804. Sometime after 1804, but certainly by 1820, there were names of black members on the clerk's role. By 1838 this church recorded 72 members who were Colored, out of a total membership of 122.[4] Two of these members became noted preachers, Alexander Campbell[5] and Samuel Buckner. They were ordained to the Christian ministry and encouraged to evangelize among blacks in the Kentucky-Tennessee region, and elsewhere.[6]

Another early inclusive membership church was Pleasant Grove Christian, Jefferson County, Kentucky. The church received by baptism "Thomas, black," in 1821; Ned Yeager in 1840; Ann, Hannah, and Polly in 1842. By 1850, Colored members numbered 37 out of the 79 on the roll at Pleasant Grove.[7] Still another church, Union Christian, Fayette County, Kentucky, organized in 1823 by Stone and others, listed on its charter roll five slaves and one free Negro.[8]

Blacks were included in educational efforts by early Disciples. Both Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander acted on the premise that all persons should

be educated in the verities of life, the Bible being the chief textbook. Thomas, author of the formative document, *Declaration and Address* (1809), tried to conduct a type of Sunday School class for black boys and girls at Burlington, Kentucky, in 1819. He was informed soon by neighbors that according to Kentucky law he must have at least one white witness present when teaching blacks. He objected to this restriction and thought it incredible that "I live in a land where reading the Scriptures and giving religious instruction to the ignorant is a penal offence." He soon moved to Pennsylvania, which had no such law.[9] Alexander possessed slaves, and he provided religious instruction and basic secular education for them.[10] He went to Virginia on one occasion to intercede with the civil authorities in order to establish a school that admitted blacks.[11] Barton W. Stone, Walter Scott, and Benjamin Franklin–the one who was a Disciples preacher–concurred in the view that the religious education of all persons was a responsibility that must be taken seriously.

The participation of blacks in the mixed congregations varied from locale to locale. Sometimes they served as custodians. Occasionally they filled the office of deacon, although they served only members of their race. A few excelled at exhortation and were ordained to preach, such as the aforementioned Campbell and Buckner, and one who became particularly well known in Kentucky, Abram Williams, from Somerset.[12] Members were disciplined, just as were white members, for misbehavior. Named sins were adultery, fornication, lying, stealing, and walking provocatively. Separate seating in the worship services usually was not required, unless the black membership became large.

By the mid-1830s the principal leaders of the Disciples, such as Alexander Campbell, Stone, and "Raccoon" John Smith, evangelized so effectively in Kentucky that in the area bounded by Covington, Ashland, Lexington, and Louisville, they established many congregations. Some of these congregations, and perhaps most but probably not all, included black members. Records from Antioch Christian in Fayette County, and Louisville, for example, carry the names of black members.[13]

So many blacks were members of the congregations at New Union, Grassy Springs, Georgetown, and Midway, in Woodford County, that these churches agreed that the needs of those members could best be met if they had their own congregation. They bought the namesake Alexander Campbell from a Mr. Buford for $1,000; provided some education for him, and helped support him. During his years of leadership, approximately 300 members were added to the church. The first general school for Colored children in the city of Midway was conducted in this church's building, open to all, whether or not they were members of the Midway church.[14]

The spread of separate black Disciples congregations in Kentucky was no doubt slowed because of restrictions in state laws. In 1849 the Kentucky Constitutional Convention wrote a new constitution which decreed that freed

slaves must leave the state and that no free Negroes could enter the state. This provision was especially critical because blacks could not legally be freed and trained as leaders.[15]

Nevertheless, three additional congregations are known to have been founded before 1863. One of these was the Lexington Colored Christian Church, organized in April, 1851. Elder John Brand (white) of Lexington bought a lot on West Fourth Street between Limestone and Upper Streets and furnished building materials, both at a total cost of $500. "About thirty-five colored males" from the Christian Churches in Lexington erected a building and accepted the pastoral leadership of Thomas Phillips, a slave belonging to Brand, whom Brand freed, in spite of Kentucky Constitutional opinion, in order that he might become the first pastor. By 1859, at the end of Phillips's pastorate, there were 100 members. Elder William Davis succeeded Phillips as pastor and served until 1864.[16]

Another was the Hancock-Hill church, formed in Louisville about 1860 under the guidance of the Louisville Christian churches. J. D. Smith is the first pastor mentioned in existing records.[17] The third was the Little Rock Christian Church, organized in 1861 by Samuel Buckner, the earlier-mentioned member of Cane Ridge Christian Church. He gathered interested persons from Bourbon County, met under an old elm tree and there constituted the congregation.[18]

Tennessee

In Tennessee blacks held membership at or very near the beginning of Disciples churches in that state, too. The Post Oak Springs church, founded in 1812, one of the earliest Disciples congregations, appears to have been radically inclusive. The Christian Church in Nashville, chartered on July 22, 1820, listed sixteen of its thirty-five originators as being "members of color."[19] It would seem that other Disciples congregations in Tennessee followed the same pattern of inclusive membership.

One of the largest concentrations of black members was in Nashville. In addition to those members on the regular roles of the church, there were many others who attended the two mission Sunday Schools held by the church for blacks at other locations in the city. These missions were begun probably in the 1840s. By 1859 the enrollment had grown to well over 100. In that year one of these Sunday Schools was given church status, named "Grapevine Christian Church," and housed in a building in West Nashville on the William G. Harding property. Peter Lowery, a freedman, businessman, and devoted churchman, was selected as leader of the Grapevine church. He contributed his time and money generously to supplement the assistance from the Nashville church.[20] The Grapevine congregation met on the Harding plantation for a period of time,

then moved into a brick house owned by Lowery on Seventh Avenue North in Nashville.[21]

Grapevine Christian Church probably was the first officially constituted black congregation in Tennessee, although there was intensive evangelistic work being conducted in Upper East Tennessee about this same time, especially in Washington County. There the Boone's Creek Christian Church appointed Hesiker (or Hezekiah) Hinkel, a mulatto, who had preached "for many years at and around Boone's Creek," as an evangelist and furnished support so that he could preach to "his own Colored people." Hinkel founded several churches in Upper East Tennessee, although the dates are not extant; he continued to preach for a number of years after the Civil War ended.[22]

There are general statements in the historical records about "many other" churches being founded in Tennessee, especially by evangelists from Grapevine and Boone's Creek, but specifics are lacking. An appendix in H. C. Wagner's "History of Disciples of Christ in Upper East Tennessee" lists a Colored church at Washington College, founded either in 1859 or 1867.[23] In all, probably about a dozen black, or predominantly black–there is no indication that whites ever were barred from membership–congregations were begun in Tennessee prior to the Civil War. Some of these inherited their meeting houses from white or predominately white congregations which moved into other facilities. The "mother" churches usually continued to provide financial assistance to their offspring, as Boone's Creek helped support Hinkel.

By 1863 Tennessee and Kentucky had at least as many black Christian Church members as did any other states, although Virginia and North Carolina may have rivaled them. Exact numbers are not given in any extant records; indeed, exact numbers for the entire denomination are difficult to ascertain in the antebellum era due to the loose-knit polity of the Disciples. Furthermore, the actual number of blacks who held membership no doubt was lower than the number who attended church or participated in church activities. For a variety of reasons, not the least of which was the slave-owner relationship, they might not be listed on the clerical rolls. Nevertheless, by 1863 Kentucky and Tennessee probably had in excess of two thousand members in predominantly white congregations, and probably several hundred more members in predominantly black congregations.

Style of Religious Expression

The style of religious expression of black Disciples in Kentucky and Tennessee in the antebellum era generally followed that of the denomination; but two pronounced aspects were biblicism and emotion.

Emphasis on the importance and use of the Bible was a cardinal tenet of the Disciples of Christ. Leaders repeated frequently the motto "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." Biblical concepts in biblical terms for a biblical people were goals of the leaders. The Bible was valued, inasmuch as it was viewed as God's directly revealed expression. Some blacks were literate and were permitted to read the Bible; but most memorized portions, sometimes very large portions, of the Bible as they heard it read and recited from the pulpits. For blacks especially, what the Bible said, what the Bible *exactly* said, was very important.

Emotional expression by black Disciples during religious services was notable. Outside of the church, slaves were restricted in most respects–economics, politics, education, et al.–but religion was approved by owners as a locus for emotional expression by slaves. Thus, the pent-up feelings created by the myriad restrictions and slave status could be vented at church if the venting had the appearance of religious ecstasy. Religious services provided opportunity for cathartic release of frustration, anger, and hurt. Moreover, the Christian message of future reward for present suffering seemed to be tailored to the slave need. Blacks often sang hymns and spiritual songs with double meanings in mind: first, the obvious Christian meaning which all worshipers, including owners, approved in religious songs; second, their own meaning appropriate to an oppressed people.[24]

Not all whites were unemotional, but in general were probably less emotional. Many of them viewed the Disciples movement in rationalistic terms, that is, it was a reasoned restoration of the New Testament pattern of Christ's church. They believed that any thinking person would see the reasonableness of their claim, and that there was no particular need to rely on emotion to establish such a plea. This rational emphasis on the nature of the church may have been a factor in holding down the number of black members who were added, and the establishing of black churches even where by law or custom separate congregations would have been permitted.[25] Moreover, white leaders frequently stirred up such learned debates with leaders of other denominations, and carried these to such intricate levels, that not only ordinary lay people but also the meagerly educated, or not educated at all, blacks became lost in the labyrinths.[26] Thus, at the point where emotion was lost, the denomination was not so appealing to blacks as were the "shouting Methodists" or the "fervent Baptists."

Furthermore, one of the Disciples stances may have dreaded some adverse emotion among the blacks. The Disciples founders claimed that the true church was one, and existed wherever there were true believers. Therefore, to have divisions for any reason, even race, was unthinkable. Alexander Campbell publicly stated that he would give his life and fortune to assist God in the restoration of the one New Testament church; but he would let God handle political issues (like slavery) and alleviate civil injustices. Such a stance concerning slavery,

and hence abolition, was instrumental in maintaining the unity of the Disciples before and during the Civil War era, even though other denominations were dividing; but it doubtlessly had some blunting effect on the appeal of the Disciples to blacks.

Emancipation to the End of Reconstruction

Between the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation and the end of Reconstruction, those congregations that had been interracial tended to become a single race, not at once but gradually until 1876 when separation was the prevalent condition. The Disciples movement had not split over the slavery issue before or during the Civil War, nor did it in the Reconstruction period; but by 1876, the members had gravitated into racially separate congregations for the most part, even though the denomination remained united.

The black Disciples congregations that already existed flourished. In Kentucky, the Midway Christian Church grew in membership under the initial leadership of Alexander Campbell, then under the successive ministries of George Williams and Leroy Reed. During Reed's ministry the congregation bought a more commodious frame building from the white Presbyterians and moved it to their own lot in 1872. The Lexington church grew to 180 members during the pastorate of H. Malcolm Ayers, erected a new building at a cost of $3,550, and assisted in the establishment of other churches in Kentucky.[27]

There were many blacks who shared in founding new congregations in Kentucky. They received encouragement and some monies from the rest of the denomination, but more often than not they evangelized on their own resources. If they received pay for their efforts, it was usually in the form of meals or lodging; sometimes a "love offering" would bring them a few cents or at most a dollar or two. These evangelists worked at other jobs, usually farming, to provide their basic support. Oft-mentioned names among the black evangelists included Samuel Buckner, R. Elijah Hathaway, Alpheus Merchant, Alexander Campbell, Alexander Campbell II, George Williams, and Leroy Reed.

During the Reconstruction period perhaps as many as thirty churches whose memberships were black or predominantly black were begun in Kentucky. Noted churches were those located at Mt. Sterling, Nicholasville, and Danville; at Millersburg, which was organized by Preston Taylor in 1873; and at Carlisle, which Abram Williams founded and served as its pastor through 1876.[28] One of the most prominent congregations was the North Middletown Second Christian Church. For a few years after Emancipation, the Christians and the Methodists in Middletown worshiped together. On December 17, 1867, the Christians separated and formed their own organization. H. Malcolm Ayers, then employed by the Kentucky Christian Missionary Society, directed the constituting of the

church. The first officers were Harry Whiler and Mitchell Allens, elders; Benjamin Talbolt, Levi Williams, and James Schoolers, deacons. Samuel Buckner was called as pastor and served from 1867 to 1876. At the conclusion of his ministry the church listed 159 members.[29]

A school for the education of ministers for the Colored church was authorized by the Disciples national General Christian Missionary Convention in 1871. Kentucky was selected as the site. By 1873 sufficient funds were on hand to begin the enterprise. Arrangements were made with the Hancock-Hill Christian Church in Louisville to house the School. P. H. Morse (white), an experienced pastor and teacher, was hired for $75 per month to preside over the new Louisville Christian Bible School as both administration and faculty. Eleven men enrolled in the fall of 1873. The Bible School functioned only until 1877, but in this brief span it trained many of the preachers who would lead the Kentucky churches into the twentieth century.[30]

A state society was in the making in Kentucky as early as 1872. The records on it are sketchy, but the pattern for organization seems to have been that stronger churches would host meetings and invite the others to attend. As these gatherings multiplied, they were organized into geographical districts; when all the districts met together they constituted a state convention or society. Kentucky had district and state societies during the Reconstruction period, but no exact record of the founders and dates has been found.

In Tennessee, as in Kentucky, the number of members grew rapidly after the War. Hesiker Hinkel had been preaching in and around Boone's Creek for many years. On February 17, 1866, he was ordained by the Boone's Creek church and employed by the East Tennessee and Virginia Cooperation (white) to evangelize in the Tennessee-Virginia area.[31] He succeeded in organizing churches at Bristol in 1866 and at Jonesboro. He founded the Colored Christian Church in Johnson City at about the same time that unnamed persons founded another congregation there, West Main Christian Church. A church at Rogersville was in existence, although its date and founders are not recorded.[32]

The growth of district and state gatherings in Tennessee followed the pattern of Kentucky, but began earlier. A widely-attended meeting was held in Nashville in May, 1867, which authorized the formation of the American Christian Evangelizing and Educational Association. The Association had the avowed purpose of establishing both secular and Sunday Schools nationwide. Rufus Conrad, one of the leaders of this Association, in a letter to John Shackleford, Corresponding Secretary of the American Christian Missionary Society, Conrad reported:

> Taking into account the size and number of colored congregations among us, and the fact that many of these are young, and laboring to get houses of worship, it is evident that a great deal can not at present

> be raised among them for publishing the Gospel. Still something can be done. And the brethren are anxious to aid in spreading the knowledge of the truth among the people. What will be raised may exceed expectation. The desire at present [is] to make Tennessee the special field of labor. In the colored congregations in that State, there are several young men aspiring to the ministry who could be used by the Board in Davidson, and the adjoining counties.[33]

Through the efforts of this Association, and with individual contributions, many congregations were established. Those in Tennessee were located at Friendship, Trenton, Lynchburg, Pinewood, Fosterville, Little Rock, Capleville, Jamesburg, and Concord.[34]

A college in Nashville, The Tennessee Manual Labor University, was established and directed by Peter Lowery, pastor of the Grapevine church. It was chartered in 1867 for the purpose of elevating the freedman through "Education, Industry, and Pure Christianity." Within a few months the university reported 180 students; but financial problems forced the university out of business soon thereafter.[35]

By the end of the Reconstruction era black Disciples showed marked gains in Kentucky and Tennessee. The number of members increased from an estimate 3,000 to an estimated 8,000. Inclusive membership churches decreased as blacks and whites gravitated toward racially separate congregations. In addition to membership gains, the Louisville Christian Bible School and The Tennessee Manual Labor University were founded. District and state conventions were begun in this post-War period, and the American Christian Evangelizing and Educational Association, formed in Nashville in 1867, claimed to be national in scope. Beyond 1876 there would be many more significant and far-reaching activities of the black Disciples of Christ in Kentucky and Tennessee, led by those whose roots were in these pioneer times and places.

Notes

1. For my portion of this volume compiled in tribute to Herman A. Norton, I present a facet of American Church History from the period and locale which were near the center of his interests. He shepherded me through graduate school at Vanderbilt In so many ways he graciously guided me from angst to agrege. His good word brought me a part-time chaplain's job at the Veterans Hospital, providing food and clothing for my wife and three children. His further good words brought invitations from Tennessee and Kentucky churches for me to fill their pulpits, providing shelter and amenities for my family. He even took me on as his teaching assistant, which I was enjoying until he assigned me to

give an essay exam to one of his graduate classes–my colleagues. Still I was thinking that teaching was easy, until he told me to grade the exam, and that became my moment of panic. When I began assigning grades to the papers, I envisioned the thirty pairs of piercing eyes of my colleagues from that class, questioning my competence to read their papers but also expecting humane consideration from one of their own. Herman didn't jump to rescue me; he just trustingly stood by me. His confidence became my strength, and his sense of fairness has, I think, passed on through the red ink with which I've continued to grade papers for this score of succeeding years. It is with continuing gratitude that I now salute Herman Norton–advisor, professor, friend, and companion in Christ's church.

Appreciation is also expressed to retired professor Robert M. Platt of Fort Worth, Texas, whose academic studies include degrees from Milligan College and Lexington Theological Seminary, for reading and making helpful suggestions for this manuscript.

2. A variety of terms were commonly used in 19th century literature to identify blacks, especially "Africans," "Coloreds," and "Negroes," the propriety of the designations changing with the times. "African-Americans" was used occasionally, but had a limited designation. "Black" had wide usage, even though the term was the subject of debate as to its quantitativeness; it is used herein, except where the historical sense makes another designation more timely.

3. Robert L. Jordan, *Two Races in One Fellowship* (Detroit: United Christian Church, 1944), 19, 23; Winfred Ernest Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, *The Disciples of Christ: A History* (rev. ed.; St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, 1958), 468; Preston Taylor, "The Status and Outlook of the Colored Brotherhood" (address delivered to the meeting of the National Christian Missionary Convention, Nashville, Tennessee, September 5, 1917).

4. Church Book, Christian Church at Cane Ridge (unpublished, Bosworth Memorial Library, Lexington, Kentucky), cited by Robert Oldham Fife, "Alexander Campbell and the Christian Church in the Slavery Controversy" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1960), 106.

5. This Alexander Campbell was black, who by choice or coincidence had the same name as one of the founders of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

6. Claude Walker, "Negro Disciples in Kentucky, 1840-1925" (unpublished B.D. thesis, The College of the Bible, 1959), 4-5; Jordan, *Two Races*, 21-23.

7. Clerk's Record, Pleasant Grove Christian Church (unpublished, Bosworth Library), cited by Fife, "Slavery Controversy," 110.

8. Church Register, Old Union, Fayette County, Kentucky (unpublished, Bosworth Memorial Library, Lexington, Kentucky), cited by Fife, "Slavery Controversy," 107.

9. Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, Embracing a View of the Origin, Progress and Principles of the Religious Reformation Which He Advocated* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868), 494-95.

10. Walter Wilson Jennings, *Origin and Early History of the Disciples of Christ* (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1919), 316.

11. Jenette (Weir) Knight, "Anecdote of A. Campbell" (letter dated April 17, 1866 to Isaac Errett, editor), *Christian Standard* 1:4 (April 28, 1866):28.

12. Fife, "Slavery Controversy," 122.

13. Fife, "Slavery Controversy," 112-13.

14. Katherine Johnson, "History of the Midway Colored Christian Church" (unpublished, Bosworth Memorial Library, Lexington, Kentucky); Walker, "Negro Disciples in Kentucky," 1-5.

15. It was a generally-held tradition that an ordained minister must also be a free person.

16. R. L. Saunders, "Historical Sketch I–Reminiscences of the Past," in *94th Anniversary Program October 17-21, 1945, East Second Street Christian Church, Lexington, Kentucky*; Walker, "Disciples in Kentucky," 4-6.

17. "Hancock-Hill Louisville History 1860-1947," in "Kentucky Church History" (a scrapbook in possession of Mrs. Edith Bristow), cited by Walker, "Disciples in Kentucky," 9. According to a picture caption in the *Christian Plea* 4:1 (November 1, 1930):11, Smith began preaching in 1860. In *American Home Missionary* 4:3 (March, 1900), Smith is listed as pastor of the Hancock-Hill church as late as 1873.

18. Paul W. L. Jones, *History of the Wehrman Avenue Christian Church* (1953), 19.

19. This church was founded as a Baptist church, but was attracted by the Disciples plea and finally declared itself to be a Disciples church on August 12, 1827, according to James Arthur Cox, "Incidents in the Life of Philip Slater Fall" (unpublished B.D. thesis, College of the Bible, 1951), 63-83.

20. Herman A. Norton, *Tennessee Christians: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Tennessee* (Nashville: Reed and Company, 1971), 129; and 129, n. 39.

21. Norton, *Tennessee Christians*, 128-30; *Souvenir Program for Gay-Lea Christian Church Dedication Services June 30, 1957.*

22. H. C. Wagner, "History of Disciples of Christ in Upper East Tennessee" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1943), 51-54.

23. Wagner, "Upper East Tennessee," 202.

24. William Harrison Pipes, *Say Amen, Brother! Old-Time Negro Preaching: A Study in American Frustration* (New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1951), and Joseph R. Washington, Jr., *Black Religion: The Negro and Christianity in the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964) treat the biblicism and

emotionalism in considerable detail. Pipes also analyzes sermons in relation to emotional climaxes; Washington criticizes hymns and spirituals.

25. Cf. Fife, "Slavery Controversy," 126.

26. Only a handful of freed persons who were attracted to or united with the Disciples can be identified; some of these apparently had some formal education.

27. Walker, "Disciples in Kentucky," 6-7.

28. Walker, "Disciples in Kentucky," 10-12.

29. Claude Walker, "History of the Second Christian Church, North Middletown, Ky." (unpublished paper, The College of the Bible [1958-1959]), 2.

30. Elmer C. Lewis, "A History of Secondary and Higher Education in Negro Schools Related to the Disciples of Christ" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1957), 37-41.

31. Norton, *Tennessee Disciples*, 136.

32. Wagner, "Disciples in Upper East Tennessee," 202.

33. General Christian Missionary Convention, "Work among Negroes in the United States, 1864-1892" (unpublished, typewritten report taken from the proceedings of the General Christian Missionary Convention and/or American Christian Missionary Convention), 3.

34. *Christian Standard* (February 15, 1979), cited by Norton, *Tennessee Christians*, 135.

35. Norton, *Tennessee Christians*, 129-36.

PRESTON TAYLOR

"During the Reconstruction period perhaps as many as thirty churches whose memberships were black or predominantly black were begun Kentucky. Noted churches were those located at Mt. Sterling, Nicholasville, and Danville; at Millersburg, which was organized by Preston Taylor in 1873; and at Carlisle, which Abram Williams founded and served as its pastor through 1876."
(Hap C. S. Lyda, page 48)

The Campbell-Ferguson Controversy[1]

Brooks Major

Charles Louis Loos wrote in 1901:

> Those still among us, old enough, may remember that by 1840, the result of the teaching of our strong men, notably in the *Millennial Harbinger*, on the questions of "Organization, Co-operation and Edification," i.e. the closer alliance of the churches for efficient cooperation in general evangelization, Sunday-schools, proper pastoral work and discipline in the churches, the creation of a larger efficient ministry of the Word, and the control of the free itinerant ministers . . . guided the people and illuminated their path in all important movements.[2]

It was frequently said of the Disciples of Christ in the nineteenth century that they had editors in the place of bishops. Certainly Alexander Campbell exercised a tremendous influence through the pages of the *Millennial Harbinger*. As Loos indicated, one of the influences of the *Harbinger* was in the direction of ministerial discipline–a particularly vexing issue when the Disciples had passed the initial stage of growth and became, as they did in the 1840s and 1850s, more interested in the consolidation and coordination of the movement.

An example of Campbell's use of the *Harbinger* as an instrument of ministerial discipline is found in his controversy with Jesse B. Ferguson, minister of the church at Nashville and editor of the *Christian Magazine*. In the April issue of the *Christian Magazine*, Ferguson published his interpretation of 1 Peter 3:18-20 and 4:1-6 in an article entitled "The Spirits in Prison." Campbell reprinted this article in the June, 1853, issue of the *Millennial Harbinger* and roundly condemned the viewpoint expressed by Ferguson in an article entitled "A New Discovery."[3] The controversy between the two continued to wax hotter and hotter in the pages of their respective periodicals, and eventually resulted in Ferguson's resignation from his church and separation from the Disciples of Christ.

This controversy raises several questions. Was Campbell exercising undue authority over a fellow minister? Did he use the *Harbinger* as an organ of ministerial discipline in a way that violated the principle of congregational autonomy? Was the position condemned by Campbell a matter of essential faith or a matter of private opinion? In the hope of shedding some light on these questions, we may examine the controversy more closely.

Jesse Babcock Ferguson was born in Philadelphia on January 19, 1819.[4] He planned to attend William and Mary College, but his father's financial reverses made this impossible. At the age of fourteen, he was apprenticed to a printer

in Winchester, Virginia.[5] While still a youth, he was afflicted with a kind of swelling which left him a cripple for the remainder of his life.[6] Ferguson moved to Ohio as early as 1838, and that year marks the first record of his activity as a preacher in the Stone-Campbell movement. A letter from him, dated October 27, 1838, appeared in the *Millennial Harbinger*. In this, he speaks of some conversions at a meeting which he held, and adds: "If the brethren would avoid 'foolish questions' and attend to the living oracles, truth must and will prevail."[7] At this time, he was only nineteen years old.

Ferguson's success as a preacher was remarkable. While he was still a resident of Ohio, he engaged in at least two debates in defense of Stone-Campbell principles, one of which resulted in his opponent's leaving the Methodist ministry and joining the Christian Church.[8] After his marriage to the daughter of James Mark, Ferguson moved to Todd County, Kentucky, where he resided from 1842 until March, 1847, when he accepted the pastorate of the Nashville church.[9] While in Kentucky, Ferguson's fame as a preacher spread far and wide.[10] He was an exceptionally captivating and convincing speaker, and enjoyed tremendous success as an evangelist among the churches of Todd, Logan, Christian and Trigg Counties in Kentucky, and among the churches of middle Tennessee.[11]

In May, 1842, Ferguson held a meeting in Nashville. From his first association with the congregation there, he captivated the people of the church and the community. Dr. Wharton, a Nashville physician who had been serving as preacher to the church there, gave him a hearty welcome and earnestly solicited a return engagement. In 1844, Ferguson held another meeting for the Nashville congregation and from that time he was constantly in receipt of letters from the congregation urging that he accept the pastorate of the church. This was also the desire of Dr. Wharton.[12] At first, Ferguson refused, but so repeated and so insistent were the urgings of the Nashville congregation that he finally consented, in 1846, to serve the church half time. In March, 1847, he began to serve the church full time, and accordingly moved with his family to Nashville.[13]

Ferguson's popularity and success in Nashville was immediate and phenomenal. Though less than thirty years of age, and possessing a somewhat sketchy formal education, he was a gentleman of polished manners, fascinating personality, and remarkable eloquence.[14] Even those who later disapproved of his doctrines declared that "never was a man so honored and caressed by the Disciples of Christ in the South and West."[15]

> His followers were not confined to the members of his church. His appeal was universal and tramps, street-walkers, gamblers, and the worldly minded sat spellbound by his oratory. With a combination of personality and well-chosen words he was able to weave a sermonic web that caught the dregs of society as well as the social butterflies.[16]

In February of 1847, Alexander Campbell complimented the church at Nashville on its Sunday school, and printed a communication from Ferguson indicating that the church had at that time over 500 members.[17]

In January, 1848, Ferguson began publication of the *Christian Magazine*. Announcing the new periodical, Campbell wrote:

> From the very respectable talents and acquirements; and still more especially from the practical good sense and Christian courtesy of brother Jesse B. Ferguson . . . we expect for it a liberal patronage and a useful career in the dissemination of Christian intelligence amongst the community.[18]

Ferguson's first venture in the editorial ranks had been in association with Arthur Crihfield in the conduct of the *Heretic Detector* in 1841.[19] He had also been a regular contributor to Tolbert Fanning's *Christian Review*, the predecessor of the *Christian Magazine*.[20] With the intermittent editorial help of Fanning, B. F. Hall, John Eichbaum, and John R. Howard, Ferguson continued to edit the *Christian Magazine* until it was discontinued in December, 1853. Under Ferguson, the editorial policy of the *Christian Magazine*, in terms of doctrinal emphasis, was, in all areas except the eschatological, well within the generally accepted pattern of the Stone-Campbell movement.[21] The periodical was capably edited, enjoyed a very readable typographical format, and was well received by its constituency. It pleasantly surprised the editor by paying for itself the first year.[22] Its circulation, probably never more than 2,000, embraced Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Oregon, Texas, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and perhaps other states.[23] Volumes 3 through 5 (1850, 1851, 1852) were published as the property of the Christian Publication Society of Tennessee. As the organ of the Churches of Christ in Tennessee, a publication committee supervised its publication and reported to the annual meetings of the State Co-operation.[24] Ferguson resigned as editor at the close of 1852, but the State Co-operation, unable to secure an editor, turned the periodical back to him to publish as an independent journal.[25]

Ferguson's success and popularity as editor and preacher brought him many duties and responsibilities. In May, 1852, he apologized for not being able to answer all his correspondence with these words:

> It should be remembered that we deliver, upon an average, four original discourses every week. Two of these are delivered to a crowded audience composed of some of the most inquiring, intelligent and respectable portions of our citizens. That we perform the duty of Pastor in a church of nearly six hundred families in the church and congregation

> at least once every three months, and oftener during seasons of affliction; and all this in a city and neighborhood scattered over an unusually large territory. That every benevolent society in the city and many literary ones in it and the surrounding villages, have claims upon us for addresses, &c., which cannot be sell set aside. Add to these the responsibilities of a large family, and remember the amount of time required to receive visitors and give attention to strangers, together with the claims upon our correspondence from churches, raised up and served in other sections of the country, kindred, and personal friends–and you will have some view of the duties that press upon the Editor of the Magazine. Then the duties of nearly all our agencies for the spread of the cause in the state have been forced upon us: and duties of eloomosinary [*sic*] office held from the State, such as trustee of the Lunatic Asylum, &c., &c., and you will be willing to admit that we eat no idle bread.[26]

Such laments were an editor's traditional prerogative, but the list of duties, which is not exaggerated, testifies to Ferguson's position in the church and the community.

Ferguson's preaching drew such crowds to the Christian Church, that the building could no longer hold them by 1852. In May of that year, a new church building, erected on Cherry Street at a cost of approximately $30,000, was dedicated. The Nashville *Daily Union*, *The Gazette*, and the Memphis *Express* all extolled the beauty of the new building, and the virtue and capability of Ferguson. The crowd which attended the dedication was so large that the building would not contain it, though it had 150 pews.[27]

From the foregoing, it should be evident that by 1852 Ferguson, though only thirty-two years of age, was an eminently successful and valuable leader of the Stone-Campbell movement in Tennessee, and, indeed, in the entire West and South. Eloquent preacher, able editor, and conscientious civic leader, his star was at its zenith and no one questioned either his piety or his devotion to the movement's principles. Perhaps one reason for the universal regard in which he was held was his irenic character. The pages of the *Christian Magazine* exhibit none of that love of controversy which was part and parcel of so many religious periodicals of that time. Maintaining and justifying the non-controversial character of the *Christian Magazine* was a matter of great concern for the editor. In July, 1850, he wrote:

> I fear the invasion of church independence, but not from Co-operation meetings, or Conventions properly convened, but from the invasion of church rights by our periodicals.[28]

"There shall be no personal war in our magazine," Ferguson wrote in February, 1849.[29] And for some four and one half years, he steadfastly adhered to this

policy. It is ironic that during the next year and a half, his periodical became the medium for one of the hottest personal wars in Disciples history–a war touched off by Ferguson's exposition of 1 Peter 3:18-20 and 4:1-6.

Ferguson undertook, in the April, 1852, issue of the *Christian Magazine*, an exposition of this fateful passage at the request of numerous correspondents. He apparently approached the task with some diffidence, admitting that his view differed entirely from that held by the majority of the brethren and by a majority of Protestant interpreters. Because of the novelty of his position, he "hesitated long in its public expression, hoping to be able to see something more clear, consistent and satisfactory. . . ."[30] He then wrote: "having read most expositions of modern and ancient critics and commentators, we submit the following translation, paraphraze [*sic*] and remarks with becoming modesty, we trust, and with due deference to the contrary views of Brethren and authors we profoundly respect."[31]

The text follows:

> It is better to suffer, doing well, (if the will of God be so,) than doing evil, because even Christ once suffered about sins, the just over the unjust, to bring us near to God: put to death indeed in consequence of flesh, but made alive in consequence of the Spirit, in which Spirit, also, he went and preached to the Spirits now in prison, to those once rebellious when the long suffering of God waited out in Noah's days, while the Ark was being prepared, entering into which a few, that is eight souls were brought safely through the waters: corresponding to which, Baptism also now saves us, (not the putting off the filth of the flesh, but the asking of a good conscience after God) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who has gone into heaven, angels and powers being arranged under him. Christ, then, having suffered over us in consequence of flesh, arm yourselves also with the same mind, (for he that has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin,) that you no longer live the remaining time in the flesh after the lusts of men but after the will of God. For the time past is sufficient to have wrought the will of the Gentiles when you walked in excesses, lusts, revellings and lawless idolatries. On which account they stand astonished-that you no longer run into the same profligate dissoluteness, mocking you-who shall pay their reckoning to him that is ready to judge the living and the dead, that they might be judged like men in the flesh, yet live after God in the Spirit.[32]

From this passage, Ferguson reached the following position: 1) Christ, by his Spirit, preached to the Spirits of the invisible world, which refers to all the dead, at the period of time between his death and resurrection. This is afterward confirmed by the declaration "that in order that Jesus Christ might

be the judge of the dead and the living, the 'gospel was preached to the dead'–to those now dead–not 'in the flesh' but 'now in prison.'"[33] 2) The dead in this passage are not to be defined as morally or spiritually dead, but are contrasted to those "in the flesh." They are the spirits in prison, and are connected with the spiritual principalities and powers, which are under Christ, as are the living. 3) Christ died to reconcile not only things on earth, but also things in heaven. The breadth and depth and height of God's love is placed beyond the measure of all earthly, selfish and sinful understandings.

Ferguson wrote:

> From our souls we pity the spiritual darkness of any man or sect of men whose earthly and selfish views limit the benefits of the mission of Christ to the comparatively few who hear of him and learn his ways while they remain in the flesh. Infants, idiots, pagans, and the countless thousands whose external circumstances remove them far from the light of the blessed gospel as it shines through earthen mirrors, are thus consigned to a perdition revolting to every just conception of God, or Christ, or the benevolent purposes of life . . . we never commit the body of a single human being to the grave, for whom it is not a pleasure for us to know, that his soul has already entered where the knowledge of Christ *may yet* be his; and that if at last condemned, it will not be for any thing that was unavoidable in his outward circumstances on earth.[34]

Ferguson went on to add that he expected the happiness of the invisible world to consist, for the saints, in giving knowledge of the Savior to all who might have the capacity to receive it. He concluded by recognizing the difficulties of the passage, and the novelty of his view. But he stated that his view ought not to be rejected merely because of its novelty, and if rejected "the doctrine of Christ's death and triumph, extending its beneficial influences over the invisible world, as the teaching of the holy Scriptures, is not thereby invalidated."[35]

The next mention of this subject in print occurred in the pages of the *Millennial Harbinger* of June, 1852.[36] Alexander Campbell reprinted Ferguson's article under the heading "A New Discovery," and appended fourteen pages of detailed analysis and condemnation of the views expressed in "The Spirits in Prison."

Campbell began by noting: "Many a theological telescope has been directed to this imaginary constellation in the ecclesiastical or theological heavens."[37] He said many of the brethren had called his attention to the article, since it, in their judgment, had an anti-evangelical tendency and was of no value to any human being. Campbell's critical attack on the article followed the following lines: 1) Worldly people will, while "shuffling off their mortal coils," flatter themselves that they are yet to hear a posthumous gospel, to be preached to

all who die in their sins. This will operate against their repenting, and thus is anti-evangelical.[38] 2) This "post mortem" gospel will be of sight, not faith, since anyone in Hades will be only too glad to get out. "It will be a large congregation, a short sermon, and a universal conversion." (It should be noticed that, in both these points, Campbell failed, or refused, to recognize the fact that Ferguson assumed the gospel would be preached in a "post mortem" world *only* to those who had no opportunity to hear it "in the flesh.") 3) Christ indeed reconciles heaven, but not Hades. 4) Ferguson's version of the text is borrowed from "brainless and heartless" translators who do away with the sacrificial death of Christ. 5) Campbell criticizes Ferguson's youth and warns against the adoption of new things. 6) Ferguson had indulged his imagination at the expense of the truth. His view tends to neutralize the Gospel by impairing its sanctions and weakening the efforts of those who teach sinners that unless they repent they will surely perish. Hypocrisy and trifling would be the characteristics of one who would hold this idea and tell people they would not perish unless they repented. This speculation, said Campbell, undermines the whole foundation of the gospel–the strongest argument for obeying it–"unless you repent, you shall perish."

Having disposed of Ferguson's exposition of the passages as heretical, hypocritical, and Universalian, Campbell goes on to give his own exegesis of the passages, one which he had held for several years, and although he didn't know it then, one which several "very learned and able commentators [*sustain*]."[39]

According to Campbell, the Spirits in prison were preached to by Noah, speaking through the Holy Spirit, which is and ever was, dispensed officially by the Word, which became flesh and dwelt among us.[40] The "prison" is a confinement of time (120 years) and not of space. The same Jesus, as the Word of God, before his incarnation, went in the person of Noah, by the Spirit, to preach to those ante-diluvians who were doomed to destruction, unless they repented. Their bounds were "while the Ark was preparing"; the whole prison bounds being one hundred and twenty years. Such are the facts, said Campbell, and such are the oracles of God pertaining to them. There was never any preaching to disembodied Spirits.

It is interesting to note that of the two radically different interpretations of the verses involved, the interpretation of Ferguson (though not the inferences he draws from it) is the nearer to the one generally accepted now.[41]

From the Spring and Summer of 1852 until October of 1853, the positions of both Ferguson and Campbell remained the same. Copious charges and countercharges, which shall be cited later, were issued. Meanwhile, for the sake of clarity, we may briefly sum up the positions of the two: In his treatment of the controversial passage, Ferguson affirmed that Christ, in the period between his death and resurrection, went, in the Spirit, and preached to the dead, i.e., those no longer "in the flesh," who, because they died before Christ's Advent,

had had no opportunity to hear the gospel. They must hear it, since God would not condemn people for not responding to a gospel which they had, through no fault of their own, had no opportunity to hear while in the flesh. This he put forward as his (Ferguson's) personal opinion, admitting its novelty. Campbell objected, inferring that Ferguson meant that *all* would have the opportunity to hear the gospel posthumously, and that none would reject it. Therefore, it smacked of Universalism, and was an opinion which would undermine the very basis of the gospel–that unless one repents, one shall perish. Further, Campbell maintained that Ferguson's exegesis was wrong. The true meaning of the passage referred to Noah's preaching to his contemporaries, not to Christ's preaching to disembodied spirits.

In the July issue of the *Harbinger*, Campbell continued his attack on Ferguson, remarking on the dangers of an unlicensed press and the calamity of having *children* for leaders and *babes* for rulers.[42] He demanded an apology from the author to the whole movement for the presentation of Christian missions in terms of visiting the regions of the damned, to convert and bring them thence to heaven. This he regarded as an offense against truth and good morals spread over the whole community to the mortification of the brotherhood. If, wrote Campbell, this was Ferguson's settled judgment, it ought to be known and publicly reprobated. If it were an impulse of an exuberant and wild imagination, "it ought to be confessed, retracted, and forgiven."[43] He also reprinted a letter from Brother Church of Pittsburgh, saying Ferguson "has got a maggot in his brain" and calling his doctrine a "damnable heresy."[44] A letter from John Rogers, in less offensive language, expressed regret at Ferguson's "dangerous aberration" and commended Campbell for his exposé.[45]

In the July issue of the *Christian Magazine*, Ferguson wrote in general terms, without mentioning any names or articles, against "heresy-hunters" and men "enslaved to their own opinions and prejudices."[46] No mention of Alexander Campbell or "The Spirits in Prison" appeared in the columns of the *Christian Magazine* until August, 1852, when Ferguson reprinted an extremely critical letter from P. L. Townes, of Muhlenberg County, Kentucky.[47] In that issue, he also wrote a reply to Campbell. After referring to the vehemence of Campbell's attack, Ferguson pointed out that the inferences Campbell drew from the article were without foundation. He denied any affinity with Universalism, and wondered if Campbell *desired* to find some ground of complaint against him, or *wished* to prove him heretical.[48] Ferguson concluded with a plea for peace and a cessation of the controversy, but refused to apologize for the opinion expressed in the article. The September issue of the *Christian Magazine* contained a further defense.[49] Ferguson wrote, "The case is as plain a one as has recently been registered in the history of human assumption over the right of private judgment and freedom of opinion. . . ."[50]

Ferguson felt that Campbell, if, as he said, he were not certain that he (Campbell) understood him, should have made a primate inquiry for an explanation: or, if he thought the truth required a public explanation, he should have asked for one through the *Harbinger* or the *Magazine*: and, finally, if he could not reconcile his conscience to pursue this fraternal course, he should have reviewed the article and confined himself to a review of the exposition.[51] Campbell called on Ferguson to reprint his (Campbell's) remarks in the *Magazine*, and Ferguson at first refused, on the ground that the issue was a personal one. However, under the widespread pressure of the controversy, Ferguson consented to reprint the whole affair, from both sides, in an extra edition of the *Christian Magazine*, which was issued in December, 1852.

In this extra issue, Ferguson quoted Campbell's remarks in the context of a previous controversy, when Campbell himself was under attack from another editor:

> I contend that no Editor of this Reformation has a right Scriptural or by covenant, to prefer any charge upon its pages in the least implicating the moral excellence or purity of a brother. . . . I do not recognize the tribunal before which I am arraigned, as one constituted or authorized by our Lawgiver and Judge. I am a member of the Church of Christ, at Bethany, Va., and a law-abiding citizen of the Messiah's kingdom. To that tribunal I am amenable.[52]

Ferguson adopted the same defense, maintaining that his accountability was to the brethren of Tennessee as an editor and to the Church of Christ at Nashville as a pastor, and not to Alexander Campbell.

While Campbell was condemning Ferguson's position and reprinting letters condemning Ferguson from John T. Johnson,[53] Samuel Church,[54] and Ferguson's assistant editor, John R. Howard,[55] what was the opinion of the State Co-operation in Tennessee and the church at Nashville? The State Co-operation convened in Paris, Tennessee, in December, 1852. Ferguson was present as a delegate from the Nashville church, and played an active role in the deliberations.[56] He was elected a Director and Vice-President of the Co-operation for the coming year (1853).[57] He tendered his resignation as editor of the *Christian Magazine*, and on the motion of Tolbert Fanning, it was resolved that the thanks of the Co-operation be tendered to Ferguson for his "arduous and gratuitous labors in conducting the *Christian Magazine*."[58]

As for the church in Nashville, it continued to grow and to support its minister. At the beginning of 1853, there was some slight objection offered to Ferguson's continuation as pastor, and he offered to resign. The church would not allow him to do so, and only two members voted against him.[59] The

congregation gave him three "votes of confidence" in the face of the attacks which continued through 1853, and toward the end of the year, discontented with the position of the majority, about 25 members withdrew to form their own congregation.[60] The vast majority of the congregation remained loyal supporters of their pastor, expressing every confidence in him.

Thus the situation stood toward the end of 1853. Following Campbell's lead, many of the movement's leaders were extremely critical of Ferguson's position as revealed in "The Spirits in Prison," regarding it as heretical and dangerous to the faith. No charge was brought, from any quarter, against Ferguson's orthodoxy aside from this crucial article. On his part, Ferguson maintained that his opinion, as expressed in the article, while novel, was not grounds for the charge of heresy or detrimental to the faith. In this position, he was upheld by his congregation and by the State Co-operation. The extent of the interest in the issue and the feeling against him outside of Nashville and Tennessee were tremendous, however.

At a Co-operation meeting in Southern Kentucky, a resolution dissenting from Ferguson's view of the future world was proposed, but failed to pass.[61] The Elders of the church at Hopkinsville refused to allow him to preach in the church there. Throughout 1854, the pages of the *Millennial Harbinger* continued in the condemnation of Ferguson, the main theme being that he was a Universalist. In November, 1854, a short notice appeared in the *Harbinger*, in which Alexander Campbell announced his resolve to visit Nashville "in obedience to many very urgent calls."[62] In the meanwhile, something had taken place which would alter the nature of the controversy entirely.

In October, 1853, Ferguson became a Spiritualist.[63] From 1849 through September, 1853, Ferguson was aware of the popular "spirit-rapping," but dismissed these manifestations "as the minglings of fanaticism and imposture."[64] However, he found himself fascinated by the relations of the spirit realm, and determined to investigate Spiritualism as such,

> . . . urged on more of hope than fear, seeing that sectarian bigotry ever ready to denounce all truth in the incipient stages of its recognition, had uttered its weak and foolish bull against "Spirit-rapping."[65]

In October, 1853, Ferguson was in Ohio "to secure the privilege of personal observation of these strange phenomena."[66] He discovered that his wife was a medium, and from then on Ferguson was in frequent consultation with the spirits of the departed. Dr. William Ellery Channing was one of the most accessible spirits with whom he had contact.[67]

In 1854, Ferguson published a pamphlet in which he defended one's right to be a Unitarian, a Universalist, and a Spiritualist and still have the fellowship of fellow Christians. He wrote:

> Now I know it will be said, and justly said, that the preachers of the so-called Reformation do not believe with you. How then can we expect their fellowship? I do not expect it, but did expect it because our fellowship was not predicated upon a vain uniformity of belief. . . . Church fellowship in uniformity of belief is an impossibility. It never did exist and never can exist.[68]

It is apparent that by 1854, a change had occurred in Ferguson's attitude toward Spiritualism, and consequently, toward the sufficiency of the revelation of God as contained in the Scriptures.[69] This is not to say that there were not indications in his previous writings of a tendency in this direction.[70] Yet, these writings, widely read, produced no criticisms or accusations that he might be a Spiritualist. Why did Ferguson become a Spiritualist? Would a more generous course, a kindlier attitude on the part of Campbell, have saved him for a continuing and useful ministry in the Christian Church? In attempting to answer this question, Dowling cites the earlier case of Aylette Rains. According to Rains, Campbell and others, in 1828, considered his Restorationist (Universalist) sentiments a vagary of the brain, but treated him with firmness and kindness and encouraged him to persevere in the Christian race.[71] Rains later wrote:

> Had they pursued with me the opposite course, I awfully fear that I might have made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, and become a castaway. Whereas, under the kind treatment, which I received from the chief men of the Restoration, and the increased means of religious knowledge, to which I obtained access after I left the Universalists, I grew in grace and knowledge of Jesus Christ with such rapidity that in twelve months or less time, restorationism had wholly faded out of my mind.[72]

There is certainly room for speculation that if Campbell had dealt differently with Ferguson, and had not kept up the public controversy, which was loath to Ferguson from the beginning, that this man would not have been lost to the ministry of the Christian Church. The change in Campbell's attitude between 1828 and 1852 is probably a reflection of two things: the fact that by the 1850s the Christian Church was no longer a new movement, but had moved into a phase of conservation and consolidation, and Campbell's personal jealousy toward the extremely popular and influential Ferguson.

Once he had embraced Spiritualism, Ferguson's undoing as a Disciples pastor was sure to come. Campbell, on his visit to Nashville in December, 1854, denounced him as a Spiritualist and the controversy over "The Spirits in Prison", or, as Campbell called it, the "post mortem" gospel, faded into the background.[73] McFerrin, the Methodist preacher in Nashville, who had formerly highly respected

Ferguson despite his disagreement with the viewpoint of "The Spirits in Prison,"[74] had no use for him after he joined the "spirit-knockers,"[75] and was only too glad to turn his pulpit over to Campbell. It was Ferguson's interest in Spiritualism, rather than his doctrine of Universalism, that finally split his Nashville church into two hostile camps.[76]

A portion of the dissatisfied membership in Nashville, who had withdrawn earlier from the church, brought suit in 1856 to obtain the Cherry Street property. A lawsuit was planned for June 1, 1856, but Ferguson resigned, making legal procedure unnecessary. The extent of Ferguson's support at that time is indicated by the fact that of a congregation which once numbered over 850[77] only 56 were left by 1858.[78] The majority of the members dispersed among the other churches of the city or remained "in the world–the universal church of God."[79]

As for Ferguson, after his resignation he continued for several years to ride the wave of popularity and preached sporadically in Nashville at the theater, the Odd Fellows Hall, and before various civic organizations.[80] The Nashville *Daily Gazette* referred to him, in October, 1858, as a "great independent preacher."[81]

> Finally, disillusioned and in poor health, he left Nashville to become the wandering preacher of the Southwest. He lived for a time in Mississippi, Alabama and Missouri. He dabbled in politics and real estate and in 1870 he returned to Nashville. He died on September 3, 1870, and his death was hardly noticed in the city where he had been so popular a few years before.[82]

Davenport makes the interesting comment that the downfall of Ferguson marked a victory for the conservative element of the Nashville Disciples.[83] Certainly the experience with Ferguson resulted in the scattering of the more liberal elements of the Nashville church–the element that contended for freedom of belief–and the victory of a small minority who held to a strict Reformation platform. It is logical to assume that the resulting church would be more interested in maintaining a strict orthodoxy than before.

Was Alexander Campbell justified in his attack on Ferguson? Since Ferguson became a Spiritualist in the middle of the controversy, Campbell is generally justified for the estimate that he held of the man. However, this is to overlook the fact that prior to the latter part of 1853, Spiritualism was not an issue in the controversy. Universalism was. The controversy originated over the opinion expressed in Ferguson's article, "The Spirits in Prison." In this issue, it is apparent that Campbell condemned an opinion which he himself misinterpreted. To infer Universalism from the article was unfair to both the words and intent of the author. Ferguson also has the better of it when he maintains he was condemned for an "opinion." Campbell regarded Ferguson's position as basically

undermining the gospel, and therefore not properly in the realm of freedom of opinion. Campbell's own exegesis of the passage in question was farther afield than Ferguson's, and no more entitled to be called orthodox. Campbell himself admitted this when he wrote that when he first formed it, it was a "novel" exegesis, though he later found confirmation from several theologians. The entire controversy was clearly an exercise of ministerial discipline through the pages of the *Harbinger*, in violation of Campbell's own canons of editorial responsibility. After Ferguson became a Spiritualist, there was far more justification for Campbell's subsequent opposition to him, since he was setting up an authority above the Scripture where formerly he had simply exercised a freedom in interpretation of the Scripture. The latter position was in clear violation of both the principles and practices of the Disciples.

Notes

1. This is a paper prepared by the author as a Ph.D. student in Dr. Herman Norton's class, Theology of the 19th Century Disciples of Christ, in 1960. The writer's personal interest in Jesse B. Ferguson was stimulated by Ferguson's early ministry in his home church (Liberty in Christian County, Kentucky) and the naming of his great-grandfather, both in 1843, after Ferguson. The 1850 census listed the lad as Jesse B. Major; the 1860 census listed him as Howard Major, a name he kept. This puzzling change was explained by Ferguson's "fall from grace" in the eyes of the boy's father after Campbell's exposG. With his uniquely sensitive personal touch, Dr. Norton fanned this spark of interest into a flame that made research an exciting quest rather than an onerous duty. This, I believe, is the mark of a truly great teacher. The obvious influence of the press led the author to choose the title *The Role of Periodicals in the Development of the Disciples of Christ, 1850-1910* for his doctoral dissertation. This, too, was done with the guidance, influence, and support of Dr. Norton, without whose help it would never have been accomplished.

2. Charles Louis Loos, "Introductory Period," *The Reformation of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. J. H. Garrison (St. Louis, 1901), 102.

3. For Ferguson's article, see *Christian Magazine*, 5 (1852), 113. For Campbell's reply, see *Millennial Harbinger*, series 4, 2 (1852):313.

4. Enos E. Dowling, *An Analysis and Index of the Christian Magazine* (Lincoln, 1958), 1.

5. loc. cit.

6. Dowling, 2.

7. *Millennial Harbinger*, new series, 3 (1839):192.

8. Dowling, 4.

9. Jesse B. Ferguson, *History of the Relation of the Pastor to the Christian Church of Nashville* (Nashville, 1855), 3.
10. Earl Irvin West, *The Search for the Ancient Order*, 1 (Nashville, 1949), 261.
11. *Millennial Harbinger*, new series, 7 (1843):474, 475.
12. Ferguson, *History of the Relation*, 3.
13. Ibid., 4.
14. Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 2 (Philadelphia, 1870), 603.
15. F. Garvin Davenport, *Cultural Life in Nashville, 1825-1860* (Chapel Hill, 1941), 101.
16. loc. cit.
17. *Millennial Harbinger*, series 3, 4 (1847):202-204
18. Ibid., 718.
19. Dowling, 8.
20. Dowling, 9.
21. See Dowling, 86-98 for an exhaustive study of the editorial policy of the *Christian Magazine*.
22. Dowling, 47.
23. Dowling, 48.
24. Dowling, 49.
25. *Christian Magazine*, 5 (1852):364.
26. *Christian Magazine*, 5 (1852):159.
27. *Christian Magazine*, 5 (1852):237-39.
28. *Christian Magazine*, 3 (1850):209. Quoted in Dowling, 237.
29. Dowling, 238.
30. *Christian Magazine*, 5 (1852):113.
31. loc. cit.
32. *Christian Magazine*, 5 (1852):113.
33. *Christian Magazine*, 5 (1852):113.
34. Ibid., 115.
35. *Christian Magazine*, 5 (1852):115.
36. *Millennial Harbinger*, series 4, 2 (1852):313-29.
37. Ibid., 316.
38. For reference to the points of Campbell's criticism, see *Millennial Harbinger*, series 4, 2 (1852):313-29.
39. *Millennial Harbinger*, series 4, 2 (1852):323.
40. Ibid., 322.
41. Archibald M. Hunter, "Exegesis of 1 Peter," *Interpreter's Bible*, 12 (Nashville, 1957), 132, 133, 137. Hunter says the simplest meaning of this difficult passage is that Christ descended between his passion and his resurrection to preach to those who died before his Advent in order that they might have a chance of full and final salvation.

42. *Millennial Harbinger*, series 4, 2 (1852):390.
43. Ibid., 398.
44. Ibid., 414.
45. *Millennial Harbinger*, series 4, 2 (1852):414. It is interesting to note that Rogers, in his biography of J. T. Johnson (John Rogers, *The Biography of Elder J. T. Johnson* [Cincinnati, 1861], 316), says Ferguson is "lost in the dismal swamps and quagmires of a refined, carnal, worldly, fleshly, devilish spiritualism. . . ." This charge of spiritualism was not brought against Ferguson in 1852. It was not an issue.
46. *Christian Magazine*, 1 (1852):209, 210.
47. Ibid., 225.
48. Ibid., 241.
49. *Christian Magazine*, 5 (1852):264 and 274.
50. Ibid., 274.
51. loc. cit.
52. *Christian Magazine*, Extra (1852):26.
53. *Millennial Harbinger*, series 4, 2 (1852):469.
54. Ibid., 505.
55. Ibid., 683.
56. *Christian Magazine*, 5 (1852):359.
57. Ibid., 360.
58. *Christian Magazine*, 5 (1852):360.
59. Ferguson, *History of the Relation*, 4.
60. Ibid., 5.
61. *Christian Magazine*, Extra (1852):27.
62. *Millennial Harbinger*, series 4, 4 (1854):660.
63. Jesse B. Ferguson, *Spirit Communion: A Record of Communication from the Spirit-Spheres* (Nashville: n.p., 1854), 15.
64. Ibid., 12.
65. Ferguson, *Spirit Communion*, 13.
66. Ibid., 15.
67. Ibid., 124.
68. Jesse B. Ferguson, *Relation of Pastor and People: Statement of Belief on Unitarianism, Universalism and Spiritualism* (Nashville, 1854), 14.
69. Dowling, 13.
70. See Ferguson, "Ministry of Angels," *Divine Illumination* (Nashville, 1855), 20 for a discussion of this tendency in his earlier writings.
71. Dowling, 229.
72. Dowling, 229.
73. *Millennial Harbinger*, series 4, 5 (1855):45.
74. *Christian Magazine*, Extra (1852):32.
75. Davenport, 107.

76. loc. cit.

77. Herman A. Norton, "Fall of Vine Street" (M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, n.d.), 80.

78. James A. Cox, "Incidents in the Life of Philip Slater Fall," Unpublished thesis, The College of the Bible (Lexington, 1951), 98.

79. Norton, 79.

80. Davenport, 107.

81. Davenport, 107.

82. *Gospel Advocate*, September 22, 1870. Quoted in Davenport, 107.

83. loc. cit.

Variations in the Major Themes of Alexander Campbell's Thought: Just Cause for Variations in Interpretation

Richard Phillips

Introduction

Various (and variant) interpretations of the background of Alexander Campbell's thought have appeared since W. E. Garrison's ground-breaking attempt nearly a century ago.[1] Each has emphasized a viable and significant possible interpretation of that thought. And yet the different interpretations, when compared with one another, often seem so divergent as to be contradictory. The emphasis of this work, taken from my dissertation[2] (which also attempts to treat the intellectual background of Barton Stone and compare it with that of Mr. Campbell), is that such divergencies (insofar as they are accurate reflections of Campbell's thought) are grounded in four different causes. These causes are: 1) divergent and not always reconciled elements in Mr. Campbell's own thinking; 2) different situations and purposes which occasioned the writings; 3) growth and alteration over time in that thought itself; and 4) divergencies in the backgrounds and perspectives of the interpreters themselves.

Mr. Campbell's thought was complicated and many-faceted, as this study attempts to demonstrate in four selected areas. I believe the reward from the study is worth the effort, both for historical accuracy and contemporary application.[3]

1. A. Campbell's Doctrine of Ministry

Campbell's attacks upon the "hireling clergy" during the period of his publication of *The Christian Baptist* (1823-1830) have been well documented and many times discussed.[4] During the course of his career Campbell's attitude toward the clergy passed through several phases. The thrust of his writings in *The Christian Baptist* was negative and iconoclastic, especially in contrast to the more positive and constructive tone of his work in the late 1830s and following. One may therefore ask: 1) Was this anti-clergy attitude the dominant force in the background of Campbell? 2) What was his basic doctrine of the ministry? and 3) Does his basic orientation change through the years?

I have in my dissertation (see endnote 2) suggested that the dominant force in the general background of Campbell is not an anti-clerical sectarian primitivism; not Locke, Reid, or any Enlightenment figure; but the Calvinistic

piety of his father, Thomas, heavily influenced by that father's first 29 years as an Anglican (Episcopalian). During the 1820s Campbell did lash out against missionary societies, Sunday Schools, and a "hireling clergy."[5] But this does not mean he rejected all "professional ministry," and it is at best superficial to suggest as a final explanation that he was "sectarian" in his *Christian Baptist* period and "denominational" as the years wore on and his movement developed. Campbell's own ambition from 1808 on had been the ministry.[6] He had from the earliest years envisioned himself and his father as among those called to the special function of proclaiming the Gospel.[7] His doubts as to whether to submit to ordination to the ministry were resolved on December 25, 1811.[8] It can hardly be maintained, therefore, that even the youthful Campbell wanted to abolish all clergy-laity distinctions as a typical sectarian, or that he wished in any sense to reject a paid ministry for the church. He did reject "hirelings," but held the "true laborer is worthy of his hire."

The Calvinistic heritage with its emphasis on devotion to the ministerial function of preaching was dominant in the early years of Campbell's career.[9] From this perspective, one sees his iconoclasm of the 1820s properly. His "anti-clergy" attitudes were adapted to combat what he considered a perversion of the true nature of the ministry. In his attempts to combat the perversion, Campbell was not above making use of Jacksonian democratic ideas, Enlightenment individualism, and an extremely narrow principle of requiring Biblical justification for each practice. But these were debating tactics, rather than basic principles.[10] For example, in the midst of his most rigorous period of requiring Biblical precedent for every religious practice, he was quite willing that one local elder should be "president" on the grounds of "superior endowments, experience, and age."[11] In this practice, for which he could hardly provide specific Biblical authority, or even precedent, he was quite content to use the practice recorded by Justin Martyr as adequate rationale.

Thus Alexander Campbell was not a narrow Biblicist, but was enough influenced by the Enlightenment to be deeply suspicious of any attempt by one person to profess a spiritual lordship over another. Further, he was deeply concerned that a man be in the ministry for the service he could render, and not for personal gain.

Secondly, Campbell basically held to a three-fold ministry of bishop (or elder), deacon, and evangelist.[12] His viewpoint was "churchly" but not hierarchical. The congregation, acting under the authority of the Divine Word and according to qualifications set out in that word, selects its leaders who then "rule" the congregation.[13] Leaders possess authority not from a succession in office but from a successive devolvement of the office on particular men through their choice by the congregation. Latent authority was in the people, but nothing was ever accomplished by latent authority. "We want discipline; yes, brethren, we want discipline," Campbell thundered.[14] The elders (bishops) were to provide it.

Campbell's doctrine of the ministry did not change significantly during the course of his career, but his emphasis certainly did. The purpose of his early effort was to force a re-alignment and re-evaluation of the ministry among his Baptist associates and his opponents from other groups. Early on, to force his associates to rethink their views, his method was to appeal strictly to the various offices spoken of in the New Testament as normative. He distinguished between the bishop, or ruling elder of the congregation, and the preacher, or evangelist, who labored among the unconverted.[15] But he does not seem to have denied the right of the congregation to designate men of either function to serve them on a paid basis.[16] Campbell's doctrine of the "evangelist" seems to have developed later; unlike the local elders, or bishops, these were officers of the "whole community."[17]

Thirdly, then, just how much did Campbell's basic orientation change or develop through the years, and how consistent was he? He denied, on the one hand, that any special priestly grace was achieved by education and ordination. The person who studied divinity was no more inherently holy than the person who studied medicine or carpentry.[18] The clergy have no exclusive right to understand or teach the Bible. He spoke against the "whole Paido-Baptist priesthood" as "an order of men unauthorized by heaven."[19] When one combines these attitudes with Campbell's concept of the duty of lay preaching by each Christian,[20] it might appear little room existed for a paid ministry at all. But Campbell was also, even in his most anti-clerical period, most conscious of the need for a ministry with a broad education to serve the church.[21] Anti-clericalism did not mean an exaltation of ignorance. His thought was much more akin to that of Priestley than to that of such anti-intellectualistic revivalists as John Davenport and Peter Cartwright. Campbell desired men who would be teaching elders, "Servants of the Word," and not a ruling class of clergy. And to point to this, he would denounce both a priestly "ruling" clergy with sectarian creeds and neat philosophical arguments one minute, and the next with no less vigor castigate the ignorance and boorishness of some "hireling" clergy he knew. Since his writing was occasional, he had a tendency to overstate, and when overstatements made in variant situations are compared, apparent contradictions are manifest.

I can find only one instance in which Campbell derided education *per se*, and one suspects it was his pride speaking more than his theology.[22] After establishing Bethany College in 1840, Campbell soon was calling for a "better accomplished class of evangelists and teachers," and was rejoicing at the "growing disposition" of the movement to prepare such leaders. A call for the community to "raise up, prepare, and finish men for the work," was issued in 1850.[23] In 1853, in a modificiation of his original rationale for Bethany College as rooted in general education for the culture (from which the church would reap its share of the benefits), Campbell not only voiced a concern for "schools of the prophets," but equated them with theological schools.[24]

Campbell's concept of ordination and polity proceeded along the same rather confusing and all-but-contradictory lines as his doctrine of ministry. Ordination was a functional and formal recognition that one was being set aside to a special ministry of the word upon the choice of the congregation.[25] Ordination (at least of elders) was by the individual congregation to fill its needs, not to a special clerical class within the whole church.[26] Campbell does not in his early years appear to have faced the problem as to how an evangelist could move from one congregation to another or whether a minister required ordination for each separate congregation to which he was called.[27] His writings were so attuned to concrete situations that his answers reflect consistency only when seen in the light of the situations which called them forth. Thus in the 1820s when he desired to provoke individual thought and revolt against the established order, he emphasized the self-sufficiency of the local congregation and individual responsibility. This early emphasis was justified by an absolutist appeal to New Testament precedent as evidencing little or no extra-congregational structure.[28] Later, when his concern was the responsible interaction of the congregations rather firmly under his leadership, his emphasis changed. The precise manner of church organization was a matter of opinion, and ought never to divide Christians, Campbell's later thought held. Perhaps his most startling statement on the matter was:

> We have no Divinely instituted or formal directory given to us as a program of church constitution, church edification, or church worship, such as we in this age and country desire, and sometimes think to be indispensable. Therefore, we have assumed that it is not of so much importance, and that we are left to the dictates of our own judgment and to the expediences of things, as our standard or directory.[29]

Campbell simply was not consistent. He was a pragmatic leader, and not a systematic theologian. His doctrine of ministry is nowhere worked out apart from concrete situations. Behind all the variants, Campbell's basic concerns seem to have remained relatively fixed, as is best evidenced in his attitude toward the support of a ministry. In 1816 and 1824, he asserted the right of a "minister" or "bishop" to receive support from the "church in which he officiates."[30] Yet in apparent contradiction, in the same period he wrote,

> That any man is to be paid at all for preaching, i.e. making sermons and pronouncing them; or that any man is to be hired for a stipulated sum to preach and pray, and expound scripture, by the day, month, or year, I believe to be a relic of popery.[31]

The resolution of the difficulty is found in Campbell's distinction between a true minister or bishop, and the "hireling"; a distinction which operated more on the basis of intention or motivation than external difference. His best statement of the difference was made in 1826:

> The christian bishop pleads no inward call to the work, and never sets himself to learn it. The hireling does both. The christian bishop is called by the brethren, because he has the qualifications already. The minister says he is inwardly called. The former accepts of the office for the congregation of which he is a member . . . and receives from them such remuneration as his circumstances may require; . . . the latter goes about looking for a flock, and . . . takes the charge of it for a year or two until he can suit himself better.[32]

Although others voiced similar anti-clerical protests, Campbell is not to be grouped with low church anti-intellectual revivalists for two reasons: 1) his view of the work of the true Christian bishop is much more analogous to that of his father in Ireland or that of a devoted Anglican clergyman than to the unlettered revivalistic preaching characteristic of the frontier groups of the period (both of his positive role models were more congregation-centered than individual-centered), and 2) while Campbell decried a man's achieving classical learning merely to become a minister, he still felt that a minister should be a man of letters.[33] He thus, not surprisingly, was more closely related to the heritage from which he came than to American frontier revivalism. Campbell's main concern was the edification of the whole church. His lack of commitment to a specific organizational form was more typical of Thomas Campbell's broad-church Anglicanism than of organizationally-precise Presbyterianism.

2. Campbell's Doctrine of the Sacraments

The Campbellian movement is often interpreted as part of the revival- and emotional-experience-centered kind of Christianity associated with 1) the frontier, and 2) religious ebb in post-revolutionary America. That interpretation (at least in terms of Campbell's own views) is a gross distortion. Our judgment is confirmed by Campbell's position regarding the sacraments. He was not a typical American low-church Protestant; he was much more sacramental than that. He did not believe that preaching was the center of the worship service of the church. "Preaching" was to announce the Gospel to unbelievers; by contrast, teaching and exhortation were for believers, where the service was

characterized by prayer, singing, and exhortation. There was no agreement with that revivalistic view which emphasized a primary appeal to sinners at the worship services of the church; Campbell's was a more "churchly" orientation. For him, the "ordinances" were inherently involved in and necessary for the salvation and growth of the Christian individual. The ordinance was the mode of God's action, the channel of the downward flow of a realistic grace. Such were not to be relegated to the status of a mere "sign," "symbol," "emblem," or "memorial." Campbell includes the observance of the "Lord's Day" (as well as baptism and the Lord's Supper) in some of his lists of ordinances, since the "Lord's Day" was a "positive command," or institution of the Gospel. He did not believe "justification by faith" allowed one to be ignorant of Christian ordinances and still be a Christian in character. Knowledge of and obedience to specific divine commands was a duty not eliminated by faith alone. Yet he was anti-priestly; the master of any house could celebrate the Lord's Supper, since it was a family feast for the sons and daughters of God.[34] Still, the lack of priestly orientation did not lower the importance of the Supper, which was the center of the worship.[35]

Campbell's doctrine of baptism betrays the same mixture of high church sacramentalism combined with an emphasis on the necessity of faith as was typical of Calvin, although generally not of later Calvinists. His view of baptism developed in a sacramental direction also. In his early years, he held that "Baptism is the outward sign of regeneration but not regeneration itself. . . . Regeneration may be defined as a change wrought by the power of the Holy Spirit upon the understanding, will, and affection. . . . We cannot explain the manner of the New Birth no more [sic] than we can discover how the Body is formed in the Womb." The change could be instant or gradual; cataclysmic or almost unrecognized.[36] This was typical Calvinistic regeneration by the Holy Spirit. But by 1820, in the Walker debate, Campbell had progressed in his thinking to connect baptism with the "promise of the remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit."[37] In the MacCalla debate of 1823, the next step was taken; baptism was formally connected with the remission of sins. However, there was still a distinction: *real pardon* came at belief; *formal pardon* at baptism.[38]

The increasing importance of baptism reached its highest point in Campbell's mind in 1831 in a disagreement with B. W. Stone. Stone had criticized the adherents of Campbell for questioning Stone's willingness to "have fellowship and commune with unimmersed persons."[39] Stone wanted every sincere person to be judged Christian. Campbell would have none of this, holding instead that God has defined who is a Christian in terms of acts, and no man has the right to set aside this requirement; men judge actions, as only God can judge motives.[40] Campbell in reacting to Stone evidently went further to the sacramentarian right than he had intended; by 1837 he had adopted the position (expressed by T. Campbell in *The Declaration and Address* and also held by B. W. Stone) that

everyone who was sincerely obedient in all things as best he understood them was Christian.[41]

In summary, Campbell's position was midway between the Calvinist position of his day, which (centering on conversion experiences) held there to be little or no relation between baptism and salvation, and that extremely high church sacramentarian view which laid stress on the objectivity of ritual conformity. Although in his earliest years he appears to have been dominated by some of the anti-sacramental Calvinism present in the Scottish and Irish Independents of his youth, in his more mature thought Mr. Campbell reverted to a moderate sacramentarianism. He rejected repeatedly the charge of being a "water-" or "baptismal regenerationist,"[42] yet would not allow baptism to be separated from salvation in the ideal "salvation process," either.

3. Campbell's Theory of the Church: Relation to the World

Alexander Campbell's thought about the nature of the church is an unintegrated mixture of various strains of thought. "Anti-worldly," or "sectarian," elements are present. But there are also natural law and Enlightenment elements and Romantic tendencies, and "churchly" tendencies as well, all of which at times overshadow the "sectarian" aspects.

Like the left-wing sectarians of the Reformation, Campbell emphasized the "gathered church" concept, lay and non-priestly religion, and rejected official theologians and hierarchical officials. But unlike those Reformation sectarians, Campbell held these ideas primarily on the basis of an Enlightenment view of the responsibility and ability of every person to comprehend the Word for him/herself. Sectarians rejected involvement with the state as an inappropriate concern for the Christian. Campbell rejected an involvement of the church with the state on the basis of a Lockian separation of powers.[43] Sectarians withdrew from involvement in the economic community in general as individuals; Campbell involved himself as a leading sheep raiser, printer, postmaster, bank founder and president, and land speculator.[44] He admitted his wealth and on one occasion expressed a desire to be more wealthy so he could exert more influence for the kingdom of God.[45] In economic theory, Campbell seems akin to the "worldly asceticism" of Calvin's mercantile Geneva where all of life was to be lived under the domination of God. He fits this model much more than that type of sectarian described by H. R. Niebuhr who, as one of the economically dispossessed, rejected such worldly involvement.[46] Even in matters of church discipline, it is likely that Campbell owes more to Calvin than to the Reformation sectarians.[47]

Campbell's early attitude toward church buildings was also a mixture of Calvinism and sectarianism (or perhaps frontier primitivism). But his views

were pragmatic much more than doctrinaire. In 1834 he set forth his plan for a meeting house which was very plain and functional and against elaborateness. The plan provided for a gate or railing to delineate the saints from the "attendants."[48] Yet only five years later he felt constrained to complain about the other extreme where the meeting houses were "open, leaky, tottering, windowless, stoveless. . . ."[49] If his earlier statements were sectarian (or primitivistic) he had abandoned them totally by 1853, when the congregation of St. Louis was congratulated on having erected a "very beautiful edifice" to "attract the attention and allure the ears of a large class in that community who otherwise would never listen to the ancient apostolic Gospel."[50]

And yet Campbell had an obvious antipathy toward various amusements. In 1849 he wrote:

> We are reformers, not of ball rooms, chess boards, masquerades, tilts, and tournaments. We do not propose to convert card tables into chess boards, theatres into masquerades, ball rooms into gossip parties, farces into puppet shows, or the orgies of Bacchus into genteel tippling parties. We abjure all such worldly, carnal, and sensual practices as the "works of the flesh. . . ."[51]

Equally noteworthy was his attitude toward literature, art, music, and sculpture; of all of which he was deeply suspicious, and even avowed of Byron, Burns, and Scott that "I would not, for 'all that wealth or fame e'er gave,' be the author of their works."[52] It is perhaps significant that Campbell in 1847 found the Plymouth Brethren in Shrewesbury, England, who similarly eschewed "worldly" amusements, among other points of similarity, "more like our brethren than any people I have met with."[53] Was this sectarianism or a Romantic infatuation with the "pure state of nature"? Whatever it was, Campbell was agrarian, like Thomas Jefferson, whom he so greatly admired. He had little use for cities and their ways, and was convinced that western America was much ahead of the east in religion if not in wealth, learning, and talent.[54]

Further, Campbell did not favor Christians cooperating with non-Christians in the numerous societies for moral betterment which arose as the new nation recovered from the moral laxity which followed the Revolutionary War. He had no objection to Christians forming such societies, nor to non-Christians doing so. It was the mixing of Christians and non-Christians in such groups that he refused to approve, since Christians would then not be working within the church.[55] From at least 1815 on, Campbell opposed the "moral societies" which attempted to force a moral code on all people, often by taking the law on themselves.[56] His opposition was on the grounds that moral societies were an improper alliance of church and state, "anti-evangelical, anti-constitutional, and anti-rational."[57]

Campbell's opposition to missionary and Bible societies, Sunday Schools, and fraternal groups during the 1820s and early 1830s was similar. The church *was* all these things for the Christian; auxiliary organizations could only detract from the glory of the church. The opposition was not to missions, but to mission societies apart from the church, staffed by paid professionals. Rather, since Christianity itself was a "social religion," and since the miraculous gifts of primitive apostles were presently lacking, mission work in the nineteenth century should be accomplished by the transplanting not of individuals, but of small cells of Christian fellowship and community into pagan cultures.[58] Campbell's view was a corollary of his Jacksonian emphasis on the laity (common folk), and reflected his deep suspicion of all clergy-dominated structures. That view was modified later, and his position reversed when he accepted the presidency of the American Christian Missionary Society, formed in Cincinnati in 1849.[59] Two conclusions may be drawn: 1) Campbell was not so deeply convinced that the ideas and approaches espoused by him in the 1820s and early 1830s were to be rigidly followed as were some of his associates; 2) while his antagonism to agencies and societies was normative for some, for Campbell it appears to have been a passing phase or tactic designed to gain other ends, and not to have been ends or theological conclusions in themselves.

In summary, then, Campbell's attitude toward lodges and fraternal and moral societies remained the same throughout his life. Such groups might be of help in improving the moral life of non-Christians, but they were not for Christians. And in contrast his attitude toward missionaries, missionary societies, Sunday Schools, Publication Societies, and Bible Societies varied not so much according to a definable progression in his life and attitudes to be set out in periods, but is to be understood more in terms of his personal interest and involvement in such groups.[60] As a third basic point, Campbell's emphasis in regard to "church" did develop from an individualistic and atomistic emphasis on local congregations toward a more universal emphasis, which by the practical limitations of the American situation took on a basically denominational form. This latter development is probably due to two factors: first, the ascendancy of Campbell's own acknowledged personal influence and his desire to give specific leadership to his whole body of churches. And second, Campbell's basic churchly orientation allowed the emphasis on individual congregations in the 1820s only as a rationale for rejecting an oppressive ecclesiastical system. Campbell's later emphasis on the whole church and its unity and responsibility to work together is more like the concept of the whole church found in Thomas Campbell's 1809 *Declaration and Address* than his own emphasis on congregational independence in the 1820s.

In conclusion, there were some sectarian elements in Alexander Campbell's thought, although those elements could also, for the most part, be conceived as primitivist, Romantic, or agrarian. There were other emphases which were

totally atypical of sectarianism. His sacramentarian concepts were more inherently "churchly" than "sectarian." If, as Troeltsch has suggested, an emphasis on the Gospels and the teaching of Jesus characterized the sects,[61] and an emphasis on theological Paulinism characterized a "church," then Campbell must be considered "churchly." Campbell's positive acceptance of the state, his objectivity in sacrament and worship, his insistence that the Divine Word was mediated through the duly prepared and qualified leaders of the church rather than by the immediacy of the Divine Spirit, were all "churchly" tendencies. So also was his aggressive appeal for unity to all Christendom, which displayed little tendency toward the separatism inherent in sectarianism. Campbell's concern for universal education was not the mark of a sectarian,[62] nor was his Reformation concern for correct doctrine. Therefore no simple division of Campbell's thought into periods or progression of thought is possible. Although there were both "churchly" and "sectarian" elements present in his thought, his varied background allowed him to hold both in tension, and the occasional nature of his writings did not force him always to reconcile contradictions. Generally, however, he did dwell more on "churchly" emphases in his later career.

4. Campbell's Concern to Establish a Responsible Church Body

The preceding section has asserted that Campbell did not work out a consistent and coherent theology of the relation of the church to mission and publication agencies. Rather, he proceeded according to the needs of the moment. He did exactly the same in attempting to secure and regularize a responsible church body, whether he was encouraging revolt against the established order (in the name of genuine faith) or attempting to deal with anarchic or rebellious factions in the movement he led. Prior to 1830, he was generally concerned to nullify the ecclesiastical domination of supra-congregational bodies, and hence his emphasis was on the self-sufficiency of the local congregation.[63] Even then he did not believe there should be no formal cooperation among congregations at all. He was most distressed at the dissolution of the Mahoning Baptist Association.[64] In 1832, Campbell, acting for the Bethany church, demonstrated his belief in extracongregational cooperation by working with two other congregations in issuing an ordination certificate for one Henry Brown.[65] From 1832 on, Campbell's problem was not that of staving off the unwanted domination of others. It was rather to channel the anarchistic tendencies of the individualist congregations which had followed his leading. His main emphasis, therefore, was on the fruitlessness of congregational irresponsibility and the need of congregations to work together in fellowship.

Campbell's plea for cooperation had begun in 1831-1832 with a series of articles on "Co-operation of Churches" in the *Harbinger*. From that time on,

one sees the sense of group identity and need for group action constantly emphasized. Annual state meetings and area meetings were encouraged.[66] Though a single bishop's jurisdiction was over but one congregation, consultation and systematic cooperation with other congregations was necessary.[67] By 1849 Campbell had forgotten his extreme congregational constitutionalism of the 1820s; he was willing to appoint a committee to study various methods of organizing for cooperation.[68] The culmination of this twenty-year change in emphasis came in the castigation of the Connellsville, Pennsylvania, congregation for not cooperating after Campbell had called for a general convention of "the churches of the Reformation," composed of "messengers of the churches."[69]

Campbell's growing group consciousness was demonstrated by a concern to apply order and structure to many different aspects of church life such as the following. Insufficient credentials were required of ministers.[70] One congregation ought to respect the disciplinary action of another.[71] Too many brethren were becoming self-appointed editors, and presuming to censure their elders without due propriety and respect.[72] Although Campbell acknowledged the right of all to set themselves up as editors, he seemed to anticipate the time when "editorial organs shall be elective in the way of states and territories."[73]

Thus, understandably, Campbell again and again called for a greater amount of organization and cooperation between individual congregations.[74] He seemed to favor associational gatherings of a Baptist sort.[75] If not expressly commanded, the principle of cooperation was implied by apostolic precedent.[76] Campbell entirely forgot his own principle that each congregation was independent in asserting: "there is no such supervision of communities–of cities and provinces, or states, as was certainly contemplated and practiced in primitive times."[77]

Thomas Campbell's 1809 *Declaration and Address* was characterized by a desire to speak to all elements of Christendom. Alexander Campbell's use of the term "current reformation" betrayed a similar concern to speak at least to the whole Protestant world. But by the 1840s and 1850s Alexander Campbell's thinking (ever dominated by pragmatics) was more denominationally oriented.[78] This denominational consciousness and sense of a need for cooperation issued in several model plans or suggestions whereby district or area groups of churches were to be banded together for counsel and action.[79] A more complete reversal of Campbell's earlier rebellion against all extra-congregational authority could hardly be imagined. It is then a small wonder that William Robinson could comment in regard to one of Campbell's organization schemes, "I fail to see what such a system is, unless it is some modified Presbyterianism."[80]

Thus we may suggest that the statements emphasizing independence and local autonomy of Campbell's *Christian Baptist* years are not to be taken overly seriously; they were overdrawn attempts to justify a rejection of eccelsiastical overlordship. As one looks panoramically at his view of the church, one sees that he indulged in the extreme individualism of the period ca. 1812-1830 as

an aberration (albeit an eminently popular one in the heyday of Jacksonian democracy) from both his Presbyterian/Anglican background and his thought in his last 35 years. Nearly all the significant features of this "aberrationist" period were abandoned by 1840. Therefore Campbell is normatively to be interpreted not as a "frontier Lockian," or separatist, but as a "churchly" thinker, considerably influenced by the Enlightenment, who could *use* concepts of American individualism and Jacksonian democracy when they suited his purposes. And he owed much more to the structured life of Seceder Presbyterianism and broad-church Anglicanism than with the frontier religious anarchy with which he is so often associated.[81]

Finally, we may review the outstanding characteristics of Campbell's "churchliness." Normatively, he regarded the "church" as before the "churches." The local church was an outcrop of the one church at that particular time and place.[82] He held that ministers were not to be self-appointed or receive a direct call from God; rather, they were to be chosen by the churches.[83] Churches were to exclude the disorderly, schismatics, heretics, and party-makers.[84] To order and structure the existing congregations was much more important than to bring 50,000 new converts into the fold in a single year.[85] The church was the vehicle of the holy; it was to the church and not to individuals that the Holy Spirit was given. This emphasis was diametrically opposed to the revivalism Campbell fought, which contended that the Spirit came to the individual immediately,[86] and that holiness was therefore mediated through the moral quality of the life of the individual Christian.

Conclusion

And now, at the end, one compelling question remains: why so many interpretations of Campbell? To reach a satisfactory answer, it will perhaps help if we first attempt to group Campbell's interpreters. I believe at least the following five positions can be identified:

1. A group I have identified as the "Chicago school" centered about three men first associated with the University of Chicago at about the turn of the 20th century: Edward Scribner Ames, W. E. Garrison, and Charles Clayton Morrison. Common to all three is a tendency to view Campbell as a great religious liberal, who rejected traditional views and thought things through for himself. For this school, Campbell had rejected traditional theology as Locke had rejected traditional Scholastic metaphysics; Campbell was therefore a great Lockian, the forerunner of the great liberal movement at the end of the 19th century.

2. No doubt partially in disagreement with the "Chicago school," F. D. Kershner and Arthur Holmes of the old Butler School of Religion of the 1930s and 1940s saw Campbell in more conservative terms. They investigated his

background with more historical precision and asserted that Campbell was dominantly a product of the Scottish Enlightenment with Thomas Reid rather than John Locke as a chief model figure. The chief weakness of the position was that it failed to emphasize that there was no necessary contradiction with the Chicago school; that even Reid was a Lockian, albeit a "right-wing" Lockian, unlike David Hume, who pursued Lockian thought to a "left-wing" conclusion. Locke provided the general atmosphere; Reid provided the specific focus. But the "Butler school" tended to put the two in opposition, probably in part in an attempt to deny the Chicago claim of Campbell for the "liberal" view.

3. A third school of interpretation consists of several former students of H. Richard Niebuhr at Yale University who have attempted to interpret Campbell's thought in terms of the economically-derived theories of Ernst Troeltsch and Niebuhr himself.[87] The school may accurately portray the course of the movement in so far as it arose out of frontier pietism. It completely mistakes the thrust of Campbell's thought and appeal, in that Campbell appealed to the elite and "literati" of the post frontier; not to the immediate frontier as it was being settled. His attraction was primarily for the educated and economically well-off; his publications were not written for the same people who were attracted to mass revivals, which he rejected. And so, naturally, this school generally having started from an untenable base, has great difficulty in capturing Campbell himself accurately, although it may much more successfully portray the progress of the movement he led.

4. A fourth school, composed mainly of Churches of Christ (non-instrumental) sholars seems to have fixed upon Campbell's *Christian Baptist* iconoclastic period as normative, and to have emphasized his anti-ecclesiastical strictures of that period as most significant.[88] This position is characterized by conservative theology, a high regard for "apostolic precedent" as determinative for the church where express command is lacking, and a rigid consititutionalist view of the New Testament.

5. A final school of interpretation is identifiable in the thought of William Robinson and Eva Jean Wrather, joined in part by C. C. Morrison. This view, which I share, holds that the key to understanding Campbell lies basically in seeing him as influenced primarily by his father Thomas Campbell, who was Anglican until he was 29 years of age; who then spent nearly twenty more years as a Scottish Presbyterian. Alexander Campbell would thus be viewed as having a considerably higher church view than most of those in the Stone-Campbell movement today. One little-noted quotation is, for me, indicative of much: After attending Episcopal, Baptist, and Universalist services all on the same day, Mr. Campbell wrote:

> There seemed to me much more marrow and fatness in the bones of the English liturgy and various services, than in the sermon, songs,

> and prayers of the Baptist or Universalian worship. There are, indeed, too many forms, too many repetitions, and too indiscriminate readings and collations of sacred scripture in the whole service; yet, with all these subtractions, it has more of the form, and spirit, of ancient worship, than any of the popular forms of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, or Baptistism ever seen by me.[89]

So how can it be possible to make one's way through all these schools of thought? Four qualifications seem to guide our thought: 1) Any analysis which fails to see the complexity of the man is inadequate. *All* of the schools cited above have objective data to which they can point. Alexander Campbell can not be seen simply as a Lockian, or a Reidian, or a frontier individualist, or as the product of the Scottish Independents, or an Anglican father–or any other one source. He was a complex, highly intelligent individual, responsive to many influences and to the changing patterns of his culture. 2) Any analysis which fails to discern the occasional nature of much of his thought, changing to fit his own situation and the problems he faced, and his perceptions of the needs of the churches he led, must be inadequate. Thus interpreters are forced to judge which of Campbell's views was more dominant, for all are "real." 3) Any analysis which fails to consider the personal element of pride and the degree to which Campbell was involved in controversy at the time will fail in establishing a necessary context, and not be fully adequate. 4) And finally, any analysis, now nearly two centuries removed from the subject, must recognize the tendency of all analysts to recognize and emphasize those elements of Alexander Campbell's thought with which the analyst is most comfortable. In one sense, this is simply another application of the "hermeneutical circle" concept very influential in Biblical interpretation in recent years. The concept has both negative and positive implications: negatively, that what (out of one's own predispositions and prejudices) one goes looking for is what one will find. But more positively, that which is studied may shatter the preconceptions of the student; the text the student seeks to interpret may interpret the student instead, and force the student to revise opinions! Further, the more the student masters his/her material, the more each part is modified and judged by the whole.[90] And thus a more accurate, complete, and coherent understanding is eventually achieved through much study, research, and reflection.

Much we have said about Alexander Campbell has pointed out his lack of coherence, the occasional nature of his thought, and his tendency to write in reaction to specific situations. None of these factors, however, can be allowed to discount the greatness of the man, and his significant contribution to American [and world] Christianity. Therefore as Anders Nygren once said of Martin Luther (paraphrasing):[91] Luther's greatness was not in his absolute insights, but in the fresh way he wrestled with the difficult issues of his time, and worked through

to a new and creative synthesis for his time and place. To be Lutheran, Nygren said, is not to accept Luther's conclusions slavishly, but to wrestle similarly with the problems of our own time. And therefore, Nygren asserted, the proper slogan for Lutherans is not so much "Back to Luther!" as "Forward to Luther!" For those of the Stone-Campbell movement, the proper slogan is not so much "Back to Campbell!" as "Forward to Campbell!"

Notes

1. Winfred Ernest Garrison, *Alexander Campbell's Theology: Its Sources and Historical Setting* (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Co., 1900).

2. George Richard Phillips, "Differences in the Theological and Philosophical Backgrounds of Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone and Resulting Differences of Thrust in Their Theological Formulations" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1968).

3. I only regret that the press of time has precluded me from updating the work by including references to several significant sources which have appeared in the years since my initial research was completed. I should also note that I have presumed an acquaintance with Mr. Campbell's career and contributions, and have occasionally referred to works and concepts standard for that study without full explanation.

4. See, e.g., *The Christian Baptist*, ed. by Alexander Campbell, revised by David Stotts Burnet from the 2d edition; 15th edition [hereinafter "Burnet ed."](St. Louis: Christian Publishing Co., n.d.), 18, 25, 29, 34, 42, 166 (the famous "Third Epistle of Peter"). Discussions of Campbell's attitude and statements may be found in D. Ray Lindley, *Apostle of Freedom* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1957) 45-53; Oliver Read Whitley, *Trumpet Call of Reformation* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1959), 53-62, and Winfred Ernest Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, *The Disciples of Christ: A History* (revised ed.; St. Louis: The Christian Board of Publication, 1964), 176-77.

5. *The Christian Baptist*, ed. by A. Campbell, vols. 1-6 (1823-29) (Buffalo, Brooke Co., Va.: Printed and Published by A. Campbell; reprinted Nashville: The Gospel Advocate Co., 1955) 1:14.

6. Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, Embracing a View of the Origin, Progress and Principles of the Religious Reformation Which He Advocated*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Co., 1890), 1:101-2.

7. *Ibid.*, 1:335, recounts Thomas Campbell's use of VDM, and Alexander's use of VDS ("minister of the word of God," and "servant of the word of God," respectively), both special indications of ministerial character, in 1810.

8. Richardson, 1:386-87, points out that even this early he made a distinction between Christians, who should all teach and baptize, and the "entire devotion of the life of an individual to the particular work of preaching the Gospel." He also notes that since Calvin and Knox both denied ordination conferred any "ecclesiastical grace" (1:387), further confirming that Campbell's similar position need hardly be taken as a necessary indication of left wing sectarian Reformation tendencies.

9. See *Ibid.*, 1:138, where Campbell's six 1809 qualifications for ministers are given, all of which center about personal piety and preaching and teaching knowledge and ability.

10. Campbell practically acknowledged his deliberate "gad-fly" procedure in freely admitting that *The Christian Baptist* was deliberately designed to stimulate and provoke hostility to "every corruption of the Gospel" (*The Christian Baptist* [Burnett ed.], 230).

11. *Ibid.*, 210. This was a most "unbiblical" practice!

12. Alexander Campbell, *The Christian System* (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Co., n. d.), 83-84, 89.

13. The idea of a special divine call to the eldership apart from that given by the congregation is rejected (*The Christian Baptist*, 3:216-17). Campbell's strong emphasis on the role of the congregation in choosing its officers seems to be indicative of a considerable amount of faith in the guidance of the Spirit over the church. After selection, however, the elders were to "rule," and Campbell rejected congregational voting procedures as "mobocracy," or, since women usually outnumbered men, "gunarchy" (*The Millennial Harbinger*, 1842, 61-62).

14. *Ibid.*, 1839, 310-11. Campbell wanted neither the "fierce democracy of the Baptists," the "aristocracy of the Presbyterians," or the "still more supercilious despotism of high school Episcopalianism." His theory was very close to low church Episcopalianism in many ways, however.

15. *The Christian Baptist*, 3:213-15. Evidently this was one more means of destroying the power of Campbell's chief bugaboo of the period, the "hireling clergy." Campbell felt that elders were to handle the discipline, since good preachers were not ordinarily good disciplinarians (*Millennial Harbinger*, 1840, 35).

16. *The Christian Baptist* (Burnet ed.), 21, 72.

17. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1850, 20, 23. He compromised his earlier congregationalism at this point.

18. *The Christian Baptist*, 1:15, 107.

19. *The Christian Baptist* (Burnet ed.), 176.

20. *Ibid.*, 1:90-91, 122.

21. Alexander Campbell and John B. Purcell, *The Battle of the Giants: A Debate on the Roman Catholic Religion* (Cincinnati: C. F. Vent, 1875), 51, "There is no body of men who have done more to elevate English literature and science, than the English clergy, none whose writings I have read with more pleasure

than theirs, on all subjects pertaining to general literature, morality, and religion." Yet this was to be general education, not specific sectarian training for clerical status. *The Christian Baptist*, 2:208.

22. Campbell mildly opposed a project by Scott, Stone, and others, to found a college in 1833. "As the Christian religion has not much to expect from the literary institutions of this world, except so far as society at large is benefitted by them, I never wished to see any institution got up for the purpose of aiding or abetting a cause which needs no such alliance, and which never has directly been benefitted by such institutions.... While, then, I have sometime expressed myself as you have represented, it was rather from a wish to see these fountains of education divested of the power of doing harm to Christianity, than with an expectation or desire to see any one instituted expressly for its benefit.– Whether such an institution could be erected, is, with me at least, very problematic (*Millennial Harbinger*, 1833, 190).

23. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1850, 232.

24. *Ibid.*, 1853, 109.

25. *Ibid.*, 1835, 497.

26. *Ibid.*, 1835, 230-31. Campbell viewed his own ordination in this light.

27. *Christian Baptist* (Burnet ed.), 233.

28. Such an attitude informed the whole series of "A Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things" in the early years of the *Christian Baptist.*

29. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1855, 382-83. Earlier, every idea had to have a Biblical justification. This view is the culmination of a change of attitude already evident in the 1840s. In 1842, Campbell wrote: "If Christ established a church that is [sic] has some organization becomes self-evident. The germs alone of this organization are discernable in the New Testament." *Ibid.*, 1842, 508-9. By 1844, he had developed a sort of voluntary presbyterian model of cooperation for all the churches of a district.

30. *Christian Baptist* (Burnet ed.), 72.

31. *Christian Baptist* (Burnet ed.), 231.

32. *Ibid.*, 233.

33. As evidenced by the curricula at both Buffalo Seminary (Richardson, *Memoirs*, 1:491; 2:48), which was largely founded to prepare men for ministry, and Bethany College (*Millennial Harbinger*, 1841, 271-72), which was primarily a literary institution, but furnished much of the ministerial leadership for the leadership of the movement after 1850.

34. Alexander Campbell, *Christianity Restored* (Rosemead, California: Old Paths Book Club, 1959), 336. Fascinatingly, Campbell never so titled a book. He was away on a trip when the printer chose the title, and when he returned, vigorously rejected the title on the grounds that since Christianity had never been lost, it could never be restored. Thus subsequent editions of the same

work were entitled *The Christian System*. For Campbell's own account of the matter, see the *Millennial Harbinger*, 1838, 466.

35. *Ibid.*, 1857, 319: "He who goes to church to hear a speech–sing a hymn, and listen to a prayer, and to regard this as acceptable to God, . . . and spiritually profitable to anyone, needs to have his eyes anointed with the genuine eye salve from the great Physician of souls." Thomas Campbell had asserted in 1811-1812 that without the Lord's Supper there could be no worship on the Lord's Day, and Alexander agreed. See Richardson, *Memoirs, 1:450*; cf. *Christianity Restored*, 338. This high view of the supper is a fitting corollary to Campbell's almost Anglican doctrine of the atonement; both involve the application of a realistic objective grace to the believer and require more than mere subjective appropriation. Campbell would, however, require that such subjective appropriation be present.

36. From a sermon contained in a Campbell diary found in Australia in 1964. The date is not given, but the sermon is located just after the record of his resolve as to a program of study for 1810.

37. Richardson, *Memoirs*, 2:20.

38. Alexander Campbell and W. L. MacCalla, *Facts and Documents Confirmatory of the Credibility of the Debate on Baptism Between W. L. MacCalla and A. Campbell* (Bethany: Brooke Co., Va.: 1828), 116.

39. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1831, 392.

40. *Ibid.*, 1831, 393.

41. *Ibid.*, 1837, 411, 414, 507. Campbell never acknowledged such a change in position. Cf. *ibid.*, 1855, 706. Campbell rehearsed part of the development of his position on baptism in *ibid.*, 1838, 466-71.

42. *Ibid.*, 1849, 578; 1854, 603; 1855, 577.

43. Campbell's doctrine of separation of church and state following Locke, Montesquieu, and Jefferson was more thoroughly and consistently oriented to the "right wing," or natural rights position than was the view of some religious opponents of Campbell. They would have been all too happy to have established an arrangement with the civil government if only the opportunity had come. Lunger (*The Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell* [St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1954], 36) in my view, mistakenly interprets Campbell's unwillingness to ally the church with the state as an evidence of sectarianism (cf. *ibid.*, 12, 14, 44).

44. In 1846, Campbell advised purchase of western lands in the *Millennial Harbinger* as a profitable investment, and owned some 1600 acres of Illinois prairie land at the time of his death. Troeltsch has characterized the sects as generally composed of the "dispossessed"; the description simply does not fit Campbell (Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, translated by Olive Wyon [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931], 1:337).

45. Campbell's attitude is here much more typical of the Calvinism of Scotland or the Huguenots than of the sectarians. His was a "holy capitalism," not a rejection of worldly wealth. Yet he was also deeply suspicious of the motives which made men seek wealth, power, and office (*Millennial Harbinger*, 1842, 505 [mistakenly numbered 504]).

46. It is unfortunate, in my view, that several of Niebuhr's Disciples students have attempted to interpret Campbell in terms of Niebuhr's "sect-to-denomination" thesis, which simply does not fit Campbell. It may in some ways be more successfully applied to the movement which Campbell led.

47. Matters worthy of church discipline for Campbell seem to have centered more on violations of business ethics than on a lack of holiness in personal habits. Further, church discipline is not dominantly oriented to preserve the holiness of the body so much as to be redemptive of the individual: a concept closely related to Calvin's use of excommunication, and in keeping with his "third function of the law." See *Christian Baptist* (Burnet ed.), 501, and Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Book 4, Chapter 12, sections 5 and 10.

48. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1834, 8-9. Pragmatically, the gate was to be movable, anticipating an increase in the percentage of members.

49. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1839, 55-56. He thought the meeting house should be "neat, comfortable, clean, convenient," and at least as well appointed as the homes of those who frequented it. The same year, however, he complained about too much worldliness in the dress worn to worship (*ibid.*, 439).

50. *Ibid.*, 1853, 138-39.

51. *Ibid.*, 1849, 416.

52. Strangely using a literary quotation to refute the value of literature. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1844, 592.

53. Was this "sectarianism" or "frontier [even Romantic] primitivism"? *Ibid.*, 1847, 475. In contrast to Lunger's Niebuhrian thesis of sectarianism growing into a denominational concept, the opposite direction seems present here. Even Queen Victoria was censured for too frequent attendance at the theatre (especially on Saturday nights) and Prince Albert for being too much interested in appearance and sports. *Ibid.*, 623.

54. *Ibid.* 1842, 213; 1843, 64; and 1834, 190.

55. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1837, 272-73.

56. Richardson, *Memoirs*, 1:516ff. Cf. in Manuscript 331 of the Campbell papers found in Australia and now in the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, an 1815 letter admonishing (though not excommunicating) one John Shank for 1) joining a moral society, and 2) "failing to keep his wife in subjection."

57. Richardson, *Memoirs*, 1:523.

58. *Christian Baptist* (Burnet ed.), 13-16.

59. Typically, Campbell denied any change when accused of such by Jacob Creath, Jr. See *Millennial Harbinger*, 1849, 694 and 1850, 637-38. Earl I. West, *The Search for the Ancient Order: A History of the Restoration Movement 1949-1906* (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1949), 1:181-95, has chronicled well the controversy occasioned by this reversal of position. Cf. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1850, 283ff., where the church at Connellsville, Pennsylvania, took exactly Campbell's *Christian Baptist* position. In his reply, Campbell took the position that one local congregation could not thwart the will of the *whole church*.

60. See David Edwin Harrell, Jr., "A Social History of the Disciples of Christ to 1866" (PhD dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1962; later published under the title *Quest for a Christian America*), 152-53. Harrell is correct in observing a progression from sect to denomination as the Disciples movement developed. But Harrell is writing a social history of a movement, which did rather closely follow the pattern laid down by Troeltsch of a "sect moving toward a church" (if one accepts both terms in general and imprecise senses, meaning that the socio-economic status of the membership gradually improved). However, in the case of Lunger (*op. cit.*) 13-15, whom Harrell follows, a severe caution is necessary. Lunger purports to see Campbell himself moving from a sect-type approach to a more denominationally-oriented approach in his later years. I have already indicated my basic disagreement with Lunger on this point, and have treated the matter much more completely on pages 195-97 of my dissertation; a discussion too complicated to reproduce here.

61. Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, 1:334.

62. *Ibid.*, 1:334-39. Troeltsch mentions all the above characteristics as typical of the "churchly" attitude.

63. Campbell's later position was not so inconsistent with this as some have thought. His constant position was that organizations beyond the framework of the local congregations are only executive; that they must never become either legislative or judicial. The organizations were only to be used to help the local churches fulfill their tasks. See *Christian Baptist*, 1:289-290. Substantially the same concept is expressed in *Millennial Harbinger*, 1849, 222, indicating no major change in theory up to that time. Campbell's major emphases do not change significantly. But the minor points he uses to buttress his major views are often hastily conceived, overdrawn, and contradictory in different periods of his thought. For example, in emphasizing congregational autonomy, he went so far as to assert that ministers were ordained to serve only one congregation (*Christian Baptist* [Burnet ed.], 233). Yet evangelists have a responsibility much wider than one local congregation (*The Christian System* [Cincinnati, Oh.: The Standard Publishing Co., n.d.], 62-63). Campbell also reversed himself in other details; in establishing the point of the local congregation's independence he demanded to know how delegates could bind a congregation, or what good they could be if they had no binding powers (*Christian Baptist* [Burnet ed.], 262); later he

could not only advocate delegates but dwell heavily on one church's obligation to concur in the decision of a majority of sister churches (*Millennial Harbinger*, 1850, 285-87). Yet he could reject the claim of inconsistency, evidently because he did not consider these side issues important enough to be considered. His opponents in debate lost no opportunity to point out these discrepancies (*Rice Debate*, 827, 882-83).

64. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1849, 271-72.

65. *Ibid.*, 1832, 502-3.

66. *Ibid.*, 1839, 353, 467-68; 1840, 189.

67. *Ibid.*, 1842, 60. If one congregation was errant, it was to be judged by the eldership of other congregations; this was almost a complete reversal of Campbell's earlier emphasis. Cf. *ibid.*, 1841, 45. The difficulty was that there was no means of authoritative decision as to when a congregation was errant. It appears that the only difference between this and the ecclesiastical tyranny so vehemently opposed by Campbell earlier was that this judgment is not to be performed exclusively by clergy.

68. *Ibid.*, 1849, 92-93.

69. *Ibid.*, 1850, 285-87, and 1849, 475-76. Cf. *ibid.*, 1852, 474. Campbell had to defend himself even then against the charge of having departed from his former position (*ibid.*, 1850, 638). Though for Campbell the church was a "community of communities" (*Christian System*, 55), a "church of churches" was a human invention (*Millennial Harbinger*, 1849, 222). The distinction escapes this author. While Campbell recognized (indeed, began from) the idealistic concept of the church universal and moved thence to the local congregation, he never settled the problem of area churches, nor, although he could speak of "churches of the reformation," and have a concept of one brotherhood or denomination, he never seems to have thought out the relationships between "denomination," "the churches," and "the church." The complete lack of consistency is seen in his own inadvertent use of the concept he claimed to reject: "the church of any given district, in council assembled by her messengers. . . ." (*Ibid.*, 1850, 208).

70. *Ibid.*, 1833, 239-40; 1842, 63-64.

71. *Ibid.*, 1848, 570. Here Mr. Campbell was publishing the opinion of others with whom he evidently agreed.

72. *Ibid.*, 1839, 548-50; 1844, 45, 171; 1846, 537; 1848, 236-37, 240; 1852, 390.

73. *Ibid.*, 1841, 229.

74. *Ibid.*, 1841, 532-33; cf. 1842, 322. Campbell wanted to steer what he considered a middle course between anarchy and despotism. The 1842 *Harbinger* carried a whole series on "The Nature of Church Organization" (cf. *ibid.*, 1849, 60, 90-91; 1856, 449).

75. *Ibid.*, 1849, 271-72. Cf. *Christian Baptist*, preface to the 8th (Burnet) edition. Campbell's "Five Arguments for Church Organization" summed up the case well (*Millennial Harbinger*, 1842, 523. Cooperation was to help in distributing the Bible, mission work, exalting the ministry, checking irresponsibility and deception, focusing effort. And organization was necessary to concentrate cooperation.

76. *Ibid.*, 1835, 165.

77. *Ibid.*, 1846, 288.

78. He spoke of the group advancing to complete organization. (*Rice Debate*, 599, 607-8, 788. Cf. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1853, 109; 1846, 394: "A brother not of our connexion, a baptist minister . . ." and 1852, 55: "It has been one great object with me ever since we became a community, to have but one hymn book, as we have but one Bible."

79. Such a plan was effected in Indiana as early as 1842 (*Millennial Harbinger*, 1842, 379; Cf. *ibid.*, 1843, 83-85. Campbell had by 1853 completely forgotten his own position that while there could be the body of Christ in general and local churches, that an area fellowship could never be the church but was always a "community of communities," and never a "church of churches." He said in advocating an area organization, "We now allude to *the* church, not *a* church but the aggregate of all the particular churches in a state, an empire, a world" (*Ibid.*, 1853, 307).

80. William Robinson, "Did Alexander Campbell Believe in Congregationalism?" *The Shane Quarterly* (Indianapolis: Butler University School of Religion) 15, 1:12. Campbell had suggested in the article referred to that each congregation, in addition to its eldership, should have a "President Elder" who would receive his support from the congregation (*Millennial Harbinger*, 1843), 85.

81. It is noteworthy that those of his doctrinal concepts usually thought most unique are largely derived from the years of his "aberration." Once in leadership, his points of emphasis tended to revert more and more to "churchly" categories. It was this very "churchly" emphasis which many of his more frontier-minded associates found difficult to accept. See Earl I. West, *op. cit.*, 1:166-95.

82. Robinson, "Did Alexander Campbell Believe in Congregationalism?" *The Shane Quarterly, op. cit.*, 15, 1:6.

83. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1832, 502-3.

84. *Ibid.*, 1844, 469. Note that the reasons for exclusion are mostly doctrinal and ecclesiastical, and not primarily moral as would have been the case with a more sect-type group. Churches and preachers also had the right to exclude applicants for membership. *Ibid.*, 1839, 324-25.

85. *Ibid.*, 1841, 83, 287; 1839, 4.

86. *Ibid.*, 1864, 199-200.

87. See H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1929).

88. I must confess at this point that since I have not been able to teach or write extensively in this field in recent years, I have become somewhat out of touch. I believe that several younger scholars among the non-instrumental Churches of Christ associated with such schools as the Harding Graduate School of Theology and Abilene Christian University have developed interpretations much more in keeping with the thrust of modern scholarship. But I have little actual knowledge of what is current in that arena.

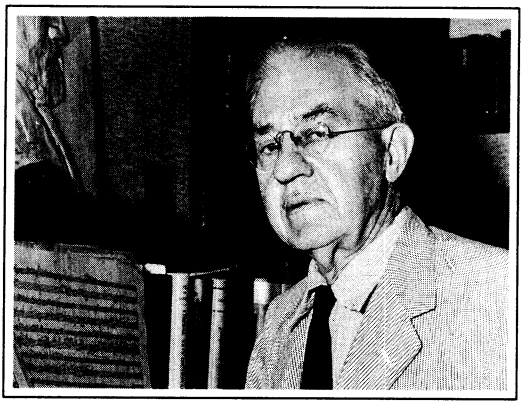
89. *Millennial Harbinger*, 1846, 540-41.

90. Excellent and easy-to-understand discussions of the point may be found in *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, ed. by I. Howard Marshall (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1977), 68, 229, and 315ff.

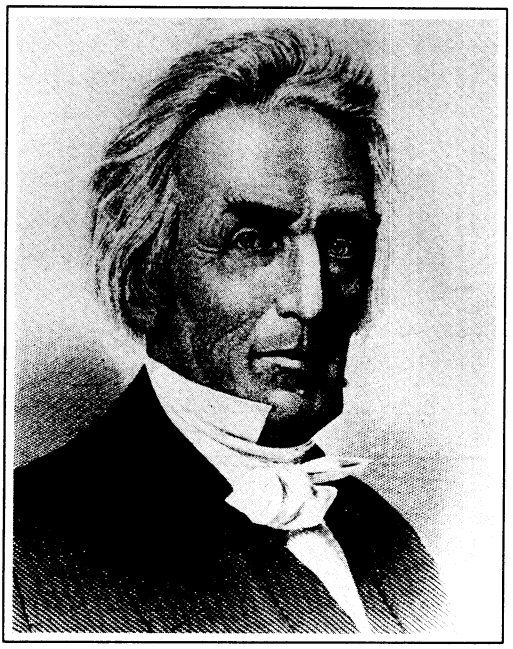
91. In his presidential address at the Lutheran World Federation Assembly in Hanover, Germany, 1952, entitled "Back to Luther!"

INTERPRETERS of Alexander Campbell who illustrate three of the five schools of thought identified by G. Richard Phillips

(pages 82 and 83)



W. E. Garrison



Alexander Campbell

Eva Jean Wrather

William Robinson

F. D. Kershner

The Many Faces of Christian Unity: Disciples Ecumenism and Schism, 1875-1900

Douglas A. Foster

Disciples promoted a unique plea for Christian unity in the early nineteenth century, a combination of ideas not seen together before. They took the Puritan restitutionist plea, via their Scottish Presbyterian heritage, and made it the means for effecting the "restoration" of Christian unity. Earlier advocates of restorationism[1] saw it not as a means to unite the church, but to separate true Christians from a corrupt church. Purity, not unity, was the goal. Disciples came to see restorationism as the only means by which Christians could be united.[2] The idea became an essential part of Disciples thought at a time when most religious groups were little interested in "visible Christian unity."[3]

The Disciples' stress on unity stemmed largely from a desire to convert the world to Christ. Their early leaders believed global conversion could not be achieved before those who already claimed to follow Christ were united. The recovery of the primitive unity of the church would give it the power and initiative to proclaim the gospel to the world. It would provide for the world the united front for which Jesus prayed in John 17.

The Disciples' strategy for unity involved dissolution of all ecclesiastical structures, leaving only free congregations of Christians no longer divided by creeds or denominational loyalties. Once they persuaded congregations to drop partisan names and follow the New Testament alone, Christendom would enter a golden age of unity.[4] No human authority could be vested with religious power, for that would perpetuate the divisions. Only by ascribing all authority to the Bible and allowing for individual freedom of interpretation could denominationalism be destroyed.[5]

The Early Leaders' Views on Unity

The founders of the Disciples movement[6] condemned denominationalism as divisive, yet readily acknowledged the existence of true Christians in all groups.[7] All stressed the unity of Christians through the restoration of the primitive church resulting in the conversion of the world. Yet some important differences existed in their views.

Barton W. Stone believed the most important matter to be restoring the spirit of New Testament unity, a spirit characterized by love, trust, forbearance and conciliation. For Stone the norm for unity did not rest on doctrinal conformity, even on a perceived core of universally accepted tenets. The

possession of the Spirit of Jesus by each individual Christian was the essential basis of unity.

> But should all the professors of Christianity reject their various creeds and names, and agree to receive the Bible alone, and be called by no other name than Christian, will this unite them? No: we are fully convinced that unless they all possess the spirit of that book and name, they are far, very far from Christian union.[8]

> The scriptures will never keep together in union and fellowship members not in the spirit of the scriptures, which spirit is love, peace, unity, forbearance, and cheerful obedience.[9]

On the other hand, Thomas and Alexander Campbell and Walter Scott tended to stress the restoration of a precise biblical doctrinal pattern as the basis of union. Scott's "Ancient Gospel" was the plan of salvation in its original simplicity: faith, repentance, baptism, remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit. Alexander Campbell's "Ancient Order" was the set of conclusions he reached on the polity and worship of the church, especially in his nineteen-article series "A Restoration of the Ancient Order" between February 1825 and May 1827. Scott called the combination of ancient gospel and ancient order the "true gospel"–the only basis for Christian unity.[10]

Despite these differences, the unitive impulse was primary. No matter how much Walter Scott or Alexander Campbell insisted on the recovery of the true gospel, it was not an end in itself. It was the means of achieving the unity of the church, leading to the conversion of the world and inauguration of the millennium.[11] Nineteenth-century Disciples came to believe in Campbell's restorationism as the *only* means for accomplishing Christian unity.[12] The ancient gospel and order were the self-evident, essential doctrines of the primitive church that would, when all came to see and follow them, bring unity.[13]

An inherent difficulty in the movement's program was its insistence that the Disciples movement was not a denomination. In the *Declaration and Address* Thomas Campbell called individuals out of denominational churches and looked forward to the complete elimination of divisive ecclesiastical machinery. Yet he stressed the idea that no new church was to be formed. The resulting "group" would be simply the church of Christ without any denominational qualification.[14]

No matter how much they resisted the idea that they were a denomination, the Disciples were a distinct group among religious groups. The stress between the theory and the reality took some strange turns late in the century. As a feeling of group consciousness and organization grew among Disciples, some gravitated toward a desire to be more like other religious groups (although

continuing to deny they were a denomination throughout the nineteenth century). Others took on hardened sectarian views, insisting that the Disciples fellowship was identical with the saved, and that to be saved all must come to them. This group viewed any departure from or addition to their idea of the restored ancient gospel and ancient order as a threat to the existence of God's true church and to the pioneering work of the early leaders of the movement.[15]

Following the Civil War some Disciples began to reinterpret their plea. It had become obvious to many that all Christians were *not* going to accept the Disciples' platform and be united. The war dealt a near-fatal blow to the optimistic post-millennial spirit of antebellum days. The Disciples had to face the reality that the strategy of Christian union based on a restoration of the ancient gospel and order had serious problems.[16] The growing realization of this first problem exacerbated a second, i.e., the increasing tension and division within their own ranks.

By 1866 all the original leaders were gone. Ideas of Christian unity were developing and diverging among Disciples as they entered one of the most volatile periods in their history. Three key figures, all prominent editors of Disciples journals in the late nineteenth century, typify the differing positions that came to define the chief divisions of the movement.

Isaac Errett on Unity and Fellowship

Interpretations of Isaac Errett and his work range from adulation for having saved the Stone-Campbell movement from becoming a legalistic sect, to blaming him for leading most Disciples into digression from truth.[17] Regardless of the good or evil attributed to him, he played a chief role in the attempt to diffuse internal tensions threatening the movement in the late 1800s. He exercised tremendous influence as editor of the *Christian Standard*, and his views gained wide circulation and approval.

Errett's ideas of reformation and union especially reflect those of Alexander Campbell. In his tract entitled "Our Position" Errett stated:

> *The Church of Christ*–not sects–is a divine institution. We do not recognize sects, with sectarian names and symbols and terms of fellowship, as *branches* of the Church of Christ, but as unscriptural and antiscriptural, and therefore to be abandoned for the one Church of God that the New Testament reveals. That God has a people in these sects, we believe; we call on them to come out from all party organizations, to renounce all party names and party tests, and seek only for *Christian* union and fellowship according to apostolic teaching.[18]

Errett participated in interdenominational activities, but with the understanding that he was not endorsing the denominational structures, and in the hope that through cooperation sectarian loyalties and bitterness could be lessened. He believed that such an approach would help lead to Christian union.[19] Like the early leaders of the movement, Errett believed that little stood in the way of a union of "evangelical" Christians. He said in a sermon in 1877:

> We all hold to the imperative necessity of repentance toward God; we all acknowledge the divine authority of baptism as the ordinance through which the believing penitent enters into the church; we all insist on the fruits of righteousness in those who wear the name of Christ. Union simply requires *that we rid ourselves of the tests and the practices which Christ* did not authorize.[20]

Errett frequently wrote on the theme of Christian union, centering on it perhaps more than any other second generation Disciples leader. As early as 1861 he wrote a series of articles for the *Millennial Harbinger* in which he explained what he understood as the original unity impulse behind the Stone-Campbell movement.[21] Later in life, Errett became concerned that what he saw as the Disciples' unique position might be swallowed up in the then fashionable "passion for what is called Christian union, and overleap the boundaries of truth and reason."[22] He believed it was important to define clearly and guard strictly the Disciples' "special province."

> Since our movement originated in an earnest desire to overcome religious bigotry and restore union among the people of God, the cry of "Christian Union" has for us peculiar charms and may lead the thoughtless away from the only true ground upon which such a union can be established.[23]

What was the "only true ground" Errett saw as the basis for fellowship and union among Christians? Errett stressed that the early leaders of the Stone-Campbell movement found only one article in the "creed" of the primitive Christians–confidence in Jesus Christ as the Son of God. On that one article, he insisted, Disciples had proposed to unite Christians.[24] No matter how right or wrong one might be concerning other matters, if a person is right about Jesus, he or she is entitled to admission into the divine fellowship of the church.[25]

Errett understood the early church to have admitted all who put their confidence in Christ, without any other requirement, to equal fellowship through baptism. Faith admitted the person to baptism, and it was baptism that marked formal entrance into the fellowship.[26] Subsequent loyalty to Christ through

a continued faith in and obedience to his explicit ordinances and commands would cause one to be held in full fellowship.[27] No one was to be brought to judgment for anything beyond what Christ had clearly revealed as a truth to be believed or a law to be obeyed. True unity, therefore, was a "unity in diversity."[28]

These ideas made up Errett's true basis of union. Once in the fellowship of the church, nothing beyond the minimal beliefs necessary for entrance was to be made an occasion to withdraw that fellowship. The only circumstance that would warrant withdrawal of fellowship would involve a denial of Jesus Christ or a persistent refusal to obey his clear commands.[29]

Errett realized the potential for serious tension in a fellowship with such a diversity of views. He spoke in "Our Position" of three areas in which diversity would be seen: matters of inference, matters of expediency, and matters of opinion. In matters where Christians arrived at beliefs and practices by inference from scripture rather than plain precept or command, unanimity was to be sought but not forced. Where no unanimous consensus could be reached, all parties were to exercise forbearance until final agreement could be reached. No inferential matter could be a basis for a break in fellowship. In matters of expediency, where scripture gives a command but does not specify how to implement it, the majority was to rule. This practice was to be tempered, however, by taking care not to violate any divine precept, and considering "the prejudices and welfare of all." In matters of opinion, i.e., matters about which the Bible was silent or so obscure as to preclude definite conclusions, there was to be the largest liberty, as long as no one judged anyone else for their opinion, or attempted to force their opinion on others.[30]

The only restriction placed on the freedom of fellowship was what Errett called the "law of love" as stated by Paul in 1 Corinthians 8:13: "If meat offend my brother, I will eat no meat while the world stands, lest I make my brother stumble." If at any point the exercise of this legitimate freedom offended, injured, misled, or disturbed the conscience of a fellow Christian, the law of love directed that the right be abandoned.[31]

Errett saw two kinds of enemies threatening the unity of the Stone-Campbell movement. The first were those with the disposition to introduce false tests of fellowship, allowing differences of opinion and matters of inference or expediency to become points of division. While every person should be fully persuaded in their own mind on the debated questions, those questions–particularly instrumental music and the missionary society–were things about which there could be honest differences, Errett believed. No one had a right to force their opinion on others, nor to threaten division of the church over matters that were not unmistakable commands or teachings.[32]

But there was a second group Errett believed to be larger and more dangerous than the other. This was the class that Errett characterized in February

1880 as "those who are anxious to popularize the church by conforming it as far as possible to the spirit and fashions of the world."[33] These were the Disciples who, in the words of Romans 16:17, "cause offenses." According to the apostle these were to be marked and avoided just as were those who "cause divisions." Through a worldly desire to introduce things not necessarily wrong in themselves, and by a "reckless abuse of their Christian liberty, or by persistence in a needless course," these people became an offense and snare to others, disturbing the peace of the church.[34] He concluded an 1880 article on union by saying:

> It is possible to do nothing directly to cause division, and yet to sin against the church and against Christ by causing offense. It is possible to abuse and pervert the very reasons that are urged against division in such a way as to cause those stumblings. If one class is warned against causing division, the other is warned with equal earnestness against causing offenses. Those are alike sins against the integrity of the body of Christ.[35]

Errett admitted in the same article that there may be times, as with Paul and Barnabas in Acts, or Abram and Lot in Genesis, when different tastes, preferences, or judgments make it best that Christians meet and worship apart to avoid the dangers of strife–but there should be no declaring of non-fellowship. Such an honorable separation, Errett declared, was not what the apostles were speaking of when they condemned divisions. "But," he said, "if they go out repudiating their brethren and denouncing them as unworthy of Christian fellowship, then they are factionists, and are to be marked and avoided."[36]

Errett believed Disciples should serve as the model for practical Christian unity, one that could unite all evangelical Christians in one great kingdom of God on earth. If the Disciples could follow the example of the early leaders of the movement who were extremely careful about causing divisions and who proposed to "bear with whatever they saw of error as long as they were at liberty to rebuke it,"[37] unity would prevail. Let diversity be tolerated within the church, he urged. But let it be the diversity of one harmonious church, not the diversity of jarring sects.[38]

J. H. Garrison's Position on Christian Unity

Garrison's ideas of Christian unity, heavily influenced by his reading of Alexander Campbell, initially reflected the familiar formulations of the unity through restoration theme. He maintained throughout his ministry that the Disciples' plea for unity was based on the idea that all who have a common

Savior should love each other as brothers and sisters and help each other along the way to heaven. He believed it was the Disciples' mission to break down the walls that divided the church.[39]

Garrison believed the solution to the problem of division to be the most characteristic and vital feature of the Disciples' plea–exalt Jesus Christ to his original and rightful supremacy in the church, and make faith in Christ the only test of Christian fellowship.[40] In an 1870 article he explained in more detail how all Christians could unite on Christ.

> What is it to take Christ as a foundation? It is to have a creed with this only article: "*Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.*" The man that adds to this any other articles of faith is laying another foundation. If he excludes any person from his fellowship who believes in Christ, but does not believe in the article or articles thus added, he is a schismatic and rests under the condemnation of God's Word.[41]

Garrison believed it was a grave misconception to confuse Christian unity with uniformity of thought, methods, organization or work. The idea that Christians must all think alike on religious questions before recognizing each other as members of Christ's church and worthy of each other's fellowship was false, he insisted. "The early church was united in faith, but there is abundant evidence of that variety of opinion which is inevitable among men."[42]

The attempt to force uniformity of thought through the use of creeds, Garrison contended, was the chief cause of religious division. Furthermore, no human creed, no matter how carefully worded, could ever serve as the basis for Christian unity. Not that the beliefs spelled out in the creeds were necessarily false. What made creeds impossible as the basis of a united church was that they all made certain inferred doctrines, which one could believe or reject and still be a Christian, into tests of Christian fellowship.[43]

For Garrison the New Testament was not a Christian law book. He saw the person of Christ as the object of Christianity rather than a series of doctrines or propositions. Certainly Christians in all ages had their own intellectual conceptions of truth, but they had to subordinate those conceptions to their personal loyalty to Jesus Christ, he contended.[44]

Garrison knew it would take a great effort to convince denominational hierarchies of the desirability of such a union.[45] Meanwhile, he asserted, there was every reason for Disciples to recognize other religious groups as Christian bodies seeking to do God's will to the best of their understanding.[46] With this attitude, it would be possible to cooperate with evangelical Christians in good works that were consistent with the principles held by each group. This approach would be, Garrison insisted, "the shortest route to the unity for which the Redeemer prayed, and which the scriptures inculcate."[47] He believed that

through cooperation the groups could eventually come to a consensus on matters of difference.

Many Disciples were wary of this approach to Christian unity. They felt that such recognition of "the denominations" would invalidate the very reasons for the Disciples' existence. Furthermore, cooperation with other groups would imply approval of the errors they believed and taught. Garrison rejected both ideas. The reason for the existence of the Stone-Campbell movement, he believed, was to plead for the eventual union of all Christians on the New Testament basis of fellowship. The recognition of other groups as Christian with errors in doctrine and practice, far from invalidating the Disciples' plea, was actually part of it. It would allow Disciples to propagate their ideas of unity in a friendly, cooperative atmosphere.[48] He also insisted that no one was more opposed to compromise of essential truth in such cooperative relations than was he. Disciples would be compelled to dissent from some things said and done in such imperfect unions.[49]

Garrison believed that the full unity for which Christ prayed would come about only gradually as the Christian world slowly realized the necessity of it. He taught that it was essential to the Disciples' plea and natural that they be involved in the stages of union activity in the Christian world, imperfect as they may be.

> . . . [A]s pioneers in the cause of Christian union we cannot afford to assume a merely passive attitude toward these union efforts. We should suggest, encourage, and promote them in every practicable way, and show ourselves ready to make any concessions as to method which may be done without surrendering truth or principle.[50]

Garrison speculated in 1895 that there would be three stages in the move toward unity. First would come a unity of all Protestant families, i.e., all Baptists, all Presbyterians, all Methodists, and so forth. Then there would be a federation of churches in which all evangelical denominations would be represented, perhaps similar to the way states were represented in the U.S. Congress, for cooperation in benevolence and missions. Finally there would be a dropping of all sectarian names and creeds so that all would be united in the one church.[51]

In time Garrison came to believe strongly in the need for an efficient Disciples organization through which they could advance Christian unity. The formation and evolution of the various missionary societies became for Garrison a sign of the maturation of the movement.[52] Yet based on "Social Darwinist" ideas that said society, civilization, and institutions all evolved toward higher, more "fit" and useful forms, Garrison began to advocate more efficient organization in the Disciples movement. As early as 1892 he spoke and wrote in favor of the unification of Disciples societies to streamline their work.[53]

Even more dramatic was Garrison's suggestion shortly after the turn of the century that Disciples set up a representative convention that would speak for the "whole movement on all questions which have to do with its welfare."[54] Garrison saw this convention as a completely separate agency, independent of all the societies, but the entity to which the societies would report and be responsible and which would handle all matters not directly related to missions.[55] Through such an organization Disciples could pursue their unity goals with other religious groups.

Garrison condemned any action from conservative or progressive which produced division. From his point of view, however, it was the more conservative Disciples that were the chief source of the factious spirit.

> As long as there is any considerable part of our membership whose conception of Christianity is such that the adoption of any expedient for the furtherance of Christian work, or as an accessory to Christian worship, wounds their conscience, because not specifically authorized in the Scripture, these congregational strifes will continue.[56]

The main problem, according to Garrison, was a wrong interpretation of Thomas Campbell's saying, "where the scriptures speak, we speak; and where the scriptures are silent, we are silent." Conservatives interpreted the statement to mean that only beliefs and practices explicitly spelled out in scripture were authorized, while all others were forbidden. Garrison believed that where the scriptures were silent God left Christians free to follow enlightened judgment. Any attempt to bind where the scriptures did not bind was divisive and unlawful.[57] He believed that such a false application of Campbell's statement indicated that some had lost the balance between the unity of the church and the restoration of primitive Christianity, emphasizing (and misinterpreting) the latter to the virtual exclusion of the former.[58]

Toward the end of the century when Disciples division was almost complete and there was strong opposition to his efforts toward federation, Garrison's tone turned somber. He admitted he was much less certain about how Christian union would come about, and that he was disposed simply to commit the problem to God. Perhaps it was God's will that unity come differently from the way he had formerly supposed. Whatever the process turned out to be, he insisted the Disciples' plea for unity would continue to be an essential service to God and the Christian world.[59]

David Lipscomb on Christian Unity

As did the others in this study, David Lipscomb believed his understanding of unity was that of the first generation leaders of the Stone-Campbell movement.

Though Lipscomb lacked illusions of a quick union of Christians, in his mind the cure for religious division was quite simple. "Reject from the service of God anything not required by the Scriptures, and all serve only as the Scriptures require. This will unite Christians, save men and honor God."[60]

Lipscomb was convinced that many who claimed to be followers of Christ were simply unwilling to be satisfied with the "approved appointments of God." They wanted to modify and supplement God's will with their inventions. They presumed that things not forbidden by the Word of God were permitted.[61] Lipscomb insisted that this principle was actually the source of division among Christians.[62] He said that those who interpreted the slogan "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent," to mean that Christians must not oppose things on which the Bible was silent had perverted the maxim. "When we respect the silence of the Bible, we do nothing in our religious life not required or authorized by the Bible."[63]

Time and again Lipscomb asserted that those who stood firm for the ways approved by God in the Bible–the only sure ground of unity–were the real unionists, no matter who went another way. ". . . [H]e who maintains this position is the true and only true advocate of union [even] if he separates from every living being and stands alone in maintaining it."[64] In Lipscomb's view, even if everyone in the Christian world united, if the basis of union included even the slightest departure from the plain word of God, it would be a rebellious conglomeration against God and rest under God's curse. It would, in fact, not be a union at all, but a schismatic and sectarian group, since by its leaving the word of God it separated itself from Christ the head.[65]

Lipscomb insisted that if all Christians would examine themselves to make sure they were "in Christ," faithfully regulating everything done in his service by the Bible, Christian union would occur automatically. "It requires no negotiation or arrangements among men to unite them as one in Christ. If we are in Christ, we cannot help being one with all who are in Christ."[66]

Furthermore, at least in theory Lipscomb held a radically congregational notion of Christian unity. He insisted that the only division condemned and the only unity enjoined in the New Testament was the division or unity of disciples within an individual congregation.

> Now in this word of God there is not a single allusion to an organic union between the churches of God. Nor is there a single admonition given by the Holy Spirit to one church to live in union or harmony, or to cooperate with, or to avoid strife or division with another church . . . Union within itself and among its own members is impressed upon every single congregation to which the Spirit writes.[67]

Lipscomb did not mean that individual churches were to have nothing to do with one another. His point was, that if each congregation concentrated on following the explicit word of God and thereby maintained its own unity, there would be an automatic unity and cooperation "with every church and every member of every church in the world that is obedient to the Lord."[68] Such union and harmony would occur without any other action by churches and Christians. Whenever people devised unscriptural organizations to effect organic union between churches, they supplanted and destroyed the unity intended by God. Such unscriptural organizations actually produced the conditions needed for widely-extended division. Under "God's plan" there was no organic union to be broken.[69]

Lipscomb realized that differences existed between Christians who were all honestly trying to do God's will. Constant investigation and discussion of disagreements must be promoted, he believed, if there was to be any progress at reaching unity. "Where differences exist, the discussion of these differences is the only hope of union. The suppression of discussion is the direct and open road to division."[70] Participants in religious discussions should "place the most charitable construction" on the others' words and actions.[71] Nevertheless, Lipscomb held that in the end all must come to believe and practice the whole truth and nothing but the truth to be truly united. He firmly believed that no union in heresy, or even an agreement to disagree on controverted points, could receive the approval of God.[72]

Lipscomb's idea of the perspicuity of scripture led him to such a seemingly rigid view of how closely Christians should agree on religious matters. He pointed to passages like I Corinthians 1:10, "be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment," and Philippians 2:2, "being of one accord, of one mind" to show that Christians were to be one in more than a few basics, while disagreeing on a host of other matters. The strongest argument for his position, Lipscomb believed, was Jesus' prayer recorded in John 17. The unity of Christians, he pointed out, was to be like the unity between the Father and Son.

> The Father and Son did not differ in opinion or judgment, did not agree to disagree. One did not do a thing that the other in opinion or judgment disapproved. Now that model is held as the model for the union of Christians.[73]

Lipscomb's apparent assertion that Christians must agree on every point for true unity to exist astonished many. He clarified his position in a series of articles in the late 1880s, later compiled in a booklet titled *Christian Unity, How Promoted, How Destroyed, Faith and Opinion*. He defined faith as "a firm conviction resting upon clear and satisfactory testimony," in religion that testimony

being "a clear revelation of the Divine will." Opinion, on the other hand, was "an impression resting on human judgment, without clear and satisfactory testimony."[74] Lipscomb had long insisted that only things clearly required in the New Testament should be practiced. Now he advanced the idea that to introduce or practice anything not found in the New Testament was a profanation of the blood of Christ.

> All service to be acceptable to God, must be sealed by the blood of Christ. Nothing has this seal of the Son but what is required in the precepts and laws sealed by that blood. No precept or service save that contained in the New Testament is sealed and purged by the blood of Christ. He who brings service not sealed by the blood accounts the blood unholy, a profane or common thing, tramples it under foot and does despite to the spirit of grace. All service then not required in the Bible, all service not in and through institutions sealed by the blood and hence required in the Bible is sin.[75]

Opinions by definition fit the description of things not sealed by the blood. Besides being an affront to the blood of Christ, the introduction of matters of opinion into the church's faith and work necessarily produced division, resulting in the shedding again of Christ's blood as his spiritual body was torn asunder. All people have their opinions, Lipscomb said. If one person's opinion is ground for action in the church, every person's is. As people adopt rules of action after their opinions, conflict of action will result that will necessarily lead to strife, confusion and division.[76]

The solution, according to Lipscomb, was not that everyone's opinions should be brought into line, but that no one's opinions should have any bearing at all on what Christians believe and practice. It was perfectly right for people to have private opinions about religious matters in areas not defined by God, but they must remain just that–private. Lipscomb quoted Alexander Campbell as insisting that "opinions must be held as private property."[77] A person may even act on his opinions as long as it does not affect the consciences or lives of others, he taught. If all Christians would keep their opinions to themselves, Lipscomb wrote, no one would ever suffer from tyranny of opinion. All could unite in matters of faith, and the strife and discord among the Disciples would cease.[78]

Summary and Contrast of Unity Positions

Although the labels liberal and conservative are often used carelessly without clear definitions, they can be useful in comparing ideas and people. A "liberal" mindset believes in the progress of humankind toward ultimate perfection.

Liberals tend to abandon old beliefs and practices as inappropriate for current situations and to move ahead to innovations they believe will aid humankind's advance, but which will themselves eventually become obsolete and be abandoned. Religious liberals are optimistic about what can be accomplished in this world and tend to emphasize what they see as eternal principles, such as love for others, over specific doctrinal formulations. The "conservative," on the other hand, tends to emphasize the defects of humankind and the impossibility of perfection in this life. They understand the beliefs and practices of Christians from earliest times, though variously defined, to be the unchangeable will of God for all ages. Any departure is the mark, not of progress, but of apostasy and decline.[79]

As with most attempts to categorize, none of the individuals in this study fits absolutely the liberal or conservative category. David Lipscomb is clearly the closest to the conservative end of the spectrum. He fits H. Richard Niebuhr's "Christ against culture" description.[80] For Lipscomb there were no "indifferent" matters or non-essentials. There were only essentials and things unlawful; beliefs and practices which must be accepted, and those which must be rejected. Historians of the Stone-Campbell movement tend to see Lipscomb as a separatist who aimed at purity rather that Christian unity.[81] In fact Lipscomb was an ardent advocate of Christian unity. He sincerely believed that the only way to achieve unity was to abandon everything but doctrines and commands explicitly recorded in the New Testament. His was not a "truth-for-truth's-sake" position, but one of "truth-for-unity's-sake."

J. H. Garrison is without question closest to the liberal end of the continuum. He saw his nineteenth-century American culture not as an antagonistic force against which the Christian must fight. Rather he, like those in Niebuhr's "Christ of culture" category, saw culture as God's tool to help the church advance and mature. The focus of Garrison's unity stance is his idea of the organizational maturation of the movement creating a structure through which Disciples could deal with and move the Christian world toward unity.

Garrison saw Lipscomb's idea of unity as extremely sectarian, the result of which would be further division, not unity. Lipscomb considered Garrison's unity stance to be nothing short of a complete sell-out of the Stone-Campbell movement's anti-denominational stance. Denominational lines were responsible for division among Christians, Lipscomb firmly believed, and no matter what anyone said, fraternizing and cooperating with denominations indicated approval of their existence and pulled Disciples down to the level of being just another denomination.

Isaac Errett fits into the lineup to the right of Garrison, yet left of Lipscomb. Errett was not as positive toward his late-nineteenth century progressive culture as was Garrison, fitting more into Niebuhr's "Christ above culture" classification. He recognized dangers in conforming to culture; there was a genuine rift between it and the way the Christian should live. While culture might be made to serve

God, he saw great danger in the tendency among many Disciples to "conform to the world."

Errett's concept of unity was simpler and more conservative than Garrison's. Although Errett favored limited contact and cooperation with denominational groups, unity for him was not tied up in notions of organizational development and maturity. Faith in Christ's divinity and submission to immersion were the only essentials to initial Christian recognition and fellowship. Diversity in matters of inference, expediency and opinion were to be expected, but should not stand in the way of unity. The spirit he feared and fought the most was the one which demanded conformity on non-essential matters, whether for or against them. The "law of love" was to govern in such things. The key idea in characterizing Errett's unity stance is his notion of a wide area of non-essentials in which diversity might exist yet unity be maintained.

Despite Garrison's frequent "calling up" of Errett in support of the former's positions, Errett no doubt would have rejected the course taken by Garrison and more recent Disciples. He always vigorously opposed the General Missionary Society becoming a body to represent and speak for the Disciples as a whole. Furthermore, he articulated his views on immersion in no uncertain terms on several occasions: the unimmersed could not be considered full Christians. Yet Errett's comparatively conservative stand was still much too liberal for Lipscomb, for the very basis of Errett's idea of unity, i.e., the existence of a wide diversity of non-essentials which should not destroy unity, was something Lipscomb strongly denied. Diversity *was* division in Lipscomb's mind; "unity in diversity" was a self-contradictory phrase.

As the century ended the Disciples' unity efforts turned increasingly toward trying to hold their own movement together. For Garrison, internal Disciples unity could come only when those who opposed the inevitable progress and innovation "grew up." For Lipscomb it could come only when those who had departed from the plain word of God gave up their innovations and returned to simple New Testament Christianity. For Errett and his intellectual successors unity would be the result of a recognition of the right to diversity in nonessential matters. Each of these leaders struggled for unity with all his energies during the period of Disciples division. Each, however, struggled for his own version of unity; each was taking a different path toward different goals. And in that very struggle for unity, the shattering of the movement became inevitable.

Notes

1. The terms restorationism, restitutionism and religious primitivism are often used interchangeably for the idea of a return to the perceived perfection of the first century church. Forms of the idea can be traced throughout Christian

history. See A. T. DeGroot, *The Restoration Principle* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1960).

2. Several early American religious movements connected the two ideas in similar ways including the Smith/Jones, O'Kelly and Stone movements. Don Herbert Yoder, "Christian Unity in Nineteenth-Century America," in *The History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948*, eds. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1968), 240; Lester G. McAllister, "Thomas Campbell: His Significance to the Ecumenical Movement," *Encounter* 24 (Autumn 1963):458.

3. Many churches later became interested in unity but pursued it along routes different from the Disciples' restorationism. See Ralph G. Wilburn, "A Critique of the Restoration Principle, Its Place In Contemporary Life and Thought," *Encounter* 20 (Summer 1959):341-2; Lefferts A. Loetscher, "The Problem of Christian Unity in Early Nineteenth-Century America," *Church History* 32 (March 1963):6. Please note: A distinction between "unity" and "union" was made by some religious leaders. Unity was the invisible spiritual oneness that already existed among evangelical Christians, while union was a visible consolidation of Christians into one group. Most of the time, however, the terms were not clearly distinguished. They are generally used interchangeably in this paper.

4. Ronald E. Osborn, *Experiment in Liberty: The Ideal of Freedom in the Experience of Disciples of Christ* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1978), 97.

5. Richard T. Hughes, "A Comparison of the Restitution Motifs of the Campbells (1809-1830) and the Anabaptists (1524-1560)," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 45 (October 1971):318.

6. Generally recognized as Thomas and Alexander Campbell, Walter Scott and Barton W. Stone.

7. Myer Phillips, "A Historical Study of the Attitude of the Churches of Christ Toward Other Denominations" (Ph.D. dissertation, Baylor University, 1983), v.

8. Barton W. Stone, "Christian Union," *Christian Messenger* 3 (December 1828):37-38.

9. Barton W. Stone, "Remarks," *Christian Messenger* 9 (August 1835):180. See also Barton W. Stone, "The Union of Christians. Lecture IV," *Christian Messenger* 11 (June 1841):334; and Barton W. Stone, "The Convention," *Christian Messenger* 12 (May 1842):195.

10. Ronald Scott Bergeson, "The Plea for Christian Unity: Enthymeme and Metaphor in the Rhetoric of the Restoration Movement, 1800-1830" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1978), 305-6. Also see Ronald Osborn's analysis of the difference between the two Campbells in *Experiment in Liberty*, 87, and Walter Scott, "Union of the Disciples and Christians," *The Evangelist* 1 (May 7, 1832):111.

11. Osborn, *Experiment in Liberty*, 26-27.

12. David Edwin Harrell, Jr., "Peculiar People: A Rationale for Modern Conservative Disciples," in *Disciples and the Church Universal* (Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1967), 38; Thomas Purse Inabinett, "Biblical Criticism and the Disciples' Program for Unity" (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1937), 26.

13. Richard T. Hughes, "From Primitive Church to Civil Religion: The Millennial Odyssey of Alexander Campbell," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 44 (March 1976):89.

14. Frederick D. Kershner, *The Christian Union Overture*, (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1923), 35-36.

15. See the exchange between L., "A Plea for Union," *Millennial Harbinger* 41 (September 1870):524, 526; and J. L., "Remarks on L.'s 'Plea for Union,'" *Millennial Harbinger* 41 (October 1870):569.

16. Harrell, "A Peculiar People," 39.

17. James S. Lamar, *Memoirs of Isaac Errett*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1893), passim; Earl Irvin West, *The Search for the Ancient Order*, 3 vols. (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1950, 1951, 1979), 2:23-44.

18. Isaac Errett, *Our Position: A Brief Statement of the Distinctive Features of the Plea for Reformation Urged by the People Known as Disciples of Christ* (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Co., 1873), 7.

19. David Edwin Harrell, Jr., *The Social Sources of Division in the Disciples of Christ, 1865-1900* (Atlanta: Publishing Systems, Inc., 1973), 82.

20. Isaac Errett, *The True Basis of Union: A Sermon Preached in the Central Christian Church, Cincinnati, March 5, 1871* (Cincinnati: Chase & Hall, Publishers, 1877), 31-32.

21. See particularly "A Plea for Reformation–No. VI," *Millennial Harbinger* 5th ser., 4 (June 1861):312-318.

22. Isaac Errett, "Our Work," *Christian Standard* 10 (29 May 1875):172.

23. Ibid.; See also Isaac Errett, "Our Plea for Union," *Christian Standard* 15 (11 September 1880):292.

24. Errett, *The True Basis of Union*, 10, 12.

25. Isaac Errett, "The Grounds of Christian Fellowship," in *The Missouri Christian Lectures*, eds., G. A. Hoffman, Frank W. Allen, and J. W. Higbee (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1888), 43.

26. Ibid.; Isaac Errett, "The Necessity of Liberty In Order to Union," in *Tracts* (New York: Thomas Holman, n.d.), 257.

27. Isaac Errett, "The Bond of Fellowship," in *Lord's Day Worship Services*, ed. E. W. Thornton (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1930), 199.

28. Errett, "The Necessity of Liberty," 257.

29. Isaac Errett, "Our Plea. What Is It?" *Christian Standard Supplement* 6 (9 July 1881):24.

30. Errett, *Our Position*, 6, 10.

31. Errett, *The True Basis of Union*, 21-22.

32. Isaac Errett, "Worldly Conformity," *Christian Standard* (28 February 1880):68.

33. Errett, "Worldly Conformity," 68.

34. Isaac Errett, "Our Plea for Union," *Christian Standard* 15 (7 August 1880):252.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Isaac Errett, "The True Basis of Union," *Christian Standard* 3 (20 June 1868):196.

39. J. H. Garrison, "What Is Our Mission?" *The Christian* 18 (8 July 1880):4.

40. James H. Garrison, "Our Plea–What It Proposes and What It Has Accomplished" *The Christian-Evangelist* 20 (5 January 1883):4-5; J. H. Garrison, "Editor's Easy Chair or Macatawa Musings," *The Christian-Evangelist* 39 (11 September 1902):629.

41. James Harvey Garrison, "The Common Basis," *The Gospel Echo* 8 (October 1870):462-63.

42. J. H. Garrison, "Truths Needing Special Emphasis, II. Christian Union." *The Christian-Evangelist* 30 (19 January 1893):34.

43. Garrison, "The Common Basis," 464; "Christian Unity–What Is It?" *The Christian-Evangelist* 24 (3 January 1887):66.

44. J. H. Garrison, *A Nineteenth Century Movement* (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company, 1904), 23; see also James Harvey Garrison, *Christian Union: A Historical Study* (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company, 1906), 148.

45. See J. H. Garrison, "The Issue," *The Gospel Echo* 7 (December 1869):450.

46. James H. Garrison and J. H. Smart, "Divisions in the Church," *The Christian* 18 (1 September 1881):4; "Compromise Christian Union," *The Christian--Evangelist* 31 (21 June 1894):386.

47. "Pen and Scissors," *The Christian-Evangelist* 25 (21 June 1888):371.

48. J. H. Garrison, "Church Federation: What Is It and What Should Be Our Attitude Toward It?," *The Christian-Evangelist* 40 (28 May 1903):449.

49. "Christian Endeavor and Christian Union," *The Christian-Evangelist* 34 (7 October 1897):626; William E. Tucker, *J. H. Garrison and Disciples of Christ* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1964), 80.

50. "Truths Needing Special Emphasis: Steps Toward Christian Union," *The Christian-Evangelist* 30 (2 February 1893):66; J. H. Garrison, "Prospect for Christian Union Today," *The Christian-Evangelist* 28 (6 August 1891):498.

51. "Three Steps to Christian Unity," *The Christian-Evangelist* 32 (21 November 1895):738; "The Union Problem," *The Christian-Evangelist* 27 (29 May 1890):338.

52. "Prerogatives of Mission Boards," *The Christian-Evangelist* 31 (24 May 1894):322.

53. "Simplicity and Unity in Missionary Agencies," *The Christian-Evangelist* 29 (15 September 1892):578.

54. "A Study of Our Present-Day Problems," *The Christian-Evangelist* 45 (6 January 1908):36; Tucker, *J. H. Garrison*, 204.

55. "Is There A Missing Link?" *The Christian-Evangelist* 43 (6 December 1906):1569.

56. "Mark Those Who Cause Divisions," *The Christian-Evangelist* 25 (29 November 1888):739.

57. Garrison, *A Modern Plea for Ancient Truths*, 32; J. H. Garrison, "Lessons from Our Past Experience; Or, Helps and Hindrances," in *The Old Faith Restated*, ed. J. H. Garrison (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company, 1891), 436; J. H. Garrison, "What Is the Remedy?" *The Christian-Evangelist* 26 (26 September 1889):617.

58. "Christian Union and Primitive Christianity," *The Christian-Evangelist* 41 (16 June 1904):761.

59. "What Kind of Union Did Jesus Pray For?," *The Christian-Evangelist* 35 (18 August 1898):196-7; J. H. Garrison, "Some Lessons From Our Past," *The Christian-Evangelist* 37 (11 January 1900):41.

60. David Lipscomb, "Division Is Weakness and Death," *Gospel Advocate* 34 (31 March 1892):196.

61. J. W. Shepherd, ed., *Salvation From Sin by David Lipscomb* (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Co., 1950), 260-62.

62. David Lipscomb, "Which? God's or Men's?" *Gospel Advocate* 11 (17 June 1869):557; David Lipscomb, "How Shall Christian Union Be Maintained?" *Gospel Advocate* 12 (28 July 1870):697; David Lipscomb, "Opinion and Division," *Gospel Advocate* 19 (6 December 1877):755.

63. David Lipscomb, "Union, False and True," *Gospel Advocate* 22 (17 July 1880):390.

64. David Lipscomb, "Union of Christians," *Gospel Advocate* 42 (1 February 1900):72; David Lipscomb, "The Unity of the Spirit," *Gospel Advocate* 35 (22 June 1893):388; David Lipscomb, "Thirty Years' Work," *Gospel Advocate* 38 (9 January 1896):20.

65. David Lipscomb, "What Is Sectarianism?" *Gospel Advocate* 32 (21 May 1890):327.

66. Shepherd, *Salvation From Sin*, 299.

67. David Lipscomb, "Union, True and False," *Gospel Advocate* 22 (10 June 1880):374.

68. Ibid.

69. Lipscomb, "Union, True and False," 374; David Lipscomb, "Meetings Extra Scriptural," *Gospel Advocate* 48 (30 August 1906):552; David Lipscomb, "The Narrow and the Broad Road," *Gospel Advocate* 55 (2 January 1913):12.

70. Lipscomb, "Meetings Extra Scriptural," 552.

71. David Lipscomb, "Christian Unity-What Is It?" *Gospel Advocate* 40 (30 June 1898):413.

72. David Lipscomb, "Union Without God's Law," *Gospel Advocate* 27 (1 July 1885):402.

73. David Lipscomb, "Opinion and Division," *Gospel Advocate* 19 (6 December 1877):755; see also "What, then, is Christian Union," *Gospel Advocate* 12 (28 July 1870):699.

74. David Lipscomb, *Christian Unity. How Promoted, How Destroyed. Faith and Opinion* (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Printing Co., 1890; reprinted., Nashville: McQuiddy Printing Company, 1916), 9.

75. David Lipscomb, "Loyalty to God and Union of God's Children," *Gospel Advocate* 33 (10 December 1891):776; Lipscomb, *Christian Unity*, 44-48.

76. Lipscomb, *Christian Unity*, 11-12.

77. Ibid., 12.

78. Ibid., 17.

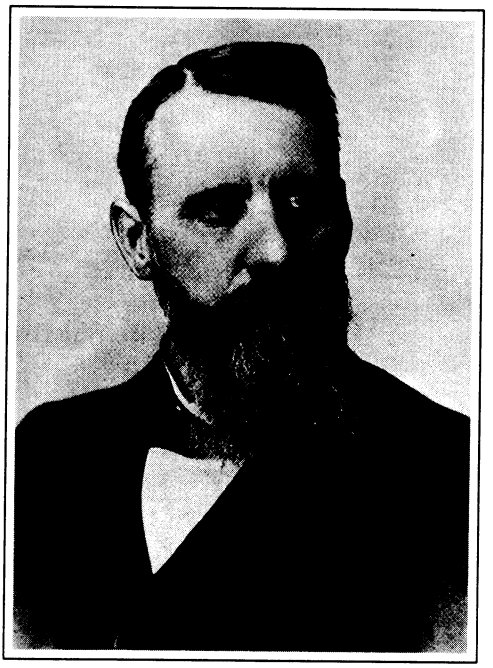
79. Robert T. Handy, "Liberal and Conservative: An Inescapable Dichotomy in American Church History?," *Encounter* 32 (Summer 1971):212-13.

80. See H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1951), 39-44.

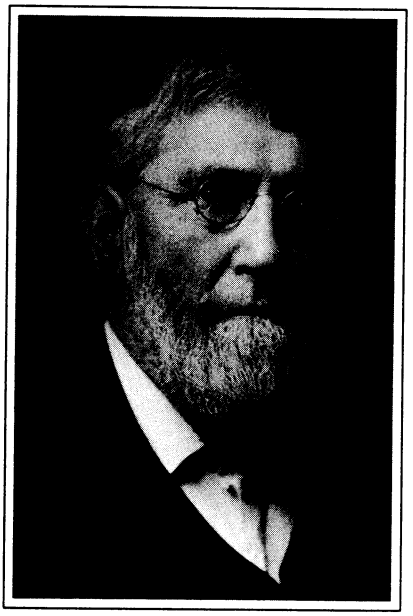
81. See for example Earl Irvin West, *The Life and Times of David Lipscomb* (Henderson, Tennessee: Religious Book Service, 1954), 287; James DeForest Murch, *Christians Only* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing, 1962), 203; Lester G. McAllister and William E. Tucker, *Journey In Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1975), 217.

Isaac Errett

James Harvey Garrison



David Lipscomb



David Lipscomb photograph by Norris Collins Photographers

"Three key figures, all prominent editors of Disciples journals in the late nineteenth cerntury," whose "differing positions [on Christian unity] came to define the chief divisions of the movement"

(Douglas A. Foster, page 97)

Cooperation Overcoming Controversy: The War Emergency Drive of 1918

D. James Atwood

The missionary, benevolent, and educational agencies of the Disciples of Christ were affected by ramifications of the Great War soon after the fighting began in Europe. Agency incomes steadily declined while travel and communication costs continued to rise; both problems were exacerbated by wartime inflation. Personnel problems also confronted the agencies, as many of those previously available for church work were now needed for the war effort. Not insignificantly, these challenges arose at a time when many Disciples leaders were eager to *expand* ministries in order to aid a world in crisis. A growing number of Disciples began to see the need to streamline administrative structure and operations in order to make the most of limited resources.

In October 1917, the annual Disciples assembly convened in Kansas City. Here officials of the American Christian Missionary Society, Foreign Christian Missionary Society, and Christian Woman's Board of Missions appointed a committee to devise a plan by which these three agencies could be consolidated. But the work of the committee would take time; Disciples agencies needed immediate help. Accordingly, Disciples meeting in Kansas City authorized the War Emergency Drive, a campaign scheduled for the following spring. The War Emergency Drive served not only to rescue the agencies from the threat of bankruptcy but also to alter significantly the original plan of agency consolidation.

The Emergency Drive in Context

Enrollments were down at Disciples colleges. Missionaries both at home and abroad were informing their respective agency headquarters of mounting financial problems. Plans for expansion of missionary programs had been postponed indefinitely. At the very time that needs appeared greatest, resources to meet these needs had become scarce.

The need for immediate action had become apparent. Disciples leaders began preparations in the late fall of 1917 for a financial campaign of a scale unprecedented in Disciples history, a project later called "the largest thing our people ever did for missions."[1]

The War Emergency Drive was conducted under the auspices of the Men and Millions Movement, inaugurated in 1913. The movement was designed to secure 6.3 million dollars for Disciples work beyond the level of the local congregation and to recruit 1,000 workers for the Disciples missionary agencies.[2]

The two goals were pursued with equal zeal early in the campaign, but economic problems accompanying the outbreak of war necessitated a change. Attention to the financial goal came to eclipse that of securing new volunteers.[3]

The Men and Millions Movement was to have been concluded by 1918, but by the autumn of 1917 only about $4.5 million in pledges had been secured, and of this amount less than $500 thousand in payments actually had been received.[4] Clearly, there was a real need for some way to give new life to the movement. In part, the War Emergency Drive was designed to meet this need. The war drive would seek to save Disciples missionary, benevolent, and educational institutions from the threat of insolvency; it would also provide a means by which to conclude the Men and Millions Movement satisfactorily.[5]

The War Emergency Drive was a program built on high ambition. The goal was to raise in a period of a few months two million dollars for Disciples agencies,[6] a figure far exceeding the total of contributions received in the regular phase of the Men and Millions Movement during the first four years of its existence. The goal for the emergency drive was approximately equal to the total amount raised during 1917 by Disciples for their agencies. Contributions to the emergency fund were requested as donations in addition to, not in place of, customary gifts to Disciples organizations.[7]

There were, of course, many programs designed to meet needs brought by war. The emergency campaign of the Disciples was forced to compete with the Liberty Loan drives, the sale of war bonds and stamps, programs of the Y.M.C.A. and the Red Cross, and other similar causes. The ambitious goals of the war drive and the competitive environment in which it would be conducted served to convince a number of Disciples leaders that an extraordinary effort would be required in order to conclude the campaign successfully. Men and Millions Movement leaders came to recognize that the drive would require the "cooperation of every organization included in the movement to a far greater extent than they have ever been involved in the past."[8]

The campaign was to be inaugurated during the first week of April 1918, and thus became known also as the April Drive. Before the drive could be begun, conditions deteriorated to the point that Men and Millions Movement leaders were forced to seek immediate relief for the agencies. In January and February of 1918, a few individuals, including many of those who had pledged large sums, were asked to make advance payment on regular Men and Millions Movement pledges.[9] Several Disciples gave prompt and generous reply to these requests.[10]

Organization for the Emergency Drive

During the month of March, campaign workers were mobilized, and the preliminary work of the drive was begun. A large body of promotional literature,

designed to generate support for the upcoming drive, was produced. The most important of these materials was the pamphlet, *Disciples of Christ and the World Crisis: Call to Prayer and Conference*.[11]

The primary purpose of this pamphlet was to inform lay persons that wartime conditions had precipitated a financial crisis for Disciples agencies. The message was clear: without a substantial and immediate infusion of funds, Disciples missionary, benevolent, and educational institutions would face certain and probably drastic retrenchment. "This extraordinary year calls for extraordinary measures," Disciples were told.[12] It was suggested that the week immediately preceding the formal beginning of the campaign, March 24-31, be set aside as a time for preparatory prayer and meditation.[13]

Other literature of the War Emergency Drive was intended primarily for training campaign workers. The leaflet *Instructions for the April Drive* outlined the rudiments of the strategy of organization that would be employed to carry out the campaign. This strategy, examined in detail below, was based on a set of delegated responsibilities that united local churches, county committees, state missionary societies, the national War Emergency Drive headquarters, and the various Disciples agencies in a coordinated effort.[14]

Instructions for the April Drive urged campaign workers to assume a confident, even aggressive, stance toward the task at hand, a stance made mandatory by the urgency of the times. Every church member was to be asked to make a donation, and pledges of less than five dollars were to be discouraged. "Do not say that any member of your church cannot give five dollars," the pamphlet admonished, for "children are earning more than that to pay war pledges."[15]

In addition to promotional and instructional materials, reports outlining the progress of the campaign were issued frequently.[16] The intent was to communicate campaign news and to encourage Disciples to support the drive faithfully. Authors of these bulletins, caught up in the enthusiasm of the day, at times fell victim to overstatement. For example, on the basis of early response to the campaign, authors of the *Fourth Emergency Drive Bulletin* described the campaign as "the greatest achievement in the history of our Brotherhood."[17] Such obvious hyperbole should not obscure the fact that soon after its inception the drive did experience remarkable financial success.[18]

Campaign literature was an important factor in the success of the War Emergency Drive. Even more important was the effective coordination of the work of the emergency drive headquarters with campaign workers in the field.

The national offices of the Men and Millions Movement, located in Cincinnati, served as headquarters for the War Emergency Drive. The executive committee of the Men and Millions Movement took the lead in formulating the strategy for the campaign, while the treasurer and secretary of the movement jointly supervised the day-to-day operations of the Cincinnati headquarters.[19]

The number of persons comprising the staff of the national office was increased from 16 to 26 in order to accommodate the workload of the emergency drive.[20]

The national office prepared campaign literature, conducted communications with campaign workers in the field, and tabulated information from pledge cards as they were received. Most of the work of the staff, however, was related to processing the collection of donations. Each letter of remittance was given reply, and detailed records of amounts received were maintained.

Promotional teams were sent out from the national offices to inaugurate the campaign in the field. Emergency drive teams traveled across the country in order to conduct campaign rallies called "set-up meetings."[21] The needs of Disciples agencies were set forth during these rallies, and local Disciples leaders were enlisted to assist in conducting the drive.[22] Disciples representing thirty-five states and the District of Columbia attended one or more of the twenty meetings that were held from April to June 1918.[23]

After the drive had been launched, the supervision of the campaign was assumed jointly by Disciples state missionary societies and local county committees. State societies were responsible for coordinating the work of the county committees and for aiding in the collection of funds.[24] Each state society received 10 percent of the net amount of emergency funds collected within the state in return for these services.[25]

The principal task of the county committees was the direct presentation of the campaign and its objectives to the people who would determine the success of failure of the drive: the men and women of Disciples congregations. Men and Millions Movement leaders recognized early in the campaign that the county committees would play a critical role in the drive. After reviewing reports on progress of the campaign during its first week, a representative of the national office wrote that "the Emergency Campaign will be a great success, wherever the county committees are organized and are at work."[26]

The typical county committee was composed of four persons: a local minister, usually the chair of the committee, plus a layman and two laywomen.[27] Through a series of presentations, these committees explained the war emergency program to each congregation of the area. The campaign goal for the county as well as the target figures for congregations were set forth, pledge cards were distributed, and all were encouraged to participate.[28] Members of the committee often met privately with church members, usually those known to possess reservations about the drive, in an effort to mold a strong foundation of support for the campaign.[29] County committees sometimes labored in conjunction with others engaged in war relief, including local Liberty Loan drive committees, in an effort to generate community-wide support and participation.[30]

The county committees were important not only for their role in the presentation of the aims of the emergency drive but also for the part they played in the collection of sums pledged. Before exploring this function

of the county committees, it may be helpful to examine the types of pledges that were made.

The regular Men and Millions Movement had required a minimum pledge of $500.[31] As is easily imagined, many Disciples were unable to participate in the regular drive because of this requirement. The emergency situation that necessitated the war drive called for a different campaign strategy. Individuals of means would lend important support to the emergency drive, but what was really needed was a movement involving the whole church. Accordingly, participation in the emergency drive was based on a minimum donation of five dollars.[32] Contributions would be credited not only to individuals but also to congregations in order to unite Disciples corporately in support of the campaign.[33]

It had been hoped before the beginning of the campaign that the majority of emergency drive funds could be collected by 4 July 1918.[34] Not long after the beginning of the campaign, however, the call for all pledges to be paid by July was modified in an effort to allow a greater number of persons to participate. While Disciples were urged to make payments to the campaign treasury as soon as possible, they were offered the option of scheduling remittances in a manner similar to that employed in the regular campaign, that is, in equal installments over a period of five years. Thus the distinction between "short-time" and "long-time" emergency pledges was fashioned.[35]

Those Disciples electing to participate in the drive by making pledges according to the long-time plan were instructed to deal directly with the national headquarters of the Men and Millions Movement.[36] Fortunately for the Disciples agencies, approximately 75 percent of all pledges made to the emergency campaign were of the short-time variety.[37] As a result, most of the work of collecting emergency donations was assumed by county committees since they were responsible for supervising the collection of short-time pledges.

A ledger showing amounts pledged and monies received was maintained by each county committee. The progress of the campaign in the county was evaluated periodically. Committee members met confidentially with individuals who had questions or problems concerning remittance.[38] The county committee was responsible for filing regular progress reports with emergency drive headquarters.[39] County committee members assembled monies collected and delivered them to the state headquarters; in turn, funds were forwarded to the national office.[40] The final step in the process was completed as funds were distributed from the central headquarters to the various Disciples agencies.

Financial Impact of the Emergency Drive

In the final analysis, the emergency drive must be judged a financial success. The original goal of collecting two million dollars for the movement's treasury

by 4 July 1918 was not met, although by the target date pledges totaled approximately that amount.[41] By the spring of 1919, the emergency campaign had raised nearly $1.2 million for Disciples programs.[42] This figure becomes quite impressive when compared with the progress of the regular Men and Millions Movement. By the spring of 1919, a year after the regular drive was to have been completed, only $1.6 million in regular drive funds had been deposited in the Men and Millions Movement treasury,[43] an amount far below the $6.3 million goal of the regular drive. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that, had the War Emergency Drive not generated an awareness among church members of the severity of the financial crisis facing Disciples agencies, collection of regular drive pledges would have fallen significantly short of $1.6 million.[44]

The financial success of the emergency drive can be traced to a broad and intense participation in the campaign. Contributions ranging from a few dollars to several thousand dollars were received from Disciples representing forty-six states, the District of Columbia, and Canada.[45]

An examination of the Men and Millions Movement correspondence of the war years reveals many examples of outstanding giving, often in the face of considerable hardship. A rural Kansas congregation, for example, raised $800 during the first week of the war drive despite a two-year drought that had devastated area crop production.[46] Apportionments were often exceeded, sometimes dramatically. The congregations of Rockdale County, Georgia contributed funds representing 1,000 percent of their apportionment.[47] Many congregations found that their donations to the campaign far exceeded amounts raised previously for Disciples missions.[48]

Most congregations regarded their pledges as solemn commitments. One Illinois church went so far as to attempt to collect payments of pledges made by members who had been called into the armed services.[49] Many were determined to fulfill pledges despite the lack of available funds. Campaign pledges were met not only by cash payments but also by other means, including gifts of real estate, stock certificates, precious jewels, as well as savings bonds, war bonds, and war savings stamps.[50]

Most Disciples responded to the emergency campaign not only generously but also with a spirit of joy and deep satisfaction. The majority of letters received by the emergency drive headquarters told of having "found joy in this special service"[51] and of being "proud of what the Disciples of Christ have undertaken."[52] However, other letters clearly reflected dissatisfaction with the manner in which the emergency drive was conducted.

The Emergency Drive Entangled in Controversy

Some of the dissatisfaction arose as a result of internal management problems that negatively affected operations of the national office. The demand

for experienced office employees became acute with the entry of the United States into the war. Consequently, some of the workers hired by the national office for the emergency campaign were of limited skill and experience.[53] Good bookkeepers and clerks could not always be secured, despite sustained efforts to recruit an adequate staff.[54] The effectiveness of the staff was hampered further by the great influenza epidemic that began to sweep the country during the early fall of 1918.[55]

The collection of funds quickly became the focus of the emergency drive after the campaign had been presented to the churches. It was in dealing with this phase of the war drive that the abilities of the national office were most tested. The challenge of processing a great volume of mail in a relatively brief period of time proved quite formidable. Letters of acknowledgement to donors were not always promptly sent. The acknowledgement process was slowed further by the practice of rotating the person in charge of the emergency drive treasury.[56]

Before a new treasurer could assume office, a complete audit was required of the official campaign ledgers compiled under the administration of the previous treasurer.[57] The process of crediting and acknowledging payments was interrupted because the official ledgers of the drive were closed during the audit. The emergency drive endured criticism as a result of these delays.[58]

Other problems stemmed from errors in record keeping. At times credit was given to the wrong congregation.[59] As the campaign progressed, the national office engaged in the practice of sending notices to remind Disciples of unfulfilled pledges. Unfortunately, these reminders were sometimes sent to those who had already received such notices or who had already remitted the full amount pledged.[60] Not a few Disciples expressed disapproval of these untimely notices; while some were annoyed at being dunned without reason, others objected to the waste of funds intended for missionary purposes on unnecessary correspondence.[61]

It must be stated in defense of the national office that some of these errors were precipitated by the actions of others. In some cases, problems in crediting and acknowledgement were the result of improperly completed pledge cards,[62] or of the unfortunate practice employed by some of pooling donations to other programs with monies earmarked for the emergency drive.[63] The majority of errors in crediting and acknowledgement, however, stemmed from the practice of sending donations directly to agencies participating in the war drive rather than to campaign headquarters.

The practice of the direct payment contributed more than did any other problem to strained relations between the central office of the emergency drive and certain local Disciples leaders and congregations. It is understandable that, if the national office were prevented from acting as a clearing house for donations, accurate records reflecting the status of individual pledges would be difficult to maintain. A policy was designed not long after the beginning of the war

drive to address the problem of the direct payment. Payments sent directly to agencies were either to be endorsed and sent to the central office for processing or to be kept by the agency. If retained by the agency, prompt notice of receipt of direct payment was to be sent to emergency drive headquarters.[64]

The practice of making direct payments led to confusion and misunderstanding for two principal reasons. On one hand, individuals or congregations at times sent contributions to agencies without informing them that these donations were intended to fulfill emergency drive pledges.[65] On the other hand, some of the agencies receiving direct funds failed to inform the national office of such receipt in a prompt and complete manner.[66] These two factors resulted in the delay or the omission of several letters of acknowledgement. Criticism of the national office and of the War Emergency Drive as a whole naturally followed, despite the fact that persons directing the drive were not primarily to blame for the problems.

The entire machinery of the emergency drive doubtlessly would have functioned more smoothly had the practice of direct payments to participating agencies not arisen. Donations were mailed directly to agencies by some Disciples because they were either unaware of prescribed procedures or saw compliance with them as unimportant.[67] Others resorted to direct payment because they did not trust the national campaign office to handle their donations properly.[68] It will be seen that this distrust arose out of circumstances over which emergency drive leaders had little control.

The regular Men and Millions Movement had been founded on a fundamental contractual agreement between the directors of the movement and the participating agencies. From the standpoint of raising funds, the movement was vested with all-encompassing and exclusive rights. That is, in return for promotional assistance given them by the movement, the agencies agreed not to solicit funds independently.[69] Essentially the same agreement was maintained for the emergency drive.[70]

The contractual agreement provided a framework for the effective cooperation of Disciples agencies. This arrangement was jeopardized, however, by the development of a controversy within the church. In late March 1917, the editors of the *Christian Standard* published the first of a series of articles alleging that Transylvania College and its related seminary, the College of the Bible, were condoning the teaching of evolution, higher criticism, and dangerous theological innovation.[71] A number of the readers of the *Standard* had become convinced of the seriousness of the situation by the time the emergency drive began in 1918. Soon the Cincinnati headquarters of the emergency drive began to receive letters from both Disciples congregations and individuals demanding that no part of their donations be sent to these "tainted" schools.[72]

The leaders of the emergency campaign were faced with a serious problem. How could they withhold funds from institutions that they were morally, and

probably legally, bound to support? The solution to this problem was found in a variation of a device, known as the designation, employed in the regular Men and Millions drive.

In order to satisfy the wishes of a number of donors, the directors of the regular Men and Millions campaign had permitted individuals to specify that their gifts be used for the benefit of a particular participating agency.[73] It was understood that such designations would be allowed only insofar as they did not disrupt the established schedule according to which the receipts of the drive would be distributed to the agencies.[74]

In the emergency drive, a different type of designation was employed. According to the principle of the negative designation, donors were allowed to specify that their gifts would in no way benefit one or more of the agencies associated with the movement.[75] Contrary to prior policy, the planned disbursement of emergency drive funds would be modified by negative designations. Funds deducted from an agency's allotment would not be made up from another source.[76] It was hoped that the use of this procedure would result in greater support of the emergency drive by separating it, at least temporarily, from the college controversy.

The national office of the drive received letters of protest directed against several Disciples educational institutions, although Transylvania and the College of the Bible were the targets of most negative designations.[77] A few Disciples had become so disturbed by the college controversy that they requested that none of the Disciples colleges benefit from their contributions.[78]

Some Disciples demanded that the national office of the Men and Millions Movement issue a formal statement outlining its position on the college issue.[79] Emergency drive leaders refused to accede to these demands, citing the movement's obligation to participating institutions and emphasizing that the movement was not designed for the purpose of passing judgment on religious or theological issues.[80] Those who issued such demands were reminded again of the privilege of designation.[81] But some Disciples, angered by the refusal of the Men and Millions leadership to take a stand on the college controversy, refused to place trust in the national office's promise to honor fully all designations placed on emergency drive donations.[82] As a result, some Disciples elected to bypass the national office and to send donations directly to chosen institutions.

The Success and Significance of the Emergency Drive

Problems associated with internal office management, crediting and acknowledging payments, direct payments, and designations all served to generate criticism of the emergency drive. Yet, considering the immensity of the task, the diversity of the Disciples community, and the negative impact of extraneous

issues, it may be surprising that criticism of the movement was not more widespread. Less than 11.5 percent of emergency drive funds received through March 1919 were remitted as direct payments or with negative designations.[83] Letters received by the national office that reflected satisfaction with the emergency campaign far outnumbered letters critical of the drive. Even in Kentucky, where criticism of Transylvania College and the College of the Bible perhaps had been most intense, many congregations gave magnanimously to the campaign. A rural Kentucky congregation, for example, donated over $1,000 to the campaign in less than thirty minutes after hearing an appeal delivered by E. E. Snoddy, one of the accused Transylvania professors.[84] Snoddy, astounded by such generosity, explained after the service that "this does not look as if the faith of the church has been destroyed by my preaching."[85]

The war emergency campaign was important for the economic aid that it secured for financially troubled Disciples agencies. In the words of a late 1918 Disciples publication, the war precipitated "a crisis which was safely passed by the War Emergency Drive."[86] Colleges were saved from possible bankruptcy, the support of missionaries was sustained and in some cases even augmented, and offerings for benevolent work were increased.[87] In addition, emergency drive funds helped to facilitate the participation of Disciples agencies in interdenominational war relief programs.[88]

Still, the significance of the war drive did not lie solely in its economic impact. Of equal or greater importance was the new level of unified purpose and activity experienced by Disciples and Disciples organizations during the campaign. In contrast to the regular Men and Millions drive, Disciples participated in the emergency effort not only individually but also corporately. Congregations were united to an extent seldom paralleled in Disciples history. The emergency drive was not epitomized by the wealthy individual responding to an appeal from Cincinnati but rather by a broad, cooperative effort that blended the energies of local congregations, county, state, and national organizations, as well as the participating agencies. The drive drew together not only urban congregations but also "the county churches and remote congregations which heretofore have not had a large part in our organized work."[89]

The emergency campaign helped to foster increased understanding among Disciples of how each level of the church–local through national–functions. The national headquarters secured the services of many Disciples leaders, including representatives of the national agencies and of state societies, for the work of the war drive.[90] Although brief, these tours of duty provided opportunities for the development of personal relationships between Disciples whose normal capacities of service seldom allowed for face-to-face meetings.

The emergency campaign succeeded financially because a reasonably well-coordinated organization was able to convince a significant number of

Disciples of the need for immediate action. A number of Disciples gradually came to recognize a relationship between united, organized effort and results beneficial for the church. "All we had to do," noted a group of Indiana Disciples, "was to organize our forces and the call was so Vital, Worthy and Urgent–that our brethren thought it a great privilege to respond."[91]

For many Disciples, the War Emergency Drive served as a source of inspiration and instruction. The cooperative experience of the war drive was seen as a manifestation of a deeper sense of community emerging among Disciples.[92] To many, the emergency drive illustrated that the challenges of the new world could not be met unless Disciples were provided with the means and strategy by which resources and energies could be more effectively marshalled.[93]

The call for a permanent organization to supervise the administration of Disciples missionary and benevolent programs grew from the spirit of unity reborn during the war drive. In 1918, prominent Missouri evangelist C. M. Chilton envisioned a restructured church with local congregations, state societies, and national agencies integrally linked.[94] R. H. Miller, referring to a meeting of the executive committee of the Men and Millions Movement held soon after the beginning of the war drive, spoke of "the greatest unity manifested in all the organizations" and predicted that the experience of the war drive would result in "a co-ordination of all our work which will mean great things for the future."[95]

The spirit of unity generated by the emergency drive contributed strength to subsequent Disciples campaigns. Plans were being formulated by the summer of 1918 for a united budget campaign to raise funds that would be used to support the work of Disciples agencies during the following missionary year.[96] The budget campaign, known as the World-wide Every Member Campaign, was conducted in October and November of 1918 with the assistance of Men and Millions Movement leaders.

As noted, the inspiration of the war drive gave new life to the regular Men and Millions campaign. The work of the regular campaign was addressed with a new intensity as a result of the emergency drive. The total of receipts from the regular drive and the emergency campaign exceeded $6 million by 1929.[97]

Finally, the War Emergency Drive played an important role in reshaping the nature of the proposed union of Disciples agencies. What had been conceived as a merger of missionary societies in 1917 had been expanded by the end of the war to include an institution of charity and an authority charged with the administration of ministerial pensions: the National Benevolent Association and the Board of Ministerial Relief. Soon a sixth agency, the Board of Church Extension, was included.

By 1920, the United Christian Missionary Society had begun operation–amid ongoing and sometimes fascinating controversy.

Notes

1. J. W. Banes to Grant K. Lewis, 20 August 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee. Hereinafter the Disciples Historical Society will be referred to as "DCHS." in the notes of this paper.

2. Archibald McLean, *The Men and Millions Movement: History and Report, 1913-1919* (Cincinnati: Men and Millions Movement, 1919), 4-5.

3. Ibid., 6.

4. Men and Millions Movement, Minutes of Meetings of the Executive Committee, meeting of 7 September 1917, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS; and Men and Millions Movement, Minutes of Meetings of Representatives of Constituent Agencies, meetings of 30 November and 1 December 1917, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

5. "Climax of the Men and Millions Movement," *Christian-Evangelist* 55 (21 March 1918):301.

6. Men and Millions Movement, *Disciples' Emergency Drive* (Cincinnati: Men and Millions Movement, 1918). The round figure of $2 million was usually employed in references to the goal of the emergency campaign. At times, however, the goal was stated to be over $2.4 million. See "Disciples' Emergency Drive," *Christian-Evangelist* 55 (4 April 1918):368.

7. Men and Millions Movement, "As Much for Others as for Ourselves: Disciples' Emergency Drive, April 1918," *Christian-Evangelist* 55 (7 March 1918):250.

8. Abram E. Cory to Fredrick W. Burnham, 22 November 1917, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

9. For example, see Abram E. Cory to J. J. Searcy, 24 January 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

10. For example, see William P. Rea to Abram E. Cory, 26 February 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

11. Men and Millions Movement, *Disciples of Christ and the World Crisis: Call to Prayer and Conference* (Cincinnati: Men and Millions Movement, 1918).

12. Ibid., 3.

13. Ibid., 5-8.

14. Men and Millions Movement, *Instructions for the April Drive* (Cincinnati: Men and Millions Movement, 1918).

15. Ibid.

16. For an example of these reports, see R. H. Miller, "Statement of Pledges as of July 10, 1918," Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

17. Abram E. Cory, R. H. Miller, and I. J. Cahill, *Fourth Emergency Drive Bulletin* (Cincinnati: Men and Millions Movement, 1918).

18. Men and Millions Movement, "Doing the Impossible," *Christian-Evangelist* 55 (25 April 1918):438.

19. By the spring of 1919 three men had served as secretary of the movement: Grant K. Lewis, the historian of the American Society, followed by H. P. Shaw, who in turn was followed by J. W. Allen. For the greater part of the movement, R. H. Miller served in the capacity of secretary. McLean, *History and Report*, 23.

20. Men and Millions Movement, Minutes of Meetings of Board of Directors, meeting of 29 December 1919, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

21. C. W. Cauble to R. H. Miller, 21 September 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

22. McLean, *History and Report*, 11.

23. Ibid., 12-14.

24. Men and Millions Movement to I. E. Adams, 12 September 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

25. C. L. Milton to R. H. Miller, 16 July 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

26. R. H. Miller to C. E. French, April 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS. The date on this letter was partially obliterated.

27. I. J. Cahill to W. C. Ferguson, 16 April 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS. The number of persons serving on county committees did vary, however, according to local needs. See R. E. Dunlap to R. H. Miller, 14 September 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

28. Abram E. Cory to George W. Brewster, 21 November 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS. States in which relatively large numbers of Disciples resided, such as Illinois and Indiana, made use of a level of organization between that of the county and state known as the district. In some instances apportionments were established for districts rather than for individual counties.

29. J. B. Easley to Men and Millions Movement, 6 April 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

30. Rose Goslee to Men and Millions Movement, 9 April 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

31. McLean, *History and Report*, 7.

32. Men and Millions Movement, *Facing the Emergency* (Cincinnati: Men and Millions Movement, 1918). Ultimately a number of donations under five dollars were accepted.

33. Men and Millions Movement, "Five Months with One Objective," *Christian Standard* 53 (26 January 1918):543.

34. Men and Millions Movement, *Disciples and World Crisis*, 5-6.

35. For amounts pledged on the short-time and long-time plans respectively, see McLean, *History and Report*, 16-17.

36. George W. Brewster to R. H. Miller, 5 June 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

37. McLean, *History and Report*, 19.

38. Abram E. Cory to W. S. Priest, 25 April 1918 and Men and Millions Movement to Charles C. Smith, 18 September 1918, both Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

39. For example, see Miller County, Missouri Campaign Committee, County Committee Report of 3 October 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

40. Men and Millions Movement to R. W. Gentry, 29 April 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

41. Men and Millions Movement to M. B. Wells, 3 July 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

42. Men and Millions Movement, Condensed Statement of Receipts and Disbursements Through 30 April 1919, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

43. McLean, *History and Report*, 25.

44. See discussion in D. James Atwood, "The Impact of World War I on the Agencies of the Disciples of Christ" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1978).

45. McLean, *History and Report*, 15-17. By comparison, the regular phase of the Men and Millions Movement had attracted the participation of Disciples from thirty-four states.

46. C. D. Walker to R. H. Miller, 8 April 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

47. S. H. Wood to Abram E. Cory and R. H. Miller, 4 June 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

48. For example, see Guy B. Williamson to Men and Millions Movement, 10 April 1918; William J. Gillmore to Men and Millions Movement, 15 April 1918; and H. W. Hunter to Men and Millions Movement, 24 April 1918, all Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

49. J. H. Versey to Men and Millions Movement, 6 July 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS. It was not uncommon for local churches to go into debt in order to meet the commitment of a pledge. See A. L. Snow to Abram E. Cory, 20 June 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

50. R. H. Miller to H. J. Kennedy, 27 July 1918; H. M. Johnson to Abram E. Cory, 18 February 1918; C. W. Reynolds to Men and Millions Movement, 21 August 1918; and Arthur Jones to Men and Millions Movement, 26 September [1918], all Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS. See also Men and Millions Movement, Minutes of Meetings of Board of Directors, meeting of 27 September 1919, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

51. N. Zuelch to I. J. Cahill, 22 April 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

52. Fred W. Clay to Grant K. Lewis, 18 April 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

53. H. P. Shaw to James A. Pointer, 2 November 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

54. Grant K. Lewis to Christian Church Convention, Santa Cruz, California, 16 July 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

55. H. P. Shaw to W. F. Richardson, 1 November 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

56. See discussion in Atwood, "Impact of World War I."

57. Men and Millions Movement to A. D. George, 12 September 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

58. For example, see J. B. Weldon to Men and Millions Movement, 12 November 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS, N, T.

59. For example, see Mrs. Amos Ballentine to Men and Millions Movement, 13 May 1918 and George W. Brewster to H. P. Shaw, 23 September 1918, both Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

60. For example, see George W. Brewster to H. P. Shaw, 29 October 1918 and W. L. Dudley to Abram E. Cory and R. H. Miller, 12 September 1918, both Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

61. For example, see E. W. Harrison to Men and Millions Movement, 3 June 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

62. G. H. Steed to Men and Millions Movement, 11 September 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

63. Daisy June Trout to Men and Millions Movement, 17 June 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

64. H. P. Shaw to Mrs. Frank Andrews, 22 July 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

65. Men and Millions Movement, Minutes of Meetings of Board of Directors, meeting of 29 December 1919, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

66. Ibid.

67. H. P. Shaw to Mrs. Frank Andrews, 22 July 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

68. For example, see J. W. Darby to Men and Millions Movement, 15 August 1918 and J. W. Boulton to Men and Millions Movement, 28 September 1918, both Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

69. Men and Millions Movement to M. D. Brown, 23 August 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

70. Ibid.

71. "The College of the Bible in the Limelight Again," *Christian Standard* 52 (31 March 1917):764-65. The professors charged with impropriety were completely exonerated. Yet the suspicions of those who had brought the charges were not allayed. See James De Forest Murch, *Christians Only: A History of the Restoration Movement* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Co., 1962), 240-46.

72. For example, see M. D. Brown to Men and Millions Movement, 13 August 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

73. McLean, *History and Report*, 19.

74. Ibid.

75. For example, see Ira M. Boswell to Men and Millions Movement, 10 July 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

76. McLean, *History and Report*, 19.

77. Negative designations were directed against such Disciples institutions as Drake University (see R. A. Gilcrist to Abram E. Cory, 13 August 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS) and the Campbell Institute (see H. I. Blood to Grant K. Lewis, 23 June 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS).

78. For example, see E. L. Armstrong to H. P. Shaw, 21 August 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

79. For example, see C. L. Milton to R. H. Miller, 16 July 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

80. George Crenshaw to Abram E. Cory, 7 September 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

81. H. P. Shaw to S. W. Slagle, 15 October 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

82. For example, see J. W. Boulton to Men and Millions Movement, 28 September 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

83. McLean, *History and Report*, 19, 25.

84. E. E. Snoddy to R. H. Miller, 7 May 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

85. Ibid.

86. Men and Millions Movement, *Answering the Call* (Cincinnati: Men and Millions Movement, [1918]).

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. R. H. Miller to Charles S. Medbury, 22 April 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

90. For example, see Men and Millions Movement to Anna R. Atwater, 10 May 1918 and Men and Millions Movement to I. E. Adams, 12 September 1918, both Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

91. F. D. Wharton, R. N. Tirey, and George W. Haskell to Abram E. Cory, 3 April 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

92. R. H. Miller to W. A. Sommerlot, 29 April 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

93. For example, see J. F. Rosborough to Men and Millions Movement, 2 May 1918; Lewis Starbuck to H. H. Peters, 1 July 1918; and Grant K. Lewis

to George W. Brewster, 17 July 1918, all Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

94. C. M. Chilton to R. H. Miller, 10 May 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

95. R. H. Miller to George W. Brewster, 14 May 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS.

96. H. P. Shaw to H. J. Young, 9 August 1918, Men and Millions Movement Files, DCHS. The fiscal year for Disciples agencies began on 1 October.

97. Men and Millions Movement, *Final Report: 1913-1929* (n.p.: Men and Millions Movement, 1929), 13.

E. E. Snoddy

"A rural congregation ... donated over $1,000 to the campaign [World War I-era emergency drive] in less than thirty minutes after hearing an appeal delivered by E. E. Snoddy, one of the accused Transylvania professors. Snoddy, astounded by such generosity, explained after the service that 'this does not look as if the faith of the church has been destroyed by my preaching.' " (D. James Atwood, page 124)

The Ministry and the Great Depression

William O. Paulsell

Parish ministry has never been the most secure vocation in the world, and it has been especially vulnerable in economic hard times. When discretionary funds are not available for church support, pastors suffer.

The stock market crash of 1929 inaugurated an era of severe economic difficulty in American life, and the church felt deeply the pain of the Depression. A survey of Christian Church *Yearbook* reports during the Depression years reveals serious declines in contributions to churches and benevolences. Mission work was dangerously hampered, and churches which had taken on heavy debt during the deceptive prosperity of the 1920s found themselves in deep financial trouble.

Many congregations found it necessary to economize, and the ministry was seen as one place where money might be saved. Disciples periodicals often contained editorials and articles that revealed the Depression took a heavy toll on ministers. Whereas the denomination may be facing a potential shortage of ministers today, the Depression years were a time when ministerial unemployment was a serious threat and steady reductions in ministers' salaries a reality.

Unemployment

Breadlines of unemployed workers were familiar sights in metropolitan areas in the early 1930s. Less noticed, but just as real, was the unemployed pastor whose opportunities for service vanished in desperate economy measures. Less than a year after the stock market crash in October, 1929, *The Christian Standard* reported that 400 Christian Church ministers who had occupied pulpits only two years earlier were now unemployed, and some were "actually face to face with want, even when they are willing to preach."[1] The editorial chided church leadership for this situation, saying that these ministers could be employed if church members would give up some luxuries and "throw themselves into the work of the Lord." Ministers were encouraged to make work for themselves by organizing a number of pastorless churches into circuits.[2]

Four months later another editorial in the *Standard* insisted that "Preaching is a divine institution for the saving of souls, and one way or another it is the business of the churches to maintain it." Christians owed it to themselves and their communities to provide preaching as often as possible. Even a small church,

with a sufficient amount of consecrated giving, could support and maintain a preaching ministry of some sort. Churches with pastors were advised to share them with pastorless congregations in order that some kind of regular preaching could be maintained.[3]

Early in 1931, as the seriousness and reality of the Depression were becoming obvious, *The Christian Standard* stated that in an economic depression the church often suffered first and church leadership became easily discouraged. However, noted the writer, there were persistent reports of churches rejecting offers of preaching for expenses or the collection. Strong lay leadership in a church was important, but a trained and experienced minister should be used wherever possible. Because times were difficult the church needed preaching even more. If a church could not pay its normal salary, it should at least pay what it could, and if it could not have full-time preaching then it should have at least part-time preaching. Rural churches, it was noted, had difficulty even during good times. Now it was imperative that ministers be provided for them, even if the only pay was food and shelter.[4]

Ministerial unemployment was also discussed at length in the pages of *The Christian-Evangelist*, predecessor of today's *Disciple*. In his weekly column in January, 1931, F. D. Kershner warned that in some ways the ministry suffered more in hard times than any other profession. Churches must avoid economy measures that would tend to weaken the ministry.[5] H. H. Peters wrote in the same journal that people must be made aware of the seriousness of the problem. A determined effort must be made to provide a pastor for every church.[6]

At the end of 1931 a *Christian-Evangelist* editorial reported that

> Letters reach this office from unemployed ministers at least once a week. Some of them frankly say that they are in want and see no way of relief. Others grimly set their teeth to endure an experience the like of which has never come to them before. In many cases there will be actual suffering for bread.[7]

Warning that the churches will be forced into a retreat under such circumstances, the editorial admonished congregations to avoid the stigma of letting those who have been called to the service of the church suffer. It was suggested that unemployed ministers could be used as interim pastors of "hard times" churches and given "shelter, food, and wood and light" plus a small salary.

By March, 1932, a *Christian Standard* editorial indicated that the situation had seriously deteriorated.

> There is a pitiful situation among the churches with reference to preaching. It is bad enough that hundreds of preachers are without

> employment and they and their families are in actual want. But it is yet worse that hundreds upon hundreds of churches are without any preaching whatever, are just drifting along without real leadership. Only the absolute inability to have preaching by any means whatever will excuse any church leaders from the guilt of failing to carry out the Lord's commission.[8]

The same editorial advised churches to pay whatever they could to maintain preaching. During hard times ministers were willing to preach for minimum salaries. A few months later *The Standard* went so far as to advise paying ministers with bread, eggs, and potatoes. At least this would provide a bare means of livelihood for some unemployed pastors.[9]

Although the ministerial unemployment situation appeared to be increasing in seriousness as the Depression continued, there were a few dissenting voices who said that the problem was not really as bad as it might seem. S. S. Lappin, a Disciples conservative, pointed out that many of the ministers who were unemployed during the Depression were people who really had no business in ministry in the first place. They were not qualified for the task, and consequently many churches would rather be without a pastor than to have one of low quality at a time when it was difficult to support a minister. Furthermore, many businessmen preached. Some were in business so they could afford to preach, and some preached so they could afford to stay in business. Often men in this latter category filled pulpits that could have been occupied by more worthy people. This was a contributing factor in the unemployment of good ministers. Lappin said that an able person would keep busy at all times and work hard regardless of the reward. Such folks were not usually unemployed because the value of their service was recognized. Those that were without pulpits during the Depression were probably people who had difficulty holding churches under the best circumstances. A dedicated pastor, said Lappin, would have plenty to do, even during hard times.[10]

The same view was echoed in *World Call* over a year later. An October, 1933, editorial said that many churches were willing to give up their ministers because the pastors themselves had not really done their jobs. They had not worked hard enough to make themselves indispensable to their communities. In rural churches, particularly, too many ministers simply preached their sermons, collected their fees, and left without doing any other work.[11]

This point of view, however, was not widely used in dealing with the problem of ministerial unemployment. Late in the summer of 1932 the Executive Committee of the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ published a statement which warned against economy in the pulpit. The church, said the statement, had historically made great progress as a result of great preaching.

By dispensing with a preaching ministry for the sake of economy, the church would find itself in more serious danger than that of economic hardship. If preaching were cut off because of the Depression, it would be more difficult to restore later because people would tend to think they could do without it. During hard times the Christian message was especially needed, and the church would fail in its mission if it failed to take this opportunity. The statement made some suggestions as to how churches might maintain a professional ministry during the Depression years. Part of a minister's salary, for example, could be paid in produce. Weak churches could form pastoral unities. Outsiders who might have fresh approaches to church problems could be called in for consultation. The report concluded with the admonition that "The church . . . must shake itself out of its lethargy and meet this challenge and opportunity of this hour if it is to be worthy of the name it bears."[12]

World Call emphasized the same point saying that any attempt to economize by dismissing a minister would be "suicidal." A church without a minister would usually face declining interest on the part of its members since it would have little to offer in the way of pastoral services.[13]

By the end of 1933 the ministerial employment situation apparently began to brighten. Few references to the problem are seen in Disciples journals after that date. In August, 1933, *The Christian Standard* erroneously noted that the nation was on the eve of a return to prosperity. Employment seemed to be increasing and wages and farm income appeared certain to rise. Should these conditions materialize, said the *Standard*, ministerial salaries should be restored to their pre-Depression levels as quickly as possible. Furthermore, those churches which had attempted to survive without preaching should restore their preaching ministry as soon as conditions would allow.[14]

In the summer of 1935 F. D. Kershner revealed that he had changed his mind since his earlier column on the problem. He quoted an official of the Pension Fund of the Disciples of Christ to the effect that at that moment only 238 unemployed ministers could be counted and of this number some had been engaged in business for several years. Kershner suggested that the person who was well prepared and trained for the ministry was in very little danger of unemployment. In fact, other professions may have suffered more from the Depression than had the ministry.[15]

While it is impossible to determine the exact extent of ministerial unemployment during the early Depression years, the repeated appearance of articles on the subject in Disciples periodicals indicates that editors thought the problem was serious enough to be brought to the attention of the denomination. It is clear that many churches saw the pulpit as the logical place to economize during hard times.

Salaries

If ministers were spared dismissal as an economy measure, many faced salary reductions as church offerings declined. In March, 1931, a *Christian-Evangelist* editorial warned, "There should be a season of long, long thought before the pastor's salary is cut." Reducing the minister's salary not only hurt financially, but demoralized the person to the extent that the work became less enthusiastic and effective. Other items in church budgets should be reduced before the pastor's salary.[16]

Over a year later the problem was still being discussed. Another *Christian-Evangelist* editorial said, "Everyone should be anxious for the starving church and the starving minister." No church was so poor, it said, that it could not provide some support for a minister. On the other hand, ministers were willing to take salary reductions when there was no other alternative.[17] An August, 1932, editorial recommended that church members share with their pastors "potatoes, cabbage, onions, tomatoes and fruits." It even went so far as to suggest that "everything tastes sweeter and is more nutritious when given by the horny hand of sacrifice."[18]

One aspect of the problem was that before 1929 the Disciples minister was not highly paid. In many cases the salary was a minimum living wage. To reduce a salary that was already at a low level created a greater hardship than many other professions had to endure. Furthermore, it was hard for the minister to promote the world outreach areas of the church program when personal needs were great. One article concluded with a warning that church members must not use hard times to take advantage of the minister. Not only did it hurt the whole church, it was unChristian.[19] An unsigned article in *The Christian-Evangelist* in the spring of 1934 reflected the New Deal when it said that if churches had to meet a National Recovery Administration (NRA) code on ministerial salaries, most would fall short of the requirement. The minister's life was sacrificial at best, and the tendency toward salary reductions was having a destructive effect on the church.

> This program on the part of the churches will force their servants into an apologetic attitude that will impair their work beyond hope. Clothing just a little below standard, shiny and patched, haircuts slightly too infrequent, sermons smacking of the damp of the "barrel," all this and more composes the totality of an underprivileged ministry.[20]

One interesting development was the work of the Board of Church Extension in assuming responsibility for a portion of the minister's salary where a church

had a loan from the Board. This was necessary to safeguard the investments of the Board, since a church without a minister probably would not be able to carry on effectively and offerings would decrease. Money for this salary aid came from interest payments on loans.[21] In 1935, for example, the Board provided salary aid for forty-four ministers. In such cases the Board required that churches consult with it when selecting a new minister.[22]

Retirement

In 1929 the present Pension Fund of the Disciples of Christ was begun. A campaign was launched to raise eight million dollars in capital. The Depression, of course, seriously handicapped the venture, and less than three and a half million dollars were pledged. From 1930 to 1935 less than one million in cash was actually collected from these pledges. Ministers enrolled in the Pension Fund enthusiastically, but local congregations were more inhibited about committing themselves since they would pay a major portion of the dues.[23] Nevertheless, the Pension Fund went into business.

In this connection a *World Call* editorial noted that ministers were not included in the Social Security program of the New Deal even though it was a reflection of the social concerns of the churches. If the church, which had agitated for such programs, should not take care of its own ministers, it would be "the deserved recipient of the scorn of a nation in which social sensitiveness has outrun its spiritual mentor." Disciples churches, in order that they maintain their "self-respect and moral authority" must include their pastors in the Pension Fund.[24]

Bert Wilson, an official of the Pension Fund, insisted that all churches must enroll their ministers in the Fund because

> The church must not be guilty of throwing its aged servants upon the mercy of society. It must not compel them to seek relief in their old age from either church or state.[25]

Evidence, then, from contemporary Disciples periodicals indicates that there was considerable suffering on the part of the ministry during the Depression. While it is impossible to measure the exact extent of it, enough was written to reveal that hard times took their toll among the professional servants of the church. Churches were severely tempted to reduce their minister's salary or dispense with a professional ministry altogether. The successful launching of the Pension Fund in spite of the failure of the capital campaign, however, indicates that the churches were deeply concerned about the plight of the ministry during

the Depression. By the mid-1930s, editors ceased their chiding of congregations about fair treatment for ministers and turned their attention to other issues.

Notes

1. "The Unemployed Preacher," *The Christian Standard*, 24 May 1930, 499.
2. Ibid.
3. "Churches Should Maintain Preaching," *The Christian Standard*, 13 September 1930, 887.
4. "We Have a Prime Duty to Maintain Preaching," *The Christian Standard*, 21 March 1931, 282.
5. F. D. Kershner, "As I Think on These Things," *The Christian-Evangelist*, 22 January 1931, 124.
6. H. H. Peters, "The Problem of Preacher Unemployment," *The Christian-Evangelist*, 12 February 1931, 226-27.
7. "Unemployment in the Ministry," *The Christian-Evangelist*, 24 December 1931, 1678.
8. "Half a Loaf Is Better Than None," *The Christian Standard*, 12 March 1932, 251.
9. "Shall Preachers Be Turned Out to Starve?" *The Christian Standard*, 28 May 1932, 523.
10. S. S. Lappin, "O Yeah, Jobs for Preachers!" *The Christian Standard*, 18 June 1932, 590.
11. "When Churches Balk," *World Call*, October 1933, 5.
12. "Preach the Word," *The Christian-Evangelist*, 4 August 1932, 1000.
13. "Our Most Expensive Economy," *World Call*, January 1932, 3.
14. "Don't Forget the Preacher," *The Christian Standard*, 5 August 1933, 619.
15. F. D. Kershner, "As I Think on These Things," *The Christian-Evangelist*, 12 September 1935, 1193.
16. "The Pastor's Salary," *The Christian-Evangelist*, 19 March 1931, 388-89.
17. "A Time to Practice Brotherhood," *The Christian-Evangelist*, 7 July 1932, 872.
18. "Apostolic Heroism Required Today," *The Christian-Evangelist*, 4 August 1932, 999.
19. B. E. Parish, "The High Cost of the Reduced Salary," *The Christian-Evangelist*, 9 February 1933, 180.
20. "A Code for the Churches?" *The Christian-Evangelist*, 26 April 1934, 556.
21. *1935 Yearbook*, 82-83.
22. *1936 Yearbook*, 89-90.
23. William Martin Smith, *For the Support of the Ministry* (Indianapolis: Pension Fund of the Disciples of Christ, 1956). See Chapter 6, 120-54.

24. "Social Security and the Minister," *World Call*, September 1935, 3.

25. Bert Wilson, "Security Act Leaves the Preacher Out," *World Call*, September 1935, 15.

Restructure and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)

Anthony L. Dunnavant

Restructure was the name given to the process by which one branch of the Stone-Campbell tradition constituted itself the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Restructure was the culmination of a long process of development in the theological ideology, the ecclesiology (understanding of church), and the sociology of the Stone-Campbell movement. Restructure was evolutionary rather than revolutionary in character.[1]

There were a number of individuals, congregations, and groups who opposed or expressed reservations about Restructure as it unfolded. Some of these opponents and critics of the process have been described elsewhere.[2] This essay profiles those who advocated and gave leadership to Restructure. When the focus is kept on Disciples such as these, who were in fellowship with the International Convention of the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) and involved in institutions and agencies related to it, the story of Restructure becomes one characterized by themes of continuity. This continuity is perceptible both in the personnel (between the composition of the restructuring commission with its sub-groups and earlier "Cooperative"[3] Disciples entities) and in the structures they created (between the Disciples organizations in place before Restructure and the shape of the Christian Church [Disciples of Christ]).

In the 1950s Cooperative Disciples found themselves functioning with a complex, multi-layered structure. There were congregations, district conventions, state-level organizations and conventions, educational and benevolent institutions, missionary societies, other cooperating organizations, and the International Convention. By 1953 there were also a number of "linking" entities and efforts that had been made across the previous generation to attempt to bring better order and unity to the ministries of the aforementioned. These included a unified approach to stewardship promotion (Unified Promotion), coordination in program planning (Home and State Missions Planning Council and the National Church Program Coordinating Council), coordination in curriculum and education (Curriculum and Program Council and the Christian Education Assembly) and an interagency coordinating body with responsibility for long-range planning (the Council of Agencies).

The Disciples' complex organization and structure was the focus of a series of ad hoc and sub-committee meetings, largely rooted in the Council of Agencies, that took place between 1954 and 1958. During the latter year the Council of Agencies also sponsored a series of Listening Conferences, the findings of which were reported at the Council's meeting.[4] It was after this meeting that the

Council of Agencies formally brought the matter of structure to the attention of the Board of Directors of the International Convention of the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ).

On October 15, 1958, a Committee on Brotherhood[5] Structure was appointed by the Board of Directors of the International Convention. This committee was to conduct research to determine the scope of the restructure task and to determine the basis for representation on a future Commission on Brotherhood Structure.[6] In 1959 the Board of Directors of the International Convention reported to the Convention its intention of recommending the creation of a Commission on Brotherhood Structure (later changed to Restructure). The following year the Board of Directors brought the report of its Committee on Brotherhood Structure to the attention of the International Convention. This report included the rationale for restructure, recommendations as to its scope, its ways and means, and the financial support of the proposed Commission. Two basic decisions that had been made by this Committee were that the "leadership in any program of restructure" ought to be "centered in the International Convention itself as the voice of all the churches"; and that "thorough cooperation between the churches and the agencies" would be necessary "to create a total program for the church."[7] The Committee's report was accepted and the Board of Directors empowered to begin implementation of the recommendations contained therein. The Board of Directors appointed a Central Committee which met in 1961 and began preparing nominations for a Commission on Brotherhood Restructure of approximately 120 members.[8]

Again, there was considerable continuity in the several bodies that were brought into being during the process of creating a Commission on Brotherhood Restructure. For example, the Committee on Brotherhood Structure, which had been appointed by the Board of Directors of the International Convention in 1958, was composed of eleven regular and two ex officio members.[9] The successor of the Committee on Brotherhood Structure, in terms of carrying forward the task it had set forth, was the Commission itself. Of the thirteen members (regular and ex officio) of the Committee on Brotherhood Structure, eleven were named to the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure.[10]

The Commission on Brotherhood Restructure was a large body (125 members at its inception in 1962).[11] The nomination of the Commission had been entrusted to a committee that the Board of Directors of the International Convention appointed in 1961–the Central Committee of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure.[12]

The Central Committee of the Commission was largely composed of religious professionals. When originally formed the Committee had eighteen members.[13] Thirteen of the eighteen were ministers.[14] Of the remaining five members, one was the second vice-president of the International Convention; another was a pastor's spouse and president of the board of directors of Unified Promotion;

a third was the president of a Disciples of Christ college; a fourth chaired the board of directors of the Christian Board of Publication; and the fifth was on the boards of trustees of the National Benevolent Association and the Disciples of Christ Historical Society.

The Central Committee was not only primarily clerical rather than lay; it was also heavily laden with ministers who were involved in extralocal Disciples organizations. Of the thirteen ministers on the Committee, four were local pastors. Among the other nine, two were state secretaries, four were staff members of national-level Disciples agencies, and three were educators.[15]

The composition of the Central Committee changed somewhat during Restructure, but these characteristics were retained and even strengthened. By 1965 there were twenty-seven members on the Central Committee. Of the twenty-seven, twenty-three were ministers. Thirteen of the members were staff members (one retired) of national-level Disciples agencies; four were educators at institutions related to the Disciples Board of Higher Education; three were state secretaries; and four were pastors of local congregations.[16] Four of the original five lay members of the Central Committee remained, all of whom had national level agency ties other than their membership on the Central Committee. Therefore, not only did the original impetus for Restructure come out of the extralocal agencies (especially the Council of Agencies), but the process remained largely in the hands of those with extralocal agency ties.

The increasing diversification of Disciples national agencies, the decreasing isolation of Disciples ministers in terms of their theological education, the change to a more interdenominationally cooperative approach to missions, and urbanization each had influenced the structural history of the Stone-Campbell movement by the twentieth century. In light of this, the characteristics of the Central Committee of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure in terms of national agency involvement, theological education, ecumenical participation, and urbanism become significant. The national agency involvement of the members of the Central Committee has been established.

At least nine of the thirteen ministers on the original Central Committee received at least part of their graduate or theological education at non-Disciples institutions.[17] No fewer than sixteen of the twenty-three ministers on the expanded 1965 Central Committee received at least part of their graduate or theological education at non-Disciples institutions. The University of Chicago, Yale, and Union Theological Seminary were particularly well-attended by the members of this group.[18]

Ecumenical interest and participation might be measured, in part, by direct, active participation in the National Council of Churches, in the World Council of Churches, or on the boards, committees, commissions, or departments of the Disciples' own Council on Christian Unity. Of the original eighteen Central Committee members, at least twelve were or had been active in the National

Council, four in the World Council, and nine in the Council on Christian Unity.[19] Of the twenty-seven members of the enlarged Central Committee, at least twenty-two were or had been active in the National Council, nine in the World Council, and fifteen in the Council on Christian Unity.[20]

Thirteen of the eighteen members of the original Central Committee were from cities with populations of more than 250,000, and all eighteen were from cities of more than 25,000. Of the twenty-seven members of the later Committee, twenty-two were from cities of more than 250,000, and all but one of the remaining five lived in cities of 25,000 or more.[21]

Disciples extralocal agency involvement, an ecumenical outlook rooted in education and council involvement, and urban residence were among the sociological characteristics of the members of the Central Committee. These paralleled the characteristics and trends that had influenced the Cooperative Disciples' organizational development since before the turn of the century.[22]

When the actual Commission on Brotherhood Restructure was formed, its composition reflected to some degree that of the Central Committee. The Central Committee reported in 1962:

> The Central Committee has served as a nominating committee to the Board of Directors for the selection of a representative and responsible Commission.
>
> Among the criteria of qualifications to serve on the Commission were the following: 1) ability to give the necessary time; 2) depth of interest and constructive attitude toward the Brotherhood; 3) capacity to approach problems of objectivity, e.g., with an open mind, an irenic spirit; 4) a person who has the respect of other people in the state; 5) ability to work with others; 6) competence in one or more of the following areas–churchmanship, biblical thought, theology, church history, organization and administration, current problems and issues of the social order, the church in modern culture, legal experience, ability to interpret.
>
> The following categories were kept in mind as all selections were made: geography–state and area, laymen, laywomen, ministers, theological professors, administrators, agency representatives and members-at-large with exceptional experience. The present 125-member Commission represents 34 lay people and 91 ministers; 17 women and 108 men; 30 churches that may be classified as small (500 or less) and 95 that are large.[23]

The Commission was heavily skewed in the directions of being clerical rather than lay, male rather than female, and representing large congregations rather than small congregations. Although the Committee asserted that congregations having five hundred or fewer members "may be classified as small,"

in actuality the *average* size of Disciples congregations at this time was 219 members.[24] The perspective of the Commission would be ecumenically informed and committed, theologically educated and sophisticated, oriented toward the urban or large congregation, and thoroughly Cooperative. Of the Commission's original 125 members, nineteen were from Indianapolis, nine of whom were on the Central Committee (which in 1962 had twenty-four members).[25]

Profiles of the individual leaders of Restructure illustrate and add nuances to the patterns of background, commitment, and involvement characteristic of the Restructure groups. By 1963, the Central Committee of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure was able to report that the full Commission (around 125 members) and the smaller Central Committee (which had expanded to twenty-five members) were functioning.[26] Granville T. Walker, minister of the 3,543-member University Christian Church in Forth Worth, Texas, had been elected to chair both the Central Committee and the full Commission on Brotherhood Restructure.[27] Walker had been a pastor of Disciples churches, had chaired the undergraduate Bible department of Texas Christian University, and been president of the International Convention. He was a Ph.D. graduate of Yale and the author of *Preaching in the Thought of Alexander Campbell*.[28]

When the office of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure first opened in February 1961, George Earle Owen had been appointed administrative secretary.[29] Owen's services were made available to the Commission by the Disciples' United Christian Missionary Society (UCMS), in which Owen was executive chair of one of the Society's three divisions.[30] Later, the voluntary service of Owen gave way to the appointment of A. Dale Fiers as part-time administrative secretary of the Commission.[31]

A. Dale Fiers was, at that time, the president of the UCMS.[32] Fiers was a graduate of Bethany College and Yale Divinity School. He served as the pastor of various Disciples congregations in Ohio from 1929 until he became president of the UCMS–a position he held from 1951 to 1964. Fiers was also active in the National and World Councils of Churches and was a Disciples delegate to the Consultation on Church Union (COCU) beginning in 1962.[33] Fiers left his position with the Commission to become the executive secretary of the International Convention in 1964. Shortly thereafter, Kenneth L. Teegarden was called upon to become the administrative secretary of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure.[34] It was under Teegarden's administrative leadership that the process of Restructure was brought to completion. He has been called the "architect" of Restructure.[35]

Kenneth Teegarden was born and reared in Oklahoma and began his undergraduate studies at Oklahoma State University in 1938.[36] His intention at that time was to become a lawyer and his studies were concentrated in American and world history. Teegarden brought to the Restructure process a "sense of constitutional responsibility" that was in part influenced by this

background. Another factor from Teegarden's early life that he believed made an impact upon his approach to Restructure was the atmosphere of "frontier life" and "populism" that he sensed while growing up in Oklahoma. Teegarden had been a regular participant in a Disciples congregation from a very early age.[37] Teegarden completed his undergraduate studies at Phillips University (a Disciples college in Enid, Oklahoma) and also earned an M.A. degree there. Thereafter he earned the B.D. degree from Brite Divinity School of Texas Christian University (a Disciples institution in Forth Worth). After seminary Teegarden held several pastorates in Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas.[38] He was active in the Board of Higher Education, Unified Promotion, and the UCMS, and served on the general board of the National Council of Churches.[39]

At the time he was made administrative secretary of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, Teegarden was serving as executive secretary of the Arkansas Christian Missionary Society.[40] In this capacity, as a state secretary, Teegarden had already been named to the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure. Once in the position of administrative secretary of the Commission, Teegarden undertook to read "everything that Alexander Campbell ever wrote on church organization." According to Teegarden, this was the "second strongest influence" (after that of his general background) on his approach to Restructure.[41]

From 1962 through 1967 the full Commission on Brotherhood Restructure met annually. The Central Committee met more frequently and was "the most responsible entity" for actually drafting the Commission's proposals. The Executive Committee also met more frequently and was "an administrative group that prepared agendas."[42] By 1965 the Executive Committee was composed of the following persons in addition to Granville Walker, A. Dale Fiers, and Kenneth Teegarden: Myron C. Cole, Gaines M. Cook, Howard E. Dentler, Stephen J. England, George Earle Owen, and Willard M. Wickizer.[43]

Myron C. Cole was born in Abilene, Kansas, and reared in Glendale, California. He was a 1931 graduate of Chapman College (a Disciples institution) and had undertaken graduate study at the University of Chicago, George Williams College, and Yale. He had held pastorates in California, Ohio, Oregon, and Indiana. He was active in the Council on Christian Unity of the Disciples of Christ, served as a Disciples representative to the National Council of Churches and had chaired the 1957 Program Committee of the International Convention.[44]

Gaines M. Cook was born and reared in LeRoy, Illinois. He was educated at Eureka College (a Disciples college in Eureka, Illinois), from which he earned the A.B. degree in 1921, and Yale, from which he earned the B.D. degree in 1925. He was the pastor of several congregations in Illinois and one in New York. He was on the board of trustees of The College of the Bible, chairman of the Home and State Missions Planning Council, and president of the National Association of State Secretaries. Cook held several positions as a member of

the general board of the National Council of Churches, and was also a delegate to the first and second assemblies of the World Council of Churches.[45] In 1946 Cook left his position as state secretary in Ohio to become the first full-time executive secretary of the International Convention, in which position he remained until 1964.[46]

Howard E. Dentler was born in Chicago. He did undergraduate work in economics at Stetson University (Southern Baptist) in Deland, Florida, and received his B.D. degree from The College of the Bible. He was pastor of Central Christian Church in Jacksonville, Florida, from 1957 to 1962.[47] In 1961 Dentler became the assistant to the executive secretary of the International Convention. In that position he also served as the editor of the Disciples' *Year Book*.[48]

Stephen J. England was the dean of the Graduate Seminary of Phillips University in Enid, Oklahoma. By 1966 England had been on the faculty at Phillips for forty-one years.[49] He had studied at Colorado College, Phillips University, Princeton Theological Seminary, the University of Chicago, the University of Michigan, and received the Ph.D. degree from Yale.[50] He served as the chairman of the Disciples' Board of Higher Education. He was active in the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches and was on the advisory board for the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. In 1966 England was the president of the Disciples' International Convention.[51]

George Earle Owen was a native of Virginia. He was a graduate of Bethany College (B.A.), the University of Chicago (M.A.), Union Theological Seminary (B.D.), and Columbia University (Ed.D.). Owen held four pastorates in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New York. He was a news correspondent for the *Christian* and the *Christian Century*. In 1948 he attended the first assembly of the World Council of Churches. By 1966 Owen had been associated with the UCMS in many capacities in the United States and abroad.[52] He was the executive chairman of the Division of General Departments of the UCMS when he became the first voluntary administrative secretary of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure.[53]

Willard M. Wickizer had been the chairman of the Committee on Brotherhood Structure.[54] It was he who had presented the paper, "Ideas for Brotherhood Restructure" at the 1958 meeting of the Council of Agencies.[55] Wickizer was a B.A. graduate of the University of Oklahoma and had earned an M.R.E. (Master of Religious Education) degree from Boston University. He served congregations in Oklahoma, Kansas, Iowa, and Missouri, and was once the chairman of the board of the Missouri Christian Missionary Society. Most of his career, however, was with the UCMS. It was as chairman of the Division of Home Missions of the UCMS that Wickizer helped to organize the Home and State Missions Planning Council.[56] He served for twenty-two years as the administrative secretary of this body. Wickizer was the administrative secretary of the National Church Program Coordinating Council from 1950 through

the time of his membership in the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, and was the chairman of the Council of Agencies from 1960 to 1962. Wickizer also served at one time as vice-president of the National Council of Churches.[57]

These biographical sketches demonstrate that the characteristics already apparent in the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure and in the Central Committee are even more pronounced in the Executive Committee. All of the members of the Executive Committee were clergy who were experienced in the national level of the organized life of the Disciples. Seven of the nine members had received part of their graduate theological education at non-Disciples institutions (five of them had studied at Yale). All but two members of the Executive Committee were active in the National Council of Churches.[58] Seven of the nine were from cities with populations of over 250,000 (five were from Indianapolis).

In addition to the Executive and Central Committees of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, the Commission created a set of nine Special Task Committees. These were the Committees on Revision of the Basic Documents, on Continuing Theological Evaluation, on the Program Structures of the Brotherhood and the Relationships of the National and State Program Planning Bodies, on the Promotional Structures and Relationships in the Brotherhood, on the Structure of the Local Church, on the Ecumenical Relationships of the Brotherhood, on Restructure Participation Meetings, on The Nature and Authority of the International Convention, and on the Ministry.[59]

The work of these task committees was "the first major influence" on the *Provisional Design of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*.[60] These task committees were authorized by the full Commission in its 1963 annual meeting in Chicago, and were brought into being by the Central Committee during the 1963-64 year.[61] The task committees were composed not only of members of the Commission but also of "persons of special competence" who were drawn "from the Brotherhood-at-large."[62] Not everyone on the Commission was assigned to a task committee.[63] The task committees were chaired by (in the order in which the committees are listed above): W. B. Blakemore, Ronald E. Osborn, James A. Moak, Spencer P. Austin, Jo M. Riley, Virgil A. Sly, Harrell A. Rea, Leslie R. Smith, and Paul S. Stauffer.[64]

W. B. Blakemore was born in 1912 in Perth, Australia. He was the son of a Disciples minister. He grew up in St. Louis and attended the Union Avenue Christian Church there during the years that the UCMS had its headquarters in St. Louis. In 1933 he graduated from Washington University with a B. S. in engineering. Blakemore went on to the Divinity School of the University of Chicago from which he graduated with M.A. (1937), B.D. (1938), and Ph.D. (1941) degrees. After ordination in 1941 Blakemore began teaching at the University of Chicago, and after 1945 he was the dean of the Disciples Divinity House there. He became active in the Council of Agencies, the Board of Higher

Education, the Council on Christian Unity, the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, the National Evangelistic Association, the Home and State Missions Planning Council, and the National and World Councils of Churches. He edited the *Scroll*, the publication of the Campbell Institute. He was also the general editor of the *Panel of Scholars Reports*.[65] Blakemore himself contributed to the *Reports* "The Issue of Polity for Disciples Today," which sets forth a view of polity very similar to that adopted by the Disciples during Restructure. Blakemore was the inaugural lecturer of the Forrest F. Reed Lectures of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society. Based on his experience as "a delegate-observer in the last session of the Second Vatican Council," Blakemore lectured on "how their dialogues with the Reformed churches, the world and Rome are leading the Christian Churches to new discoveries about the nature of the church."[66] Blakemore headed the Special Task Committee on the Revision of the Basic Documents, in which capacity he "made a large contribution to the wording of the reports which came from the commission, especially to the . . . preamble to the Provisional Design."[67]

Ronald E. Osborn chaired the Special Task Committee on Continuing Theological Evaluation. The major influence on Osborn's background may be stated in his own words. "No debt equals that which I owe my father, G. Edwin Osborn. In my youth he was my pastor, in college and seminary my teacher, in all the years of my ministry until his death the most congenial of comrades."[68] Ronald Osborn was educated at Phillips University (A.B., M.A., and B.D.) and at the University of Oregon (Ph.D). He served in several pastorates and as editor-at-large of the *Christian Century*. In the 1960s he was dean, vice-president, and professor of church history at Christian Theological Seminary in Indianapolis.[69] Osborn was a member of the Board of Higher Education and the board of trustees of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society.[70] He was also very active in the World Council of Churches, and was a delegate to COCU beginning in 1962.[71]

Osborn edited the first volume of the *Panel of Scholars Reports*, and contributed to the *Reports* "A Theology of Denominations and Principles for Brotherhood Restructure," "One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church: The Continuing Witness of Disciples of Christ," "Dogmatically Absolute, Historically Relative: Conditioned Emphases in the History of Disciples of Christ," and "Crisis and Reformation: A Preface to Volume I."[72] In this preface he offered a forthright and systematic refutation of the restoration emphasis in the traditional Disciples "plea."[73] Osborn's influence on the work of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure was a key factor in giving the process of Restructure a new direction.[74] When Osborn delivered his three lectures to the Commission in 1964,[75] "at that moment, the decision was made to switch from an association of churches to the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)."[76] Ronald Osborn was a controversial figure during Restructure because of his forthrightness in

denouncing restorationism and his heavy involvement in the ecumenical movement. Critics of Disciples ecumenism and Restructure found ammunition in Osborn's 1965 book, *A Church for These Times*, in which Osborn wrote sympathetically about the "possibilities in episcopacy."[77]

James A Moak, who chaired the Special Task Committee on the Program Structures of the Brotherhood, was the state secretary of the Kentucky Association of Christian Churches.[78] He was a graduate of Transylvania College and The College of the Bible.[79] Before becoming the state secretary in Kentucky in 1957, Moak had served several congregations in Kentucky as pastor and had been the president of the Unified Program of the Christian Churches of Kentucky and the pastoral evangelist of the Mississippi Christian Churches. He had been on the advisory boards of several Disciples educational institutions and active in the Council of Agencies and Home and State Missions Planning Council.[80]

Spencer Austin chaired the Special Task Committee on Promotional Structures. Austin was born in Oklahoma. He earned A.B. and B. D. degrees from Phillips University in Enid, Oklahoma. In 1957 Austin became the executive secretary of Unified Promotion. For eleven years prior to assuming that position he was on the staff of the UCMS, "first as Director of Evangelism and then as chairman of the Division of General Services."[81] As director of Unified Promotion, Austin participated in the Council of Agencies and in other "inter-agency commissions and councils of the brotherhood." Austin was also active in the ecumenical movement–he was a member of the assembly of the National Council of Churches and served on the executive committee of Church World Service.[82]

Jo M. Riley, who chaired the Special Task Committee on the Structure of the Local Church, was reared and educated in Kentucky. He graduated from Transylvania College and The College of the Bible. During seminary Riley served congregations in Kentucky. After serving as a Navy chaplain in World War II, Riley had pastorates in Kentucky, Indiana, and North Carolina. He did additional study at Union Theological Seminary and Christian Theological Seminary. He was on the executive committees of the Council on Christian Unity and the Board of Higher Education.[83]

Virgil A. Sly headed the Special Task Committee on Ecumenical Relationships. Sly was a graduate of Cotner College, a Disciples institution in Lincoln, Nebraska. He joined the staff of the UCMS in 1927. In 1950, Sly became the chairman of the Division of World Mission. He had served under five presidents of the UCMS when he became the sixth in 1964. Sly had been a member of the board of directors of Unified Promotion since its formation. He was active in the Council of Agencies and served the Council on Christian Unity as director of the Department of Ecumenical Services. He chaired the Program Committee of the International Convention in 1962.[84]

Harrell A. Rea chaired the Special Task Committee on Listening Conferences (later named "Restructure Participation Meetings").[85] He was a graduate of both the undergraduate college and the seminary of Texas Christian University. He began his ministerial career as an education director and was subsequently the pastor of several congregations in Texas. In 1954 and 1955 Rea was the director of Church Development of the Texas Board of Christian Churches. After another pastorate he returned to administration as the executive secretary of the Christian Church Commission of the Greater Kansas City Area. Rea was active in the Home and State Missions Planning Council, for whom he chaired the Urban Committee in the early 1960s.[86]

The Special Task Committee on the Nature and Authority of the International Convention was chaired by Leslie R. Smith. Smith was a graduate of Cotner College and Yale Divinity School. He undertook additional graduate study at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. In 1963 Smith was the senior minister of Central Christian Church in Lexington, Kentucky, immediate past president of the International Convention, chairman of the life and work committee of the board of trustees of the UCMS, on the board of curators of Transylvania College, and a member of the Board of Higher Education. Smith was a Disciples representative to the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in 1958.[87]

The Special Task Committee on the Ministry was chaired by Paul S. Stauffer. Stauffer was born in Norwood, Ohio. He did his undergraduate work at Transylvania College and his seminary studies at The College of the Bible. He did additional graduate study at the University of Chicago and Union Theological Seminary. Stauffer served the Union Avenue Christian Church in St. Louis as associate minister and served several pastorates in Missouri and Kentucky. Active in extralocal Disciples organizations, Stauffer "served on many boards and committees," including seminary boards. Beginning in 1964, he was the chairman of the board of directors of the Council on Christian Unity. Stauffer was active in the National and World Councils of Churches and was a Disciples representative to COCU beginning in 1962.[88]

As a group those who chaired the special task committees conform generally to the patterns which characterized the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, the Central Committee, and the Executive committee. They were all male, all clergy; all of them were either staff or volunteer members of national Disciples agencies; the majority of them received at least part of their graduate education at non-Disciples institutions; the majority were active in the World Council of Churches; and all of them resided in cities with populations of more than fifty thousand.[89]

The Special Task Committee on the Nature and Authority of the International Convention had proposed a "General Association of Christian

Churches." However, in 1964 a basic shift occurred in the Restructure process (a shift associated with Ronald Osborn's lectures on the Church) when the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure rejected the proposal for a general association in favor of the idea of creating the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). A new task committee was created and charged with the responsibility of writing a "design" for the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). This committee, which first met in July 1964, had sixteen members "plus the Executive Committee of the commission serving in an ex officio capacity."[90] Of the sixteen regular members, thirteen were ministers;[91] twelve were employed by extralocal Disciples institutions or agencies (six were on the staffs of national level agencies, four were state secretaries, and two were educators at a Disciples seminary); two were pastors of local congregations; and two were laymen.[92] The congregations of the two members who were local pastors each had more than fifteen hundred members. The majority of the sixteen were involved in the National or World Councils of Churches.[93] Chairing the new task committee was W. A. Welsh.[94]

W. A. Welsh was a native of Fort Worth, Texas. He was an undergraduate and seminary alumnus of Texas Christian University, where he also taught. He served several pastorates in Texas before coming to the thirty-eight-hundred-member East Dallas Christian Church in 1949. In 1964, when he was named chairman of the Special Task Committee on Nature and Design, he was the president of the International Convention and had been named the tenth president of Lexington Theological Seminary (The College of the Bible).[95] He was also active in the National Council of Churches.[96]

Many links between the leaders of the commissions and committees entrusted with the Restructure process and the organizations that had evolved among Cooperative Disciples by the mid-twentieth century are clear. Similarly, the ecumenical involvement of many of the leaders of Restructure reflects the ecumenical commitments that had evolved among Cooperative Disciples prior to Restructure. Ecumenical involvement was certainly not a product of Restructure among Disciples; it existed before, during, and after Restructure. In light of the composition of the Commission and its major committees, Loren Lair's statement that "the Commission on Restructure was not packed; it was not loaded with staff personnel,"[97] would be difficult to support. In some senses, the Commission was "packed." After all, it was principally the extralocal, organized, cooperative life of the Disciples that was being restructured. That is the primary reason that the process was entrusted to those who were involved in that organized life. This does not mean, however, that the process of Restructure was self-serving to its leaders and detrimental to the denomination at large. The impact of Restructure upon the denomination as a whole may be seen, in part, by examining the structures resulting from Restructure.

Not surprisingly, the structures that resulted from Restructure resembled, more than anything else, those that had evolved during the history of cooperative work among the Disciples of Christ. The continuity of leadership that prevailed into Restructure paralleled an organizational continuity that also persisted throughout Restructure and beyond it. This fact is reflected in the following statement in the *1969 Year Book*: "The general committee and commission structure of the International Convention has been carried over for the time being into the Christian Church."[98] If the beginning of the formal process of Restructure is identified with the creation of the Committee on Brotherhood Structure in 1958, then 1957 may be said to be immediately "pre-Restructure." Similarly, if Restructure may be said to have been formally completed with the adoption of the *Provisional Design for the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* at Kansas City, Missouri, in 1968, then 1969 may be said to be immediately "post-Restructure." The organizational continuity that persisted throughout Restructure may be seen by comparing the structures of the Disciples of Christ in these two years (1957 and 1969). The pattern of continuity is much more evident than the fact of change in these organizations.

The composition of the main restructuring leadership shows that Restructure was carried out largely by those who were committed to and involved in those organizations that had arisen among Cooperative Disciples. It is clear that these leaders did not wish to scuttle those organizations, but to give those organizations–and the congregations that supported them, and which they were designed to serve–a greater sense of their relatedness. Even before Ronald Osborn presented the lectures that have been credited with moving the Restructure process "toward the Christian Church,"[99] the committee on Brotherhood Structure presented a rationale for Restructure which displayed a vivid consciousness of the ecclesiological history of the Disciples. The rationale noted that the Disciples had traditionally had little theology of church for bodies beyond the local congregation. This factor was compounded with the Disciples origins in a movement that had not set out to become a separate Christian body and that feared the denominational status that might be implied by the development of organizational structures. Nevertheless, the committee noted:

> . . . During the past half century there has come to the Disciples of Christ a growing sense of maturity. An increasing number of our people have come to feel that no matter what we started out to be we are in deed and in fact a separate religious body and as such we should act in a responsible fashion but that our present organizational structure keeps us from a full expression of our maturity. Furthermore the conviction has come to us that the *Church* is something more than the sum total of local congregations, that it has a very real and vital total

> entity that should be reflected in its corporate structure. These changing concepts have already had a profound effect on our organized life.[100]

Being able to express the reality of a corporate entity that came to be called the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) was the principal act of Restructure. This expression of the total corporate life of Disciples, however, was not confused with the Church universal. As Osborn put it:

> What then is the character of our corporate life? It is something far more than a convention, far more than a policy of cooperation, far more than an association of churches. It is the church, as surely as any congregation is the church. It is not yet the whole church, but it is the church.[101]

This, then, was the fundamental change brought about by Restructure. The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) would no longer seek to deny the reality of its denominational existence. This was the result of changes that had been unfolding for a long time–the process of at least part of the Stone-Campbell movement's becoming, in fact, a denomination. Because the Disciples of Christ had begun as a movement that held Christian unity among its ideals, they were reluctant to admit that they had become still another separate denomination. One strategy for avoiding this admission was to claim that the Stone-Campbell movement was not another denomination, but, in fact, *the* Church. A second alternative was to retain ecclesiological language that denied a denominational status to a body that was, by any objective standard, a separate and identifiable religious body. A third alternative was that chosen by the Cooperative Disciples. It was the alternative that flowed logically out of the fifty years of increasing organizational development and coordination as a denomination. It was also the alternative that conformed to the recognition that other Christian bodies, the historic churches, were legitimate partners in the mission of the Church universal. That alternative was to admit to and embrace denominational status and to adopt churchly organizational language. The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) would not style itself "undenominational." Nor would it claim to be the Church universal. Nor would it continue to deny its churchly character behind a series of euphemisms of its own tradition's device or adoption: "society" for extracongregational denominational organization, "brotherhood" for the entire denomination, "secretary" (less commonly "evangelist") for those engaged in state and national ministries.

The document that contained the new ecclesiological language was originally adopted as *A Provisional Design for the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*. The polity that was embodied in the *Design* is best summarized in the third paragraph of its Preamble:

> Within the universal body of Christ, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) manifests itself organizationally in free and voluntary relationships at congregational, regional, and general levels. Each manifestation, with reference to the function for which it is uniquely responsible, is characterized by its integrity, self-government, authority, rights and responsibilities.[102]

Thus, the *Design* constituted the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) as a single entity within the Church universal. That single entity was composed of local, regional, and general "manifestations" that were already largely in existence before Restructure, but which would now be understood as part of a single entity. Thus, the "cooperating organizations" of 1957 became the "administrative units" of 1969. The earlier language implied separateness; the later language implied unity. The International Convention of Disciples of Christ–renamed the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) late in 1957–gave way to the General Assembly of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Again, the earlier language (convention of church*es*) emphasized the separateness of the congregations. The new gathering was to be called the assembly of *a* church. A corollary of this change was that the individual members of congregations of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) would themselves be members of that larger church.

The change in the national gathering was more than a change in nomenclature. There had been several unsuccessful attempts during the history of the Disciples of Christ to create a broadly representative body with clear criteria for its composition. The shape of the General Assembly was set forth as follows:[103]

> All members of the Christian Church who register for the General Assembly shall have all privileges of the Assembly except that voting privileges shall be limited to the following: (a) Voting representatives from congregations. Each congregation of the Christian Church shall be entitled to have two voting representatives, plus one additional voting representative for each 500 participating members or major fraction thereof over the first 500. These voting representatives from congregations shall be in addition to persons holding the office of ordained minister.
>
> (b) Voting representatives from regions. Each region shall be entitled to have one voting representative for each 3,000 participating members or major fraction thereof within the region. Each region shall have a minimum of three voting representatives. These voting representatives from regions shall be in addition to persons holding the office of ordained minister. The voting representatives from each region shall include both men and women.

> (c) The ordained ministers who have ministerial standing in the Christian Church in accordance with the policies established by the General Assembly. . . .
>
> (d) Members of the Christian Church not otherwise voting members who are the chief administrative officers of institutions and general boards which are recognized by the General Assembly.
>
> (e) Members of the General Board not otherwise voting members.[104]

This representative body was designed to have the final authority within the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). The General Assembly would receive all items of business from the General board and act upon them in the Assembly's biennial meeting. Provision was also made within the *Design* for the submission of business on an emergency basis directly to the General Assembly through the Committee on Reference and Counsel.[105]

The General Assembly was designed to be a broadly representative body. Ideally, it would represent congregations, regions, and institutions of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) on a largely proportionate basis. In light of this fact, it may be said that the leaders of Restructure did not conspire to take control of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Rather, they created a structure, the General Assembly, which would place the final authority in the hands of a broadly representative body. Whether or not the congregations, regions, and institutions of the Disciples of Christ take advantage of the opportunity to participate in the General Assembly, the *Design* does provide that opportunity. Despite the fact that the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, and especially the Central, Executive, and Task Committees were led by persons with national and regional level interests, the *Design* did not structurally centralize authority.

Perhaps the most apparently "centralizing" feature of the General Assembly's design is its extension of voting privileges to all ordained ministers in the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). This feature may be seen as something of a departure of the anti-clericalism in the earliest tradition of the Stone-Campbell movement. The departure, however, is very likely much less pronounced from the sociological reality of the voluntary, mass-meeting conventions that had been held throughout Disciples history. That is, these conventions had probably always attracted a relatively high proportion of "preachers" (however clerically or anti-clerically they were regarded).[106] Furthermore, because the traditional mass-meetings were so voluntaryistic there was no structural check on the potential of a preacher-dominated assembly under the older Disciples practice.

The General Board created during Restructure was secondary to the General Assembly in two ways: first, it only recommended action to the General Assembly; and second, the Board was elected from the General Assembly–half from the regions on a proportionate basis, the other half from the Assembly at large.

The *Design* stipulated that one-third to one-half of the General board be ministers.[107] The General Board would be without doubt an influential body; but its influence was, by the *Design*, subordinate to the authority of the General Assembly.

The *Design* also provided for an Administrative Committee, three-quarters of whom were to be drawn from the General Board. In addition, the officers of the Christian Church were ex officio members of the Administrative Committee. The officers of the Christian Church included the volunteer officers of the General Assembly–a moderator and first and second vice-moderators. The moderator, whose term of office was two years, presided at the General Assembly. The other officers of the Christian Church–the general minister and president, secretary, and treasurer–were salaried. The term of office of the general minister and president was six years. The Administrative Committee, which was the program planning, implementation, grievance, and promotional body, included both staff and volunteers, and was the liaison between the professional administrative personnel of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the larger, more representative bodies. The Administrative Committee, like the General Board, was to be at least one-half lay in composition.[108]

Among the clearest indicators that Restructure did not really place power in the hands of an oligarchic structure is the language used in the paragraphs which set forth the rights and responsibilities of congregations.

> Among the rights recognized and safeguarded to congregations are the right: to manage their affairs under the Lordship of Jesus Christ; to adopt or retain their names and charters or constitutions and bylaws; *to determine in faithfulness to the gospel their practice with respect to the basis of membership; to own, control and incumber their property*; to organize for carrying out the mission and witness of the church; to establish their budgets and financial policies; to call their ministers; and to participate through voting representatives in forming the corporate judgment of the Christian Church. . . .
>
> While congregations are responsive to the needs of general and regional programs established with the participation of the congregations' representatives in the general and regional assemblies, all financial support of the general and regional programs of the Christian Church by congregations and individuals is voluntary.[109](Italics mine.)

The rights of individual congregations, even when it came to the long-contested question of open membership, were preserved in the *Design*. Equally, the *Design* made clear that the regional and general manifestations of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) did not intend to encroach upon the property rights of

congregations. This is significant because allegations of intended encroachments upon the property rights of congregations were a prominent part of the controversy surrounding Restructure.[110]

Restructure has been shown to have exhibited a pattern of continuity with prior Cooperative Disciples life in a number of ways. The principal bodies that were entrusted with the Restructure process were dominated by leaders who were experienced in the state and national organizational life of the Disciples. The structures created resembled nothing so much as the structures that had evolved among Cooperative Disciples during the generations that preceded the formal process of Restructure. It is reasonable to conclude that the fact that the actual organizational shape of the Disciples of Christ did not change in a revolutionary way in the process of Restructure was insured by the composition of the bodies that undertook the process and the backgrounds and commitments of those who led them. The *Provisional Design* provided for a General Assembly which would be empowered to take final action upon the recommendations originating from the church's other bodies, most of which retained much of their earlier character. This Assembly was established on a broadly representative basis. The rights of the individual congregation were carefully safeguarded in the *Design*. Participation in and financial support of the regional and general manifestations of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) remained strictly voluntary. The moral suasion of the general and regional manifestations and the congregations' sense of covenant with the larger bodies, rather than highly formal authority, was to hold the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) together.[111] At the conclusion of Restructure, the organizations of the Cooperative Disciples and that which had traditionally bound them together remained intact. But alongside these were some new emphases.

What had changed more dramatically than structure in Restructure was the ecclesiological language of the Disciples. Yet this change, too, was not abrupt or surprising. Rather, the Disciples' language of self-description was brought up to date with the theology and practices of church life that had evolved among Cooperative Disciples. This evolution can be described as an adaptation of the traditional Disciples commitment to the *restoration* of New Testament Christianity, characterized by both *unity* and *liberty*, and empowered by that unity and liberty to evangelize the world. This was the early Disciples *mission*, undertaken in the light of Christian hope.[112]

Unquestionably, one of the most important theological voices in the Restructure process was that of Ronald Osborn. Osborn recalls having "dared to propose" at the first meeting of the Commission that restorationism would not be an adequate methodology for Restructure. That restoration "was no longer tenable in the light of current understanding of the New Testament"[113] had been one of the conclusions of the Panel of Scholars. This Panel had

convened under the sponsorship of the Disciples' UCMS and Board of Higher Education between 1957 and 1963. Kenneth Teegarden has estimated that 100 of the 130 members of the Commission read the *Panel of Scholars Reports*, which provided "the theological and sociological underpinnings for the process" of Restructure.[114]

Three members of the Commission on Restructure had themselves contributed to the Panel of Scholars' repudiation of restorationism. In the *Reports*, Ronald Osborn had written, "Restorationism has been rejected or redefined beyond recognition by Disciple scholarship (e.g., as found in the faculties of accredited seminaries), and the notion that the New Testament is a constitution for the church is repudiated by biblical scholars generally."[115] A second member of the Panel of Scholars who was also a member of the Commission was Ralph G. Wilburn. He had concluded that since "the restoration idea is basically a false concept . . . it would seem wise to abandon the use of the term altogether."[116] A third person common to the Panel of Scholars and the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure also served on the commission's Central Committee and chaired the Task Committee on Basic Documents.[117] This was W. B. Blakemore. Blakemore concurred with his colleagues Osborn and Wilburn: "Whatever the historic significance for Disciples of 'restorationism,' it is not our tradition."[118]

The Commission on Brotherhood Restructure incorporated the conception of restorationism that had been expressed in the writings of the Panel of Scholars into its own documents. That is, restorationism was honored as part of the past tradition of the Disciples of Christ but it was not to be the method by which new structures were to be created. Rather than restructuring along lines provided by a notion of restoration, the Commission saw its task as being "guided by principles which characterize the wholeness of Christ's church." Seven such principles were articulated by the Commission. They saw Disciples seeking structures that would be "rooted in Christ's ministry made known through Scripture," "comprehensive in ministry and mission," ones "by which congregations may fulfill their ministries," "responsibly inter-related," "manifesting both unity and diversity," "ecumenical," and "faithful in stewardship." Although the first principle refers to the rooting of structure in Scripture, this is not understood in restorationist terms. The principles that guided the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure carried forward a heavy emphasis on unity and mission. This emphasis was sometimes stated in terms of ecumenicity and ministry.[119]

The repudiation of the restoration ideal must be understood in the light of the commitment of the leaders of Restructure to other cherished ideals of the Stone-Campbell movement. Restoration was understood as a method by which the movement hoped to achieve the union of the Church universal and the evangelization of the world. Thus, the unity and the mission of the Church

had priority over the particular method by which they were pursued. Therefore, if restorationism appeared to be a hindrance rather than a viable method to achieve the Church's penultimate and ultimate goals, it was to be abandoned.

The Cooperative Disciples had participated in the ecumenical movement. Indeed, many of the leaders of Restructure have been shown to have been personally involved in ecumenism. The modern ecumenical movement, rather than restorationism, seemed to be the more promising contemporary method of seeking the goal of Christian union. This is reflected in the fact that the Commission encouraged Disciples to continue "wholehearted participation in the ecumenical movement."[120]

The Commission not only showed its commitment to Christian unity as sought in the ecumenical movement, but also pointed to the relationship between unity and mission, or ministry. "The Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) should continue with other bodies vital conversations and negotiations looking toward larger unions which may more fully manifest the unity given us in Christ and be more fruitful for the ministry of Christ's church in the world."[121]

Virgil Sly emphasized the linkage between mission and unity in his 1963 paper for the Commission and called attention to the primacy of mission:

> Although mission and unity had their origins at about the same time . . . and . . . advanced together in close contact during the past one hundred and fifty years, the fact is the creative impulse and demand for unity has largely arisen from Christian mission. . . .
>
> . . . Through all the multitudinous, multiform and variated threads of the cloth of Christian unity there is one common thread that glows like gold in the pattern of the warp. At virtually every point these threads trace their origin within the enterprise of Christian mission.[122]

An important part of the background of Sly's statement was the theologizing on mission that had undergirded the UCMS's 1959 "Strategy of World Mission" and which the UCMS and the Council on Christian Unity had sponsored through their Commission on the Theology of Mission. These theological reflections were neither complete nor widely known as Restructure progressed. But mission leaders such as Sly had come to clarity on the conviction that mission is one mission and that it belongs fundamentally to God.[123]

Cherished Disciples ideals of unity and mission were strongly affirmed in the process of Restructure and seen as linked together. Since the restoration idea was seen as an encumbrance to the pursuit of unity and mission it was not a major principle in Restructure in the eyes of the Commission's leadership.[124]

A fourth traditional ideal of the Stone-Campbell movement, liberty, was neither as enthusiastically affirmed as unity and mission nor so clearly abandoned as restoration. The best summary of the position of the leaders

of Restructure on the issue of liberty, or freedom, is that they advocated "freedom with responsibility."[125]

By the 1964 assembly of the International Convention, several "trends and directions for developing a design" had been accepted that attempted to embody responsible freedom. These included the affirmation "that each manifestation of the church shall have freedom and responsibility to exercise its appropriate functions under its natural authority . . . and to respond appropriately at its level to the Lordship of Jesus Christ."[126]

Like the concept of restoration, the concept of liberty as originally held by members of the Stone-Campbell movement had to be qualified. The character of the qualification placed upon the traditional concept of liberty was an emphasis upon responsibility that grew out of an understanding of the missionary and ecumenical nature of the Church.

> The nature of the Church derives from its task. This task is now, and has always been, the effective communication of the good news of the love of God in Christ Jesus. . . .
>
> The Church is ecumenical. . . . The deeper reality and nature of the Church are found in its ecumenicity rather than in its fragmented, local nature. The nature of the local Church, the universal Church in a particular place, is seen in its congregational freedom and responsibility. . . . We find ourselves in 1964 unwilling to continue the compromise between the concept of the wholeness of the Church which is ours historically and the practice (begun in 1849) of fragmentation resulting from individual rather than corporate responsibility. It is to secure greater freedom to act responsibly that we come to restructure.[127]

In addition to linking the idea of responsibility with that of freedom, the leaders of Restructure recognized that another issue, that of authority, was closely related to freedom and responsibility.[128] W. B. Blakemore's three lectures to the 1965 meeting of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure were on "Freedom, Authority, and Responsibility in the Church." Blakemore's lecture on "Authority" noted: "It is precisely when we have identified the right authority that we have freedom in the church. But it must be the right authority–Christian conscience–and Christian conscience is always full of responsibility."[129]

Ronald Osborn points out that one place that the Restructure leaders expressed their conviction as to the authority of Jesus Christ in the Church was in their refusal to use the phrase "the autonomy of the congregation" in the *Provisional Design for the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*. "Freedom, yes! Autonomy, no! For Jesus Christ is Lord both of the disciple and the church. And Christian freedom is found in joyful commitment to Christ and to the will of God."[130] This was the concept of freedom, authority, and responsibility

that underpinned the *Provisional Design*. It has been noted that the *Design* very carefully identified the "rights recognized and safeguarded to congregations." But it also stressed the Lordship of Christ and spoke of "the responsibilities by which congregations voluntarily demonstrate their mutual concern for the mission and witness of the whole church."[131]

The leaders of Restructure advocated a version of the historic values of the Stone-Campbell movement that emphasized the unity (universality, wholeness, ecumenicity) and mission (ministry, witness, service) of the Church. They assumed that structures had to be adapted, rather than "restored": "The nature of the church, given by Christ, remains constant; . . . yet in faithfulness to its mission it continues to adapt its structures to the needs and patterns of a changing world." They affirmed that the authority of Jesus Christ added a dimension of responsibility to the freedom and voluntaryism that characterized their tradition: "All dominion in the church belongs to Jesus Christ, its Lord and head, and any exercise of authority in the church on earth stands under his judgment."[132] It was such an adaptation of the movement's traditional values that helped to shape Restructure and the creation of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

Restructure entailed a recognition of the kinds of gradual changes had taken place among that segment of the Stone-Campbell movement called Cooperative Disciples. For the leaders of this group who guided Restructure, the form of restorationism that had dictated a denial of their movement's churchly character was abandoned. Their part of the movement became, by *Design*, an ecumenically oriented church. Restructure did not create new structures so much as it claimed churchly status for a range of organizations beyond the local that had evolved among Disciples over many decades. It offered these organizations a new level of self-understanding as bound together, under the Lordship of Christ, as parts of one church.

Notes

1. This essay is adapted from Anthony L. Dunnavant, "An Overview of Restructure," chap. in *Restructure: Four Historical Ideals in the Campbell-Stone Movement and the Development of the Polity of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*, American University Studies, Series 7, Theology and Religion, no. 85 (New York: Peter Lang, 1993); reprinted by permission of Peter Lang Publishing. The entire work from which this essay is reprinted was based on a Vanderbilt dissertation by the same title directed by Herman A. Norton.

2. See Dunnavant, *Restructure*, 217-236.

3. "Cooperative" and "Independent" commitments and constituencies were increasingly well defined among Disciples during the first two-thirds of the twentieth century. In spite of the vague and unofficial character of these labels,

they are useful for purposes of identification. "Cooperative" is capitalized to indicate this group label as distinguished from a general attitude or quality that might be called "cooperative."

4. Loren E. Lair, *The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and Its Future* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1971), 34.

5. "Brotherhood" was a euphemism that Disciples used in order to express the reality of relationship within the movement without acknowledging their denominational status. The term expressed other dimensions of the movement's life as well. See W. Clark Gilpin, "The Integrity of the Church: The Communal Theology of the Disciples of Christ," in *Classic Themes of Disciples Theology: Rethinking the Traditional Affirmations of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*, edited by Kenneth Lawrence (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1986), 37-42. The term "Brotherhood" and other male-gendered terms are used throughout the historical documents consulted for this essay. The writer has attempted to make his voice more gender neutral.

6. Gary W. Mayes, "Restructure in the Light of Structure among the Disciples of Christ: 1832-1964" (B.D. thesis, College of the Bible, 1965), 75.

7. Lester G. McAllister and William E. Tucker, *Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1975), 421.

8. "Concerning Brotherhood Restructure: Report of the Board of Directors of the International Convention," Report no. 30 to the 1960 Assembly, Louisville, Kentucky, in *Reports and Resolutions in Regard to Brotherhood Restructure: Approved by Assemblies of the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ)* (Indianapolis: International Convention of Christian Churches [Disciples of Christ], n.d.), 2-8.

9. "Concerning Brotherhood Restructure: Report of the Board of Directors" [1960], 2-8.

10. "Members of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure," *Mid-Stream* 2 (December 1962):100-105.

11. "[Report of the] Central Committee of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure," Report no. 29 to the 1962 Assembly, Los Angeles, Calif., in *Reports and Resolutions*, 10.

12. "Concerning Brotherhood Restructure: Report of the Board of Directors of the International Convention," Report no. 30 to the 1961 Assembly, Kansas City, Mo., in *Reports and Resolutions*, 8.

13. Ibid.

14. *1962 Year Book (July 1, 1961-June 30, 1962) of the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ)* (Indianapolis: International Convention of Christian Churches [Disciples of Christ], 1962), 343-449 passim.

15. Ibid., 8, 84-149 passim; "Mrs. Forrest L. (Dorothy) Richeson: Biographical Data," "John Rogers: Biographical Data," Biographical Files, "Mrs. Forrest L. Richeson" and "John Rogers," Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville,

Tennessee. "State secretaries" were the chief executives of the Disciples state missionary organizations.

16. Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, *The Direction in Brotherhood Restructure* (Indianapolis: International Convention of Christian Churches [Disciples of Christ] n.d.), 4; *1965 Year Book (July 1, 1964-June 30, 1965) of the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ)* (Indianapolis: International Convention of Christian Churches [Disciples of Christ], 1965), 9-10, 39, 42, 47, 73, 79, 82, 137, 151-52, 213. The four who were local pastors served congregations averaging 1,890 in membership–nearly eight times the size of the average Disciples congregation, which was 237 members at that time (*1965 Year Book*, S26, S154, S220, S292, S342). All four pastors were involved in Disciples agencies at the national level in addition to their membership on the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure (*1965 Year Book*, 10, 41, 83).

17. "Biographical Information Concerning: Spencer P. Austin," "Clarence E. Lemmon: Biographical Data," "Biographical Information Concerning: Lester B. Rickman," "Harlie L. Smith: Biographical Data," "Biographical Information: Dr. Joseph Martin Smith," "Biographical Information: Willard M. Wickizer, Sr.," Biographical Files, "Spencer P. Austin," "Clarence E. Lemmon," "Lester B. Rickman," "Harlie L. Smith," "Joseph M. Smith," and "Willard M. Wickizer," Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee; Granville T. Walker, *The Greatest of These . . .* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1963) jacket; George G. Beazley, Jr., ed., *The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ): An Interpretative Examination in the Cultural Context* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1973), 407, 410.

18. Ibid.: "Biographical Data: Dr. Myron C. (Clifford) Cole," "Biographical Data: Dr. Gaines M. Cook," "Edward S. Moreland: Biographical Data," "Forrest L. Richeson: Biographical Data," Biographical Files, "Myron C. Cole," "Gaines M. Cook," "Edward S. Moreland," and "Forrest L. Richeson," Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee; Stephen J. England, *The One Baptism* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1960), jacket; Beazley, ed., *Interpretative Examination*, 406, 413.

19. *1957 Year Book (July 1, 1956-June 30, 1957) of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ)* (Indianapolis: International Convention of Christian Churches [Disciples of Christ], 1957), 280, 286; *1962 Year Book*, 127-30, 313-328, 336.

20. *1957 Year Book*, 279, 286; *1962 Year Book*, 128, 315-328; *1965 Year Book*, 82-83, 256-277; Beazley, ed., *Interpretative Examination*, 413; England, *One Baptism*, jacket. The number of persons directly involved in the National and World Councils is particularly significant in light of the fact that the structure of the Councils themselves limited the number of persons who could be directly involved from any one denomination (*1965 Year Book*, 313).

21. "Members of the Commission," 100-105; *1962 Year Book*, 104, 344; Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, *Direction in Restructure*, 4; U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book,*

1962: A Statistical Abstract Supplement (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962), 583-610.

22. Dunnavant, *Restructure*, 133-45. See also Roger W. Stump, "Spatial Patterns of Growth and Decline Among the Disciples of Christ, 1890-1980," in *A Case Study of Mainstream Protestantism: The Disciples' Relation to American Culture, 1880-1989*, edited by D. Newell Williams (St. Louis and Grand Rapids: Chalice Press and William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1991), 460.

23. "[Report of the] Central Committee" [1962], 10.

24. *1962 Year Book*, 823.

25. "Members of the Commission," 100-105.

26. "[Report of the] Central Committee" [1962], 10-11; Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, *Direction in Restructure*, 4.

27. *1962 Year Book*, 775; "Concerning Brotherhood Restructure: Report of the Board of Directors" [1961], 9.

28. Walker, *Greatest of These . . .* , jacket.

29. "Concerning Brotherhood Restructure: Report of the Board of Directors" [1961], 9.

30. *1962 Year Book*, 214.

31. "Report of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure," Report no. 31 to the 1963 Assembly, Miami Beach, Fla., in *Reports and Resolutions*, 11-12.

32. *1962 Year Book*, 212.

33. Beazley, ed., *Interpretative Examination*, 410.

34. McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, 441.

35. Howard E. Short, private interview, St. Louis, Missouri, 8 July 1982.

36. "Kenneth LeRoy Teegarden," biographical information sheet, Biographical File, "Kenneth L. Teegarden," Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee.

37. Kenneth L. Teegarden, private interview, Indianapolis, Indiana, 13 July 1982.

38. "Kenneth LeRoy Teegarden," biographical sheet.

39. *1962 Year Book*, 86, 182, 323.

40. "Kenneth LeRoy Teegarden," biographical sheet.

41. Teegarden, interview.

42. Ibid.

43. Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, *Direction in Restructure*, 4. Leslie R. Smith and Robert W. Burns had served on the Executive Committee earlier (George G. Beazley, Jr., "Editorial," *Mid-Stream* 3 [September 1963]:5).

44. "Biographical Data: Dr. Myron C. (Clifford) Cole."

45. "Biographical Data: Dr. Gaines M. Cook."

46. McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, 413-14.

47. Beazley, ed., *Interpretative Examination*, 408.

48. *1962 Year Book*, 8, 1.

49. Barry K. Robinson, "Meet the President," *Christian* 104 (27 February 1966):265.

50. England, *One Baptism*, jacket.

51. Robinson, "Meet the President," 264-65; England, *One Baptism*, jacket.

52. "Biographical Information: Dr. George Earle Owen," Biographical File, "George Earle Owen," Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee.

53. "Concerning Brotherhood Restructure: Report of the Board of Directors" [1961], 9.

54. "Concerning Brotherhood Restructure: Report of the Board of Directors" [1960], 3.

55. W. B. Blakemore, gen. ed., *The Renewal of Church: The Panel of Scholars Reports*, 3 vols. (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1963), 3:112, editor's note.

56. "Biographical Information: Willard M. Wickizer, Sr."; James A. Crain, *The Development of Social Ideas among the Disciples of Christ* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1969), 317.

57. "Biographical Information: Willard M. Wickizer, Sr."

58. *1962 Year Book*, 316, 317, 323; *1965 Year Book*, 258, 259, 263, 267.

59. A. Dale Fiers, "Report to the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure: June 29-July 1, 1964, Louisville, Kentucky," *Mid-Stream* 4 (Fall 1964):14-15.

60. Lair, *Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*, 74.

61. Granville T. Walker, "State of Brotherhood Restructure: A Report Submitted to the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, Louisville, Kentucky, June 29, 1964," *Mid-Stream* 5 (Fall 1964):6.

62. Fiers, "Report to the Commission," 14.

63. Teegarden, interview.

64. "Minutes of the General and Business Proceedings of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, July 1-4, 1963, Pick-Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois," *Mid-Stream* 3 (September 1963):12-13.

65. Ronald E. Osborn, "'Intelligence in Ministry': The Vocation of Wm. Barnett Blakemore," *Discipliana* 42 (Fall 1982):35-38.

66. "Blakemore Sees Hope in Dialogue: Dean of Disciples Divinity House, Chicago, Delivers First Forrest Reed Lectures," *Christian* 103 (5 December 1965):1556.

67. Osborn, "'Intelligence in Ministry,'" 38.

68. Ronald E. Osborn, *In Christ's Place: Christian Ministry in Today's World* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1967), 10.

69. Osborn, *In Christ's Place*, jacket.

70. *1965 Year Book*, 41, 89.

71. Beazley, ed., *Interpretative Examination*, 413.

72. Blakemore, gen. ed., *Panel of Scholars Reports*, vols. 1, 2, 3.

73. Ronald E. Osborn, "Crisis and Reformation: A Preface to Volume I," in Blakemore, gen. ed., *Panel of Scholars Reports*, 1:25-26.

74. Teegarden, interview.

75. Ronald E. Osborn, "The Church of Christ on Earth," "The Nature of the Church," "The Building of the Church," *Mid-Stream* 4 (Fall 1964):32-77.

76. Teegarden, interview.

77. Ronald E. Osborn, *A Church for These Times* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1965), 140-41.

78. *1962 Year Book*, 289.

79. "Moak Resigns as General Minister," *Kentucky Christian* 75 (September 1980):1.

80. "Biographical Information: James A. Moak," Biographical File, "James A. Moak," Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee.

81. "Biographical Information Concerning: Spencer P. Austin."

82. *1962 Year Book*, 122; "Biographical Information Concerning: Spencer P. Austin."

83. C. E. Lemmon, ed., *Preaching on New Testament Themes: Sermons by Active Pastors of Present-Day Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ)* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1964), 25.

84. "Biographical Information: Dr. Virgil A. Sly," Biographical File, "Virgil A. Sly," Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee.

85. Fiers, "Report to the Commission," 15.

86. "Harrell Allen Rea," biographical information sheet, Biographical File, "Harrell Allen Rea," Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee.

87. "Leslie R. Smith: Biographical Data," Biographical File, "Leslie R. Smith," Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee.

88. Beazley, ed., *Interpretative Examination*, 416-17.

89. Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, *Direction in Restructure*, 4; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book, 1962*, 587-95.

90. Lair, *Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*, 67-70, 82, 83.

91. *1965 Year Book*, M5-M97.

92. Lair, *Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*, 83.

93. *1965 Year Book*, 263-67, 277, S286, S314.

94. Lair, *Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*, 83.

95. W. A. Welsh, *Villains on White Horses: Sermons on Passages from Paul* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1964), jacket.

96. *1962 Year Book*, 324.

97. Lair, *Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*, 47.

98. "[Report of the] General Office, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)." Report no. 1 to the 1969 General Assembly, Seattle, Washington, by A. Dale Fiers, General Minister and President, in *1969 Year Book and Directory (July 1, 1968-June 30, 1969) of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* (Indianapolis: Christian Church [Disciples of Christ], 1969).

99. Ronald E. Osborn, *Restructure . . . Toward the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ): Intention, Essence, Constitution* (St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, 1964).

100. "Concerning Brotherhood Restructure: Report of the Board of Directors" [1960], 4-5.

101. Osborn, *Toward the Christian Church*, 54.

102. "A Provisional Design for the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ," in *1969 Year Book*, 17-29, 18.

103. The adoption of a delegate assembly was actually a two-step process. In 1966 the International Convention amended its bylaws "to provide for a delegate assembly." Only two assemblies, at St. Louis in 1967 and Kansas City in 1968, were held under this interim measure. After the adoption of the Provisional Design in 1968 the annual International convention assemblies gave way to the biennial General Assemblies of he Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) ("A Proposal to Amend the By-Laws of the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) to Provide for a Delegate Assembly." Report no. 34 to the 1964 Assembly, Detroit, Mich., in *Reports and Resolutions*, 21-23; McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, 441-43).

104. "Provisional Design," 19.

105. Ibid., 20.

106. I am indebted to A. M. Pennybacker, an active participant in the Restructure process, for reminding me in conversation that this "clerical" feature of the General Assembly did draw comment and create some controversy at the time of its proposal.

107. Ibid., 20.

108. Ibid., 21-22.

109. Ibid., 28.

110. Teegarden, *We Call Ourselves Disciples*, 24-25.

111. Ibid., 69-73.

112. See Anthony L. Dunnavant, "Evangelization and Eschatology: Lost Link in the Disciples Tradition?" *Lexington Theological Quarterly* 28:1 (Spring 1993):43-54. The end notes of this article acknowledge that a number of scholars have shaped my language and alerted me to the importance of writing "in light of Christian hope" when summarizing the early Disciples self-understanding. Among these are Ronald Osborn, David Edwin Harrell, Jr., Richard T. Hughes, C. Leonard Allen, Stephen V. Sprinkle, and William J. Nottingham.

113. Ronald E. Osborn, "Theological Issues in the Restructure of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ): A Not Unbiased Memoir," *Mid-Stream* 19 (July 1980):282.

114. Teegarden, interview.

115. Osborn, "Crisis and Reformation," 26.

116. "Members of the Commission," 105; Ralph G. Wilburn, "A Critique of the Restoration Principle: Its Place in Contemporary Life and Thought," in Blakemore, gen. ed., *Panel of Scholars Reports*, 1:241-42.

117. "Members of the Commission," 100; Lair, *Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*, 67.

118. W. B. Blakemore, "Where Thought and Action Meet," in Blakemore, gen. ed., *Panel of Scholars Reports*, 3:17.

119. Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, "The Nature of the Structure Our Brotherhood Seeks (Revised)," *Mid-Stream* 4 (Fall 1964):24-27.

120. Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, "Nature of the Structure," 27.

121. Ibid.

122. Virgil A. Sly, "The Importance of Brotherhood Restructure as Seen from an Ecumenical Perspective," *Mid-Stream* 3 (September 1963):60-62.

123. Mark G. Toulouse, *Joined in Discipleship: The Maturing of an American Religious Movement* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 1992), 185-91.

124. Ronald E. Osborn, *Experiment in Liberty: The Ideal of Freedom in the Experience of the Disciples of Christ*, The Forrest F. Reed Lectures for 1976 (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1978).

125. Granville T. Walker, "In Restructure Disciples Seek: Freedom with Responsibility," *World Call* 44 (May 1962):25.

126. Commission on Brotherhood Restructure, *Direction in Restructure*, 10.

127. Lester G. McAllister and Ronald E. Osborn, "Freedom through Restructure," *Commission's Inter-Comm*, 13 April 1964, 7-8. The *Commission's Inter-Comm* was a newsletter issued quarterly to members of the Commission by the Office of the Commission on Brotherhood Restructure in Indianapolis.

128. Ibid., 8.

129. W. B. Blakemore, "The Three Lectures, 'Freedom, Authority, and Responsibility in the Church,'" *Mid-Stream* 6 (Fall 1965):55-56.

130. Osborn, "Theological Issues in Restructure," 299.

131. "Provisional Design," 18, 28.

132. Ibid., 18.

U.S. Army photograph by Oscar Porter

*"In 1975...**Herman Norton** became the first Army Reserve chaplain to be promoted to the rank of General Officer of the Army."*

(Richard L. Harrison, Jr., pages 182-83)

That Teaching, Preaching General: A View of the Life of Herman Albert Norton

Richard L. Harrison, Jr.

Born in a land that seemed to grow leaders as readily as the ground brought forth tobacco and peanuts, Herman Norton was captivated by leadership and what it meant to be a leader. He was reared on stories of others born in the Tidewater and Piedmont of Virginia. The names of Patrick Henry, Madison, Jefferson, Washington, and Lee are not just great figures of history to Virginians, they are neighbors in time, and often family, thrice removed perhaps, but truly kin.

Herman Norton was brought up with this sense of the greatness of individuals, of strength of character and integrity in a day when few dared question the vision or motivations of those revered as giants. For Herman Norton, these were not only the romantic figures of the past who might instill courage and confidence, these were also people of a different class. Herman Norton grew up respecting, even idolizing the shapers of this experiment called the United States, but he also knew whence he had come: from the ordinary people. For Herman Norton was not born in a great manor house. No, Herman Norton was the son of a waterman and the grandson of a waterman, people who made their living by plying the waters of the Rappahannock and Piankatank and James and Potomac and Chesapeake, taking vegetables to market, a load of wood to a riverside farm, sacks of oysters to dockside hawkers. Herman Norton came from the people of the earth and water, hard-working people of simple faith and utter integrity.

True, Herman Norton may have been reared on the ideals of a George Washington, but he was also nurtured by the principles of life of watermen and farmers and village preachers, of strong women who worked alongside their men, while raising children. Fiercely independent, yet deeply committed to community and support of all who lived there, these Virginians welcomed another Norton into the world by sharing in his upbringing.

Herman Albert Norton was born on February 27, 1921, in Deltaville, Virginia, a small fishing town located on the peninsula formed by the Rappahannock to the north, the Piankatank to the south, and the Chesapeake Bay just to the east. He was the first child to be born to Hervey and Beulah Norton. Three years later, a sister, Helen Haley, was born (March 27, 1924) and then a brother, Alvin (born Octover 30, 1927), would complete the family. The children were born at home, since the nearest hospital was in Richmond, some seventy long miles away in the 1920s.[1]

Herman's grandparents were Hervey and Olivia Norton on his father's side, and Abraham and Virginia Bratton on his mother's side. Both grandfathers were watermen, just as his father. Herman's father owned a sailboat in which he carried freight, mostly produce, from Middlesex County to sell in Norfolk, Baltimore, and smaller cities along the waterways of Maryland and Virginia. It was hard work, often dangerous, and economically precarious.

Herman attended public schools in Deltaville. In a time when many children left school early to help their families by taking jobs, any job, Herman's parents insisted on their children going to school. When he graduated in 1938, after completing the eleventh grade, the times were hard. The Depression was still in full swing in the South, despite the great hope engendered by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Herman found work in a local grocery store, making $4.50 per forty-hour and longer week.

The Norton family was active in the Philippi Christian Church in Deltaville. The church looks today much as it did then, a simple white frame structure built and maintained by its members. Herman remembered each of the ministers of his childhood and youth as persons who had taken a personal interest in him. One, J. P. Sala, was especially kind, and gave him books to read, books that inspired, challenged, and enlarged his vision. Meanwhile, his grandfather Norton, an avid reader of history, shared what he had read during the day with any in the family who would listen, and the young Herman usually did. With the combination of living in a land steeped in great events and greater figures, a grandfather sharing a love of the past with stories that would thrill an imaginative young boy, and a church led by caring pastors, Herman Norton's future direction was marked.

By the time he was in high school he was considering ministry, and after saving a small nest egg from working in the two years after high school, he was able to enter Lynchburg College in 1940, majoring in religion and philosophy. Lynchburg College had been founded by members of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in 1903, at first under the name of Virginia Christian College. Like most small, church-related liberal arts colleges of the time, the school struggled to become established, only to be hit by World War I, then the Depression, and then the Second World War. Enrollment at the college in 1940 was about 200, and dropped off over the next few years as most able-bodied males went off to war.[2]

During Norton's senior year, while serving as president of the student body, he began preaching at the Hillsville Christian Church. Herman was one of forty-four ministerial students at Lynchburg College that year. The Hillsville Church was over 125 mountainous miles from Lynchburg, and with wartime rationing and travel restrictions, serving the church was no easy task. But Herman loved the church, the people, and the town. Even before graduation from college, he was ordained to Christian ministry by the Philippi congregation in Deltaville

on his twenty-third birthday, February 27, 1944. After receiving his degree from Lynchburg College, he moved to Hillsville where he had accepted a call as pastor and as a history teacher at Hillsville High School. It was at this point that Herman Norton began his brief sports career, serving as football coach for the high school.

Because he had been preparing for ministry, Herman Norton had not been eligible for the draft, and once he was ordained, he was not able to join the military chaplaincy because a seminary degree was required. However, by 1945 the need for chaplains had outstripped the availability of seminary trained ministers. In early 1945 he was commissioned a first lieutenant and entered the Military Chaplains' School at Fort Devens just outside of Boston.

In July 1945 Norton shipped out to the Pacific Theater, arriving first at the Phillippines and then on to Okinawa. He was in Okinawa, serving as Chaplain for the First Battalion, 32nd Infantry Regiment, 7th Infantry Division, when the war ended. His Division was transferred to Korea as an army of occupation. There he served until March of 1947. Two months later he was released from active duty at the rank of major, and became a part of the Active Reserve.

When Herman returned home, he made a decision to pursue seminary studies. W. P. Harmon, State Secretary of the Tennessee Christian Missionary Society and head of the Disciples Divinity House, had visited Herman while he was still a student at Lynchburg. Harmon went both to the College and to the church and Hillsville, and began urging Herman to consider atttending theVanderbilt School of Religion. This was followed by a visit from George Mayhew, Professor in the School of Religion and one of the founders of the Disciples House. As a result, Herman, along with his Lynchburg College friend, James McKinney, headed for Vanderbilt once their active military service had ended.

Herman arrived in Nashville in the fall of 1947. For Herman Norton, even with the experience of travel and study in the military, the move to Nashville and Vanderbilt was a transforming experience. To move from a fishing village, a small college town and an even smaller county seat where the preacher was also the town football coach, and find himself in a big city that was also the state capital, was heady stuff.

At Vanderbilt Herman Norton, who had always been a good and diligent student, found himself to be in his natural element. The atmosphere of a university, the rigors of study in what was becoming a front rank institution of theological education with a strong library, made him feel at home. And he made it his home for the rest of his life.

Herman was taken under the wing of Professor J. Minton Batten, Professor of Church History. Batten found Norton to be an especially capable student with an ingrained love of history, and Herman found his professor to be a stimulating and encouraging teacher. By 1949 Norton had already made his way through the Bachelor of Divinity curriculum, and after receiving that degree

remained at Vanderbilt to pursue Ph.D. studies. He received his M.A. in 1951 and Ph.D. in 1956. His master's thesis was written on the career of Philip Slater Fall, founding minister of the Disciples in Nashville as well as Louisville and Frankfort, Kentucky. His doctoral dissertation was on the history of the military chaplaincy in the Confederate Army.

Batten saw in Norton the makings of a leader. He approached Old Testament Professor J. Philip Hyatt, and urged him to use Norton in some way with the program for the students from the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ). Over two decades earlier, in 1927, George Mayhew from the School of Religion along with Roger Nooe, minister of the Vine Street Christian Church, and William Hardy, an active leader of the congregation, had met in Nooe's office to discuss the education of ministers. Mayhew in particular was concerned that Disciples in the South have a relationship with a major university. The only Disciples seminary in the Southeast was The College of the Bible (now Lexington Theological Seminary) in Lexington, Kentucky. At the time, The College of the Bible was closely related to and located on the campus of Transylvania College, a small liberal arts school. Mayhew believed that the Disciples ministry also needed the resources available only in a larger institution.

The Disciples Divinity House of the University of Chicago Divinity School, established in 1894, provided a model. By virtue of its relationship to a prominent center of study, the Chicago Disciples House was already having a major influence on the denomination. Mayhew himself had received his Ph.D. from Chicago, and was quite familiar with the structure of the program there. Mayhew wanted to see an institution exert the same level of influence in the South. The scholarly Roger Nooe agreed with Mayhew's concerns, and the two began to lay plans for a new stucture for the education of Disciples ministers in the South.

By this time Vanderbilt and its School of Religion had become a non-denominational institution, even an ecumenical institution. The Disciples had already developed a close relationship with the School of Religion. One of the first non-Methodist teachers had been Carey Morgan, who taught homiletics while also serving as minister of the Vine Street Christian Church. He was Roger Nooe's predecessor in that pulpit. George Mayhew had come to Nashville as Associate Minister at Vine Street, but soon was called to teach in the School of Religion.

This was a crucial turning point in the life of the School of Religion. Once the university had separated itself from the Methodists in 1914, there were serious questions about whether or not the School of Religion could, or even should survive. For ten years there were few students and fewer dollars. Only an intervention by the YMCA, which used the School of Religion to provide basic staffing for a YMCA leadership training program, kept the Board of Trust from closing the school in the early 1920s. The University wanted to see the School

of Religion develop into a strong, independent theological seminary. With the break of relations with the Methodists, even though the largest portion of students during this period still came from the Methodists, the only encouragement for the School of Religion from denominational circles came from the Disciples.[3]

After enormous efforts, in 1925 the School of Religion received a challenge gift from John D. Rockefeller. This allowed the School to maintain itself and begin to grow. In response to Rockefeller's interest in rural church life, the School of Religion developed during the spring of 1927 a Rural Church School which provided a brief period of study for ministers serving in rural settings. This caught the imagination and attention of the media all across the South. Hundreds began attending the annual workshop. Doors were opened for fund-raising, and the recruitment of students. It was at this moment of excitement and new hope for the future of the institution that Mayhew, Nooe, and Hardy met and decided to form the Disciples Foundation.

Early funds raised were allocated for Mayhew to serve as a Disciples funded professor and serve as the Director of the Disciples Foundation program, with responsibility for working with and advising Disciples students. The next year, 1928, saw fourteen Disciples students enrolled, the establishment of a new congregation, the University Place Christian Church, and the appointment of another Disciple to the faculty. The new church was also the brainchild of George Mayhew, probably based on his experience with the University Christian Church adjacent to the Chicago Disciples Divinity House. The church was seen as a way for the Disciples to help educate ministers, and also provide for a regular program of campus ministry to Disciples attending Peabody College, Scarritt College, or Vanderbilt.[4]

The new faculty member was Alva Wilmot Taylor, a respected social ethicist and theoretician about rural economic life. He brought to the faculty a vision of prophetic witness. His deep concern about racial justice contributed to stance of the School of Religion at Vanderbilt becoming one of the first southern institutions to speak boldly on racial questions, though it would be some years before the University as a whole would respond. (Racial integration did not arrive at Vanderbilt until 1952-1953, and then primarily through the efforts of the Divinity School.)[5]

The School of Religion continued to struggle for both existence and strengthening of quality, and the Great Depression only intensified that struggle. Nevertheless, the school was moving in the right direction. By 1941 the Disciples Foundation in a coordinated effort with the Tennessee Christian Missionary Society, had raised sufficient funds to purchase a three-story apartment building at 2005 Grand Avenue. The building had been damaged in a fire, which made the purchase price within reach of the Disciples. With a residential facility, the Disciples Foundation came to be known primarily through its subsidiary, the Disciples Divinity House.[6]

For some reason, perhaps because of Mayhew's familiarity with the University of Chicago Disciples House, the legal name of the Disciples Divinity House in Nashville was the "Disciples Divinity House *at* Vanderbilt University." This compares with the Chicago program: The "Disciples Divinity House *of* the University of Chicago Divinity School." Over the years the Divinity School at Chicago has been able to play a legal role in the operations of the Disciples House there that has never been possible at Vanderbilt. While the Disciples Divinity House and Vanderbilt Divinity School (and the predecessor School of Religion) have had a close, and mutually beneficial relationship, there has never been any question about the separate existence and independence of the two institutions.

As a joint project with the Tennessee Christian Missionary Society, the state organization the Disciples, the first floor was given over to living and office space for W. P. Harmon, the State Secretary of the TCMS. He held the dual title of Secretary-Director, the Director part referring to his leadership with the Disciples Foundation and House. The second floor of the dark red-brick building offered apartments for married students, and the third floor had single rooms. The basement of the building was used for the campus ministry program.[7]

At the time of the dedication the building, the cost of the building and remodeling had amounted to forty thousand dollars, part of which had been raised jointly by the TCMS and the Disciples Foundation, the balance was a debt to be paid in a cooperative fashion by the state agency and the Disciples Foundation. With Harmon taking over the Disciples House Director office, George Mayhew's faculty status was upgraded to full time. J. Philip Hyatt continued to serve as one of the leaders of the Disciples Foundation Board. In 1945, the Disciples Divinity House at Vanderbilt became a member of the Board of Higher Education of the Disciples, the denominational organization that related institutions of higher education to the church, and provided avenues of receiving denominational mission funds.[8]

Because of the G.I. Bill, a significant number of veterans were entering colleges and universities, both for undergraduate and graduate/professional studies. This was the case at Vanderbilt in the School of Religion, where the number of Disciples had grown to well over forty. Leadership of the Disciples House changed in 1945 when W. P. Harmon was succeeded by George West. West gave vigorous leadership to the church in Tennessee, but the Disciples House program suffered. It became clear that the two offices had too little in common and too much work in each place for one person to handle effectively. In 1950 the annual state convention of the Tennessee Christian Missionary Society voted to return the Disciples Foundation to independent status, and the Disciples Foundation was then re-chartered by the state as an autonomous institution.[9]

Now separate from the TCMS, the Disciples House required its own leadership. Profesor J. Minton Batten encouraged J. Philip Hyatt to bring Herman

Norton's name before the Disciples Divinity House Board. As a result, Norton assumed the role of Director of the Disciples House. Later that year, when he also received an appointment to the faculty of the School of Religion, the title was changed to Dean of the Disciples Divinity House. Norton would hold the position and shape the institution for the next thirty-five years.

Not long after arriving in Nashville, Norton had been asked to serve the Carthage, Tennessee, Christian Church as a student minister. For the next several years, until he took over the reins of the Disciples House, Norton made the weekly trip to Smith County and its county seat of Carthage, for the grand salary of $10 a week! The congregation was unusual in that it had been a non-instrumental Church of Christ that in 1943 decided to return to the Disciples. Norton gave the church excellent leadership. No one in the community could believe that such powerful and engaging sermons could come from a seminary student.

Norton's relationship with the community led to some interesting developments. Prominent among the citizens of Smith County were State Senator I. D. Beasley and United States Senator Albert Gore, Sr. Herman and Beasley hit it off well from the start. Beasley did not drive, and so often looked to Herman to provide him with transportation to and from Nashville. Soon Herman, who was still active as a chaplain in the Army reserve (serving as Chaplain at Thayer Veterans Hospital), found himself called to be chaplain to the state highway patrol. This position meant that Herman was provided with a state trooper's car. As Herman liked to tell it, he had no little fun in tooling around Vanderbilt with his lights flashing.

About the same time he was appointed chaplain to the seventy-fifth session of the Tennessee State Senate. The Senators responded well to the sometimes folksy, always spiritually uplifting prayers offered by the young minister. He came to be respected by the shapers of law. Herman found himself serving as chaplain in more than just an honorific fashion, as a number of the legislators turned to him to share their concerns and worries. Out of this experience came Herman's first book, *While Senators Bow*, a collection of his prayers opening the daily sessions of the State Senate.[10]

Over the years, with the connections between Herman and both the Tennessee and United States Senators, Herman found himself called upon to assist the Democratic Party, at least on occasion serving as campaign financial chair or treasurer. This public leadership led to a number of opportunities to serve the Nashville community as well as the state. He was recognized by radio station WLAC with the Busiest Good Neighbor Award in 1952, served on an advisory committee to the Nashville Board of Education, and was a Commissioner on the Nashville Human Relations Commission. In 1964 he was recognized by Governor Frank Clement with the Tennessee Distinguished Service Award. Meanwhile, due to leadership with churches and communities in Western

Kentucky, he was made an honorary citizen of Greenville, Kentucky, and a Kentucky Colonel by Governor Bert Combs in 1963.

Another result of Herman's work in Carthage was that he met, courted, and married Alma Allen. Alma was a native of Dixon Springs, in Smith County, where her father was a prominent judge. She had joined the staff of Senator Albert Gore, Sr., and spent her time between Washington and Carthage. While she had maintained her membership in the Church of Christ in her home town, when she was working in the Carthage office she attended the Carthage Christian Church. There Alma and Herman met. Their June 3, 1953, wedding, presided over by Dr. John K. Benton, Dean of the School of Religion, was the beginning of a lifelong partnership that brought great joy to both Herman and Alma. Soon after their wedding Alma began working as secretary to Vanderbilt Chancellor Harvey Branscomb. This gave her an opportunity to become acquainted with the university setting of Herman's work, and provided the basis for the intertwining of their private and professional lives.

Alma worked in the Chancellor's office until shortly before the birth of their first child, Virginia, in 1958. Four and a half years later, Steve was born in 1962. Despite the demands of university teaching, shaping and directing the rapidly growing program of the Disciples Divinity House, very significant leadership responsibilities with his denomination and his own congregation, and wide-ranging community activities, Herman dedicated significant time and energy to his children. Piano recitals, basketball and baseball games were a priority. His pride in their achievements as they matured was evident to all who knew Herman. During his last years, as he fought against the cancer that would ultimately claim his life, Steve and Virginia returned to their father the same quality of love and concern with which they had been reared.

In 1954 Herman and Alma moved from their first residence at the Disciples House to a new home and a new neighborhood in the burgeoning suburbs of the Green Hills area of Nashville. There they would remain. On the large lot there was a great deal of room for children and dogs, and later gardens and even a small orchard.

With a Dean in place, one with faculty status in the School of Religion (soon to be the Divinity School), the Disciples House program at Vanderbilt began to grow. When Herman Norton first assumed responsibilities for the Disciples Divinity House, only eleven Disciples were enrolled at Vanderbilt. He began with a budget totalling just over five thousand dollars. Under Norton's leadership increasing numbers of Disciples turned to Vanderbilt for their theological education. And because of the great increase in quality of program, and the development of an internationally recognized Graduate Department of Religion, the Disciples House became an attractive option for Disciples. The scholarship program, largely due to the success of Herman to raise funds for both the current program and an endowment, made it possible for students

to attend the Divinity School with little or no tuition. The low cost rental fees in the Disciples House provided inexpensive living costs. The Disciples House also created a community of learning and living that would shape the ministries and relationships of all who lived there and studied at Vanderbilt.

Herman worked to build relationships with churches across Middle Tennessee and Western Kentucky to provide students with hands on learning experiences in ministry, and at the same time earn additional funds for living expenses and books. Within ten years Herman had become as significant a leader to the churches in Tennessee as the State Secretary, and this set up conflict, particularly with George West. West found it painfully difficult to share responsibility and leadership with anyone else, and he became highly critical of Norton. Herman, however, won the trust of the churches by his hard work, his impeccable integrity, his obvious respect for small town and rural culture, and his sound advice. He was in heavy demand as a preacher, a factor which also irritated West. Ironically, as Norton himself observed, West's greatest contribution as State Secretary had been in working with and strengthening small, struggling churches, and working to establish new churches. In 1957 Alex Mooty became State Secretary, and the working relationship between the Disciples House and the Tennessee Christian Missionary Society returned to a strong, mutually supportive alliance. Norton and Mooty obviously respected each other and enjoyed each other's company. Under Mooty's leadership Norton served as the President of the Tennessee Christian Missionary Society in 1961, a position that brought increasing statewide attention to the work of the Disciples House.[11]

In 1958 Norton led the Disciples Divinity House into a building program. They sold their building on Grand to the Methodists for $100,000 plus a piece of land just a block away at the corner of Adelicia and Twentieth Avenue. This one corner occupied by the Disciples House was part of a large complex of buildings used by various national agencies of the Methodist Church, whence the quip that the Disciples Divinity House was the Campbellite Corner on the Asbury Acre.

The new Disciples House building was a modest two story facility with a brick facade, a fellowship hall and kitchen, a small chapel, eight apartments and four rooms for single students (two single rooms and two double rooms). Continued growth of Disciples Vanderbilt population meant that the space was not sufficient, and so in 1962 an additional floor was added, providing another three apartments and six rooms for single students. Some of the furnishings from the old Disicples House were brought to the new building–and many of these remain in use today. A tight budget meant that so long as any use could be made of furniture or other equipment, it was not thrown away or replaced. House residents have long described the furnishings to be in the style of "early Salvation Army."

Herman Norton was famous for his ability to stretch funds and keep students reasonably solvent. He was constantly seeking new scholarship funds, and during the 1960s, spent much of his time looking for gifts to reduce the building indebtedness. His generosity with students was extraordinary. In this writer's experience, and this experience has been reinforced by numerous instances related by other former students, Norton would always find a way to help a student in financial difficulty. He was seen on many occasions reaching into his own pocket to alleviate a student's fiscal woes. Indeed, his generosity to students, the Disciples House, his church and university, led him to the attention of the Internal Revenue Service. For several years in a row he was audited, because his charitable deductions were well beyond the norm. He generally won those confrontations, but not without a great deal of stress.

By the late 1950s Vanderbilt's Divinity School had attracted a strong, distinguished faculty. Even though still in his thirties, Herman Norton was a leader within the School. He had been promoted to Associate Professor in 1954, before even completing his Ph.D. degree, and then to full Professor upon earning the doctorate in 1956. So it was that he was to play a pivotal role in one of the greatest moments of crisis–and prophetic witness–by the Divinity School faculty.

For several years, beginning in the early 1950s, the Divinity School had opened its classes to African American students. It was through the then School of Religion that the whole university was forced to change its regulations, challenge the state laws forbidding racially integrated education, and move forward towards racial justice.

In 1960 Nashville had become one of the major sites of the Civil Rights Movement. The lunch-counter sit-ins that had begun to receive major national publicity in Greensboro, North Carolina, spread to Nashville (sit-ins had occurred in Nashville before those in Greensboro, but with little media notice). Among the many young Black people involved in demonstrating was James Lawson, a student in the Divinity School, and an organizer for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a leading pacifist civil-rights organization. Lawson was accused by the Mayor of Nashville, Ben West, of breaking state law. On the basis of that accusation, not yet an arrest or indictment, Chancellor Harvey Branscomb expelled Lawson from the Divinity School. This precipitated a crisis in the Divinity School that ran from the expulsion in February of 1960 until the summer. During this time, the new Divinity School building was completed and dedicated.[12]

The Lawson affair received significant national news coverage and brought a serious challenge to the very heart and soul of the university. The administration and the entire university faculty were divided over issues of justice, the role and authority of faculty, and the future of academic freedom at Vanderbilt. The case was complicated and included much behind the scenes negotiating. By late spring a majority of the Divinity School faculty determined that they

could not in good conscience remain in an institution that practiced such egregious acts of injustice. On May 30 a group of Divinity faculty, nine in all, submitted letters of resignation. Over the next several days, others joined the protest, and a total of twelve faculty, over three-fourths of the faculty, either resigned or indicated their intention to resign.[13]

Herman Norton was away from Nashville at the time of the decision by faculty to resign. Upon his return, he indicated his intention to join with the group resigning. By this time, however, events were moving quickly and Herman's colleagues asked him to simply state his intention, but wait to see if he could be of assistance in bringing about some form of reconciliation. The next several days were days of trauma and deep danger for the university. Some faculty from other colleges in the university resigned, while others supported the chancellor. Clearly Vanderbilt was involved in a struggle that held out the potential of destroying its hard won reputation as an outstanding university.[14]

A compromise was finally reached by which Lawson was to be allowed to complete his degree. By that time he had already determined to finish his work in Boston. However, the Divinity School was still in chaos. Dean Robert Nelson had been forced out of office. With the encouragement of the Divinity faculty who had been able to rescind their resignations, Herman accepted the appointment as acting Dean. It was his task to bring about reconciliation within the Divinity School faculty and between the Divinity School and the disparate factions of the university. In the words of Vanderbilt historian Paul Conkin, "The immediate problem for the distraught Divinity faculty was to put their school together again. This proved a herculean task. Branscomb appointed a mild, conciliatory, respected Herman Norton as acting dean. His problems multiplied rapidly."[15]

While several of the internationally known faculty soon left the Divinity School, the form and nature of the settlement, and the work by Herman Norton to bring the community back together allowed the Divinity School to go forward in its program of seeking excellence in education for ministry and in graduate education. It may well be that Norton's role in healing the Divinity School after the Lawson case was his most significant leadership role in his years at Vanderbilt.

The Civil Rights struggles continued, to be followed by major social unrest in response to the war in Vietnam. Young people and university faculty among others deeply opposed American involvement in the Southeast Asian war. Vanderbilt saw increasing opposition to the war by students and faculty after the major build-up of American forces beginning in the summer of 1965. A sermon by Dr. Martin Luther King foreshadowed the coming conflict. From the great pulpit of the Riverside Church in New York City, King called for peace. He shared his fear, a fear that proved to be founded in bloody reality, that the war would be fought by disproportionate numbers of poor young men, especially poor young Black men. Initially the religious and intellectual community dismissed

King's sermon as the platitudes of one who was trying to find his way back into the limelight. Within a year King was again seen as a prophet of justice and peace.

The Divinity School became a center of university opposition to the war. Until the fall of 1970, students certified as pre-ministerial received automatic deferments from the draft. Some, however, turned in their deferments, choosing to face the choices of their non-ministry colleagues. For the most part, however, activity in the Divinity School involved planning and participating in protest marches, vigils, petition and letter writing campaigns.

Most of the faculty also opposed the war. For Herman Norton, however, the whole period of the 1960s was a time of soul-searching struggle. Herman had never left the military. When he retired from active status in 1947 he immediately entered the Army Active Reserve. When he moved to Nashville, he was assigned to serve as chaplain for the 105 Medical Battalion, 30th Infantry Division, Tennessee National Guard and as chaplain of the Thayer Veterans Hospital. In March of 1951 he became the Assistant Division Chaplain. The Tennesssee National Guard was reorganized in 1953, at which time he became Chaplain for Combat Command B, 30th Armored Division. By 1958 he was again serving as Assistant Division Chaplain. Then, in March of 1963, he moved back from the National Guard to the Army Reserve, and was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. During 1969 Norton participated in the Command and General Staff College, required preparation for further advancement. Then, in 1970 he was promoted to full Colonel.

By this time Norton had become a regular teacher for the military chaplaincy, offering courses and workshops around the world. Some of these were sponsored by the Army, some by the church. Students noted that he occasionally had to miss class for a week or two while he flew to Bavaria for a fall chaplains' retreat–during Octoberfest it seemed; or, in the dead of winter, he would be found doing a chaplains' workshop in some sunny clime. Life has its way of evening things out, and one year his January assignment was not in Arizona or the American Virgin Islands, rather he was sent to Alaska to work with the chaplains there. His students were merciless in their reaction, though no more so than his faculty colleagues.

In the 1970s, after years of leadership and developing a reputation within the military as a capable and reliable officer, Norton began to move even higher in the ranks, something rare for chaplains in the Army Reserve. In 1971 and 1972 he was the Mobilization Designee as 3rd U. S. Army Chaplain, followed by an assignment as Director and Instructor of the Security Management Course of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, based at the Nashville Army Reserve School.

In 1975, on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the establishment of the American military chaplaincy–by George Washington–Herman Norton became the first Army Reserve chaplain to be promoted to the rank of General

Officer of the Army. The silver stars of the Brigadier General were pinned on Norton in a special ceremony in the nation's capital witnessed by army chaplains from around the world. His new assignment was as Assistant Chief of Chaplains for Mobilization Management. He had to prepare for, and be ready to implement, the calling into active service of some 1,500 Reserve and National Guard chaplains in case of a general mobilization. Norton was only the second Disciple chaplain ever to be promoted to General.

For Herman Norton, this achievement was not only a matter of great pride and satisfaction for a life of dedicated labor in the ministry of military chaplaincy, it also represented a special achievement for Norton the historian. His second book had been *Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains*. Through this work and throughout the courses he taught in the Divinity School, it was clear that he cared deeply about the history and ministry of military chaplains.[16]

Then in 1976, Norton wrote one of the five volumes chronicling the history of the army chaplaincy, covering the period from 1791 to 1865. This work, entitled *Struggling for Recognition: A History of the Army Chaplaincy*, allowed Norton to become known as one of the leading military historians of this period.[17]

Herman Norton was recognized and honored by the military with several decorations, among them the Army Commendation Medal with Two Oak Clusters, the Tennessee National Guard Distinguished Service Ribbon, the Legion of Merit, and in 1980 he was awarded the army's highest peacetime decoration, the Distinguished Service Medal.

Herman Norton was reared to respect and appreciate leaders and institutions. He gave his life to the institutions of church, university, and military. He believed that institutions preserved the best in society, and provided the framework in and by which all people had a chance to live full, free, and meaningful lives. He loved the political system and process by which the United States was governed. So when his students–to whom he was devoted–and his colleagues–to whom he was devoted–questioned the wisdom and righteousness of the actions of the government and the military, Herman Norton found himself in a deep quandary. Even worse, questions were raised, as a part of the Vietnamese War protest, about the legitimacy of the military chaplaincy.

Norton responded with characteristic integrity, firmness, and gentleness. As much as he enjoyed being admired by those around him, he would not give up a point in which he believed just in order to be popular. In an interview given to the *Birmingham News* in 1980, Norton countered directly the perceived "conflict in the thought of a chaplain . . . serving in the Army, which symbolizes war and death." He responded: "'The fact you're a chaplain in the service doesn't mean you endorse war. Being a chaplain at a state penitentiary doesn't mean you endorse crime. It means you're concerned with the men.'"[18]

Norton spoke of the work of the chaplain, the hours spent in marital counseling, helping young soldiers learn to be responsible with their finances,

leading them to live more productive lives. "The best part of being a chaplain, he said, 'Is being able to witness to your religious convictions and being able to help people. A lot of these young people don't know what end is up.'"[19]

He also observed that in combat the chaplains accompany the troops, providing comfort and care in times of fear, suffering and grief. This was his basic argument throughout the Vietnam War era. Soldiers have religious needs, there is a legitimate ministry to those wearing a uniform. As far as conflict between the chaplain as minister and the chaplain as officer of the army, paid officer of the army, Norton regularly responded that chaplains had to make their peace with that issue early on. Unless something extremely unusual occurred, the chaplain learned how to maintain a balance, a fundamental level of integrity in serving the individual solider as a minister, and serving *as* a military officer. He also acknowledged the institutional reality of the military itself. As a large, complex organization, everyone has to have a place and a place to fit. If chaplains are to serve the whole military population, they have to be officers. If a person is an officer, that person has to be fully a part of the military structure.

Even though some students complained, Norton continued to encourage students to consider the chaplaincy, and saw to it that representatives of the military chaplaincy visited the Divinity School on a regular basis to interview students. Across his thirty-five years as Dean of the Disciples Divinity House, numerous students, from Disciples and other denominations, made the decision to enter the ministry of military chaplaincy.

For the Disciples students especially, Herman Norton's dissent from dissent forced them to look again at the issues of the war, and question their questions. Herman was held in such high esteem–and affection–by the students, that they could not simply dismiss Norton when he took an alternative view on the war. It should also be added that Herman's point of view was less a matter of support of the political and military goals of the American intervention than a sense of loyalty to and support of those military personnel placed in harm's way.

Just as the university and the nation faced upheaval and change during the 1960s and early 70s, so it was with the church. Herman Norton, by virtue of his position as Dean of the Disciples Divinity House, was a leader within the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). He served regularly on the Board of the Tennessee Christian Missionary Society, and its succesor, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Tennessee. He was President of the TCMS in 1961.

Norton served on the committee that helped to bring the Disciples of Christ Historical Society to Nashville, and also worked in support of the building of the Thomas W. Phillips Memorial Building which houses the Historical Society and its development as a major historical research facility in the university area. He served on the Board of Trustees of the Historical Society for many years, including a term on the executive committee. He frequently used the Historical

Society for his own historical research, and wrote much of his book, *Tennessee Christians*, in one of the study carrels there.

Over the years, Herman served on the Boards of the Board of Church Extension, and was chair in 1971, the Board of Higher Education of the Christian Church, and was chairperson of the Commssion on Theological Education (now, Council on Theological Education of the Division of Higher Education) 1962, 1968, 1973. He regularly served as a member of the Chaplaincy Endorsement Commission of the Christian Church.

During the 1960s the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) went through a process called Restructure, during which the nature and character of all church agencies and relationships beyond the congregation were changed. Theologically, it was a time when the Disciples claimed to be not just a movement or "Brotherhood" of churches/congregations, but a church. Having come out of a tradition committed to Christian unity, the Disciples historically had tried to deny that they had become another denomination. With Restructure, the Disciples no longer ignored the obvious. The Christian Church had become a denomination in the early years of its life, a fact just now openly acknowleged.

The changes brought by Restructure sought to regularize inter-agency and intra-church relationships so as to assure representation and accountability. Herman was all for accountability. What he feared in Restructure, however, was that the systemization of the church could also be used to exercise power. Herman respected, loved, the fact that in his denomination each congregation and each individual had a very high level of individual freedom and autonomy. Secondarily, he thought that much of the energy spent in restructuring the church was energy that should best be served in bearing witness to the gospel, preaching the good news and serving the poor. He held a jaundiced eye towards those who, in his mind, spent too much time playing church politics.

Nevertheless, Herman Norton always respected the lines of leadership and authority, and went along with the changes being brought forth while expressing concern. As it turns out, his concerns about Restructure had some validity, though not necessarily in the places where he expected to find problems. He did forecast an increasing conflict between state/Regional manifestations of the church and the agency/general unit manifestations of the church. He understood that the changes made in governance and funding set up a natural conflict between these two arms of the church.

Herman also hoped beyond hope that the conflict between the churches called "Independents" and "Cooperatives" might be healed. He understood that the Restructure process would solidfy a schism that had begun in the nineteen-teens and nineteen-twenties. He had worked valiantly to maintain good relationships between the more conservative Independents and the more liberal Disciples (or Cooperatives). He had generously provided scholarship funds to students who were actually from the Independent churches, perhaps with

the hope that such support, plus proximity of living in the Disciples House, would provide a place of rapprochement. Although this did not prevent the finalization of a schism, it did mean that many of the Disciples ministers educated at Vanderbilt have good relationships with colleagues now in the Independent Christian Churches. Herman Norton may have been unimpressed with the value of the larger ecumenical movement, but he did give great effort in the internal Stone-Campbell movement's unity efforts.

Not long after assuming the Deanship of the Disciples House, Herman and Alma Norton joined the young, vigorous Woodmont Christian Church, under the leadership of Frank Drowota. Alma and Herman gave themselves fully to this congregation. Herman served many terms as elder, and was a regular teacher in the church school program. Over the years he came to be seen as the wise counselor of the church. He became the devoted friend of his pastor, that rare member who could be both colleague and parishoner. Drowota, in turn, served the Disciples Divinity House as Board member, fundraiser, teacher of ministerial students, and guide.

Through the years of Norton's leadership, the Disciples student population at Vanderbilt grew steadily, hitting a high point of sixty-two students during the height of the Vietnam War. This was a time of high enrollments in seminaries all across the nation. From the early 1970s until his retirement in 1986, the Disciples numbered between forty-five and fifty-five students in the Divinity School, including Ph.D./M.A. as well as M.Div./D.Min. students. Generally this placed the Disciples second behind the Methodists in terms of denominational affiliation.

As a whole, the Disciples students recruited by Herman were among the strongest in the Divinity School. Many have gone on to exercise exceptional leadership in the life of the church and the various institutions of the church. Certainly of equal importance, perhaps of even greater importance for the Disciples, has been the role of Vanderbilt as a center of education for Disciples higher education institutions. Prior to the 1950s and the growth of the Disciples program under Norton, most Disciples Ph.D.s in religion came from Yale and Chicago, with a significant if lesser role played by Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University.

Since then, the religion and philosophy departments of Disciples undergraduate colleges, as well as the Disciples seminary faculties, have seen significant numbers of Vanderbilt Ph.D.s in their midst. In the late 1980s, there was a time when four of the seven Disciples seminary executives were all Vanderbilt graduates. Through the support of graduate students at Vanderbilt, Herman Norton has reached more Disciples ministerial students–only a percentage of whom have every studied at Vanderbilt–than any other single Disciples educator. And, as Anthony Dunnavant and I indicate in our introduction to

this volume, Herman Norton has had a significant and salutary influence on Disciples historiography.

There have been many allusions throughout this chapter about Herman's relationships with students, his popularity as a speaker and a teacher. To bring these comments together, it is clear that Herman Norton was valued by his students most deeply as pastor, teacher, and friend. He played the role of pastor on a regular basis. He helped untold numbers of students through spiritual crises.

As teacher, Norton was at his best in the lecture hall. He loved to tell stories, and so his courses in history, even his courses on sects and cults, were taught in an almost anecdotal way, for he was a master of the apt illustration. But to say that he taught in an "almost anecdotal way" is not to say that he taught only through anecdotes. No, he also taught with lists. He was the theological counterpart to David Letterman. No theological system or school of thought, no theologian or philosopher was beyond Herman's ability to summarize in list form. Calvin? Five points. Hegel? Six points. Harnack? Three points. What he lost in subtlety he gained in clarity.

As a friend, Herman was loyal and devoted. Students out of respect, even after the sixties, continued to refer to him as Dean Norton, or Dr. Norton, at least to his face. Behind his back, almost all students called him Herman. This was not a sign of lack of respect, it was quite the opposite. Students respected him too much to address him in any casual way. But amongst themselves, they spoke of him by his first name, a sign of a feeling of connection and intimacy with him.

The churches and the community also saw him as a beloved teacher and speaker. He was always in demand, and when he spoke, the attendance would be strong. Likewise his writings were eagerly received, as was especially the case with his final book, *Religion in Tennessee 1777-1945*, a book that has been reprinted several times.[20]

Norton's classes can be classified in four primary areas. He taught American church history, Disciples history, the history of preaching, and courses on sects and cults. In American history courses he was always hurrying to get to the Civil War, and once there, he spent a great deal of time. He also always made sure that the military chaplaincy received its due. In Disciples history, it seemed always that Barton Stone was more prominent than Alexander Campbell, and that little happened after the nineteenth century.

In the sects and cults classes, while there was more than a little mirth about some of the more extreme groups, there was also a very high level of respect for those who were different, who were out of the mainstream. This was especially true if the group was populist or agrarian in nature. But Herman could be merciless where a sect or cult group appeared to be a means of manipulation on the part of one or more leaders. Because of his expertise in the field, he

was often called by the media to talk about various religious groups. In Nashville, every time Tony Alamo made the news, some radio station or newspaper would call Herman. Herman, honest and open as ever, would soon receive a warning call from an Alamo attorney threatening a libel lawsuit. None followed through.

Perhaps the most popular stories told by Herman in his courses had to do with the snake handling churches. My favorite has always been about how Herman took a long time to nurture a relationship with one snake handling congregation. He had not yet seen a service, and the people involved were of a culture that looked with suspicion on any outsider, and Herman Norton was certainly an outsider. One Sunday he arrived for services, and as he talked with some of the men of the church before they went inside the little frame building, he was told that on this Sunday they were going to be handling snakes, and that he was welcome to come in and watch.

After months of patient dealings, he had finally achieved sufficient trust to be allowed to observe this sacred rite. He was eager to see just what happened. Then a pickup truck pulled up. The driver got out, went around to the back of the truck, and pulled out two burlap sacks, full sacks, sacks that were writhing with motion. He carried them into the church. The other men started going in, and said to Herman, "Come on in. It's time for services to begin."

Herman Norton was nobody's fool. He thought quickly, and asked if he could put a wooden box up by one of the windows and watch from the outside. They laughed at his weak faith and fear, and said yes. He got to see the snake handling and lived to tell about it.

In the last years of his teaching career, Herman Norton received many honors. He came to be listed in many *Who's Who* and related biographical volumes. In 1979 he was honored with the establishment of the Herman Norton Scholarship Fund at the Divinity School. This was a fund raised by friends of the Disciples House and the Disciples House itself at a time when all gifts to Vanderbilt were receiving two for one matching dollars. Upon his retirement from the military, on his sixtieth birthday, he was honored for a lifetime of service to his nation.

Upon his retirement from Vanderbilt Divinity School, he received the accolades, and greatly deserved roasting, from his colleagues. Another scholarship fund in his honor was established, this time as a part of the endowment of the Disciples Divinity House. He had already received from the University his own "Chair" on the occasion of his twenty-fifth year of service in 1976. He had also been named to an honored endowed chair in the Divinity School, as he spent his last years with the title, Drucilla Buffington Moore Professor of American Church History.

In the summer of 1986, Herman Norton concluded his career at Vanderbilt Divinity School and the Disciples Divinity House. He was feted in gala fashion at the end of the spring semester, even to the point of an original song composed

by Professor Ed Farley. Three days later he had surgery for cancer. The surgery and subsequent treatment seemed to go well, and for the next four years his check-ups were excellent.

Herman thoroughly enjoyed his retirement. Son Steve moved back to the Nashville area and soon married. Daughter Virginia Norton Rodgers was now in practice as a physician in nearby Chattanooga. He continued to give lectures. He became close confidant, counselor, and source of encouragement for his successor at the Disciples Divinity House. He served his church with leadership during a difficult time.

Then the cancer returned. He fought for all he was worth, and it was a valiant fight. He did not complain. He accepted the risks of experimental procedures. He maintained dignity. He finally gave up the struggle, confident that a loving God would be glad to have another story teller around the heavenly precincts. His death on July 17, 1992, led to an outpouring of words of appreciation. His family was strengthened by the love and esteem in which he was held.

When Herman Norton retired, after thirty-five years on the faculty at Vanderbilt and as Dean of the Disciples Divinity House, he could look back on over three hundred Disciples ministers educated and prepared under his direction. He could see an instition in relatively new facilities, with a budget that had grown from some five thousand dollars to over one hundred fifty thousand dollars annually, and an endowment that had reached two-thirds of a million dollars. He had given strong leadership to the University at a time of great crisis, and had guided his church in Tennessee and around the United States and Canada as it struggled to find ways to be more effective and faithful. Throughout his adult life, he had been a minister, and a soldier, a minister who was a soldier.

In every way, in every place of his life, he lived with integrity, and he was a leader. He led with the quality of his mind, the clarity of his vision, and the certainty of his commitment to his church, his university, and his country. If Herman Norton never lost the common touch of growing up in a small riverfront town, he also never lost the gift of leadership that Virginia seems to breed. The stories of and by Herman Norton are legion. That they continue to be told and retold is testimony to the quality of human being that he was. That teaching, preaching general gave us his best.

Notes

1. Much of the information in this essay is based on formal interviews with Herman and Alma Norton, February 28, 1992, and March 4, 1992. Additional information comes from the Norton family scrapbook. Many details have been filled in through telephone interviews with Alma Norton. There is much

throughout the essay based on the author's twenty-eight years of acquaintance with Norton.

2. D. Duane Cummins, *The Disciples Colleges: A History* (St. Louis: CBP Press, 1987), 95, 114-18.

3. Paul K. Conkin, *Gone with the Ivy: A Biography of Vanderbilt University* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 264-66.

4. Herman A. Norton, *Tennessee Christians: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Tennessee* (Nashville: Reed and Company, 1971), 257.

5. Conkin, 303-6, 540-47.

6. Norton, *Tennessee Christians*, 263-64.

7. Norton, *Tennessee Christians*, 263-64.

8. Norton, *Tennessee Christians*, 263-64.

9. Norton, *Tennessee Christians*, 270-71.

10. Herman A. Norton, *While Senators Bow: Prayers Offered by the Chaplain at the Opening Sessions of the Senate of the State of Tennessee during the 75th General Assembly (January 2 to March 16, 1951)* (Nashville: n.p., 1951).

11. Norton, *Tennessee Christians*, 274-75.

12. Conkin, 548-52.

13. Conkin, 552-60.

14. Conkin, 560-71.

15. Conkin, 571.

16. Herman A. Norton, *Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1961).

17. Herman A. Norton, *Struggling for Recognition: A History of the Army Chaplaincy* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1977).

18. Tom Callaghan, Jr., "Chaplain: No conflict with Army," *Birmingham News* (Saturday, February 2, 1980), 20B.

19. Callaghan, 20B.

20. Herman A. Norton, *Religion in Tennessee 1777-1945* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981.

Contributors

James M. Seale is President of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society in Nashville, Tennessee. Seale is a graduate of Transylvania University (B.A.) and Lexington Theological Seminary (B.D., Th.M., D.Min.). He is the author of *A Century of Faith and Caring: A Comprehensive History of The Christian Church Homes of Kentucky, Inc.* (1984) and of *Forward from the Past: The First Fifty Years of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society* (1991). In addition to being a former editor of *Discipliana,* Seale has contributed articles to a number of periodicals.

D. Newell Williams is Dean and Vice-President and William G. Irwin Professor of Church History at Christian Theological Seminary in Indianapolis, Indiana. A graduate of the University of Tulsa (B.A.) and Vanderbilt University (M.A., Ph.D.), Williams has served on the faculties of Colby College and Brite Divinity School of Texas Christian University. He is the author of *Ministry Among Disciples: Past, Present and Future* (1985) and *Z. T. Sweeney* (1987). The editor of *A Case Study of Mainstream Protestantism: the Disciples' Relation to American Culture, 1880-1989* (1991) and of *Discipliana*, Williams has also contributed many chapters, articles, and reviews to books, journals, and reference works.

Hap C. S. Lyda is Professor of Philosophy and Religion at Tarrant County Junior College in Fort Worth, Texas. Lyda is a graduate of Northwest Christian College (B.Th.), Texas Christian University (M.Div.), and Vanderbilt University (M.A., Ph.D.). He is the author of *Lyda Lore* (1986) and the *History of Biblical Judaism* (third edition, 1995), editor of 21st Century Press, and host of the television program "Probe." He is a former editor of the *Journal of Expression* and has contributed articles to such periodicals as *The Disciple*, *The Christian*, and the *Wittenberg Door*. Lyda was recently honored as "Professor of the Year" at Tarrant County Junior College.

J. Brooks Major was Dean of Academics and Professor of History at the Hopkinsville Community College of the University of Kentucky when he retired in 1990. Major is an alumnus of Transylvania and Murray State universities and a graduate of Austin Peay State University (B.S., M.A.) and Vanderbilt University (M.Div., Ph.D.). He is the former editor and publisher of the journal *The Gleaner*. Between 1948 and 1993, Major was the pastor of several Disciples congregations in Todd and Christian counties in Kentucky. He served for a

total of more than thirty years as the minister of Liberty Christian Church. He is a recipient of the "Great Teacher" Award from the University of Kentucky Alumni Association.

G. Richard Phillips was Professor of Bible and Chair of the Area of Humane Learning at Milligan College in Tennessee when he retired in 1992. Phillips is a graduate of Lincoln Christian College and Seminary (A.B. and Th.M.), Christian Theological Seminary (M.Div.), Butler University (M.A.), Vanderbilt University (Ph.D.), and the University of Tennessee (J.D.). Before going to Milligan, he taught at Lincoln Christian Seminary in Illinois. A chaplain, Phillips retired as a colonel from the United States Air Force Reserve and as a brigadier general from the Illinois Air National Guard. He is a former assistant editor of the *Tennessee Law Review* and has contributed to a number of books and periodicals.

Douglas A. Foster is Associate Professor of Church History and Director of the Center for Restoration Studies at Abilene Christian University in Abilene, Texas. Foster is a graduate of David Lipscomb University (B.A.), Scarritt College (M.A.), and Vanderbilt University (Ph.D.). Before joining the faculty at Abilene, he taught at David Lipscomb University and served as archivist for the Gospel Advocate Company. Foster is the author of *Will the Cycle Be Unbroken: Churches of Christ Face the Twenty-First Century* (1994) and editor of *Directions in Ministry*. He is book review editor of *Restoration Quarterly* and has contributed a chapter to *A Case Study of Mainstream Protestantism* and articles to *Restoration Quarterly* and *Discipliana*.

D. James Atwood is Instructor in Religion and Assistant to the Dean of Admissions at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Texas, where he also serves as church vocations counselor. Atwood is a graduate of Texas Christian University (B.A.) and Vanderbilt University (M.A., Ph.D.). He has been honored with awards for his teaching in nearly each of the eleven years of his career at Texas Christian and most of these awards have come from student groups. A world-traveler, Atwood has visited Mexico, Cuba, England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, France, Italy, Germany, and what was then the Soviet Union. With his colleague Ronald Flowers he has also written on "Early Christianity as a Cult Movement" for the journal *Encounter*.

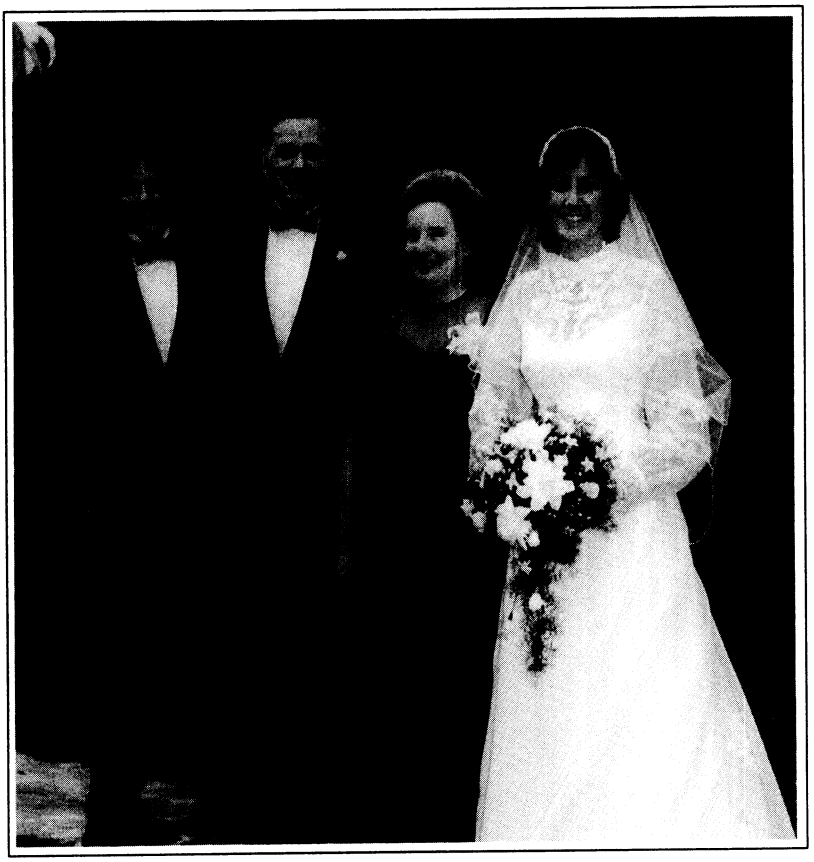
William O. Paulsell is Senior Minister of North Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Columbus, Indiana. A graduate of Texas Christian University (A.B.) and Vanderbilt University (B.D., M.A., Ph.D.), Paulsell taught at Atlantic Christian College in North Carolina before becoming dean and, subsequently, president of Lexington Theological Seminary in Kentucky. He is the author of *Letters*

from a Hermit (1978), *Tough Minds, Tender Hearts* (1990), *Taste and See* (1977; revised edition, 1992), and *Rules for Prayer* (1993). He is the editor of *Sermons in a Monastery* (1983) and has contributed articles to many journals and reference works and to books published by the Cistercians.

Anthony L. Dunnavant is Professor of Church History at Lexington Theological Seminary. He is a graduate of Fairmont State College (B.A.), West Virginia University (M.A.), and Vanderbilt University (M.Div., M.A., Ph.D.). Before coming to Lexington, Dunnavant was on the faculty of Central Michigan University. He is the author of *Central Christian Church (Disciples of Christ): 175 Years in Lexington, Kentucky* (1991), *Restructure* (1993), and *Backgrounds for Congregational Portraits* (1994). He is the editor of *Poverty and Ecclesiology* (1992) and *Cane Ridge in Context* (1992). A former editor of the *Lexington Theological Quarterly*, Dunnavant has contributed articles and reviews to a number of journals and books.

Richard L. Harrison, Jr., is President and Professor of the History of Christianity at Lexington Theological Seminary. He is a graduate of Atlantic Christian College (B.A.) and Vanderbilt University (M.A., Ph.D.). Harrison taught at the University of the South, Eureka College, and Lexington Theological Seminary before succeeding Herman Norton as Dean of the Disciples House at Vanderbilt and, later, returning to Lexington. He is the author of *John Calvin: Spread of the Reformation* (1988), *Disciples on the Pamlico* (1991), *From Camp Meeting to Church* (1992), and (with James O. Duke) *The Lord's Supper* (1993). A writer of many articles and reviews, Harrison is also a former editor of *Discipliana* and of the *Lexington Theological Quarterly*.

Herman and Alma Allen Norton (left) at their wedding in June of 1953. **Steve, Herman, and Alma Norton** (below) with **Virginia Norton Rodgers** at Virginia's wedding in 1981.



Index

Explorations in the Stone-Campbell Traditions