Enos E. Dowling, *An Analysis and Index of the Christian Magazine, 1848-1853*

Enos E. Dowling

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AN ANALYSIS AND INDEX OF THE
CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE, 1848–1853

BY

ENOS E. DOWLING

Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of Christian Doctrine
LINCOLN BIBLE INSTITUTE

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All, therefore, that is essential to the knowledge, and perfect culture of man can be found in the teaching of Christ, and that teaching, properly interpreted, will be found applicable to every stage of mental and moral development through which we pass.

+ = + = +

Christianity is universal truth adapted to the capacity and intended to promote the happiness of all mankind, by correcting the evils to which they are subject; and if ever the day shall arrive in which it shall be stripped from all the error, superstition and false philosophy which are connected to it, it will be recognized not as a mere truth but as that old, pure, and divine system taught in the New Testament.

--Jesse B. Ferguson
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FOREWORD

The material in this volume was originally presented to the Faculty of the School of Religion of Butler University, Indianapolis, Indiana, as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Theology degree (1957). The committee on examination for the degree, Professors Ronald E. Osborn, Frank J. Albert, and James G. Clague, suggested that the work, particularly the "Index," was of sufficient value to justify a wider circulation than it would receive as an academic dissertation. Similar suggestions came from others. After giving careful consideration to the matter for several months, the decision was reached to reproduce the entire dissertation—with only minor changes—in this limited edition. Bound copies of the original work have been placed in the library of the School of Religion and are available for examination.

The author presupposes a certain familiarity with the terminology used by advocates of the reformatory movement with which the Christian Magazine and its editors were identified. For those unfamiliar with this terminology, a brief preliminary word of explanation may help to avoid confusion.
The leaders spoke of restoring Primitive Christianity, Bible Christianity, Apostolic Christianity, New Testament Christianity, Gospel Order. The movement has been called the Restoration Movement, the Nineteenth Century Reformation, the Current Reformation; the body of people--Christians, Christian Church, Church of Christ, Disciples, Disciples of Christ, Reformers. Campbellites and Stoneites were two of the milder epithets often used by those not in sympathy with the principles and activities of the movement.

An examination and analysis of the conversions recorded in the book of Acts resulted in the proclamation of the following order in conversion: faith (that faith which "cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God"—Romans 10:17), repentance, confession (Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God), baptism (immersion), forgiveness of sins, gift of the Holy Spirit. Further examination of the New Testament resulted in an insistence upon the autonomy of the local church, which was governed by elders assisted by deacons.

This was a movement to eradicate divisions in the Church and effect the unity of God's people by restoring the Church according to the pattern revealed in the New Testament. It involved the rejection of human creeds as bonds and tests of fellowship and the acceptance of the New Testament as the all-sufficient rule of faith and practice.
for all Christians. Churches were challenged and urged to return to the Church of apostolic times in doctrine, polity, and life. This was the plea.

In addition to the acknowledgements in the "Preface," we are deeply indebted to the following for permission to use copyrighted materials quoted herein: Standard Publishing Foundation, Cincinnati, Ohio, for permission to quote from Disciples of Christ in Texas, by Chalmers McPherson, and Autobiography of Elder Samuel Rogers, by John I. Rogers; Christian Board of Publication, St. Louis, Missouri, for permission to quote from The Disciples: An Interpretation, by B. A. Abbott, The Disciples of Christ: A History, by W. E. Garrison and A. T. DeGroot, Barton Warren Stone and North Carolina Disciples of Christ, by C. C. Ware, Alexander Campbell and the General Convention, by Allen R. Moore; Gospel Advocate Company, Nashville, Tennessee, for permission to quote from Biographical Sketches of Gospel Preachers, by H. Leo Boles; Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, for permission to quote from A History of American Christianity, by Leonard W. Bacon; Fleming H. Revell, New York, for permission to quote from A Comprehensive History of the Disciples of Christ, by W. T. Moore; McQuiddy Printing Company, Nashville, Tennessee, for permission to quote from The Life and Work of Mrs. Charlotte Fanning, edited by Emma Page, and Franklin College and Its Influences,
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The Christian Magazine, edited by Jesse B. Ferguson, assisted by Tolbert Fanning, B. F. Hall, John Eichbaum, and John R. Howard, at Nashville, Tennessee, from 1848-1853, is important for a number of reasons:

1. Every periodical advocating the principles of the Nineteenth Century Reformation is important as reflecting both local and national developments within the movement. The Christian Magazine is a part of the periodical history of this reformation.

2. It contains important historical information concerning the churches in Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, Texas, Kentucky, and other states.

3. The Christian Magazine was another voice raised in behalf of Christian union. It records the convictions of men who were inspired and challenged by the Lord's prayer for a united Church (John 17); men convinced that division within the body of Christ is sinful, that unity is essential to the conversion of the world to Christ, and that the Scriptural, and, therefore, only acceptable method for effecting this unity is the restoration of the Church as revealed in the New Testament in doctrine, polity, and life. These convictions gave them courage to propagate the basic principles
which they conceived to be intimately and inseparably connected with this task.

4. Jesse B. Ferguson, the editor, a brilliant, eloquent, popular preacher and facile writer, turned from the cause which had claimed his advocacy to promote spiritualism and universalism. However, the first expression of his views, especially in his exposition of 1 Peter 3:18-22 and 4:1-6, can hardly be classed as universalism. Granting for the moment that his opinions were universal in tendency, it is still difficult to understand the sudden wave of adverse criticism led by Alexander Campbell. Had the passing of twenty-four years invalidated the earlier conception of freedom of opinion expressed and accepted in the case of Aylette Rains, who was fellowshipped while frankly and freely admitting his conviction that all men would ultimately be saved? Rains was accepted; Ferguson was rejected. Rains was saved for a useful and fruitful ministry; Ferguson was lost to the movement. Why?

It is not within the scope of this dissertation to discuss the merits or the Scriptural "soundness" of Jesse Ferguson's "post-mortem gospel" founded upon his interpretation of the passages in 1 Peter; some future investigator might well give this his attention. Involved in the controversy, however, are some vital issues and concepts of freedom among a people recognizing no hierarchical or conciliar authority, whose only creed is the Christ, and
only rule of faith and practice the New Testament. What constitutes an opinion, the right or privilege of holding opinions, the extent to which opinions may be taught, the areas within which speculations may be admitted, the course to be followed with those holding opinions deemed dangerous, who may judge in matters of opinion; in fact, the whole realm of freedom of opinions was involved in the controversy. At first, Ferguson refused to answer the criticisms of Campbell, insisting that he would not answer them until he was acknowledged to be within the rightful bounds of Christian liberty in holding his peculiar speculations, as free to theorize as Alexander Campbell without being accused of heresy.

5. The period during which the Christian Magazine was published witnessed a growing emphasis upon the necessity for co-operation among the churches of the reformation. Co-operative efforts on a more or less local level multiplied rapidly. The American Christian Missionary Society, organized in Cincinnati in 1849, was an attempt to provide the necessary organization for co-operation on the national level. The editor of the Magazine was an earnest advocate of co-operation, his periodical serving for three years as the organ of the Christian Churches in Tennessee.

6. The articles of general religious nature and those on doctrinal themes served to undergird the faith of
these reformers and meet the opposition of those hostile to the new religious movement.

7. A study of the Christian Magazine focuses attention upon the editorial problems which confronted this reformatory movement: who should and who should not edit a periodical; how such publications were to be regulated or controlled among a body of Christians having no organizational authority higher than the local congregation. The controversy with Ferguson was the occasion for Alexander Campbell's expression of dissatisfaction with the quality and the continued unlimited and unsupervised production of periodicals:

As a community we have been the most reckless in choosing our editors, our scribes, our elders and our preachers. I know that in all revolutions, reformatory and changes in society--political, ecclesiastical, or moral, this is an accident or contingency almost inevitable. Time, however, that great teacher and revolutionist; in other words, human experience, will, in the long run, correct and redress these wrongs and aberrations.

We have had a brood of periodicals the most voluntary and irresponsible that I have ever known. We have had editors just out of the shell of conversion; a youth converted this year, the next a preacher; the next a scribe, then an editor!!

The Christian Magazine is one among the many periodicals produced by the Restoration Movement, which, though short-lived, were influential in molding the character and stimulating the activities of these disciples. The observations concerning the Magazine would be equally appropriate in application to other periodicals.
This study is part of a much larger project that needs to be undertaken. All of the periodicals which advocated this reformation need to be analyzed and indexed. It is hoped that similar studies may be made in this needy but fertile field.

We are particularly indebted to Professor Ronald E. Osborn, of the School of Religion, Butler University, for helpful suggestions and guidance in the preparation of this analysis and index. We are also indebted to Claude E. Spencer, Curator, for information supplied from the archives of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee; and to the administration of Kentucky Christian College, Grayson, Kentucky, for the privilege of using their files of the Christian Magazine.
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PART I

ANALYSIS OF THE CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE
CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE EDITORS OF THE
CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE

Jesse Babcock Ferguson

Jesse Babcock Ferguson, son of Robert French Ferguson and Hannah Champlain Babcock, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 19, 1819. Soon after his birth his parents moved from Pennsylvania to Virginia, settling near Winchester, in the Shenandoah Valley.

When eleven years of age he entered Fair View Academy, proving an eager and apt pupil. He anticipated attending William and Mary College where his brothers obtained their education. Unfortunately for him, however, his father's financial reverses made this impossible.

At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a printer in Winchester, hoping to obtain the means for continuing his education. This project failed, the employer becoming bankrupt, and Jesse was apprenticed to a "book printing establishment in Baltimore, Maryland." Misfortune dogged his footsteps; for after a few weeks in this new work he was taken sick with the "white swelling," and,

after three months of intense pain and suffering, was left a cripple for the remainder of his life.

R. F. Ferguson, Jesse's brother, having assumed editorial charge of a paper in Virginia, made a place for his brother on this paper. In addition to this work, he continued his education, completing courses in Latin and Greek.

Jesse Ferguson was in Ohio as early as 1838. He taught a school in Logan County, in or near Middleburg. At one time he owned property in Lafayette, Ohio. He began preaching shortly after coming to this State. He sent the following letter to the Millennial Harbinger from Middleburg, under date of October 27, 1838, detailing some of his evangelistic labors:

I have just returned from a co-operation meeting, at Kenton, Hardin county, at which brother William Dowling was appointed an Evangelist for the ensuing year. Seven were added to the congregation at Kenton. This congregation, though but very young, now numbers nearly 80 members, most of whom were added during the last year. On the 2d Lord's day in this month I held a meeting at Cherokee, Logan county, at which four

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1 According to Boles, (ibid, p. 187): "At the age of twenty-one he left Virginia and went to Ohio. He married the daughter of James Nark, who had gone from Kentucky to that State. He did not remain very long in Ohio, but came to Southern Kentucky. He became a Christian, and soon began to take public part in the worship."

It is difficult to reconcile this statement with the facts at hand. If Ferguson went to Ohio at the age of twenty-one, the date would be 1840. We know that he was in Ohio as early as 1838 (Millennial Harbinger, 1839, p. 192). If, as Boles states, "he preached for four years in Kentucky" (Boles, op. cit., p. 187), and went to Nash-ville in 1846 (ibid, p. 188), then his removal to Kentucky must have been in 1842.

were added--two from the Baptists and two by immersion. There is a congregation near this place (Cherokee) formed last month, now numbering from 20 to 25, two-thirds of whom are from the United Baptists. Prospects are indeed good every where. If the brethren would avoid "foolish questions" and attend to the living oracles, truth must and will prevail.¹

Ferguson verifies this date, 1838, as the beginning of his ministry. He writes: "Sometime in May, 1842, at the solicitation of a preacher-friend, I visited Nashville, Tennessee, for the first time--four years after the commencement of my ministry."²

In the fall of 1839 he spent two months in Virginia visiting relatives and preaching at various points, including Bethany, Fredericksburg, Essex, Rappahannock, and Smyrna.³

James Hays, a preacher among the "Newlights," antagonistic to certain doctrines of the Restoration Movement, became the opponent of Ferguson in a debate held in Knox County, Ohio, which lasted only one day: Wednesday, September 30, 1840. The subject of debate was baptism, the proposition being stated as follows: "Was baptism--preceded by faith and repentance--appointed by divine authority, in order to the remission of sins and induction into the Kingdom of Heaven?" Ferguson affirmed; Hays denied. A rather full

²J. B. Ferguson, History of the Relation of the Pastor to the "Christian Church" of Nashville (Nashville: Cameron and Fall, 1854), p. 3.
account of this debate was published in the Heretic De-
tector.\(^1\)

A debate with J. J. Harrison, a Methodist preacher, held in Kentucky in 1842, resulted in Harrison's identifi-
cation with the Christian Church eighteen months later.\(^2\)

Ferguson married the daughter of James Mark during his stay in Ohio. Since this family was originally from Kentucky, he was influenced to move to that State in 1842. He immediately engaged in evangelistic work. In a letter dated "Merryville, Todd County, Kentucky, July 22, 1843," some of these labors are outlined:

The cause of primitive Christianity is progressing rapidly in the Green River country. Since my arrival in this country, (that is, within the last twelve months,) there have been additions to the following churches:--Salem, Christian county, 65--10 from the Baptists, one from the Methodists, and 54 from the world. There have also been some ten additions of im-
mersed believers, who had been living without the priv-
ileges of the Lord's house. At Zion, Todd county, 43--
6 from the Baptists, and 37 from the world. Liberty, Christian county, 13 immersions. Mount Gilead, Todd county, principally under the labors of brother Rice, 30 additions, several from the Baptists, including the deacon of their church. At Heysburg, Todd county, 12. At Berea, Logan county, 16. At Russellville, 10. At Cadiz, Trigg county, 40--4 from the Methodists, 2 from the Cumberland Presbyterians, under the labors of brethren Elley and Anderson. At Clarksville, Tennessee, a church of some eighteen members, have been gathered to-
gether, who are keeping the ordinances as they were de-
liivered to us from the beginning. During a recent visit to Nashville and Murfreesborough, in company with broth-
er E. A. Smith, we have had 25 additions. There have been some 12 additions to the church at Elkton.

I have only mentioned the success of the cause at those places where I have had the privilege of visiting.


Within the boundary of the labors of brethren Rice, Elley, Day, and Anderson, (who have severally assisted at several places mentioned above,) the cause has been equally successful. . . . We have had some seven protracted meetings since the middle of May, all of which have been successful, and together have resulted in 90 additions under the labors of brethren Rice, S. E. Jones, Day, and myself.

Ferguson held meetings in Nashville in 1842 and in 1844. From the first association with this congregation he captivated the people, and was urged to take up the work in that city. In February, 1846, he left his family in Kentucky to serve the church in Nashville. In March of the following year he moved his family to the city. His work was eminently successful. Boles characterizes his ministry in these words:

For five years he preached for the church and enjoyed almost unexampled success. The church continued to increase in number and popularity in the city until it was necessary to erect a larger house. The church of Christ in Nashville, with Jesse B. Ferguson as its preacher, enjoyed a greater prominence and popularity than any of the denominational churches. During this time Brother Ferguson was looked upon as the greatest pulpit orator that ever visited Nashville, and he enjoyed the fame of being the greatest and most eloquent pulpit orator in the South.

The Nashville Church of Christ was organized as the Baptist Church of Nashville in July, 1820, by J. Varde- man and James Whitsett, from members of the Mill Creek Baptist Church. There were seventeen charter members. The first building was erected in 1821. Under the leadership

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2 Boles, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

of the first minister, Richard Dabbs, the congregation withdrew from the Concord Association with which it had been affiliated. Dabbs died in 1825, and in May of the following year P. S. Fall was called as the minister. In 1827, the congregation, now calling itself "The Church of Christ at Nashville," although repudiating all human creeds as tests of fellowship and accepting the New Testament as the only authority, was welcomed again into the Concord Association.

P. S. Fall returned to Kentucky in June, 1831. In October of that year a Sunday School was organized with W. A. Eichbaum as the superintendent. After Fall's departure, A. Adams, J. R. Davis, H. T. Anderson, W. H. Wharton, and Tolbert Fanning served as teachers and ministers. "In May, 1846, Bro. J. B. Ferguson was called to co-operate with Dr. Wharton as joint Teacher of the congregation. 1847. Bro. Ferguson was called to become the resident and regular Teacher of the congregation."¹

Under Ferguson's leadership a new building was erected at a cost of $30,000. After the "defection" of Ferguson, litigation over the building resulted in its being turned over to those who opposed him. Shortly thereafter, April 8, 1857, the building burned. Many were convinced that it was arson, an act of vengeance by Ferguson's sympathizers, who would rather see the building burned than used by their brethren.

¹Ibid, p. 213.
The congregation repurchased the old building and removed to it for worship. P. S. Fall was called to return to the city in an attempt to restore harmony, peace, and prosperity to the congregation. His labors proved the wisdom of the choice. James Challen, visiting Nashville in 1860, wrote Alexander Campbell:

Bro. Fall has been here now about two years; and the desert begins to look like a field that the Lord has blessed. He has enjoyed the hearty co-operation of his brethren and sisters, and their warmest sympathy, in his efforts to re-construct the congregation. Last Lord's Day some two hundred broke the loaf together. Many have already been immersed; more have united by letters which have been held up, one by one, former members have returned; the attendance upon Bro. Fall's ministry is large, and is regularly increasing; a fine Sunday School has been organized; and also an interesting Bible class. The congregation is, indeed, redeemed; and it has in it all the elements of prosperity and strength.¹


Mr. Fall wrote to John R. Howard under date of May 8, 1861: "I am happy to say, that the cause of Christ is in a measure restored to its former status in this city. Since the effort to reconstruct the congregation was inaugurated, about sixty persons have been immersed, comprising heads of families, and fine young persons of both sexes, in about equal numbers. The house of worship (the old one) has been remodeled, and is now as good as new, and much more comfortable and commodious. Four dressing rooms have been added, and a beautiful baptistry constructed, and the seats, which are free, are now well filled with a large and attentive audience. The list of white members never contained more than two hundred and sixty-five names. By the end of the present year there will be, if things go on as they have done, quite as many as in the best days of the congregation. The colored members were organized into a separate church; and there are possibly more than two hundred of them together now; but some twenty prefer to remain with us.

The greater number of the old members have returned to their places and now value their privileges more highly than ever. Peace and love abound amongst us; and there is not a member that would not deny himself in any way rather than introduce a question that might engender strife. The
Ferguson began writing for the Heretic Detector in 1838. This periodical, then in its second year, was edited by Arthur Crihfield, and was published at Middleburg, Logan County, Ohio. He later contributed articles to the Millennium Harbinger, Christian Journal, Christian Review, Bible Advocate, and perhaps other periodicals.

His first venture into the editorial ranks was as an associate with Arthur Crihfield in conducting the Heretic Detector, beginning with volume five (1841). However, this partnership lasted for only three months.

The Christian Review was begun by Tolbert Fanning at Nashville, in 1844. Ferguson was a contributor to this periodical beginning with the first volume. Fanning introduced him to his readers with an extract from a published sermon on "Remission of Sins" in the March and April issues for 1844. An article entitled "Reflections on the Destiny of Human Society" appeared in July, and one on "Names in unpleasant past is forgotten; the author of the evil is rarely ever mentioned. . . .

We regret that some who were scattered abroad have not returned. They have either gone no where, or have united with some one of the denominational churches after the explosion." (Christian Pioneer, Vol. I, June, 1861, pp. 38, 39.)


2The first and only word concerning this matter is the following announcement: "The co-partnership heretofore existing between A. Crihfield and Jesse B. Ferguson, has been dissolved by mutual consent." (Heretic Detector, Vol. V, June, 1841, p. 223.)


Religion" in November.¹ By February, 1845, through "the earnest solicitation of the Senior Editor and Publishers of this paper" he had been "induced to become a regular contributor for its pages."² He continued as a contributor to the Review until it ceased publication in 1847. And when Tolbert Fanning decided to cease publication, the Review was turned over to Jesse Ferguson, to appear under the name of Christian Magazine.

The publication of Ferguson's exposition of I Peter 3:18-20 and 4:1-6, in April, 1852, led to the bitter and acrimonious controversy with Alexander Campbell.³ Both seemed ready and willing to believe the worst of each other. Campbell accused Ferguson of egotism, and was himself accused of personal animosity and popery.

We can only conjecture as to the cause of strained relations between them. Campbell had commended Ferguson and the Christian Magazine to his readers in 1847. "Brother Ferguson's communica(tions) for the press give unequivocal indications of good sense, good taste, and and (sic) good manners," he wrote. "We doubt not that he will be found a vigorous, edifying, and spirited writer."⁴ Near the close of the following year (1848), Campbell became greatly

¹Ibid, November, 1844, pp. 251-253.
²Ibid, February, 1845, p. 25.
³This controversy is treated in Chapter VI, Part I.
perturbed over proposals for publishing hymn books other than his Christian Hymns and violations of his copy-right. Ferguson announced his intention of publishing an edition of Christian Hymns with "appropriate music." Campbell's comments on this proposal were not couched in terms conducive to peace and good will:

True, I have no faith in making new or old hymn books, with music on every alternate page, or on every page, for church or family service. Fill your churches, brethren, with organs--with singing choirs--and your pews with "Christian hymns and appropriate music," and you will become as cold and as fashionable as Bostonians and New Englanders, and may sing farewell to revivals, Christian warmth, and Christian ardor, and every thing that looks like living, zealous, active, and soul-redeeming Christianity.

In turn, Campbell may have been piqued by Ferguson's continued criticisms of the ceaseless controversy which had marked the history of the movement, and the editorial policy of spreading personal and church differences and disagreements upon the pages of their periodicals, such as the following:

I have seen for years what thousands deplore. Almost every serious difficulty in any of our churches has been made an individual affair, bruited through our papers, to the violation of every principle of Christian Discipline, and to our common disgrace, and I have searched for the remedy. I have no hesitancy in saying that almost every difficulty that has seriously retarded the advance of the cause, has originated in palpable violations of the laws of Christian Discipline, by which causes of complaint, which should have been met and silenced, or at least confined in the churches in which they have originated, have been made personal difficulties with our Editors. . . . Like cases of small-pox, which ought to be confined to the localities where they occur, they have been foisted into

our assemblies, and the effects of the contagion are manifest in every church that has not barred its doors to their entrance. . . . The attacks upon the character of opponents within and without, from which the cause has never recovered, is but the natural fruit of ceaseless controversy. . . . The decisions of men and of contemporaries are as partial as they are ready, and as delusive as they are premature.¹

Ferguson rose to great heights of prominence and popularity both within and without the brotherhood. The inhabitants of his city delighted to honor him; his brethren favored and loved him. "For several months," writes one of his biographers, "he enjoyed the honor and distinction of being the youngest preacher in the city and the most famous one."² He was named to the Board of Trustees of Franklin College and other institutions. He was prominent in the cooperative meetings of the Christian Churches in Tennessee, speaking and serving on various committees. His biographers, almost without exception, indicate that he succumbed to the honors and flattery heaped upon him.

One says of him that he "rose to such a height in the estimation of his hearers, and especially his own, that his head became giddy, and, being no longer able to preserve his religious equilibrium, he was precipitated doctrinally into the region of departed spirits, where he immediately attempted to immortalize himself by new discoveries.

²Cf. Christian Magazine, Extra, December, 1852, pp. 19-25. Campbell's statements concerning Christian Hymns With Appropriate Music, and Ferguson's concerning the treatment of difficulties by editors, may seem like scant evidence for building a case of strained relations between the two. These could account, however, for a smouldering fire of resentment that burst into open flame at the first winds of controversy. "Great oaks from little acorns grow!"

²Boles, op. cit., p. 189. ³Ibid, pp. 189, 190.
Ferguson left Nashville on August 18, 1853, for a trip to Southern Kentucky and Central Ohio. He reported a most cordial reception by the citizens of Hopkinsville, Kentucky, although the elders of the congregation refused him permission to speak in the church building.\(^1\) Two weeks were spent in Springfield, Ohio, among friends and relatives. He wrote as follows of his preaching experience in that city:

We spent some two weeks in Springfield; one of which we appropriated almost exclusively to rest. But our worthy bro. H. and my connexions, the Messrs. F., would have us consent to preach. We did so, first in the Baptist Church, and then in the City Hall. We commenced with ordinary congregations; but before we closed, it was difficult to accommodate the crowds that flocked to the Hall, although one of the largest, if not the largest, in the place. Our congregations, we were gratified to learn, were made up of the most intelligent citizens of the place. They gave us every evidence of interest and pleasure in the themes we discussed.\(^2\)

Ferguson also visited Lafayette and Cincinnati, spending five days in the latter place during the meetings of the American Christian Missionary Society and the American Christian Bible Society. "We had been politely invited to take no part in their sage deliberations," he writes, "and of course we did not."\(^3\)

The unfortunate controversy with Alexander Campbell resulted in Ferguson's being discredited with the brotherhood, condemned as a heretic, Universalist, and infidel. By

\(^2\)Ibid, December, 1853, p. 383.  
\(^3\)Ibid, p. 385.
1854 he had become a thorough-going devotee of spiritualism. His wife was one of the mediums for the group that associated together for spiritualistic revelations. The spirit of William Ellery Channing had many messages for Ferguson, including an admonition to absent himself from the preaching and presence of Alexander Campbell during his visit to Nashville in November, 1854. His faith in the Scriptures as the full and complete revelation of God to men underwent radical changes.¹

¹The following statements concerning his adoption of spiritualism, and his attitude toward the Scriptures, are found in his volume on Spirit Communion, published in 1854.

"We confess that our experiences and observations so deepened and confirmed our faith in the reality and nearness of Spirit presence, that it gave a character to our ministrations that was marked by all, and led, doubtless, to the strange controversy that grew out of the denunciations of heresy and infidelity, that some ephemeral publications and irregular ministers fulminated against us, in which we openly avowed and defended the positions:  

1. There is a future Spiritual life to all human beings that death cannot destroy.  
2. That future Spiritual life is progressive to all souls.

But, when the Spiritual manifestations of Rochester and other places were claiming popular attention, we were so occupied in pastoral, editorial and other duties, we passed them by for the most part, and were disposed to regard them as the mingling of fanaticism and imposture. There was one exception to this statement. When attempting, in company with a medical friend, to relieve a case of physical suffering, finding the subject in the state usually called clairvoyant, I asked her in relation to the Rochester manifestations, and received the response—'The manifestations are from Spirits, many of whom lived before the present nations of the earth existed; they are seeking access to the world by the agency of spirits recently departed. This is true and you will find it so.' This remarkable declaration did not pass from my memory; and I made a note of it among my records, but generally I attributed it to a mesmeric reflection of the mind of my friend upon that of the patient. He always
James Challen preached in Louisville, Kentucky, New Albany, Indiana, and Nashville, Tennessee, early in 1860. In his account of the work in Nashville, he makes the following statement concerning Ferguson: "A few adhere to the fallen fortunes of J. B. Ferguson—who has no church organization, and no Christian influence. He speaks in the Theater, without the exhibition of anything Christian, reformative or saving." ¹

Some time after 1860 he left Nashville to preach

protested however that I was mistaken. This was in May, 1849.

Time passed on with its changing influences, and I found myself with its every advance more and more confident of the reality of man's Spiritual relations—so much so indeed that my statements from the pulpit and the press frequently required explanations to my friends. So full, so positive, and so unmistakable were they, that the voluntary opponents to my heresies pronounced me a Spiritualist, as with the usual confidence of men who never doubt their own decisions, stated that I was in correspondence with Spiritual mediums." (pp. 11, 12)

"The Bible is a collection of Spiritual communications, of unequal character, varying in the degree of their light and help, according to the capacity of the individuals through whom they were made, and the necessities of the age that received them." (p. 234)

"It should be remembered that the Bible no where purports to be a final revelation from God." (p. 235)

"The Bible is a record of Spiritual communications, made through departed human Spirits ... called angels." (p. 238)

"1. The inspiration of the Bible Records is unequal and progressive. 2. The authority of the Bible is the authority of the Truth it contains; and especially of the truth upon man's moral obligations and Spiritual relationships." (p. 244)

"the doctrine of spiritualism and then Universalism" in Mississippi, and later in New Orleans.1 Having lost his influence, he quit preaching and turned to politics and real estate. Some time later he returned to Nashville, where he died on September 4, 1870. David Lipscomb, editor of the *Gospel Advocate*, recorded the news of his death, adding the following statement:

It may be a matter of sad interest to our readers to know the fate of this once honored but erratic man. He was the most popular preacher in the Southern country at one time. He was almost worshiped by his admirers in this city, where he ministered as preacher of the church of Christ. He had not that humility of soul and strength of character to stand flattery and adulation heaped upon him. He apostasized from the faith and adopted latitudinarian views in his faith and with reference to morality. He attempted to build up a congregation of adherents on his loose views. He failed, turned politician, verred to different points of the compass as the popular winds seemed to blow. He lost respect of all parties here. Once no citizen of Nashville but felt it an honor to be recognized by him. In later years he was scarcely recognized by his former acquaintances even of the world when met on the streets. The contrast was too painful to be borne by one so ambitious of popular applause as he. So, although his family resided in the vicinity, of late years he was seldom upon the streets of Nashville. He died on Saturday, September 3, 1870. On Lord's day he was buried at Mount Olivet Cemetery. The funeral services were performed by Dr. Baird, of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.2

1 Boles, *op. cit.*, p. 190.  
Tolbert Panning

Tolbert Fanning was born in Cannon County, Tennessee, May 10, 1810, and died at his home near Nashville, May 3, 1874.1

His parents, William and Nancy Bromley Fanning, were natives of Virginia, migrating to Tennessee soon after their marriage, to make their home first in Warren, and later in Cannon County. In 1816 they moved to Lauderdale County, Alabama, located in the Northwest corner of the state. Here they remained until 1832, when they moved to Mississippi. Twelve years later, in 1844, the father and that portion of the family still at home (one or two daughters) moved on to Texas, where he died in 1865.

William Fanning was a planter on a small scale. Since his son's labor was needed in the fields, only those hours which could be spared from this work were devoted to study. Although he took advantage of every opportunity for educational advancement during his childhood, Fanning was

1The biographers of Fanning agree on these two facts. However, there are many instances of disagreement: his age when the family moved to Alabama, who baptized him, the date of his baptism, the date of entering the University of Nashville, the name of this University, the date of his marriage, when he opened his first school, and other points. Since we are not primarily concerned with the life and career of Fanning, we have chosen to accept and record those facts concerning which there is the most general agreement.
not satisfied. Therefore, when he returned to make his home in his native state he soon (1831) enrolled in the University of Tennessee. He was graduated from this institution of higher learning in 1835 with an A. B. degree.  

Throughout the remainder of his life he was a teacher: in the schoolroom, from the pulpit, on the farm, through periodical publications.

Since his father made no profession of religion, Fanning's early religious training was left to his mother, who was a Baptist. He listened to Baptist and Methodist preachers during his younger years. Later, in Alabama, he heard the message of the Reformation from such men as James E. Matthews and Ephraim D. Moore. The message they preached impressed him as simple, Scriptural, and understandable, and he was convicted of its truth. He immediately confessed his faith in Christ, and was baptized by James E. Matthews in October, 1827, at Cypress, Alabama. 

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1 "The Legislature of North Carolina had passed an act on December 29, 1775, 'for the promotion of learning in the county of Davidson' which resulted in the beginning of Davidson Academy. The name of this school was later changed to Davidson College, and in 1806 to Cumberland College. It was incorporated as the University of Nashville in 1826, five years before Fanning entered." (Earl West, The Life and Times of David Lipscomb. Henderson, Tennessee, Religious Book Service, 1954, p. 40)

2 H. R. Moore, in Franklin College and Its Influences, edited by James E. Scobey, and printed in Nashville by the McQuiddy Printing Company in 1906, p. 123, states: "He was baptized by Ephraim B. Moore in September, 1828. However, according to Fanning's own account, James E. Matthews "was the teacher of our early youth, our instructor in the
Fanning immediately turned to an earnest and diligent study of the Bible, and soon began preaching. His early efforts were not promising.

An old sister with a kindly heart, but candid and blunt tongue, said to him: "Brother Fanning, you never can preach, and will always run your legs too far through your breeches. Do go home and go to plowing." Brother Rees Jones, one of the first and most faithful and self-denying pioneers in the restoration of the Bible as the will of God, took him aside and told him: "I do not think you will ever make a preacher. It might be well for you to go at something else." But he would not be discouraged. By constant study and practice he became an able, earnest, and respected proclaimer of the Gospel.

During 1830 and 1831 he evangelized in Northern Alabama and Middle Tennessee. He accompanied Alexander Campbell on two preaching tours: the first, through Ohio and Kentucky (1833) while still a student in the University of Nashville; the second, in 1836, through the northeastern section of the United States and into Canada. His evangelistic labors continued throughout his life. He was responsible for establishing, or helping to establish, several churches in Middle Tennessee.

Christian religion in riper years, and upon an understanding confession of the faith, with his own hands he baptized us into the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, October, 1827. (W. C. Rogers, Recollections of Men of Faith. St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company, 1889, p. 133)

1 Scobey, op. cit., p. 124.


3 See Millennial Harbinger, 1836, pp. 238, 330, 337, 411, 433, 481, 543.

4 Scobey, op. cit., p. 49.
In 1836 Fanning married Sarah Shrieve of Nicholasville, Kentucky, who died shortly after their marriage. The following year he married Charlotte Fall, the sister of Philip S. Fall, who had been called as minister of the Baptist Church in Nashville in 1826, remaining until 1831. Charlotte Fall had been teaching in Tennessee for a number of years. "She taught near Nashville, in private families, and later in the Nashville Female Academy, at that time one of the best schools for girls in the South."  

The marriage of Tolbert Fanning and Charlotte Fall began a marital, religious, and educational companionship which was to continue until broken by death. Within a few weeks the young couple entered upon the first of their educational ventures. 

Early in 1837—within a month after their marriage—they opened a school in Franklin, Tenn. Both taught in the school, and on Sundays Mr. Fanning preached either in Franklin or the surrounding country. During vacations he held meetings, usually accompanied and assisted by his wife, he doing the preaching, she leading the singing. They remained in Franklin three years, and the town and its vicinity still feel the influence of their labors, in both the schoolroom and the church. 

1The following is taken from the records of this congregation: "12 Aug. 1827. The congregation having unanimously repudiated all human creeds and bonds of union and communion, decided by a vote of 24 to 3 to meet every Lord's day and consecrate the day by observing the Lord's supper, reading the Scriptures, for Fellowship, mutual exhortation, prayer and praise." (Christian Magazine, Vol. V, July, 1852, p. 212) 


3Ibid, pp. 15, 16.
In 1840 they purchased a farm about five miles from Nashville and transferred their teaching to this location. During 1843 and 1844 Fanning was occupied in building and making arrangements for the opening of Franklin College. This school opened on the Fannings' farm, which they had named Elm Crag, in January, 1845, in a large, commodious building, capable of housing two hundred students and furnishing recitation rooms, chapel and two society rooms. Near the college was the residence of Mr. Fanning, and connected with it was a pleasant schoolroom, where Mrs. Fanning taught young girls.¹

The new school was designed to train students physically, mentally, and morally.² They were expected to work on the farm three or four hours daily, in addition to devoting eight or nine hours to study. The curriculum offered opportunity for studying the Bible, "a full course in English literature," the Ancient and Modern languages, Mathematics, Science, Chemistry, Geology, Botany, and Entomology.³ The work program was abandoned in 1849. According to West, "the whole scheme broke down and Fanning complained that it was because the faculty would not work."⁴

Elm Crag became an educational center. Franklin College and Mrs. Fanning's school for girls were located

¹Ibid, p. 16.
²For a complete apologetic for, and description of, the proposed program of work and education instituted by Fanning at the beginning of Franklin College, see Christian Review, Vol. I, June, 1844, pp. 130-133.
³Ibid, p. 132.
⁴West, op. cit., p. 43.
here. In 1848 Sandy E. Jones and his wife built a school for girls nearby, naming it Minerva College.¹

Fanning was the first president of Franklin College, a position he held until 1861 when he resigned in favor of W. D. Carnes. Teaching came to a halt during the Civil War, but as soon as hostilities ceased the buildings were again made ready for school. In October, 1865, within a short time after the reopening of the school, the Franklin College building burned. Fanning purchased the property of Minerva College in which to continue his teaching. The new school was called Hope Institute. The name was later changed to Fanning Orphan School.

During the year 1843 Fanning held two debates with Presbyterian ministers. The first was with a preacher named McMillan, at Moulton, Alabama; the second with N. L. Rice, in Nashville. "Fanning regretted having conducted this debate," writes West, "confident that Rice was using him to prepare for his coming discussion with Campbell which was held the following November."²

Fanning's first editorial venture was the Agriculturist, the organ of the Tennessee Agricultural Society, which he edited from 1842-1845. From 1844-1847 he published the Christian Review. He also published the Naturalist during 1847. He was associated with David Lipscomb in the

¹Page, op. cit., p. 17.
²West, op. cit., p. 43.
publication of the Gospel Advocate, which they began in 1855. This publication, suspended during the war, resumed its weekly visits in 1866. It was dedicated to checking "innovations" in the Church--missionary societies, instrumental music, etc. Fanning's association with it ceased at the close of 1867. In 1872 he inaugurated the Religious Historian, which he continued until his death in 1874.

The following character sketch is from the pen of a personal friend and associate:

The career of Tolbert Fanning was stormy, strong, eventful, and eminently successful. ... He was a man of convictions, and had the courage thereof. His social and affectionate natures were not of the cordial and magnetic order that draws, but of the austere, rigid type that repels. He praised no one, complimented few, but visited on all who fell below his high standard the unfailing recompense of reward. ... His life work has left an indelible impress on his environments for good. In his life work he dealt in no softness of language. He waved no plumes, wreathed no garlands, but struck from the shoulder and at the vitals. He was destitute of poetry and barren of imagination. In his bold, aggressive work, with pen and tongue, he asked only the attention of those to whom he spoke and for whom he wrote and an unconditional surrender when convinced. Through life he struggled heroically against his own impetuous, imperious, and tyrannical disposition. He fought bravely and continuously for the education--for the physical, intellectual, and spiritual development--of all with whom he had to do. His deep and abiding faith in the word of God; his unwavering contempt for, and unceasing warfare against, all human creeds, traditions, and superstitions--and especially against the philosophic theories and metaphysical speculations of the tall, sceptical sons of science--aroused and impelled him to cry aloud and warn his brethren and all concerned, in season and out of season, to leave Babylon and return to Jerusalem--to leave the walls of Zion, contemplate her towers, enter her gates, and live and die within her sacred precincts.1

1Scobey, op. cit., pp. 143, 144.
Benjamin Franklin Hall was born in Moorefield, Nicholas County, Kentucky, June 13, 1803, and died in Grayson County, Texas, May 1, 1873.

He began preaching in 1823 when but twenty years of age. About two years later, May 15, 1825, he and T. M. Allen were ordained to the Christian ministry by Barton W. Stone at Old Union, Fayette County, Kentucky.\(^1\) He evangelized in the early period of his ministry in Middle Tennessee and Northern Alabama, being the first to proclaim the principles of the Restoration Movement in the latter state, at Moulton, in 1826.\(^2\)

The first few years of his labors were characterized by the usual type of evangelism practiced by the Christians and some other religious groups—the mourner's bench, or anxious seat. He proved very successful in getting men and women to express an interest in religion, but few seemed to find the relief and satisfaction which they sought for in Christ. He labored under the growing


conviction that something must be wrong with his preaching, since so many failed to find the Lord. An examination of the records of apostolic preaching found in the book of Acts confirmed this belief; for no sincere seeker turned away without knowing the joy of sins forgiven. He wrote of this experience at a later date: "I saw there was a great difference between their converts and ours. Theirs knew they were pardoned, and rejoiced in it; ours could only hope, and that with fear and trembling."¹

He was still greatly distressed over the matter when he started on a trip to visit his mother in Kentucky. On the way he stopped at the home of "a certain Brother Guess," who lived on Line Creek, the boundary line between Tennessee and Kentucky. Here he found a copy of the debate on baptism between Alexander Campbell and William McCalla, and, for the first time, was made aware of Campbell's arguments on the design of baptism. At last he perceived

the wisdom and benevolence of the Divine Saviour in the institution of that ordinance. The light flashed upon my mind, and for the first time in my life I saw that baptism was to be administered to penitent believers for an evidence to them of the remission of their past sins.

I rejoiced exceedingly because I had found the long lost link in the chain of gospel truth. I had been looking for it, and knew it the moment it caught my eye. It was like the chief corner-stone in the foundation of the temple; though often trampled upon

in the search for it, when put in its proper place, its comeliness and utility were apparent.

Hall immediately began to present this newly discovered truth to others, first in Kentucky, then in Alabama. He preached in a camp-meeting at Mill Creek, near Tomkinsville, in Monroe County, Kentucky, and twenty responded to the invitation at the conclusion of the sermon. He then spent an hour explaining the purpose of baptism in the gospel plan of salvation. At the close of this period of instruction, five indicated their desire to be baptized immediately, although the hour was approaching midnight.

He evangelized in Alabama until the spring of 1827 when he returned to Kentucky, preaching in Mercer and Washington Counties. Among the early converts gained in Alabama was James C. Anderson. "In 1837," Tolbert Fanning wrote at the time of Hall's death, "we heard him preach salvation through obedience to Christ, for which, we shall ever be thankful."

The preliminary steps for union between the Reformers and Christians by Stone, Johnson, Rogers, and Smith, at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1831, were followed by attempts to effect a union between churches of the two groups on a local level. It was not until 1835, however, that the union was effected in Lexington under the labors of T. M. Allen. Hall assisted Allen in a meeting in this church in that

1Ibid. 2Ibid. 3Religious Historian, Vol. II, June, 1873, p. 192.
year, resulting in 26 additions. In reporting this evangelistic effort, Hall made the following statement concerning the status of the church: "The difficulties between the two parties are settled finally. The brethren now have a good house of worship, and are prospering. The cause is looking up, and beginning to attract notice."1 B. F. Hall was the minister of the Lexington church during 1838, 1839, and a portion of 1840.2

Hall was invited to speak in the Baptist Church in Edenton, North Carolina, in 1833. Thomas Meredith, editor of the Baptist Interpreter, had resigned as their minister but continued to hold membership with this congregation. After Hall's sermon, he severely criticized his doctrine, although the majority of the members were sympathetic toward them.3

Alexander Campbell, Thomas Campbell, R. Y. Henley, M. L. Henley, B. F. Hall, and E. A. Campbell formed a party to visit Eastern Virginia and New York in the fall of 1833.4 Hall preached at Fredericksburg and Richmond. From the

2Charles C. Ware, Barton Warren Stone (St. Louis, Missouri: The Bethany Press, 1932), p. 255.
3Charles C. Ware, North Carolina Disciples of Christ (St. Louis, Missouri: Christian Board of Publication, 1927), p. 58.
4Millennial Harbinger, Vol. IV, November, 1833, pp. 560-566; December, 1833, p. 583.
latter city Alexander Campbell turned toward New York, but Thomas Campbell and B. F. Hall set their faces toward North Carolina. Hall remained at Edenton for two Sundays.\(^1\) He then rejoined Alexander Campbell at Norfolk, Virginia, leaving Thomas Campbell at Edenton.

Hall held a meeting in Nashville in the spring of 1840, 26 being added to the membership of this church.\(^2\) In June of that year he moved to Louisville from Lexington,\(^3\) spending his time in deepening the spirituality and convictions of the Christians in that city, and evangelizing in Kentucky and Indiana. Four years later, 1844, his letters are written from Versailles, Kentucky.\(^4\)

He spent the winter of 1846-47 in Alabama.\(^5\) 1848 found him first in Philadelphia, then in Tennessee.\(^6\) Later in the year he held a debate in Mississippi with Clayton, a Universalist, which continued for a week.\(^7\) During this year, also, he assisted Alexander Graham in establishing a

\(^1\)Ware, North Carolina Disciples of Christ, op. cit., p. 62. Ware gives an extended account of the difficulties at Edenton caused by the preaching of Hall.


\(^3\)Ibid, November, 1840, p. 517.


\(^7\)Ibid, November, 1848, p. 351.
church in Aberdeen, Mississippi, and T. W. Caskey in planting churches at Clinton and Mt. Hebron, in Alabama.¹ In November he presided at a co-operation meeting for Southern Alabama and Northern Mississippi.² In January, 1849, he was in New Orleans.³ Later in 1849 he made a business trip to Texas, also preaching at Houston, Galveston, Austin, Crockett, Shreveport, Dallas, McKinney, and in Hopkins County. Concerning his labors at the last place, he wrote: "They had a meeting in progress when I reached the neighborhood in an ox waggon (sic), being unable to ride on horseback. Feeble as I was, I delivered three discourses."⁴

He spent some time in Memphis, Tennessee, during 1850 and 1851. He was in Kentucky during a portion of 1841, but returned to Tennessee in time to attend the State Meeting in October, being chosen to preside at the sessions of this gathering. Hall was placed on the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Evangelizing Association for 1852.⁵ At this time he was editor of the Christian Age, and the assembly voted to recommend it to the Christians throughout Tennessee.

B. F. Hall's later years were spent in Texas. He

³Ibid, June, 1849, p. 231.
⁵Ibid, Vol. V, June, 1852, p. 188.
had a homestead and extensive land holdings in Grayson County. His name is intimately associated with many churches in Texas. He was at Van Alstyne in 1854. "The initial move toward establishing a church in Dallas was made by B. F. Hall in 1857." He was successful in re-organizing a church near Hallonia in August of 1859. He collaborated with Joe Brice Wilmeth in establishing a church in Sherman, and later served as their minister for several years.

Three years before his death Hall established the church in Waco. Colby Hall records the following information concerning the beginning of this church:

In the fall of 1870 two consecrated women, Mrs. Phoebe Moore (Dr. Moore's mother) and Mrs. Sallie Skidmore, were sent to Grayson County to secure the services of Dr. B. F. Hall to come to Waco to hold a meeting. These saintly women travelled the 348 miles, the round trip for three weeks, by a two-horse wagon, with the companionship of only an old trusted Negro driver. It was through sparsely settled country still troubled by Indians, and they camped out at night. This meeting resulted in the organization of the Church in Waco (October 29, 1870) with 18 charter members and 29 added at the meeting.

Hall served as a chaplain during the Civil War on the side of the South. William Baxter describes him as a war-crazed, bloodthirsty advocate of rebellion and enemy of all Yankees:

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2Ibid.
4Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 390.
5Ibid, p. 370.
When the Rangers came to join M'Culloch, prior to the battle of Pea Ridge, one regiment was commanded by a son of the venerable and sainted Barton W. Stone, whose apostolic purity of life and teaching are held in greatest remembrance by thousands. This son wore and disgraced the name of his father; and of his regiment, Elder B. F. Hall was chaplain. He had other aims, however, than to minister to the spiritual needs of the rude troopers; he rode a fine mule, carried a splendid rifle, and stipulated expressly that when there was any chance for killing Yankees he must be allowed the privilege of bagging as many as possible. He boasted of his trusty rifle, of the accuracy of his aim, and doubted not that the weapon, with which he claimed to have killed deer at two hundred yards, would be quite as effectual when a Yankee was the mark. Once during the evening he wished that the people of the North were upon one vast platform, with a magazine of powder beneath, and that he might have the pleasure of applying the match to hurl them into eternity.

He was associated with four different periodicals advocating the Reformation: Gospel Advocate, 1836-1837, with John T. Johnson; Christian Panopolist, 1837, with William Hunter; Christian Magazine, 1848, with Jesse B. Ferguson and Tolbert Fanning; Christian Age, 1852, with T. J. Melish, D. S. Burnet, B. Franklin, W. W. Eaton, and C. L. Loos. He contributed to a number of periodicals. Two of his sermons are included in the first volume of the Christian Preacher, edited by D. S. Burnet: "The Type and Anti-type of Salvation," and "The Resurrection of Christ." Christian Songs was the title of his compilation of hymns. Other publications of Hall include the following: "A Discourse on Three Salvations," Every Man His Own Dentist,


Those who knew Dr. Hall characterized him as a man of iron and clay, sometimes strong, often weak:

But Dr. Hall at best was one of the most peculiar men of his day. At times, great; at others, small and very small. Now strong as Samson, again weak as he when shorn of his locks. At times, while listening to him discoursing upon the theme of redemption, you felt near the gate of heaven; anon, while associating with him in every-day life, you almost felt that you had struck the direct route to Pandemonium. Just think of it! He would occasionally quit preaching and mount his pony, with rifle lashed over his shoulder, knife in belt, arrayed in garb that likened him to Arab, Tartar, or North American Indian, would wander for months with chosen comrades over the vast plains of Texas, hunting the deer or the buffalo. No doubt he enjoyed these excursions immensely, for he could entertain you royally in recounting his thrilling adventures and "hair-breadth escapes."\footnote{W. C. Rogers, Recollections of Men of Faith (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company, 1889), p. 99.}

Tolbert Fanning wrote of Hall at the time of his death:

This distinguished minister of the Gospel was laid to rest at his home in Grayson Co., Texas, May 1st, 1873. ... In some respects, our Brother was eccentric, self-willed and very unfortunate, but was in the main, a sound teacher of truth; and few men of the age, have evinced superior capacity. His greatest errors of life were evinced in his marriage relations and possibly, once or twice in his life, yielding to a shallow policy on denominational favor. For suggesting to him his mistakes, he died our enemy. But he was a great man and we trust his faults, were not such as to close the gates of the beautiful city against him. We taught his children, labored much with him, loved him as a brother of the Lord, and feel that we have lost an old friend and fellow soldier. His brethren should mourn his death.
as the loss of one who did much to promote the cause of God.\textsuperscript{1}

And Chalmers McPherson, writing of the Disciples in Texas, pays this tribute to Dr. Hall's memory:

B. F. Hall's body lies in the Van Alstyne Cemetery. He was a remarkable preacher. I never knew him as he died just prior to my coming to the State. Many times I have heard those who had heard him, speak of his sermons and of incidents connected with his life. Some seemed to think that during his closing days he was the object of bitter and unnecessary opposition and persecution. . . . At any rate, he was a masterful preacher, and a man of wonderful power.\textsuperscript{2}

There is little trace of eccentricities or peculiarities in B. F. Hall's contributions to the periodicals of the Restoration Movement. They are marked by that positive and earnest tone which is rooted in firm convictions of great spiritual truths, and reveal careful thought, logical arrangement, and Scriptural foundation. His experience and ability made Hall a valuable member of the editorial staff of the Christian Magazine during the first year of its publication.

\textsuperscript{1}Religious Historian, Vol. II, June, 1873, p. 192.


John D. Eichbaum

John Eichbaum was associated with Jesse Ferguson as an editor of the *Christian Magazine* during 1850 and 1851. David Lipscomb, recording his death at the age of 73, left the following character sketch of this teacher, editor, and evangelist for posterity:

He was an earnest, clear-headed student of the Bible, and a speaker of force and power, and did very effective work as a preacher... Everywhere Brother Eichbaum created surprise by his youthful appearance, together with his decision of character, clearness and force in presenting truth... All his life a self-denying spirit characterized him. He was inclined to ascetic spirit, a self-denying austerity in his habits. Connected with this, he became involved in mystic ideas of spiritualism for a time. This seemed to have weakened his decision of character—and destroyed the energy and positiveness of his life; so that his later years did not fulfill the promise of his early life; but all his life he would deny himself even needful food in seeking the attainment of spiritual good or to help others. He was an earnest believer in prayer, and gave much time and zeal to fasting and prayer... Brother Eichbaum had but little regard for money, and no knowledge of how to care for it. At one time quite a sum in cash was left him, and in a few months it was all gone; not by extravagance, but a lack of care for it and knowledge how to use it. Whatever he had was freely bestowed upon every one in need, even though he needed it himself. In doing what he thought was right, he was ready to perform the most disagreeable duties and endure any sacrifices. He felt the Christian's mission was to save the lost; so he was ready to labor to save the outcast and disreputable sinners of earth.¹

¹ *Gospel Advocate*, July 14, 1898, p. 450.
John Eichbaum was born in Nashville, Tennessee, December 9, 1825. His father was a bookseller and stationer in that city, and his mother was a teacher. William A. Eichbaum, the father, was active in the Nashville Church of Christ, serving as superintendent of a Bible School associated with this church for "several years."

Love for books and the desire to study marked John Eichbaum's life from early years. He was graduated from the University of Nashville with high honors. In 1844 he was named to the first faculty of Franklin College as "Professor of Ancient Languages" and "Assistant Professor of Agriculture and Horticulture."\(^1\) One of the factors influencing his decision to accept a position as assistant editor of the *Christian Magazine* was the opportunity "to prosecute some studies which were incompatible with his duties as State Evangelist."\(^2\)

Eichbaum resigned his position on the faculty of Franklin College to devote full time to preaching. He was preaching as early as 1844. In October of that year he accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Tolbert Fanning, S. E. Jones, and P. R. Runnels on a tour to Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee.\(^3\) Three years later, December, 1847, Jesse Ferguson, minister of the Nashville Church of Christ, highly

recommended Eichbaum, a member of his congregation, to the consideration of the brotherhood at large as a preacher of the gospel:

Our young and estimable brother JOHN EICHBAUM, has gone out into the great field of the gospel proclamation. It is a refreshing spectacle during the prevalence of a self-seeking spirit to see a young man of talent and education, contrary to the wishes and advice of most of his friends, willing to forego almost all things for the sake of winning souls to Christ. . . . Brother Eichbaum has counted up the cost, and I know of no one who has so deliberately given himself up with the purpose of devoting all his natural and acquired gifts to the service of God and truth as the only rational and scriptural design of life.

We most cheerfully commend Bro. E. to the Brotherhood everywhere, as a devoted Disciple of our Lord, and a fearless and faithful advocate of the faith once delivered to the Saints, satisfied that wherever his lot may be cast, he will show himself "a workman approved unto God and one that needeth not to be ashamed."1

This young preacher was associated with J. J. Trott as a State Evangelist during 1848, 1849, and 1852. With Trott he preached in Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, and Kentucky. Their reports appeared regularly in the Christian Magazine.

Co-operative work had an earnest advocate in John Eichbaum. His articles on co-operation in the Christian Magazine were written to strengthen the co-operative program in Tennessee. He served as secretary of the State Co-operation meetings of Tennessee in 1848, 1849, 1852. He was also appointed on various committees at each of these meetings. He was also influential in the organization of

the Christian Evangelizing Association of Tennessee, and served on the Board of Directors for 1852 and 1853.

Little is known of his later life.¹ He married a "Miss May Gregg after he had passed his fiftieth year, who died a year or two" before he husband,² leaving two daughters. The latest information concerning his activities which we have been able to locate is in a letter from James Challen, who wrote from Nashville, under date of February 29, 1860: "Young Bro. John Eichbaum, and Bro. W. S. Hawkins—who is a member here—are preaching in other places, as opportunities offer."³

¹Mr. Claude Spencer, Curator of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee, in a letter dated February 21, 1956, states: "I have searched every where for material about John Eichbaum. None of the Tennessee or Nashville biographical references have any entries on him. I also checked the index of the Tennessee Historical Quarterly and found only one reference. He was elected a corresponding member of the Tennessee Historical Society after it was formed about 1849."

²Gospel Advocate, July 14, 1898, p. 450.

John R. Howard

John R. Howard was born September 21, 1807, on a farm near Oxford, North Carolina, the sixth of nine children born to Barnett and Jane Hunt Howard.¹

The Howard family moved to Tennessee in the autumn of 1820, settling in Henry County, where many of their relatives had made their homes before them. Barnett Howard died in 1824, leaving the family to be cared for, nurtured, and educated by the second son, Memucan Howard, who, at that time, was about twenty-five years of age.

Little is known of the family from the time they arrived in Tennessee until the year 1833. In a letter to Alexander Campbell in 1852, John R. Howard wrote: "It seems but yesterday since I was a school urchin and a 'college boy.'"² The extent of his college education is not known, although we are certain that he was attending the University of Nashville in 1829.³

¹Frank M. Baim, The Contribution of John R. Howard to the Reformation of the Nineteenth Century (unpublished B. D. thesis, School of Religion, Butler University, 1948), p. 1. This thesis contains the best account of Howard's life to which we have had access, and it has been followed rather closely for vital facts in his life.


The story of Howard's conversion was communicated to Alexander Campbell in the following letter, dated Paris, Tennessee, May, 1834:

I was immersed last November on one cold Lord's day night, myself and two others, the ground being covered with deep snow, which had fallen in the morning--by brother J. R. M'Call, of Lexington, Ky. Had I have had the gospel explained to me as it is in the WORD OF GOD, I expect I should have probably become a Christian at least fifteen years ago, (being now in my 26th year;) and should, I expect, have, long before this, been proclaiming the good news to a deluded, a benighted, and a dying world. As it is, I have resolved to do so as soon as I feel sufficiently prepared. I was religiously inclined almost from my infancy--from my first recollections; and although I had been occasionally led astray in the paths of error and sin by the syren voice of pleasure, I returned back again each time, with deeper and deeper contrition, until I resolved to forsake the "ways of the world," and accordingly acted up to the spirit of my resolution. For a year, perhaps, or longer, before I was immersed, I was resting in the belief of the remission of my sins--upon faith alone, however, for I could not believe in the miraculous conversions and revelations of the Spirit, as preached up by the sectarian teachers. Shadowy, and unconsolatory assurance was it to me! I could not consent to join any of the sects. I had independence of mind enough to read the Bible, and think for myself; and on comparing their systems with that volume, I found in them ALL discrepancies from it, and objectionable and repulsive features, occasioned by these departures from apostolic order. The duty of obeying the Lord in immersion pressed heavier and heavier upon me. I heard at length the gospel proclaimed in its truth and purity; an invitation was tendered to those who felt willing to obey it; and I gladly embraced the opportunity; like the Jailor and his household, was immersed the same hour of the night; and the consequence is, that I now feel a full, a clear, a sensible, and a perfect remission of my sins, and can now go along my way rejoicing. These, sir, are the outlines of my religious experience. I often wonder that I had not discovered the truth sooner! A vail was over my mind in reading the Christian Institution. That being now taken away, all is as plain as objects in the brightest noon day! So plain, that it seems to me, that "he who runs may read," and "wayfaring men, though fools
Howard married Martha Clausell in 1835. She was born in Virginia in 1818, and, at the time of her marriage, was only 16 years of age. They lived together for seventeen years before her death in 1851 at the age of 33. Four children died before their mother; two were left. These also died within a comparatively short time. Little is known of Howard's second wife except that she was a "Miss Frazier of Arkansas."

A roving spirit and ill health led him to make many changes of residence: Tennessee, Kentucky, Iowa, Illinois. He spent much time in and around Paris and Sulphur Well Academy in Tennessee, and in Paducah, Kentucky. He died February 28, 1870, at the home of Elder George W. Ferrill, near Cobden, Illinois.

Howard began preaching within a short time after his baptism, and labored in Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Missouri, and Illinois. He gave some time to farming in an attempt to make a comfortable living. He taught his first school in 1837, or earlier, and continued until 1852. He was Principal of Sulphur Well Academy, and taught English, Latin, and Greek. "He studied medicine while teaching school near Concord, Calloway County, Kentucky, beginning in 1837," and probably began practicing some three years

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2Bairn, op. cit., p. 32.
Howard's editorial career began with the publication of the Christian Reformer at Paris, Tennessee, in 1836. This paper expired at the end of the first volume from malnutrition brought on by an insufficiency of subscribers. He issued the Bible Advocate from Paris also, beginning in 1842. In 1847 this periodical was moved to St. Louis, Missouri, uniting with the Christian Messenger to form the Christian Messenger and Bible Advocate. Howard remained in Tennessee and the burden of publication fell upon S. B. Aden. In May, 1850, the subscription list was turned over to the Ecclesiastical Reformer. His third editorial venture was named the Christian Banner, a weekly, published at Paducah, Kentucky, during 1854. In 1861 he started the Christian Pioneer at Lindley, Missouri. Howard moved to Kentucky in 1862, but his name continued to be listed as the editor until 1865. Howard continued to contribute articles to the Pioneer through 1863. He served as co-editor of the Christian Magazine with Jesse Ferguson during 1852.

The only Howard publication was entitled Christianity Illustrated. This was a volume of two hundred pages.

1 Ibid, p. 33.
published in Nashville in 1843.\textsuperscript{1}

Howard was a frequent contributor to the periodicals of the Restoration Movement.\textsuperscript{2} Sermons from his pen were included in the first two volumes of the \textit{Christian Preacher}, edited by D. S. Burnet: "The Good and Bad Foundation," and "Election and Perseverance."\textsuperscript{3}

John R. Howard was God's man from the time he first entrusted his life to the Master and pledged Him loyalty, love, and service. As a preacher and doctor he ministered to sick souls and sick bodies; as a teacher he trained the minds entrusted to him; as an editor he corrected errors, strengthened the faith of the weak, and contributed to the cause of "Bible Christianity."

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1] Spencer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 157.
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CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE

CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE

Jesse B. Ferguson launched his untried craft, the Christian Magazine, upon an editorial stream already dotted with many others, some old, some comparatively new.

A list of the "periodicals devoted to the cause of the Bible and Primitive Christianity" on the eve of Ferguson's venture will be found in the Millennial Harbinger for February, 1847. The following publications were contending for consideration and support by the brotherhood: Millennial Harbinger (Alexander Campbell), Bethany, Virginia; Genius of Christianity (A. G. Comings), Boston, Massachusetts; Protestant Unionist (Walter Scott and Robert Forrester), Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; The Christian Teacher (Aylett Raines), Paris, Kentucky; The Christian Record (James M. Mathes), Bloomington, Indiana; The Reformer (Benjamin Franklin), Centerville, Indiana; The Investigator (P. T. Russell), Mishawaka, Indiana; Christian Review (Tolbert Fanning), Franklin College, Tennessee; Christian Union and Journal (Arthur Craigfield), Cincinnati, Ohio, and Covington, Kentucky; Christian Intelligencer
(R. L. Coleman), Scottsville, Virginia; The Christian (W. W. Eaton), St. Johns, New Brunswick; The Witness of the Truth (David Oliphant), Coburg, Upper Canada; Christian Messenger (James Wallis), England.¹

Many other periodicals were given to the public during the six years that the Christian Magazine was published. Campbell introduced the following to the readers of the Millennial Harbinger: British Millennial Harbinger, England; Christian Union and Religious Review (E. E. Orvis), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Proclamation and Reformer (union of the Gospel Proclamation and the Reformer, edited by Alexander Hall and Benjamin Franklin), Milton, Indiana; Christian Age (B. F. Hall, et al), Cincinnati, Ohio; Christian Sunday School Journal (J. Jackson), Lexington, Kentucky; Stylus (Students of Bethany College), Bethany, Virginia; Christian Banner (David Oliphant), Canada; Christian Teacher (Peter Ainslie), Little Rock, Arkansas; Ladies Christian Annual (James Challen), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Ecclesiastical Reformer (Carrol Kendrick), Harrodsburgh, Kentucky; The Disciple (C. L. Loos), Somerset, Pennsylvania; Christian Mirror (L. L. Pinkerton), Midway, Kentucky.²


²The best bibliography of periodicals published in the interests of the Restoration Movement is Claude E. Spencer, Periodicals of the Disciples of Christ and Related Religious Groups (Canton, Missouri: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1943). Further information concerning any or all of these periodicals may be found in this bibliography.
The Christian Messenger, Christian Baptist, and Millennial Harbinger circulated in Tennessee. Just how widely they circulated is difficult to determine. Barton W. Stone, editor of the Christian Messenger, had friends and relatives in Tennessee. He was in Nashville in 1796; he evangelized with Reuben Dooley in Tennessee in 1811. On October 31, 1811, he married Celia Wilson Bowan of Mansker Creek. From 1812 to 1814 he lived in Sumner County, some twelve miles from Nashville. The first edition of his Address to the Christian Churches in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio was printed in Nashville in 1814.

The Christian Baptist and the Millennial Harbinger had subscribers in Tennessee. The August, 1826, issue of the Baptist listed the following subscribers from Tennessee: Joseph Whittaker, Milton; Amos Kirkpatrick, Weigsville; Daniel Travis, Readyville; Joshua Tarrington, Franklin; and W. D. Jourdan, Sparta. Subscribers to the Harbinger from Tennessee are to be found in similar lists which Alexander Campbell printed as receipts of subscriptions and payment. Campbell was in Nashville and other places in

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1 Ware, Barton Warren Stone, p. 101.
2 Ibid, p. 200
3 Christian Baptist, Vol. IV, August, 1826, cover.
Tennessee during November and December of 1830. Margaret B. Ewing, wife of John O. Ewing and daughter of Alexander Campbell, died in Nashville, October 22, 1848. Thirteen students from Tennessee were enrolled in Bethany College in 1843.

The first attempt by any one connected with the Restoration Movement to edit a paper advocating its principles in Tennessee was made by John R. Howard, who published the Christian Reformer from Paris during 1836. In 1842 he began the Bible Advocate, which continued until 1847, when it was merged with the Christian Messenger and moved to St. Louis, taking the name Christian Messenger and Bible Advocate. Howard remained in Paris, however, and S. B. Aden soon accepted complete responsibility for this periodical.

Tolbert Fanning, assisted by W. H. Wharton and J. C. Anderson, began publishing the Christian Review at Nashville in January, 1844. This publication was continued by Fanning through 1847, when Jesse Ferguson took it over and changed the name to Christian Magazine. Following the death of the Magazine at the close of 1853, Fanning and David Lipscomb inaugurated the Gospel Advocate (1855), which has continued publication since that time with the

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exception of a short period during the Civil War. Fanning also published the *Religious Historian* during 1872, 1873, and through May, 1874. T. B. Larimore was the editor of the *Angel of Mercy, Peace and Truth*, which he published from Mars Hill Academy for one year (1875). From Manchester, Coffee County, Tennessee, came the *Gospel Herald*, edited by Rees Jones during 1861.¹

The *Christian Magazine*

Jesse B. Ferguson assumed the editorial oversight of the *Christian Review* in January, 1848, changing the name to *Christian Magazine*. He continued its publication from Nashville through December, 1853.² B. F. Hall and Tolbert Fanning were listed as associate editors for the first year.

The *Magazine* was a "super-royal octavo" sheet of 32 pages, double columns, printed on good paper and in excellent form. Throughout the first year it remained at 32 pages per issue. The number was increased to 40 pages per issue for the second volume, with the exception of August (32) and December (38). The succeeding volumes, with a few exceptions, were held to the original number of pages in each issue. An *extra* of 32 pages, dealing with the controversy with Alexander Campbell, was issued in December, 1852.


The only serious errors in pagination are found in volume 6. Pages which should have been 300 to 320 were numbered 200 to 220; and for 336 we find 356, an error which was continued to the close of the volume by numbering the pages consecutively from that point. A table of errata is found in volume 4.\(^1\)

The subscription price of the Christian Magazine was $2.00 per year, but after two years was reduced to half that amount.

Agitation for a weekly publication led to proposals for changing the Magazine to a weekly for 1853. However, this change was never made, and the paper remained a monthly publication until its death.

The masthead carried the names of the editor and the associate editors for the first two issues. Beginning with the third issue (March), these were dropped and the words of Matthew 13:52 substituted: "Every scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, is like unto a householder who bringeth forth out of his treasures, things new and old."

Ferguson was pleasantly surprised when the paper paid for itself during the first year. He had expected to incur a deficit of at least $100.00 during the first year when the Magazine was getting established.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Christian Magazine, Vol. IV, February, 1851, p. 64.
\(^2\) Ibid, January 1851, p. 32.
only 300 subscribers in Tennessee during the first year.\textsuperscript{1}
In all probability, the circulation was never more than
2,000. The \textbf{Christian Magazine} circulated in Tennessee,
Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, \textbf{Mississippi}, Missouri, Arkansas,
Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Oregon, Texas,
North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and, perhaps, in
other states.

The policy of the \textbf{Christian Magazine} was to "ex-
pend its success upon its improvement and its circulation
amongst those who were unable to pay."\textsuperscript{2} Those among the
wealthy who desired to send the paper to others who were
unable to pay might do so at one-half of the regular sub-
scription price. In 1851 the Publication Committee offered
the net profits from subscriptions sent in from Missouri
for evangelization in that state.\textsuperscript{3} Evangelists obtaining
ten subscriptions--and paying for them!--were permitted to
retain one-fourth of the money to further their evangelis-
tic work.

The \textbf{Christian Magazine} made its appearance with
Jesse B. Ferguson as editor, and B. F. Hall and Tolbert Fan-
nings as associate editors. Whether this arrangement con-
tinued throughout the year or only for two months is not
clear. The fact that the names appear on the title page

\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Ibid}, Vol. IV, January, 1851, p. 32.
suggests the longer period. Argument for a shorter period, drawn from the fact that the editorial information was dropped from the masthead beginning in March is not conclusive, since all such information is excluded, even the name of Ferguson. John Eichbaum was selected as an associate editor for 1850 and 1851, and John R. Howard for 1852. By August of 1852 Ferguson had concluded that "the arrangement of the Brethren last year to relieve us has only increased our labors, as Bro. Howard was never able to reside in the city."¹

The close of the second volume of the Christian Magazine found $2,000.00 outstanding from subscribers.² With the beginning of volume 3 the Magazine became the property of the Christian Publication Society of Tennessee. As the organ of the Churches of Christ in Tennessee, a Publication Committee supervised the periodical and made reports to the annual meetings until the close of volume 5. The State Cooperation voted to continue the paper for 1853, although Ferguson had refused to continue as editor for that year. After "several unsuccessful efforts to get an editor," the Board of the State Evangelizing Society adopted the following "preamble and resolutions":

Whereas, The Executive Committee of the Evangelizing Society feeling it impracticable to procure an Editor for the Christian Magazine for the ensuing

year, Therefore
Resolved, That we, as a committee, deem it best
to suspend the publication of the Christian Magazine.
Resolved, That claiming no property in the Magazine
for the future, Bro. Ferguson or any other brother has
a right to publish it as an Independent Journal.¹

Upon resuming the editorial chair of the Christian
Magazine in 1853, Ferguson wrote:

We have voluntarily delayed the publication of the
"Christian Magazine" for nearly four months. We needed
recreation, in view of our health, and we thought that
perhaps a little delay would give the promoters of the
present unworthy controversy, time to breathe more
freely and perchance see the extreme folly and unprofi-
tableness of their course. We are again at our post,
and hope to be able to visit our readers regularly with
messages of truth and peace. We have had a most hearty
reception wherever we have been; have had opportunities
of observing much and reflecting more, and have returned
invigorated, we trust, for the labor that seems appoint-
ed for our day and task. We never had greater reason
to be profoundly grateful for the merciful providence
we have enjoyed, nor more sensibly humble under the
mighty hand of Him who prepares us for our duty or suf-
fering, and in his own way and times takes us from
them.²

The Querist's Department, obituaries, poems, and
religious intelligence were parts of almost every issue.
The editor considered the Querist's Department, in which
questions submitted by readers of the periodical were an-
swered by the editors, a "method of teaching important
truths."³

The editor's last words on the controversial issues
which had appeared in the Magazine were embodied in one

¹Ibid., Vol. V, December, 1852, p. 364.
²Ibid., Vol. VI, January, 1853, p. 32.
³Ibid., Vol. I, February, 1848, p. 64.
short, defiant statement: "No league or confederacy for Heresy-hunting can ever be justly regarded as a Church of Jesus Christ."\(^1\) His valedictory was addressed to the "Friends of the Christian Magazine." It closed with the following apologetic for relinquishing his editorial duties:

> With this number we close the publication of the Christian Magazine. Its subscription is amply sufficient to warrant its continuance; and the assurances of fast and responsible friends, would enable us to continue it, even if this were not so. But it is known to those friends, and to many others, that we have ever desired to be released from the detail duties of an Editor, and would have discontinued it long since, but for the hope that some one could be obtained who would take these duties upon himself and release us. The influence of a constitutional disease, and the duties of a laborious Pastorate, we feel to be sufficient apology for retiring from the chair Editorial. The paper has often taxed our attention and labor more than we were able to bear; but we were willing, and are still willing, to write for any religious periodical established upon proper principles.\(^2\)

So the Christian Magazine died at the age of six years, never to know a resurrection. Launched with great optimism, joy, and hope, blown by the storms of controversy, she perished upon the rocks of distrust, hatred, and pride.

\(^1\)Ibid, Vol. VI, December, 1853, p. 400.  \(^2\)Ibid.
CHAPTER III

PURPOSE AND POLICY OF THE CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE

Three religious periodicals advocating the principles of the Restoration Movement preceded the Christian Magazine in Tennessee, two edited by John R. Howard at Paris, and the third by Tolbert Fanning at Nashville: the Christian Reformer (1836),\(^1\) the Bible Advocate (1842-1847), and the Christian Review (1844-1847).

John R. Howard, in making his bid for support of the Christian Reformer in 1836, proposed to prosecute a "religious reformation, in the evangelical and orthodox sense of that term; from error in faith and practice on the one hand, and vice, irreligion and infidelity on the other.\(^2\)

In furthering this reformation, the Bible was to serve as "the only perfect standard of orthodoxy and test of truth,"

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\(^1\) "It has been objected to the name of our paper," the editor wrote, "that it implies a reformation of Christianity. Let it be remembered that the name of our paper is the 'Christian Reformer,' and not the 'Reformed Christian.' Christianity is a divine and perfect system, having God for its author, and cannot, therefore, be reformed. To reform man, not to be reformed by man, is its object; and it is through its instrumentality that we design to make our periodical what its name imports--the Christian Reformer." (Christian Reformer, Vol. I, January, 1836, p. 1)

\(^2\) Ibid.
and all "the doctrines and practices which claim its sanction and go under the name of religion" judged thereby.\(^1\)

Furthermore, the editor pledged himself to "fearlessly and independently advocate TRUTH and expose ERROR, wherever found and under whatever garb manifested."\(^2\) The paper was to be devoted to Scriptural expositions, Christian evidences, education, reviews of religious publications, reports of the progress of the movement, including a presentation of its fundamental positions and the "refutation and exposure" of the "misrepresentations, calumnies and slanders, constantly issuing from the press, pulpit, and fireside.\(^3\)

The Bible Advocate was launched under the guidance of a Publication Committee consisting of J. H. Dunn, C. H. Gist, and S. B. Aden, with Howard as its editor. It was to "plead the cause of primitive Christianity . . . as set forth in the Bible . . . and to defend it against the misrepresentations, cavils, and aspersions of its enemies."\(^4\)

In accomplishing this object, the following "topics" were to receive attention:

The Evidences of Christianity--the True Interpretation of the Language, Principles, and Sentiments of the Bible--the Design and Meaning of its Institutions--the Interpretation of Prophecy--Education, religious and intellectual--Conduct and Duties of Christians--Office, Duties, and support of Evangelists and Bishops, &c. It will also report the Progress of the

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1\textit{Ibid.} \quad 2\textit{Ibid.} \quad 3\textit{Ibid, p. 2.} \quad 4\textit{Millennial Harbinger, Vol. VI, New Series, June, 1842, p. 276.}
Gospel and the Statistics of the Churches, and will endeavor to impress as much as possible the duty and importance of practical religion.\textsuperscript{1}

The \textit{Christian Review}, under the editorial supervision of Tolbert Fanning, W. H. Wharton, and J. C. Anderson, was an outgrowth of the desire for such a publication expressed by the Christian brotherhood of Tennessee assembled at Rock Springs, Rutherford County, Tennessee, in September, 1843.\textsuperscript{2} In general character and objectives it followed the pattern set by its predecessors. Men from six states were numbered among the Corresponding Editors: W. D. Carnes, John M. Barnes, and John R. Howard, Tennessee; W. W. Stevenson, Arkansas; M. Winans, Ohio; Jacob Creath, Jr., Missouri; Alexander Graham, Alabama; and James E. Matthews, Mississippi.

Jesse Ferguson was only 29 years of age when he sent forth the first issue of the \textit{Christian Magazine}. Despite his comparative youth, however, he was not unknown to the members of the Christian Churches, for he already had a flattering reputation as a preacher and writer,\textsuperscript{3} having

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{3}Alexander Campbell published the prospectus of the \textit{Christian Magazine} in the \textit{Millennial Harbinger}, adding these words on behalf of the projected paper: "From the very respectable talents and acquirements; and still more especially from the practical good sense and Christian courtesy of brother Jesse B. Ferguson, principal editor and conductor of the contemplated \textit{Christian Magazine}, aided by brethren Dr. Hall and Fanning as co-editors, we expect for it a liberal patronage and a useful career in the dissemination of Christian intelligence amongst the community. . . . Brother Ferguson's communications for the press give unequivocal indications of good sense, good
\end{itemize}
evangelized in a number of states and contributed to such periodicals as the Heretic Detector, Millennial Harbinger, and Christian Review.

The following "Prospectus" of the Christian Magazine appeared in the December, 1847, issue of the Millennial Harbinger:

It is proposed to publish a religious periodical in the city of Nashville, Tennessee, devoted to the advocacy of Primitive Christianity; to Biblical Expositions, and Religious Miscellany, under the title of CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE,--intended as a continuation and successor to the Christian Review.

The Christian Magazine will afford more reading matter than any periodical in the current Reformation. Each number will contain 32 super-royal octavo pages, double columns; and will be printed in the most neat and tasty style of the literary publications of the North and East. It will be issued monthly, on good paper, neatly done up in printed covers, and arranged so as to admit of binding at the end of each volume.

The best efforts of its Editor and co-Editors will be given to make it a Journal worthy of the cause it advocates, suited to the character of the times, and of such dignity, temper, and spirit, as to commend it to the patronage of all who desire the spread of correct religious principles.

From all sections of the country we have been solicited to commence such a publication, and arrangements have now been made by which it will be commenced by the first of January, 1848, and continued monthly thereafter.

It is desirable that all subscriptions to the "Magazine" should be forwarded as soon as possible.

All communications connected with the publication should be addressed to "Christian Magazine," Nashville, Tennessee.

taste, and good manners. We doubt not that he will be found a vigorous, edifying, and spirited writer; and, therefore, flatter ourselves that the Christian Magazine will be a useful and successful auxiliary in the great cause of the Reformation; and, in that belief and expectation, we wish the enterprise a success commensurate with its merits.

A.C." (Millennial Harbinger, Vol. IV, Series III, December, 1847, p. 718)
TERMS.--Two Dollars per annum in advance; $2.50 at the end of six months; $3.50 at the end of the year. To all persons who forward us the pay for five subscribers, the sixth copy will be sent gratis.

J. B. FERGUSON, Editor
B. F. HALL
T. FANNING Assistant Editors

Nashville, Tennessee, October 7, 1847.

In the opening paragraph of this prospectus the editor defined the areas to be covered in the proposed publication; primitive Christianity, Biblical expositions, and religious miscellany.

The "Introduction," in the first issue of the Christian Magazine, following the pattern set by its predecessors, contained the usual definition of scope and policy, the apologetic for sending the paper forth to the reading public, and a plea for patronage. In this article the editor restated his proposals, dedicating his efforts through the paper to the dissemination of general religious and Biblical information, to the production of deepened moral and more consecrated Christian living, to the defence and spread of the principles of the Restoration Movement, and to the preservation of the heritage of the past while keeping alive to the needs of the new day.

Ferguson affirmed that his motive in the publication of the Magazine was not "personal gain or glory," but "a desire to be useful in the promotion of a cause, which we believe intimately connected with the happiness and moral

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destiny of our generation." Directed especially to those in the South and Southwest as a new field of labor needing such a medium for instruction and communication, he promised that it would be "exclusively devoted to the spread of religious knowledge," and kept "free from sectarian bias and party bickering."  

In this opening article the editor also expressed fear that "a bountiful providence," evidenced by a great increase in wealth and material prosperity, might accentuate the "sordid impulses of avarice and worldliness," which, if unrestrained, would exert "their withering power upon the mind of our youth." He desired to save "from the taints of a devouring greediness of wealth," and labor for "the spread of intelligence, virtue and piety among all classes of our rapidly increasing communities," making his contribution through "the publication of an enlightened and purifying and truly Christian Magazine."  

This Magazine was also to be a protagonist for the principles of the Restoration Movement; a voice, in that moment considered providential and opportune, calling men from creedal bondage to true freedom in Christ, and pleading for that unity of all Christians for which Jesus prayed (John 17). Convinced that a divided Christendom vitiated Christ's program for evangelizing the world, Ferguson was

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2 Ibid.  
3 Ibid, p. 2.  
4 Ibid.
ready to give his influence in effecting unity by a return to the New Testament as the only divine standard for God's people in doctrine and life.

**General Character and Style**

The character of the *Christian Magazine* was determined largely by Jesse Ferguson, through well-written articles as well as general editorial oversight. More than a third of the material is from his pen. Three of his assistants, John Eichbaum, B. F. Hall, and John R. Howard, made numerous contributions to the reading matter of the periodical; the fourth, Tolbert Fanning, made only six. Articles by those outside the editorial corps were accepted for publication, but only nine men contributed as many as three: Henry T. Anderson (8), John M. Barnes (3), James Challen (3), George W. Cone (3), W. G. Eliot (5), Alexander Graham (5), Ephraim A. Smith (13, including contributions under the heading, "Gleanings From Ephraim"), James J. Trott (21, exclusive of his reports as Tennessee Evangelist), and E. H. M. (3). This number would not be greatly augmented by adding the names of those who contributed two articles.

Rather extensive quotations are made from the writings of Henry Ward Beecher, Orville Dewey, William Innes, and Henry Ware, Jr.

Essays, sermons, poetry, and letters published in the *Christian Magazine* usually appeared over the signatures of their authors. However, we do find a limited use of
initials and pseudonyms which were designed to hide the identity of the writers. In the latter category we have such names as Amicus, Eleise, Eloise, Fidus, Honestus, Obsta Principiis, Philoenthusiasticus, Persis, Justice (P. S. Fall), Philos Adelphon, and Strive (Daniel Hook).

In general style and tone the Christian Magazine ranks high among its contemporaries. Articles are generally pointed, timely, dignified, and instructive. Ferguson's contributions, even those written in the heat of controversy with Alexander Campbell during 1852 and 1853, reveal careful thought and planning, as well as a literary style above the average in such publications.\(^1\) The Magazine was a worthy representative of the cause which it advocated.

\(^1\) Ferguson wrote, and wrote well, in the midst of most diversified activities, while plagued by a "fearful chronic disease." In his words:

"It should be remembered that we deliver, upon an average, four original discourses every week... That we perform the duty of Pastor in a Church of nearly six hundred members and that we have sought to visit nearly two hundred families in the church and congregation at least once every three months, and oftener during seasons of affliction... 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 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... 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 e loumosinary (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." (Christian Magazine, Vol. V, May, 1852, pp. 159, 160)
CHAPTER IV

POSITIVE RELIGIOUS EMPHASIS

Ferguson had proposed the publication of a periodical distinctly Christian in character and "exclusively devoted to the spread of religious knowledge." In keeping with this policy, many political, social, and economic issues of the day were given little or no consideration.

The continental territorial expansion of the United States, with the exception of Alaska, was completed during the lifetime of the Christian Magazine. By the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), concluding the Mexican War, the United States acquired Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California. The Gadsden Purchase (1853) added another small strip of Mexican territory. Five prominent American statesmen, including two presidents, died between 1849 and 1852: President James K. Polk (1849), President Zachary Taylor (1850), John C. Calhoun (1850), Henry Clay (1852), and Daniel Webster (1852).

The Magazine has no reference to these territorial acquisitions, or to the Mexican War. A short extract from the Nashville Gazette recording the death of President Taylor is copied into Ferguson's paper. A portion of Bishop
Otey’s funeral sermon for President Polk, calling attention to the lack of religious conviction and consistent Christian conduct on the part of the nation’s presidents, appears upon its pages under the caption, "The Religion of Our Presidents." Both by silence and by calling attention to certain events, the religious emphasis is maintained and religious instruction imparted, in keeping with the policy of the Christian Magazine.

But editorial silence must not be construed as evidence that Ferguson had no convictions on the subject of war. His views on war, embodied in Lecture XIII of his "Lectures on Genesis," are brief but pointed, and reveal the fact that he was neither a pacifist nor a warmonger. His opposition to wars of aggrandizement, as well as the justification for war, are clearly seen in this article. He writes:

There is such a thing, then, as an honorable war—a righteous war. It should be engaged in with sentiments of unfeigned sorrow, under a consciousness of not only the righteousness of our cause, but also of its wisdom; by which I mean that more good will be secured, and more evil restrained, by engaging in it, than by tame submission to repeated aggressions. The government that engages in it should marshal its armies as the champion of truth—as the minister of a righteous God—and as the appointed vindicator of moral right, without which life is not secure. It should never go to war in a doubtful cause.

I have to say, then, I am a son of Peace; I long for the day when peace shall spread her blooming olive over the earth; when the blasts of the war trumpet shall be no more heard; and that I am bound as an individual, a citizen, to be a peace-maker; but at the

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same time, I believe that there is often a painful necessity for war, which should be entered into as a solemn duty, and prosecuted with vigor, to secure the great ends of righteousness, justice and truth.¹

Neither should we overlook the fact that Ferguson had most definite convictions concerning the responsibilities of Christian citizenship. The Christian as a citizen received attention in a short article entitled, "What Should Christians Aim At As Citizens." Numerous essays on this subject could not have made his position clearer or his attitude more definite. The Christian's obligation to work for good government, as well as his plea for political tolerance and freedom, are seen in the words which conclude this article:

And hence any measure of government which will best secure the elevation, independence and education of all, is that measure and government which Christians should support. Our final aim—the holiness of man—should ever be before our minds. Any thing that will, in our estimation, best secure the elevation of whole classes, races and communities into a higher condition of intelligence, morality, and general well-being, by most pacific means, should receive our countenance and most hearty support. And in choosing between measures having this tendency, let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind.

He that denounces his Brother because he differs with him upon questions of human policy has much to learn of the spirit and designs of Christian Religion.²

Significant political changes were being brought about in Europe through war and revolution. Alexander Campbell presented the readers of the Millennial Harbinger

²Ibid, September, 1848, p. 281.
with the following summary of political changes in Europe during the year 1848:

Earnest Augustine, of Hanover, is the only King of Europe over 70 years of age. The year 1848 has witnessed more changes among the European sovereigns than even the year 1830. The aggregate of Sovereigns has been reduced from 47 to 33. Six monarchs have either made a voluntary or forced abdication of their power, viz:--Louis Phillippe, on the 24th of February; Louis of Bavaria, on the 21st of March; Charles, Prince of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, on the 29th of April; Henri LXII, Prince of Reuss Lobenstein Eberdoff, on the 21st of October; Joseph, Duke of Saxe Altenburgh, on the 30th of November; and Ferdinand I, of Austria, on the 2d of December. The Dukes of Medona and Parma have been forced to abdicate by their subjects; but the first has recovered his power, and the Duchy of the second is governed in his name by the Austrians. Three reigning Princes have died--Christian of Denmark, on the 20th of January; Louis I, Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt, on the 16th of June; and Gustavus, Landgrave of Hesse Homberg, on the 8th of September.¹

Ferguson was keenly interested in the European situation, writing such articles as: "Civil and Religious Revolution in Europe," "Revolution in Europe," "Revolutionary Storms in Europe," "The Revolutions in Europe," "Europe--Its Condition and Prospects," and "A. D. 1848." His object in these articles was to impart religious instruction rather than to record historical events, religious rather than political. He uses the events as illustrative of the fallacy of trusting in human power, the inevitable fall of the proud and haughty, and as evidence of the spirit of freedom and liberty working in the world. His primary motive, however, is to show that God works out His

purposes in the world, that these events are the fulfillment of the prophetic declarations of the Word of God as found in Ezekiel, Daniel, and Revelation. This short explanatory note heads the article on "The Revolutions in Europe":

Attention directed to the Rev. xvi. 17-21—the last conflict of Despotism with all its terrible calamities portending;—convulsions, revolutions and wreck of nations to an extent never before witnessed, fore-shadowed by the prophets; the seven vials— and the final triumph of the kingdom of Christ.¹

Ferguson's article on "Europe--Its Condition and Prospects" closes with this statement:

This time, and its marvellous character, has not been unexpected to students of prophecy. "The wise have understood, and although they have never exactly agreed in relation to the character of the events fore-shadowed, they have looked forward to this century, and especially to the period between 1847 and 1866, as one that would witness the downfall of the Papacy and perhaps of every vestige of the ten divisions of the Roman Empire that have so long held the divided sceptre over Europe. Divine purposes are developing; astounding revolutions enchain the attention of the world; we should remember the commandment of the absent bride-groom—WATCH.

The time pointed out, (Rev. x:5-7), is at hand when the mystery of God shall be finished, and the good things (os evangeliaste) promised to his servants the prophets shall be perfected. There can be no question that from the computation of prophetic Chronology, we are now brought, in the evolutions of Providence to the very borders of this periodo We are not surprised, therefore, to witness the most stupendous changes, intellectual, religious and political, in the affairs of the whole world.²

And note the prophetic emphasis in the concluding statement

of his article entitled "A. D. 1848":

But what has the eye which watches the hand of a just and wonder-working Providence seen since the ides of 1848? The throne of the Capots has fallen and two revolutions have twice changed the government of France. Ireland cries to heaven for bread and liberty, and England cannot hush the wail. All Germany is upraised, and the powerful dynasties of Vienna and Berlin--no mean remnants of the throne of the Caesars, cannot quell or direct the multitude. Italy is in revolution and the Pope, the successor of Gregory is a beggar. The 1260 days of prophetic vision draw rapidly to a close. The proscribed Jews have gained their citizenship, and fill the cabinets of many governments, having been aliens for seventeen hundred years, in all the world.--Their eye is turned to Palestine and their most devout Rabies (sic) have gone there to reconstruct the temple, and revive the songs of Zion, within thy gates, 0 JERUSALEM! the desolate daughter of my people. Such is 1848! memorable year! which more than any other has served to bring on the "TIMES for the accomplishment of all things which God has spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets since the world began!"

Let the student of prophecy not pass it by slightingly.

Economic and Social Emphases

In the United States, the "fabulous forties" and the "fitful fifties" of the nineteenth century witnessed great economic and social changes. Westward expansion and the opening of new land to settlers, the discovery of gold in California, the flood of immigrants from Ireland and Germany, advances in methods of communication and travel, the growing power of the working man, industrial development, particularly in the North--these were some of the factors influencing these changes.

Again, we note that the editor of the Christian

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Magazine uses these events as the basis for imparting religious instruction. For example, in his article entitled "Gold in California, or Gain, Not Godliness," Ferguson warned preachers against joining in the mad race for wealth, lest in their rush for gold they forsake the gospel. Even the epidemic of cholera, which ravaged the country in the late forties, afforded the editor an opportunity for an article on "Cholera, Its Religious Improvement." The editor's own chronic physical ailments became the occasion for writing an essay entitled "Communings in the Chamber of Affliction," in which he urged his readers to learn the lessons taught by affliction and suffering; suffering which, though within itself would not be considered good, in the

1He wrote: "How many preachers do you think will leave their posts and relinquish their labors to go and dig and wash for gold in California? ... Probably they will only go to get rich enough to be able to give themselves more entirely to the work, and be more useful when they are thus provided for. We have known several to leave the field with this delusion, like the ignus fatuus flitting before them; but we have not known good come of it. They lost the disposition, as they gained the means for usefulness and became useless. If your emigrants go to preach Christ to the Californians, count them ministers of Christ. If they go to dig for gold, write their name Demas. All the rivers and mountains and plains of California do not contain enough gold to pay a minister of Christ for destroying his post and neglecting his duty." (Christian Magazine, Vol. II, April, 1849, p. 72)


3Among the victims of cholera was the well-known contributor to the early periodicals of the Restoration Movement, Matthias Winans of Jamestown, Ohio. (Millennial Harbinger, Vol. VI, Third Series, October, 1849, p. 600)

providence of God might become the means for the development of patience and submission to the divine will, the weakness of the body becoming the occasion for strengthening of the spirit.

Communal experiments in the United States began as early as 1680 with the establishment of Bohemia Manor by Augustine Hermann in Maryland. The passing years saw many others projected and carried to completion: Ephrata Colonies, Hopedale Community, Bethel Community, Bishop Hill Colony, Shakers, Amana Society, Society of Separatists of Zoar, Harmony, New Harmony, Oneida Community, and Brook Farm Association. Other socialistic and communistic tendencies, stemming from the desires of the laboring classes for social and economic betterment, were temporarily halted and offset by the opening of public lands in the West, offering independence for those willing to pay the price of toil and labor. Early in volume one, Ferguson printed an "abstract of principles" of the "company of persons" who "have recently organized themselves into a religious community at Hopedale, Massachusetts, under the title of Practical Christians,"¹ promising to consider their communistic emphasis at some later date. More than a year later he fulfilled this promise. In an article on "Fourierism,"² he stated his reasons for opposing all schemes involving community of goods:

¹Ibid, Vol. I, April, 1848, pp. 102, 103.
²Names for the French socialist, Charles Fourier.
I believe a community of goods to be a day-dream; for it would ruthlessly sever the sinews of industry and cloud the eye to that vigilance which is the price of every blessing of our present state. In its very efforts to produce harmony, it would multiply dis-sentions (sic). It would destroy the natural and innocent pleasure of saying "This is mine," and would preclude the idea of benevolence; for where all are equal there can be no gifts. Take away the idea of property, and the right to it, and where is the virtue of liberality? It would not only check self-interest, but it would destroy all interest. Yea, verily, I believe I can show, irrefragably show, that it would preclude home education, and extinguish all natural affection.

On February 20, 1853, while in New Orleans for the improvement of his health, Ferguson addressed the Young Men's Christian Association of that city, at their request, on the "Duty and Dignity of Labor." This message was printed in the New Orleans Daily Picayune of February 27, and copied into the Christian Magazine for March. He emphasized the physical, moral, and spiritual significance of labor in this address. While the main portion of the message was "an appeal to historic fact" in order to prove "that the arts of industry . . . have completed the destruction of the feudal power" and "have originated all modern free governments, and are this day its chief and only reliable safeguards," the moral and spiritual aspects of labor were not overlooked. "Industry," he said, "has heretofore worked in the mines of the material world, too much to the neglect of its soul, and the attention must be directed

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that way now." Ferguson contended that God is and must be in human labor—in its discoveries, appointments, uses, and present and final results—"that he may promote human progress." 2

Slavery.—Slavery was the dominant issue in every phase of American life for many years; political, economic, social, and religious life were all affected by it. Peace had been maintained among its friends and foes by means of compromises. Politically, and economically, too, both North and South were concerned about the balance of power in the legislative branches of the federal government.

But while the emphasis was often political, the underlying causes were primarily social and economic, for North and South differed greatly in these areas of life. Slavery was an integral part of the life of the South. The freedom of slaves would bring problems for which the southerner could see no possible solution. The economic problems associated with the abolition of slavery would be great; but these could be accepted and resolved, for the slave-holders were in the minority in the South. The social implications of abolition were most repugnant, the recognition of the social and political equality of the Negro. 3

1Ibid, p. 177. 2Ibid, p. 78.

3We must not overlook the fact that the tree of abolition fruited later in America than in many other countries. Historians have pointed out that while slavery
Religion did not escape the blighting influence of the slavery controversy. The Bible was interpreted by both North and South as sanctioning their own particular positions. Animosity and dissension could only have disastrous results. Many on both sides were convinced that division with peace was better than union with discord, that to separate and hold their positions was more honorable than to remain united and withhold their convictions. Intolerance of slavery made fellowship intolerable among many Christians.

The verbal skirmishes and political finaglings which were to sever the Union during the sixties accomplished their divisive work much earlier among some of the leading denominations.\(^1\) The Methodist Episcopal Church flourished in America, a new and growing spirit of humanitarianism had been responsible for the abolition of slavery in many other parts of the world. Slavery had been abolished in the British Empire as early as 1833. (Cf. D. C. Somervell, A History of the United States to 1941. Melbourne, London, Toronto: William Heinemann, 1955, p. 134)

\(^1\)In the May, 1845, issue of the Millennial Harbinger, Alexander Campbell published an essay on "Our Position to American Slavery," in which he wrote: "It may be lawful and expedient to form an Abolition, or a Liberty, or a Pro-Slavery party, as to form a party known by the designation Whig or Democrat, Aristocrat or Republican. But I have before shown, and again repeat, that Christian union and communion are not in the least to be affected by such parties any more than by any other political denominations." (p. 194). Again: "To preserve unity of spirit among Christians of the South and the North is my grand object, and for that purpose I am endeavoring to show that the New Testament does not authorize any interferences or legislation upon the relation of master and slave, nor does it either in letter or spirit authorize Christians to make it a term of communion." (p. 195).
divided over this issue in 1845, to be followed within a short time by other religious groups.¹

There is not one article devoted exclusively to the subject of slavery as a controversial issue to be found in the Christian Magazine. Discussion of slavery was never injected into this periodical. The Fugitive Slave Law, so obnoxious to many Christians, is not mentioned. The readers of the Magazine would never have gleaned from its pages any knowledge of the convention of nine slave-holding states which met in Nashville on June 3, 1850.²

By request, Ferguson copied into the Christian Magazine from the Christian Advocate the report of an address in the Tennessee Hall of Representatives by Robert S. Finley, agent for the American Colonization Society, organized to assist in repatriating in Liberia those Negroes liberated in America.³

The only significant treatment of slavery in the Magazine is found in the editor's "Lectures on Genesis," and his exposition of the prophecy of Noah as found in Genesis 9:25-27: "Cursed be Canaan: a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. . . . God shall enlarge

¹Christians holding anti-slavery sentiments organized the Christian Missionary Society in Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1859, rather than co-operate with those holding opposite views in the American Christian Missionary Society.


Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan, shall be his servant." Ham and his descendants, according to Ferguson, were fitted only for positions of servitude because of racial inferiority.⁷ Therefore, they were committed to perpetual slavery, which began with the conquest of Canaan by Joshua. However, the editor is careful to deny any predestinarian justification of slavery, and to warn against the ill-treatment of fellow human beings. He writes:

1 Ferguson writes: "Millions of their race in slavery at home; millions are in slavery abroad and from all that we have seen in attempts to liberate them, we are warranted in the conclusion, that their national destiny is fixed... Their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual means of defence; they are incapable of forming extensive plans of government or conquest, and such is their obvious inferiority of intellect that they have been preyed upon by the sons of Shem and Japheth from the time of the first conquests. Thousands annually embark from the coasts of Africa, sufficiently numerous to overrun the whole world; but they embark in chains never to return to their own shores! Does any one dispute their inferiority with these facts before him?--Do they tell us that they are equal in vigor, courage and intelligence to the European race? Then why has it happened that for more than four thousand years they have remained at home in a savage state or have been taken as slaves to their fairer complected brethren? Why have not mighty empires arisen upon the banks of the Niger, the Congo and the Quana, as well as upon the Euphrates, the Thames, the Tiber, the Seine and the Mississippi?... It is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion, but that in the qualities requisite to create and perpetuate civilization the African is decidedly inferior to the European race... When nations started they were equal; the descendants of Ham seem to have been the first in the road to civilization, but soon they yielded their thrones and their persons to the sons of Japheth and Shem and have served them ever since, in hopeless prospect of release from the iron rod." (Christian Magazine, Vol. I, May, 1848, pp. 132, 133)
We are not of those, however, who justify slavery from the fact that it was predicted of Heaven. Many events have been predicted which God has not authorized. And all admit that were that perfect system of God, the Christian religion to prevail universally that all slavery, oppression and misery would give place to a well-balanced liberty, justice and happiness. God caused Noah to foresee the fortunes of his descendants; but at the same time, although he has given over the descendants of Ham to their enemies to sell and enslave them, he will hold their oppressors accountable for the manner in which they afflict them. The covetous practices and barbarous tyranny of those who have enriched themselves from the sweat and blood of the African will tell a fearful tale in the day when Hamite and Semite and Japhethite distinctions shall be swallowed up forever. Slavery may be made a mutual blessing to both master and servant and in many instances I know that it is so made; but this cannot be where no other principle actuates the slave-holder than avarice, and the moral and spiritual well-being of the unfortunate dependant are entirely neglected.

Ferguson closes his remarks with a gloomy prediction of the future of the Negro, and a challenge to considerate and helpful treatment of them by Christians:

To conclude, we can say with confidence, that although other nations have been sometimes enslaved, they could not be retained in slavery, they burst the bonds and threw off the yoke that held them. No so the descendants of Ham. They have remained in their servitude, and will remain in it always unless released by foreign aid. . . . Let the fervent and all comprehending philanthropy of the Christian religion lead us to remove the wrongs and evils of slavery as they may exist among us; let us not fear to morally educate and elevate our unfortunate brethren, and we will make them better servants, whilst he who will not wink at injustice and inhumanity, will look down with approbation and prepare both servants and master for a world of bliss and joy at his own right hand.

Amusements.—One brief article on "Dancing" is found in volume two of the Christian Magazine. Submitted

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1 Ibid, pp. 133, 134.  
for publication by "S," it is an extract from a sermon by John Rogers on this subject, which had been published as a tract and was now being offered and recommended as an agent for the conversion of Christians who frequented balls and dancing schools. A query from S. H. Harvey, of Paducah, Kentucky, concerning Christians were were habitués of such places, was answered by J. E. (John Eichbaum) with the observation that "love and affection and service to God and His Church decreases in proportion to attendance on such."

Anticipating the argument that the New Testament has "no express injunction against such a course," he adds:

True. And there is no express injunction against gambling, theatre-going, horse-racing--and shall therefore professors of Christ's holy religion play cards, go to the theatre, race horses and the like? Christianity utters itself not in prohibitory injunctions against this, that and the other sin, but in comprehensive principles, applicable to the minutest as well as the most important affairs of life. It lays down the principle and the Christian is expected to make the application for himself.

Temperance.--John Eichbaum submitted an article on "Temperance" which the editor deemed worthy of insertion in the Christian Magazine. Couched in the form of questions--ten in all--it was designed to focus attention upon two basic issues: (1) What must be the Christian's attitude toward the use of strong drink? and (2) Should temperance instruction, agitation, and service be carried on

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2Ibid.
through a human organization such as the Sons of Temperance, or through the Church as the only divinely commissioned reformatory organization. Editorial comment was brief: "Let every servant of Christ who seeks those 'things that are acceptable to GOD and approved of men,' answer. 'Happy is he that condemneth not himself in the thing which he alloweth.'"\(^1\) Eichbaum's conception of the right attitude of Christians toward such organizations is embodied in seven observations on the "Sons of Temperance" in volume four. These may be resolved into two basic principles: there is no necessity for a Christian to affiliate with such organizations since he has a "prior obligation to be temperate"\(^2\) involved in his Christian relationships; on the other hand, those who choose to work through human organizations should not be treated with "intolerance and Pharaiseeism," as long as the participant remains "faithful in the discharge of all his christian duties."\(^3\)

We must not assume from the paucity of editorial comment that Ferguson was apathetic toward the cause of temperance, or indifferent to the evils attendant upon the use of alcoholic beverages. In a discussion of the life of Noah in his series, "Lectures on Genesis," he leaves this word:

But who would think that crime would overthrow him

\(^1\) Ibid, p. 192. \(^2\) Ibid, Vol. IV, September, 1851, 279. \(^3\) Ibid.
who had escaped from the waters? Who would expect the
discomfiture of a man who had stood firm and unmoved in
a time of general corruption and vicious habits? Nei-
ther the idolatry, debauchery, violence and injustice
of the myriads of his contemporaries could divert him
from confidence in the promise of God. But what these
could not affect, wine effected. What an unheard of
quality does this fearful agent possess! Eaten from
the cluster it is sweet and nutricious (sic), but fer-
mented, it partakes of the nature of the "black waters
death and Acheron," turns the blood into liquid
streams of fire, courses the veins, mounts to the head
and dethrones reason from his sovereignty, and over-
powering every faculty, leads captive the godlike mind.
Ah! 'tis a sad sight and disgusting to look upon. The
eye, radiant with intelligence, settles into a fren-
zied stare, the cheek of serenity is tinged with the
flush of madness, and the form of majesty and strength,
reels furiously before us or falls beast-like to the
earth, whilst the mouth, once streaming with burning
words of wisdom and eloquence, now sends forth a frothy
gibberish, which makes the astounded hearer blush to
own himself a man. In this case six hundred years of
rigorous and pattern-like sobriety, are overthrown in
an hour, and he who rose up a man, sublime and command-
ing in his government, lies down a beast.¹

Biblical Expositions

Ferguson's studies in the book of Genesis, presented
to the church which he served in Nashville, were later in-
corporated in the **Christian Magazine** under the heading,
"Lectures on Genesis."² For more than two and a half years
they occupied first place in each issue of this periodical.
A second series based on the first eighteen chapters of the
book of Exodus, entitled "Lectures on Exodus," ran to four-
teen installments. These lectures were not just Scriptural


²A complete listing of the "Lectures on Genesis" and the
"Lectures on Exodus" will be found in the index under GENESIS
and EXODUS.
expositions; they also served as vehicles for various doctrinal and practical emphases. The series on Genesis, for example, in addition to the exposition of the text, found application to such widely diffused areas of thought, doctrine, and life as the fulfillment of prophecy, slavery, war, idle words, methods of divine communication, covenants, circumcision, infant baptism, worship, the practical use of trials, jealousy, origin of "stony monuments," tithing, prayer, and the providence of God. The series on Exodus added thoughts on faith, animal magnetism, magic, miracles, the qualifications of rulers and teachers. Among the Psalms singled out for expository study were 1, 23, 42, 43, 45, and 91. The most frequently used books of the New Testament were the Gospels (including the parables), Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, Hebrews, and Revelation.¹

Querist's Department.--In the second issue of the Christian Magazine, the editor announced his intention of opening a "Querist's Department," and assigned as his reason the conviction that it would be "a very satisfactory method of teaching important truths."² This department is found in twenty-four issues of the first five volumes; it does not appear in volume six. Here are found the answers to requests from the readers for the editor's explanation of

¹ See the "Index of Scriptures" for a listing of the verses and more extended passages which came under the scrutiny of the editor and other expositors.

specific Scriptural passages,¹ and the reconciliation of apparent conflicts between certain sections of the Bible. Other questions involved such matters as the origin of sacrifices, frequency of the Lord's Supper, fellowship in the Lord's Supper, preacher's salaries, baptism and salvation, baptism of John, baptism of fire, baptism for the dead, formula used in baptism, extortioners and "userers" (sic), sins of the ante-diluvains, paradise, heaven, the divinity of Christ, election and predestination, singing schools on the Lord's Day, marriage, continuation of miracles, day of the crucifixion, feet-washing, the Kingdom of God and the Church, Christians going to law, the Word and the Spirit, Simon Magus, who crucified Christ, faith and salvation, and the holy kiss.

Religious Growth

Many of the articles which Ferguson included in the Christian Magazine were of a more general religious nature, practical rather than doctrinal, designed for the moral and religious improvement of the readers. Attention was focused upon the idea that religion was inextricably interwoven with every aspect of life, that "every natural, necessary and useful occupation, may be, and ought to be religious," whether in the realm of the mechanic arts or

¹These requests concerned such passages as Prov. 16:4; Isa. 43:22-24; Jer. 7:22-23; Hosea 6:6; Matthew 3:3, 11; Mark 16:17; Luke 17:21; John 5:37; Acts 1:25; 2:38; 2:47; 13:48; Romans 9:3; 10:13; 1 Cor. 2:14; 5:5; 5:11; 7:14; 15:29; Gal. 3:8; Eph. 2:1-5; Phil. 4:6; 2 Tim. 2:4-7; 3:3-12; Heb. 11:40; Rev. 14:16.
the professions.\textsuperscript{1} This is the particular burden of a se-
ries of three articles on "The Religion of Life," written
by the editor. Of the religious and moral values of labor,
both physical and mental, he writes:

The laborer . . . fulfills his obligations, and
learns faithfulness; he prepares himself with means
for a sustenance and learns honesty; he labors for the
support of others, as well as himself, and learns be-
nevolence; by contending with the hardships, hazard and
pains of his condition, he learns the greatest of all
human graces and perfections, submission to the designs
of Providence, by which his sufferings instead of dis-
heartening him, turns him for strength to his God, with
calm resignation and unshaken confidence.\textsuperscript{2}

M. L. W., writing on "Pure Religion," directs at-
tention to the fact that man is composed of soul and body,
and must have a religion fitted to both. "The richest
cost with one sleeve would not become a man with two arms," he writes, "nor does a religion which is suited to the body
or soul only."\textsuperscript{3} He finds the Christian religion, including
both faith and works in its program, divinely ordained to
meet the needs of the entire man.

"Means of Religious Improvement,"\textsuperscript{4} a series of ar-
ticles from the pen of Henry Ware, Jr., points to certain
helps designed to foster Christian growth: reading (the Bi-
ble to hold first place), meditation, preaching, the Lord's
Supper, the practice of self-discipline (guarding thoughts,
temper, feelings, appetites, and speech).

The editor manifests great concern for the family, a divine institution ordained by God for the welfare of all its members, and vital to the program of Christian education. The Lord's statement concerning Abraham found in Genesis 18:19, "For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment," becomes the starting point for the presentation of his thoughts on family religion and family government. His remarks were motivated by a desire to impress upon Christians the necessity of obedience to the apostolic injunction to bring up their children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," and by the fear that

many of our brotherhood are criminally negligent in this department of their calling; the apprehension that many of our houses are as the dwellings of the wicked, the habitation of those who know not God; and the sad reflection that we stand exposed to that dreadful fury, which the grief-stricken prophet of Judah has denounced upon all the Heathen and the families that call not upon the name of the Lord.¹

He endeavors to answer the objections commonly urged against family worship and religious instruction: it is not expressly commanded, general neglect makes the practice difficult, no time to devote to such a program, lack of ability to so teach and train. In developing his thesis, he shows that such a program of religious instruction is laid upon every

Christian parent, affirming that family religion is established in the very nature of things, and in the very origin of families; that it has had the approbation of God in all age; the support and example of all the patterns of faith and excellence whose history is given in the Scriptures; and the direct authority of God through the Apostles of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour. Ferguson returns to this subject in volume four of the Christian Magazine with a series of five articles on "Household Education." In this series he stresses the parental obligation to teach children to pray, using precept and example, to develop the right method of contributing to domestic happiness through love and service, and to exercise a just and impartial discipline. These basic family responsibilities find further expression and emphasis in other articles, such as "Education in the Home," "What Will Ruin Children," and "Christian Education of Youth," besides incidental mention in other places.

A number of essays relating to women and their sphere in life are to be found in the Christian Magazine: "Woman's Mission" and "Home," by W. G. Eliot; "Female

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1Ibid, p. 9.
7Ibid, May, 1853, pp. 142-151.
Influence in Religion"¹ and "The Education of Women,"² by John M. Barnes. According to these writers, woman's peculiar responsibility lies in the home, her mission the moral and spiritual education of her children. Barnes' characterization of the "rationally educated female" might well summarize all these articles:

She is cheerful and affable; easy, yet dignified; pious, without superstition, enthusiasm or ostentation; patient, meek and resigned; frank and open hearted; kind and hospitable; her chief aim in living is to spread happiness around her; smiles of benevolence and soft words of kindness make her an object of affection to all . . . she is the able and kind instructress of her children, and a companion to her husband; she is indeed a wife and mother in all the extent of these charming and enduring epithets.³

The Department, "Excerpts From Things New and Old," made its initial appearance in the second issue of the Christian Magazine, and is found in many issues thereafter. These excerpts may be judged a partial fulfillment of the editorial promise for the inclusion of "Religious Miscellany" in his publication. These quotations, usually short, are of a practical, moral, and general religious nature. An adequate concept of the varied contents of this Department may be gained by an examination of the areas covered in one issue of the periodical:⁴ "Parents the Best Teachers, and Home the Best School," "The Glory of God," "Adversity,"

³Ibid, January, 1848, p. 16.
"The Wife," "Power of Gentleness," "Brooding Over Injuries," "Two Truths," "Beautiful Little Allegory" (The humming bird and the butterfly; the moral, "never insult the humble, as they may some day become your superiors"), "Death," "A Figure" (use of affliction). Similar selections of articles by E. A. Smith were published under the heading "Gleanings From Ephraim." We have previously called attention to the extensive quotations from the writings of Henry Ware, Jr., Orville Dewey, and William Innes, which are of the same general character and purpose. The quotations from Innes have reference to offences and their treatment.

Poetry

A page of poems is found in almost every issue of the Christian Magazine. Some of these poems were copied from other periodicals and books, but most of them were original compositions. The editor's brother, Riley French Ferguson, John R. Howard, and William Baxter were the most frequent contributors of verse, the last being the most prolific of the three.¹ Some of the poems are based directly upon Scriptural statements: "All Thy Works Praise Thee," "Be of Good Cheer," "Be Still and Know That I Am God," "Good Tidings of Great Joy," "I Will Arise and Go Unto My Father," "Saul--I Samuel 28:15-25," "Thy Will Be Done";

¹Complete listing of poems will be found in the index under POEMS.

Apologetics

Tolbert Fanning's article on "Geology and the Bible"\(^1\) was from the pen of a student and teacher of geology and the Bible, the words of a scientist and a Christian. He held that the difficulties between geologists and religionists stemmed from the unfounded and biased statements on the part of both. Genesis 1:1, according to Fanning, refers to the origin of all things through the creative act of God, and is a period of unknown and undeterminable length "anterior to the six days of creation." Genesis 1:1 concerns a period in which "races of animals lived, and became extinct, as their fossil remains now abundantly testify."\(^2\) The six creative days mentioned in Genesis 1 have "nothing to do with the origin of the world; but only with the preparation of the earth for men."\(^3\) Fanning also interprets the extent of the flood as partial rather than universal, holding that the purpose of God to destroy all flesh would be

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\(^2\)Ibid, p. 272.  
\(^3\)Ibid, p. 273.
accomplished by a flood that involved only the inhabited portion of the world. Eschatologically, he views an earth renovated, purged, and fitted anew as the habitation of the redeemed for eternity. The editor, discussing some of the same areas in the Biblical account in his "Lectures on Genesis," generally agrees with Fanning. However, he disagrees with him on the extent of the flood, holding that it was universal.

Austen Henry Layard's excavations on the sight of Nineveh, which began under the patronage of Sir Stratford Canning and continued with the assistance and under the auspices of the British Museum, were not only considered significant in the realm of archaeological discoveries as revealing the life and worship of yesterday, but also equally significant in substantiating the Biblical record. The editorial purpose in calling attention to these discoveries centers specifically in the latter. He writes:

All doctrine rests on facts, and facts are the very material of history. Reduce the histories to mere fiction, and the book goes for nothing. But facts are unmutable, and it is on its facts that the Bible rests its lofty claims. How wonderfully are its statements verified and confirmed by the progress of time, and science, and discovery! . . . Not only can it be proved that there was such a city as Nineveh, but it is rising up again before our eyes; and by the time that one traveler has completed his researches, and another has deciphered the inscriptions which are so mysteriously written on the ruins, the history of that city will so harmonise with the sublime predictions of the inspired Scriptures, that the infidel will be struck dumb.1

Theological Emphases

The theological character of the Christian Magazine was determined largely by the contributions of Jesse Ferguson. He followed the Greek tradition rather than the Latin. Divine immanence and transcendance are both asserted; but Ferguson's theological contributions to the Magazine reveal a strong and consistent advocacy of God's immanence.

Writing on "The Proper Method of Viewing the Universe," the editor points to two concepts detrimental to a proper view of God in relation to His universe: Calvinism—in some instances synonymous with fatalism—and a mechanistic philosophy leading to "a blind worship of Nature and Nature's laws." He affirmed that these laws "exist by the will of Him who decreed them" and "may be suspended or overborne by the same will." "It is alike repugnant to philosophy and religion," he writes, "to conceive of mechanical force and motion as superior to the will that produced them, or as beyond the control of the supreme intelligence and guidance."

God is in all His works. Ferguson ridicules the philosopher or scientist who fails to see God in nature because "his works are permanent, his Providence is constant, his ways are uniform." The question in his essay, "The

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Laws of Nature Viewed in Answer to the Question--Is God Present in All His Works," he answers in the affirmative, holding that the God of the Bible who created the universe also "pervades it, without effort, with an omnipresent energy and by secret lines which is so much above and beyond everything which human power can discover or accomplish." Of the laws of nature, he has this to say:

Many men speak of the laws of nature as though they were personifications of self-existence and of themselves, governed the universe, so as to give seed-time and harvest, and produce all the multiplied phenomena of the seasons. They are ready to nickname the piety of "ignorant" persons, superstition, if they adore a God present in his works, and who, like the great Teacher, recognize his hands in the beauty of a flower and in the falling of a sparrow as well as in the creation of a world or the falling of a star. When we call the Cholera the scourge of God, or when we pray for our "daily bread," or speak of JEHOVAH in the balmy breath of Spring, the ripening fruits of summer, the sober hue of autumn and the chilling blasts of winter, they tell us, very sagely, that all happens in accordance with the established LAWS of nature and seem to commiserate our darkness of understanding and the superstitious reverence of our credulity. . . . Laws strictly speaking, are rules of moral action, and can be predicated only of intelligent beings; rules which may be obeyed or disobeyed and which involve a penalty. When applied to inanimate nature the word is used figuratively and simply means uniformity. . . . The laws of nature, are, therefore, simply the order or method by which GOD governs the physical universe; and he is as much to be seen in these laws, by the intelligent and pious mind as in the creation of the world. God operates in nature, and the mode of his operation is called a law of nature, because he operates uniformly, that is, so as to attain an end. God, therefore, displays his power and wisdom in every effect which human observation can recognize.²

Ferguson also saw God in history; history was in a
unique way "His-story." God had worked and was working in and through the events of the world in accomplishing His purposes among men. Pestilence, afflictions, revolutions, prosperity, inventions—all these bespeak the presence of God in His world. In the editor's words:

And unless He be seen in the progress of nations, every man will do after the sight of his own eyes, and will lose his patriotism and his hope. ... again I assert that God is in history, as he is everywhere. Development and progress, amid change and decay, go forward as the law of nature and of God, marking alike the animate and the inanimate—the rational and irrational creation. ... God is in labor and in history. He superintends the movements that work the changes among men and nations. He may not be seen by the profane multitude, for "He is a God that hideth himself." His existence and presence, in the connection of antagonistic or opposite events, may be denied; but He is denied in nature, also, because he works by laws. Still is he there as everywhere, despite the perverse denial. He manifests the true and beneficent design in the progress of men and nations; establishes the bounds of their habitation, that they may fulfill their destined work; and when this is fulfilled, he removes them away, leaving their knowledge, vices and sufferings, to instruct and warn those that succeed.—Christianity—a pure, spiritual Christianity—is the highest manifestation of His purpose, and is at last the perfection of all philosophy, and the key to all apparent anomalies in the moral world.1

The primary doctrinal emphasis in the Christian Magazine, however, is Christological and not theological.

This Christology is Biblical rather than philosophical, practical rather than speculative. Jesus is adjudged the center of the Christian system: men are urged to believe in Him, repent toward Him, confess His name, be baptized into His body; and life, Christian life, must be ordered by the

1 Ibid, Vol. VI, March, 1853, pp. 80, 81.
New Testament as the authoritative statement of His will. He is our Prophet, Priest, and King. The image of God and the "effulgence of His glory," Christ humiliated Himself and assumed the flesh of sinful man. A querist, desiring more light on the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ as stated in Philippians 2:6, was given the following answer:

I understand the Apostle to refer to the pre-existent state of Christ before his incarnation, spoken of by Jesus himself, when he said, "Father glorify thou me, with the glory which I had with thee, before the world was." (John 17:1.) In making this reference he takes occasion to state that the divine form was the rightful possession of Christ Jesus. The passage teaches the great truth of the New Testament variously but repeatedly expressed: "I and my Father are one"; "the word was God"; "who is over all, GOD, blessed forever"; "by whom he made the world"--"the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person"; Christ the image (eikoon) of God and of "the invisible God, the first born of every creature."

This much we are warranted in saying without running into the abysmal subject of the divine essence; the doctrine of the Trinity or Unity as made the badges and bandying words of sectarian dogmatism. We do not pretend to explain, for the explanations of our wise Brethren, are to us as mysteries, as contradictory and often as absurd as those they have denounced as presumptuous speculations in incomprehensible themes. The nature and character of Christ are the subjects of divine revelation, attested by indubitable evidence, and adapted to the limited capacity of men in the flesh: it becomes us therefore, to receive the truth as revealed, without abusing the revelation to sustain or refute any theory of human philosophy, ancient or modern. Of this we are certain: every revealed distinction and attribute of the divine nature--of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost--has been brought into exercise and development for the salvation of man. . . . Let us then give to him the homage demanded by his pre-existence, his present office, and his prospective glory, not in pomp of meaningless words or speculations from the nature of his essence or the modus of his divine existence, but by seeking the "SAME MIND" which was manifested in him, and of which this scripture gives so
full and practicable an exhibition.\footnote{Ibid, Vol. III, March, 1850, pp. 82, 83.}

B. F. Hall, in three articles explanatory of Peter's confession in Caesarea as recorded in Matthew 16:16, affirms that "the entire christian superstructure rests on one great cardinal truth, which is, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God."\footnote{Ibid, Vol. I, April, 1848, p. 163.} The importance of this fact is reasoned from the following: God Himself announced it at the baptism of Jesus; His miracles attest His Sonship; it is the foundation of the Church; it is the basis for all evangelism; Christ died for it; and the apostles labored for its establishment. But such a confession involves more than words. If Jesus is the Christ, the Messiah of prophetic anticipation, then He must be honored by complete trust and unquestioning obedience.

The personality of the Holy Spirit is maintained throughout the \textit{Christian Magazine}. In reply to the query of W. P. Chambers concerning the Holy Spirit's intercession for the saints (Romans 8:26), Ferguson wrote:

\footnote{Ibid, Vol. IV, January, 1851, p. 21.}

\begin{quote}
The consolation of the Scripture is: That erring, ignorant and incapable as we are, all the desires excited within us by the Spirit of God, however inexpressible, are known to God by the intercession of the same Spirit that excited them; and thus we are assured that we are understood by him who searches the heart.
\end{quote}

The baptism of the Holy Spirit received some
attention in the Christian Magazine. The editor defines this baptism as "A New Testament phrase signifying the overwhelming manifestation of supernatural power by which the Christian Religion was at first presented to and propagated throughout the world."\(^1\) The descent of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2) and upon the household of Cornelius at Caesarea (Acts 10) are designated as the two instances of this Divine outpouring. The baptism of the Holy Spirit, necessary in establishing the Church upon an infallible basis, is no longer needed, and, therefore, has ceased. John Eichbaum, in his "Dialogue on the Baptism of the Holy Spirit,"\(^2\) takes essentially the same position. He directs attention to the apostolic commission as given by Christ and executed in their ministry, showing that they practiced baptism in water. According to the Pauline statement, there is only "one baptism" (Ephesians 4:5). Therefore, the baptism of the Holy Spirit is no longer necessary.

Leaders in the Restoration Movement came into sharp conflict with those of the established religious groups holding to the Calvinistic, Lutheran, and Augustinian doctrines of election and hereditary total depravity. Usually honored with the name of Calvin, these doctrines were inseparably connected. Because of man's inability, his totally depraved condition, he can be saved only through the

\(^{1}\)Ibid, August, 1851, p. 240.

grace of God. Election to life is founded upon His sovereign pleasure, and without morality and good works on the human side. The soul must be regenerated, the ability to believe imparted, and the disordered condition of the will restored. This regeneration, the impartation of faith, and the restoration is the supernatural and exclusive work of the Holy Spirit. Since salvation is entirely of grace, this grace must be both efficacious and irresistible.

The voice of the Christian Magazine is one in opposition to this doctrine, holding that man is a free moral agent, with the ability to make choices for good or for evil and bearing responsibility for the choices which he makes. Furthermore, faith is the positive response to testimony, and comes, not as the miraculous gift of the Holy Spirit, but by hearing the Word of God (Romans 10:17; John 20:30, 31). The Holy Spirit operates through the Scriptures in conviction and conversion. Ferguson's position is embodied in these words:

What baptism of the Holy Spirit was to the primitive Disciples of Christ, the New Testament is to us. The miraculous gifts have ceased, but the truths they have revealed are preserved. The Spirit remains, though Christ has ceased to baptize in it. Its enlightening, comforting, renewing power is the same it ever was, but it is no longer exerted in the miracles, wonders, tongues and prophecies of living witnesses; but comes forth like the ordinances of nature with equal and more constant power by the truth of the gospel of Jesus. . . . Wherever its gospel is proclaimed, man is enabled by the spiritual power it communicates and commands to break off from his sins and enter upon a life of
promised victory over the world, the flesh and the devil, under the animating hope of spending an eternity of bliss with the glorified spirits of the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.\(^1\)

Alexander B. Lawton addressed the following query to the editors of the *Christian Magazine*, "not for the purpose of controversy, but for truth's sake":

If the Bible alone is sufficient for the conversion of man without the influence of the Spirit of God, why was it necessary for Saul to have been "struck blind" &c. while breathing out slaughter against the disciples of the Lord? It is to be remembered that he thought he was doing God service;--did he not have the knowledge necessary, or sufficient, to know His will? If so, why did he not perform it before this special miracle? If he was not before this acquainted with God's will, how came he by such sudden information? And if it required a special influence of the Spirit to convert Saul, why not men of the present day?\(^2\)

John Eichbaum's reply to Lawton is definitive of the position of the *Christian Magazine* on the subject:

Our correspondent evidently supposes that we believe in the word alone. This is a mistake. We do not dissociate the word and the Spirit of God. We believe and teach that the word is the chosen and precious instrumentality which the Spirit delights to use— that it is the living seed which the Spirit delights to cast upon the seed-fields of this world, the hammer with which the Spirit loves to smite the stony heart, the sword which the divine Spirit puts in the hands of the soldiers of the cross, and that it is quick and powerful, it is converting, enlightening, regenerating, sanctifying and saving.

To the word or Bible alone we attribute no value, no efficacy. We would as soon expect the material sun to shine, the influence of God's spirit being withdrawn, as to expect that the word would convert, regenerate or sanctify without the Spirit's presence and the Spirit's energy.

Equally do we discard that system which attributes all to the influence of the Spirit, and which would underrate the importance of the great instrumentality

which God has appointed for the illumination of mankind, the Spirit-alone system. We maintain that the word without the spirit must be no better than a dead letter and that the Spirit without the word is voiceless, and therefore, powerless, and we put the question to the advocates of abstract spiritual power—Where in the records of 1800 years can a single case of conversion be found without either the direct or indirect influence of the word of God?*

In reply to the latter part of the question, "if it required a special influence of the Spirit to convert Saul, why not men of the present day," Eichbaum directed the querist's attention to the Scriptural record:

Why was it necessary that Christ should appear to Saul? Not to make him a Christian, or to convert him. This is true, Christ himself being judge. "For this purpose, saith he, I have appeared unto thee, to make thee a minister and a witness, both of those things which thou hast seen and those things in the which I will appear unto thee." See Acts 26:16. . . . He did not obtain the knowledge of pardon from Jesus Christ, nor indeed, any intimation of what was necessary to salvation. He is sent into Damascus and from a man, an humble disciple, he at last learns the conditions of salvation. . . . God in the exercise of his sovereign wisdom elected him to this office (Apostle), but this has nothing more to do with his salvation than the election, by Christ, of Judas to be one of the Apostles.2

James J. Trott was the author of an essay on "The Extraordinary, Ordinary, and Imaginary Influence of the Holy Spirit"3 which was published in volume four of the Magazine. His thesis is embodied in these words:

The order of nature and grace is first the extraordinary, and then the ordinary. The extraordinary is the true miraculous. The ordinary in religion is the true moral. --God is the author of these; but man has

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invented the imaginary, which is a counterfeit of the miraculous and moral—neither the true extraordinary, nor the true moral exactly, but a mixture of both.¹

His procedure was to list the extraordinary, the ordinary, and the imaginary work of the Holy Spirit in twelve different areas: The Primitive State of Man; The Patriarchal Age; The Jewish Age; The Mission of Christ; The Mission of the Apostles in the Christian Age; The Evangelists of the Apostolic Age; The Apostolic Churches; The Baptism, Pouring Out, Shedding Forth and Falling On of the Spirit; The Birth of the Spirit; The Effectual Calling of the Spirit; and "The Witness of the Spirit." He concluded:

1. Moses and the prophets, and Christ and the apostles were the subjects of the extraordinary influence of the spirit, in order to originate and confirm the Bible as the means of the spirit in the conversion of the world and sanctification of the church.

2. All converted in any age were converted by the influence of the spirit through the truth of the Bible.

3. Therefore all who suppose they are converted by the spirit without the Bible, and who suppose He will convert others in Pagan or Christian lands without the Bible, are the subjects of the imaginary influence of the spirit, which never had, has not, and never will have any existence in the vast universe of God.²

In Pneumatology, then, as in Christology, the approach through the Christian Magazine is seen to be Biblical rather than speculative. The personality of the Spirit is affirmed on the basis of Biblical reference rather than philosophical argument; His peculiar relationship to the Father and Son is stated but not explained; "his essence or the modus of his divine existence" is not discussed; His

miraculous influence on the sinner in conversion is denied, and His operation through the Word affirmed.

The most extensive and the most complete anthropological statement in this periodical is found in a series by John R. Howard on the "Primeval State and Fall of Man." According to Howard, God created man a trichotomous being, "having a spirit, a soul or animal life, and a body connected by the former to the spiritual, and by the latter to the natural world." But the spirit and the soul, because of intimacy in "acts and movements," have come generally to be designated as the soul. "The happiness of man," Howard writes, "in this his original state, consisted in the perfect subordination of all his passions and appetites to reason, and of his reason to the will of his creator." God created man for eventual habitation in heaven, placing him in Eden "as a nursery, and under law until reason should become completely enthroned, and acquire the entire control and supremacy of passion."

Under the temptation of Satan, Eve, and then Adam, disobeyed God and incurred the penalty of death. This death was only "temporal and physical, or that of the body," and any other death "must have been the result of the state in

2Ibid, January, 1849, p. 16. 3Ibid.
5Ibid, April, 1849, p. 152.
which his offence placed him, and not the immediate penalty of the transgression."

How, then, did Adam's sin affect the human race?

Adam, in his official, social, political and representative character, standing as the head of the whole family of man, and being the common father, the progenitor of the human race, entailed the punishment of his offence upon the whole human family, upon all his posterity. His sin was conventional, and it was as an official man that he fell. That all men are involved in his official proceedings, is evident from the nature of the case itself, as well as from the character of the physical agent employed.

All of Adam's posterity, both men and women, share in the sentence for his disobedience: death, cursing of the ground, the necessity for labor; and all women share in the physical penalty placed upon Eve. God's sentence upon Adam involved his physical nature, his body; but it is more than subjection to physical death and decay that the human race inherits.

It is true, that in consequence of the fall, man has inherited a shattered animal constitution, and one that more predisposes him to sin than if he had not fallen--makes it easier for him, and more difficult to pursue the opposite course. A weakness of the flesh has supervened, his external senses have become impaired, and his body has become mortal and corruptible. Man is not able to do what he would do, if his animal nature did not labor under the mortal infirmity. And hence he is unable to obey law, which was the rule of his being in its original vigor.

Ferguson's statement of the results of the Adamic fall, found in his "Lectures on Genesis," though couched in

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1 Ibid.
3 Ibid, November, 1849, p. 413.
somewhat different terms, is in general agreement with Howard's view. Discussing the Biblical statement that man is made in the "image and likeness" of God, Ferguson makes the following analysis of the effect of Adam's transgression:

The fall of man . . . has to some extent obliterated the image of God in us. To restore this image God has been manifest in the flesh, and when we submit to the government of Christ we are said to be renewed after the image of him who created us. We have lost our likeness to him in moral attributes, and hence our renewal is called a new creation in righteousness and holiness. 1 Cor. 3:10; Eph. 4:24. Mentally, we still retain that image. In this respect man is still the image and glory of God. 1 Cor. 11:17.1

Howard's doctrine of the fall is a replication to the popular doctrine of original sin. Man inherits a body, but his soul is the "immediate gift of God."2 The body alone became corruptible through Adam's sin. The soul, being a direct gift of God to each new member of the human race, cannot share in Adam's guilt. The means for salvation and eternal victory is supplied through Jesus as the Christ and the incarnate Son of God.

Prayer.--"No man can claim to be a Christian who does not devote a part of his life to this solemn duty and edifying privilege."3 These are the words of the editor in the first issue of the Christian Magazine. We are not surprised, then, to find that prayer receives rather extensive treatment in his periodical.

2Ibid, Vol. IV, November, 1851, p. 413.
Prayer is communication or communion with God. It is a "source of support and comfort under the trials of our earthly lot," our "defence amidst its ten thousand evils," and our "guide through the dangers of our daily walk."¹ It is rooted in the needs and the desires of the individual, the nature of God, and in the nature of the relationship of man to God. "Such should be our abiding sense of our own infirmities and weaknesses, such our knowledge of the divine power and goodness, that we should readily embrace every fit opportunity of asking the protection and blessing of God upon all our ways."²

Not only is the duty of prayer enjoined upon all Christians, but also the necessity for teaching young Christians and children to pray. Family worship is considered a vital part of this educational program. Several prayers for the family at worship are copied into the Magazine from the King's Chapel Liturgy. Morning and evening are designated as particularly appropriate seasons for prayer, and a number of prayers—in one issue a prayer for morning and evening of each day in the week—are included as examples and guides.

Opposition is voiced to the practice followed by many religious groups of inviting sinners to the "mourner's bench," or "altar," to pray and be prayed for in the

¹Ibid., Vol. IV, November, 1851, p. 326.
process of conversion. One writer deems the prayers of sin-
ners, who are unreconciled to God and aliens to His Kingdom,
to be abominations in the sight of God, basing his conten-
tion primarily on Proverbs 28:9: "He that turneth away his
ear from hearing the law, even his prayers shall be an
abomination." John Eichbaum, although opposed to the par-
ticular application of this Scripture by this writer,
still held that it was an unscriptural "course for mourners
to pray for pardon or be prayed for," finding neither "pre-
cept or precedent for such a course."1 It was pointed out
that there is not one instance in the New Testament in
which a sinner is commanded to pray for salvation; without
exception, sinners are commanded to "act, to obey, to be
baptized for the remission of sins."2

A number of objections to prayer are answered:

(1) **Prayer cannot affect Deity; He is unchangeable** and operates by established laws. Such a contention denies Divine Providence, and makes God subservient to His own laws. "Permanent and uniform laws are necessary to the well-being of man," Ferguson writes, "for without them he could not act with foresight or calculation. But it is evi-
dent that a Power exists in a sphere above this agency."3 The laws of nature may not be violated, but they are often "overborne."

1Ibid, Vol. IV, October, 1851, p. 312.
2Ibid.
3Ibid, p. 331.
(2) For God to answer prayer would encourage inactivity. It was pointed out that we pray for bread but still work with God in producing it. "Prayer inspires our efforts, but does not supersede them. We pray as though everything depended upon prayer; whilst we labor as if all were suspended upon our exertions."¹

(3) God knows all our needs. Why should He not supply them as freely without our prayers? According to the Scriptures, God includes asking as a vital part of His program for meeting the needs of His children and obtaining His blessing (Matthew 7:7; James 4:2).

(4) God does not always answer prayer. Certain conditions are necessary for prayer to be acceptable to God. If we ask in faith, He will respond. But in His infinite wisdom He will answer according to our needs rather than our desires. "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him."²

The efficacy of prayer is not confined to the "beneficent influences upon the worshipper."³ God does hear and answer prayer. This is in harmony with His Divine character as our heavenly Father. Prayer is the instinctive response of the soul to Him. The Scriptures abound in examples of answered prayer, in commands to pray, and in promises to

²Matthew 7:11. 
those who pray. One thought should condition every pet-
tition that ascends to the Heavenly Father, "not as I will
but as thou wilt."

Ferguson redeemed his promise to publish a periodi-
cal "exclusively devoted to the spread of religious knowl-
edge." For six years the Christian Magazine was an earn-
est and consistent advocate of that Christian system which
the editor deemed so essential to the "happiness and moral
destiny" of his own and every generation. Through this me-
dium the gospel was sent forth "in its unmixed light and
finished purity" to exert "its humanizing, and refining and
saving influences" upon its readers.

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2 Ibid.
CHAPTER V

ADVOCATE OF "PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY"

The editor's understanding of the plea and program of the Restoration Movement with which he was affiliated is incorporated in this brief statement: "A renunciation of all human creeds, confessions of faith and authoritative dogmas in religion; and the adoption in their stead, of the Revelation of God as recorded in the Old and New Testament, as our only rule of faith and manners."¹ He was convinced that adherence to this principle would lead to the repudiation of sectarian names for the name Christian, the restoration of the ordinances of the New Testament to their proper place and power, the organization of the Church according to the divine pattern as found in the New Testament, and a life of sanctified holiness. An invitation was extended to all Christians desirous of glorifying Christ and His Word to unite upon this platform. A more extended statement of Ferguson's conception of this movement is found in the following words:

We think that we teach every holy, wholesome truth which others teach; but that we teach them less mixed with human opinions and superstitions. We teach the absolute necessity of faith; but it is faith based upon Scriptural testimony. We teach unreserved obedience;

¹ Christian Magazine, Vol. IV, April, 1851, p. 100.
but it is obedience to the laws of God instead of the commandments and traditions of men. We teach the assurance of sins forgiven; but it is an assurance based upon the word of God and not our changing and changeable feelings. We teach the enlightening, comforting and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit; but we expect these influences in a way that is rational and scriptural and not by a special interposition of miraculous power. We teach the necessity of living lives of godliness; nor do we attach merit to our works more than others; but we teach that the path of holiness, and that path alone, will lead to abiding joy and peace in believing. And this teaching has given to thousands the assurance of pardon which they have sought in vain in the ordinary sources of comfort held out by their quondam religious teachers.1

As a general rule, willful slander and malicious misrepresentations were ignored.2 However, objections to the reformation were readily answered and misunderstandings willingly corrected for those who approached in a different spirit. The essays in a series on "Opposition to the Reformation,"3 designed by the editor to remove objections and "present our true position," are addressed to those "good persons, in every denomination that surround us, who believe we are advocating dangerous doctrines,"4 and whose understanding of reformatory principles and practices were based, not upon "any thing they have heard or read for themselves," but upon the "objections and misrepresentations to

2An exception to this rule is John R. Howard's review of an article by J. R. Graves in the Tennessee Baptist, given a place in the Christian Magazine upon the insistence of friends, but against the better judgment of Ferguson. (Christian Magazine, Vol. V, February, 1852, pp. 56-62)
which we, in common with all who have sought an advancement in Christian knowledge, have been subjected. Ferguson deals with these objections: (1) There are certain "extravagances and errors" manifested by some advocates of the reformation; (2) The reformation is a new religion "which unsettles the minds of Christians in established truths"; (3) The reformation takes away the precious doctrines which have supported Christians throughout the ages. To those objections the editor replied: (1) The "accidents that have attended the progress of our cause" should not be attributed to the cause itself. We are only fallible men, and subject to mistakes; and these mistakes by fallible men do not invalidate the cause they purport to represent. (2) The religion advocated is not a new religion. "We claim that it is as old as Primitive Christianity; that we have learned it from the New Testament, and that all that we teach as authoritative, has been sanctioned by good men in all the ages of the church." (3) Many religious people have a tendency to put their confidence in "feelings" rather than in the Word of God. "We seek to take away all false reliances;" Ferguson writes, "but we would substitute a more sound, more rational, and consequently more safe ground of assurance and comfort in an intelligent belief in the promises of God, and a hearty obedience to his commandments."

In answering the query, "Why is it that your society does not succeed so well in some of our cities as in others?" Ferguson gave three reasons: the simplicity of the worship in Christian Churches had little attraction for the curious, the worldly, or those who desired elaborate liturgical services; many popular churches were supported by a membership committed to denominational loyalty, supposedly affirming the all-sufficiency of the Word of God while, in many instances, ignorant of its requirements; other churches supported and strengthened their cause where it was weak through a home missions program.

An objective appraisal of the cause to which they were committed led Ferguson and some of the contributors to the *Christian Magazine* to raise their voices in protest against evils which had attended the course of its history: (1) A conceited and pugnacious spirit too often characterized their preaching;¹ (2) In many instances they had been too argumentative and controversial, claiming to know "primitive Christianity" but cultivating none "of the virtues of primitive Discipleship";² (3) A bad spirit had called too many "bad men" into the fellowship: some who were "careless about their obligation"; some who had "no dignity of character"; some who made pretensions to learning they did not have; some, even, who "lived in violation of more than

one of the commandments of the Decalogue;\(^1\) (4) Lack of wisdom marked the organization of many churches. Too often, they had been guilty of placing "tyrannical, self-willed and presumptuous men in the offices of the church, who have ruled them so as to dash them to pieces, vainly supposing that the wrath of man would promote the righteousness of God";\(^2\) (5) There had been a dearth of good preachers, men who gave themselves to promoting the growth of Christians through the proclamation of a complete gospel message and pastoral oversight;\(^3\) (6) They often had been too precipitous in approach, impatient, failing to realize that true and lasting reformation must be a gradual process;\(^4\) (7) They had failed to develop and express "that deep-toned piety, heart-felt religion, and experimental godliness, often illustrated by those of far more humble pretension";\(^5\) (8) They had not developed family devotion, prayer and social meetings, and missionary enterprises.\(^6\) But in spite of these and other evils the cause of reformation had such great vitality that it continued to grow and prosper.\(^7\)

\(^1\)Ibid, Vol. I, July, 1848, p. 206. \(^2\)Ibid. \(^3\)Ibid. 
\(^4\)Ibid, December, 1848, p. 378. 
\(^5\)Ibid, Vol. III, August, 1850, p. 249. \(^6\)Ibid. 
\(^7\)In the heat of controversy with Alexander Campbell, Ferguson made the following critical analysis of the Restoration Movement, with direct allusion to Campbellian influence in many instances: "Our cause, so far as it is the cause of correct principles as it respects individual religion and church intercourse, possesses great vitality or it could not have survived the fierce and carnal contests that have attended
Characteristics of the Reformers, 1840-1860

The historian Bacon characterizes the period that is involved in this dissertation as one of "abounding material prosperity" and "turbid political agitation,"

its advocacy. Its friends have often been its worst enemies. Not by intention, but from the influence of a spirit they did not, perhaps could not, control, and differently direct, we have exhibited more personal warfare than marks the history of the same number of men in any religious denomination around us. But it has survived and will survive them just so long as it holds on to the truth it has gained and to the spirit which survives the weakness and folly of ambitious assumptions. We may better appreciate its vitality by remembering what it has survived:

It has survived the denunciation of preachers and preaching that grew out of its indiscriminate and often boastful animadversions upon the abuses of a regular and sustained ministry--one of the greatest agencies for good in human society. It has survived the reckless and needless onslaught upon the literary and religious character of most of its early opponents, and all its friends who have dared to amend its rude outline. It has survived the personal rivalry of the men who gave it birth in their contests for priority as its originators. It has survived its zealous denunciation of speculations in religion, and its speculations in turn upon all the subjects that divide the Theologians of the world. It has survived the denunciations of all church courts and the assumption of their functions in the formal disfellowship, by its editors, of the men it once hailed as its fellow-laborers. It has survived its denunciation of Dover and other decrees against the faith and Christian privileges of its leaders and its frequent vain attempts to induce 'co-operation meetings' to take charge of the qualifications of preachers responsible only to their own congregations. It has survived its mistake in denouncing all settled and sallaried (sic) preachers and the substitution of traveling evangelists of a few topical sermons and many crude criticisms from its periodicals in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, &c., supposing that the one was scriptural, the other not. It has survived its opposition to Theological Seminaries, and we hope will soon succeed in establishing a chair of 'Sacred History,' in which a thorough Theological cultivation may be obtained. It has survived its early failure to distinguish between what was fundamental and necessary in Apostolic Christianity, and what was accidental and transitory, the greatest blunder it ever made, and
neither of which was favorable to that fixed attention to spiritual themes which promotes the revival of religion.\textsuperscript{1} Nevertheless, these years were most significant in developments which were to affect the entire future of these Christians.

These two decades, 1840-1860, are characterized by certain historians of the movement as the "Period of one from which it will be longest in its recovery. It is this failure of discrimination that makes men seek for a 'thus saith the Lord,' upon matters of human reason and experience, and the developments of the changing circumstances of the world.\textsuperscript{2} It has survived its views of the 'Kingdom of Heaven' that led to the hope of an earthly Millennium of which the Reformation was the precursor, as the title of its chief organ still indicates, and the year 1847 the period of its commencement; which views, we insist upon it, have been legitimately carried out by Dr. Thomas and others, while the papers of the 'Reformed clergyman' have developed a somewhat more rational expectation. The Doctor has been disfellowshipped by the 'Millennial Harbinger,' and has established a Herald of the Future Age and Kingdom. And it will survive the dreadful effects of our exposition of 1 Pet. iii.18, and Bro. Campbell's misconceptions of both it and its advocate. And if in our zeal for consistency where there is none, as in the examples above, we do not sacrifice the right of private judgment and the authority of the congregations, we will only breathe the freer after the intonations of editorial thunder have died away. It may add to its numerous inconsistencies that of denying the right to express an honest conviction upon Scriptures it may imagine are already infallibly interpreted, but we hope not. We hope it will not violate all its anti-sectarian principles by dooming all who differ from its 'Harbinger' to desertion, loneliness and obloquy. These are fortunately the only punishment left to ecclesiastical courts since the faggot and the flame are consigned to the fate that awaits all Barbarism and vindictive cruelty!'' (Christian Magazine, Vol. V, October, 1852, pp. 315, 316)

\textsuperscript{*}It has been but a few months since the Millennial Harbinger appeared to seek authority for Conventions of Brethren by an appeal to the Song of Solomon!

\textsuperscript{1} Leonard Woolsey Bacon, A History of American Christianity (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), p. 338.
Reconstruction, *"Consolidating the Gains, 1840-1849"* and
"The Constructive Period, 1849-1866," *"Definition: 1835-
1850"* and "Co-operation Achieved, 1850-1866." These, and
other historians, focus attention upon three areas of major
emphases, areas in which vital contributions were made to
the work: evangelism, education, and co-operation. We pro-
pose to define the attitude and indicate the contribution
of the Christian Magazine in each of these areas.

**Evangelism.**—The leaders of the Restoration Move-
ment cast their lot with the rapidly expanding West rather
than attempting to break into the more deeply established
centers of traditional Christianity in the East. Acces-
sions from the unconverted and proselytes from the religious
denominations contributed to the rapidly growing body.
Garrison states that "the decade from 1840 to 1850 was perhaps

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   of Christ* (New York, London: Fleming H. Revell Company,

2. W. E. Garrison, *Religion Follows the Frontier* (New

3. Dean E. Walker, *Adventuring for Christian Unity* (Birm-

4. Winfred Earnest Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, in
   *The Disciples of Christ: A History*, published by the Chris-
   tian Board of Publication, St. Louis, Missouri, write of
   this period, which they entitle "Planning a Long Crusade,
   1840-1860": "The two decades preceding the Civil War were
   a period of consolidation of the scattered and unorganized,
   but youthfully vigorous, forces of the Disciples. In this
   period they achieved a unity of purpose, organized state
   and national conventions of workers and a society for mis-
   sions, and founded colleges for youth and ministerial
   training." (p. 231)
the time of their most remarkable growth." 1

Evangelism found warm and devoted friends in the editorial corps of the Christian Magazine. To Ferguson, evangelism—the conversion of the world—was "the great and paramount purpose of Christian benevolence." 2 The spread of the gospel was considered an obligation resting upon every one: the preacher, the individual Christian, and the congregation as a whole. It was inseparably identified with the commission of Jesus. Neglect of this duty invalidated the Christian's avowal of the Lordship of Christ. "We have no right to exist as a Christian people," Ferguson writes, "or to pretend to the high honors of the Christian profession, but upon this one condition, that we will in good faith, and vigorous exertion, carry out the designs of that profession." 3

Thousands of additions to the Christian cause are reported through the Christian Magazine. Practically every issue of this periodical carried glowing reports of the successes attending the preaching of "Apostolic Christianity." Some of the men sending reports were evangelizing "on their own"; others were sent out by churches co-operating for that purpose. The following report of additions is indicative of the work that was being done in many states:

In the counties of Boone, Howard, Marion and Ralls, Missouri, there have been over six hundred additions during the past three months.

1Garrison, Religion Follows the Frontier, p. 200.
In the county of Franklin, Ky., within the past six-weeks, one hundred and forty-seven; in Lincoln, over one hundred and fifty; in Garard sixty-nine; in Anderson one hundred and forty; in Madison one hundred and fifty; besides numerous additions in Clark, Bourbon and Montgomery.

The October number of the Bible Advocate reports seven hundred and forty additions in Missouri and Illinois.

Our Tennessee general Evangelists report over one hundred additions as the result of their labors within the past six weeks.

These reports add up 1427, and are independent of other additions in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, &c.¹

The co-operative movement in Tennessee, as in other states and areas, was the child of evangelistic fervor. The Tennessee State Meeting was primarily evangelistic in purpose; in fact, a "plan for evangelizing." Two evangelists were supported by this co-operation for many years. John Eichbaum and J. J. Trott successfully operated under their direction for an extended period, reporting regularly through the Christian Magazine. For some time the Church at Nashville served as the central agency for this co-operation, receiving and disbursing funds. Ferguson wrote of the work in 1848:

Our begun effort at Co-operation for sending the gospel to the destitute, has worked well; better than I could have expected. It has shown us what we can do—what we ought to do. The Evangelists we have sustained have done a good work, and they say that the past year has been the most useful of their lives. Let us make permanent what we are doing and do more.²

The desire of the brethren concerning this co-operation and its work was clearly set forth in the meeting at

¹Ibid, December, 1848, p. 380.
²Ibid, p. 368.
Rock Spring in November, 1848, and reaffirmed in the years immediately following. In the minutes for 1848 we find the following definitive statements:

Whereas, The primitive Christians did, after the church of Christ was built, as individuals, as well as in their church capacity, contribute voluntarily to sustain the Apostles and Evangelists of Christ in preaching the gospel to the destitute at home and abroad.--Rom. 16th; Phil. 14th. 2 Tim. 1:15.

Whereas, There is a great demand for the labors of Evangelists in Tennessee and other States and Territories in our beloved county, to assist infant churches and to plant others, and

Whereas, A successful effort has already been made by a general co-operation of many churches and individuals in connection with the church of Christ at Nashville.

Therefore, we the undersigned members of the various churches of Christ, being desirous of extending the good cause, agree to co-operate with the churches on the following conditions.¹

Certain phrases of this quotation are most significant: "preaching the gospel to the destitute at home and abroad"; "to assist infant churches and to plant others"; and "being desirous of extending the good cause." Evidently some evangelist, or evangelists, were spending considerable time visiting and preaching for the older and well-established churches. Objections were raised to this practice upon the basis that it violated the terms of agreement upon which the co-operation was founded; that these terms limited the work of evangelists to "destitute" places—that is, places where no churches according to the primitive pattern

¹Ibid, pp. 368-369.
had been established—or where the cause was weak. G. W. Cone was most frank in the expression of his disapproval:

It occurs to my mind that the purpose for which the State Co-operation was gotten up, is not well understood by some of the brethren...

It seems to me the object particularly had in view was to have the gospel preached in destitute regions, and build up congregations where there are none. If indeed, it is the purpose of the system to keep the preachers fondling about the churches continually, which have been standing ten, fifteen and some twenty years, and still not able to keep house for the Lord, then I am unable to see how great good will be accomplished.

The idea of partly relying on the monthly paying churches, and partly on the State arrangement, and not getting so far from home but we can get back the next day, is not what was contemplated. If this plan is pursued, how are those destitute regions to receive the word of life? unless indeed some preacher takes the responsibility on himself and goes at his own expense.

I wish not to be understood as opposed to preaching and teaching among the churches; but when a preacher throws himself on the State co-operation, let it be distinctly understood that he is to preach where there are no preachers, and build up congregations where there are none, and those churches and individuals who are willing to contribute for their support, let them do so. At the same time those churches and districts which are willing to contribute of their means for the support of weekly and monthly preaching be supplied by those preachers who are willing to work accordingly.

Perhaps if we had more of the Apostolic and primitive evangelizing spirit, we would not be so home-sick in our missionary operations.¹

As a result of such criticism, in 1851 the State Meeting voted disapproval "of employing any as State Evangelists who are not able to devote all their time in preaching—to give themselves wholly to the work of the ministry," and directed "that the Evangelists be instructed to bestow

¹Ibid, Vol. IV, August, 1851, p. 250.
their labors on destitute churches and districts."¹

The Tennessee Co-operation, meeting at Paris in 1852, replaced the old co-operative effort with a more highly organized society, to be known as the Christian Evangelizing Association of Tennessee. The new organization was set up "in order to secure more effectually the great interests connected with the preaching of the gospel."² The object of this Association, according to Article 2 of the constitution, was "to employ and sustain Evangelists in preaching the Gospel to destitute churches and regions not embraced in local co-operations, and to publish a religious periodical and such other matter as shall be deemed useful for circulation."³

Ferguson was the friend of evangelism, evangelists, and evangelistic meetings; but the bitter foe of revivalism, revivalists, and revivals. His opposition to the current revivalistic efforts centered in the men and the methods involved in them:⁴ (1) "They are gotten up by crafty and

¹Ibid, November, 1851, p. 348.
⁴Two articles on "Revivals and Revivalists," which appeared in the first volume of the Christian Magazine, pp. 185-186, 212-214, grew out of the following incident: "We were reminded of these thoughts by hearing, a few nights since, a beginning effort, of a man excluded from a respectable Christian church for gross immorality, to get up a revival. He talked of the 'emerald cedars of the City of Rocks' of 'telegraphic despatches from heaven'--of 'camera obscura, Daguerreotype likenesses of the Savior upon the sinner's heart'--of 'hell-fire and brimstone'--of 'individuals rolling upon a fiery ocean'--interspersed with the
discreditable management"; ¹ (2) They partake "more of sim-
ulation than sincerity, of love for power and influence
over the weak-minded and gullible, than for the salvation
of souls";² and (3) "Their direct and striking tendency is
to overwhelm the mind of the seeker with foreign influences,
so as to take from it self-control and self-direction."³
Both these bases for his opposition to revivalism and his
conception of sane evangelism and its salutary effects are
set forth in these words of Ferguson given to his readers
in the first volume of the Magazine:

I am not opposed to revivals of Religion . . . But
I am opposed to religious revivals; to mere momentary

usual anecdotes of the conversion of dear husbands, loved
wives and darling children; detailing conversations between
my loves and my doves, etc., etc.,--which made the weak
minded weep; the sceptical smile and the profligate laugh,
and all open their eyes with different feelings of surprise
and disgust, that such a man, with such materials, should
have the support of a respectable people and be able to
make sincere and respectable men do his bidding." (p. 185)

¹Ibid. Vol. I, July, 1848, p. 212. The following "Candid
opinion of Revivalists" voiced by a "very intelligent and
decidedly pious Methodist gentleman," Ferguson claimed to
coincide with his own: "Mr. F. I have known many--and
here he mentioned the names of the prominent Revivalists
in the U.S.--I have seen them under all disguises and with
their masks off--and whilst I have known some arrant scoun-
drels, I never knew ONE good man among them! I have known
them sincere and honest men when they commenced their re-
vivalist efforts; I never knew one to remain so. The flat-
tery of their friends; the deceptive means to which they
are compelled to resort to get up a revival; the high ex-
citement of the animal passions which inevitably accompa-
nies a revival; the power they gain over the weak and ig-
norant--all, have a tendency to tempt and corrupt them. I
have known many--I never knew one who was proof against the
temptation!" (Ibid)

²Ibid, July, 1848, p. 212. ³Ibid.
excitement, gotten up to add numbers to a particular church, which is generally affected at the expense of truth, of decency and of good order—by appeals to the baser passions of human nature, and trespasses upon the ignorance, superstition and servility of the multitude. Let no one understand us as advocating a cold and formal religion, because it is orderly and respectable. This is the other extreme. One is the heat of the tropics; the other the frost of the poles. The temperate region is that one where feelings, regulated by knowledge and judgment, swell into admiration, gratitude and praise, the result of an active faith in the great realities of religion. . . . But to the man who intelligently submits to the God of the Bible, there is a ceaseless spring of true enthusiasm, because a spring of intelligence and life. The motives which move such a mind to action are ever living, young and powerful, and need no hypocritical cant to fan them into flame, but they expand with the infinite expansion of human reason, and the ceaseless progress of Christian perfection. The religion of Christ addresses itself to the whole man; to his head and to his heart; to his understanding and to his affections, and sanctifies each to God.1

Ferguson entertained little hope for the permanency of the results of turbulent revival meetings. "Religion is the business of life," he writes; "the sooner entered upon the better; but if entered upon by a storm, life itself must be made a continual whirlwind, or between the intervals of its calms the Religion will die out."2

The Christian Magazine was ever forward in every program that would aid effectively the evangelization of the world, providing such programs did no violence to the New Testament "plan" of salvation. The editors were active evangelists; and the Magazine was a valuable aid in this vital work.

1Ibid, June, 1848, p. 185.
2Ibid, July, 1848, 214.
Education.--The second area of emphasis among the advocates of reformation during the period under consideration was education. The early leaders, almost without exception, were advocates of a thorough education for all. B. W. Stone, Walter Scott, Thomas Campbell, and Alexander Campbell were all well educated themselves, and spent many years teaching others in various institutions of learning.

Thomas Campbell, after coming to America, taught in Ohio, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania. He was associated with his son in the work of Buffalo Seminary during its later years. Scott also taught in a number of schools. He was the first president of Bacon College, founded at Georgetown, Kentucky, in 1836. Stone taught at Succoth Academy, Washington, Georgia, for a year, and later served as principal of Rittenhouse Academy, Georgetown, Kentucky. Alexander Campbell, in order to obtain "the assistance of instructed and cultivated minds in the work to which he was devoted," and "provide better methods of education"\(^1\) for those of his own community, opened Buffalo Seminary in 1818. Students were boarded in his home; here class sessions were also held. A number of factors combined to induce him to abandon the enterprise some four years later.

Bethany College was chartered in 1840 and opened its doors to students in the fall of 1841. Alexander Campbell was its principal benefactor and first president. In

addition to the usual classical course of study, the Bible was added as a classic and instruction given "upon its literature, its geography, its chronology, its history, its biography, its morality, its religion." Bethany College was a literary institution, not a Christian college; its purpose was to impart a classical education, including a knowledge of the Bible. It was not an institution for the training of preachers.

Others were interested also in educating young men and young women. Philip S. Fall established Poplar Hill Academy in Kentucky, in 1831, and continued teaching for some twenty-six years. Mr. and Mrs. Tolbert Fanning established a school at Franklin, Tennessee, in 1837. A number of academic institutions are noted in the Christian Magazine: Antioch College (Ohio), Athens College (Georgia), Bacon College (Kentucky), Bethany College (West Virginia),


2 Alexander Campbell was opposed to the organization of Christian colleges, and repudiated the idea that men should be specifically trained for the ministry. He wrote of Christian College, New Albany, Indiana, chartered in 1833: "Whether such an institution could be erected, is, with me at least, very problematical; and were it in its infancy to be a benefit, we have no evidence from any thing past that it could ever long continue so. . . . But the Christian church can never be made debtors to an institution which has never conferred on it any benefit." (Millennial Harbinger, Vol. IV, April, 1833, p. 190)

Concerning specific training for the ministry, Campbell wrote: "To train any young man, purposely to make him a teacher of christianity, I am always ready to show, to be ridiculous and absurd; contrary to reason and revelation." (Millennial Harbinger, Vol. III, Series V, July, 1860, p. 372)
Grove Hill Academy (Alabama), Marion Female Seminary (Alabama), Mount Moriah Eclectic Institute (Kentucky), South Kentucky Institute; and in Tennessee: Athens Academy, Burritt College, Franklin College, Irving College, Pikeville Academy, Clinton College, and Sulphur Wells Academy. The Christian apologetic for establishing such schools was the "desire to benefit the young morally and spiritually as well as in a literary point of view."¹

Considerable attention was being directed toward "female education." Many institutions were founded for the education of young women. Several articles advocating the desirability and practicability of such training are found in the Christian Magazine. These institutions were not just select finishing schools for girls; their curriculums were often extensive, including many branches of study. Minerva College, organized in 1849, for example, advertised as follows:

Female education is generally partial, and in many instances, puerile, and believing also that women possess capacity for very high cultivation, it is the intention of the Trustees, to give suitable facilities to girls for acquiring a Classical, Mathematical and Scientific, as well as an ornamental education. For this purpose, arrangements will be made for thorough instruction in at least two of the Ancient Languages--two or more Modern--a liberal course of Mathematics--pure and mixed;

¹Christian Magazine, II, June, 1849, p. 214. The Trustees of Minerva College made the following pledge: "The greatest exertions will be used to bring the young under proper moral principles. The study of Christianity in its evidences and all its practical bearings will, therefore, claim the assiduous attention of the managers of the Institution." (Ibid, Vol. I, October, 1848, p. 319)
of Natural Science, including particularly, Geology, Botany, and Zoology, and also Chemistry, practically. The greatest pains will be taken in the primary branches of an English course, Music, &c. ¹

The rapid increase in the number of educational institutions being established by the Christians was viewed with alarm by some. "Common Schools" warned of possible damage to the cause by the indiscriminate establishment of schools:

Ever since our older Colleges came into existence, and before they could be placed on a permanent footing, it seems as if every disappointed man has a College or something similar, which he desires the Brethren to sustain.--He comes to us with a flaming charter granted by some accommodating legislature; with a long list of distinguished men as Trustees, who never saw him nor his charter, talks learnedly, and with martyr zeal, about Education and Christian benevolence, when really every man with half an eye can see that it is a scheme for personal aggrandizement, and that if the truth were stated his object is bread and meat and some distinction. Now, sir, I am a friend to Colleges, and to every feasible system of education and general improvement, but I have no patience with these schemes for individual emolument at public expense.

Now that we are struggling to support the gospel, and many of our churches are going to naught for want of effectual teaching, let them, as a general rule, look to those institutions of divine appointment which have direct and imperative claims upon us, and advise our traveling beggars for Female and male Colleges of unknown character to go home, and if they are benevolent, teach the destitute and poor in COMMON SCHOOLS. ²

The Tennessee State Co-operation, primarily concerned with evangelization of the state, nevertheless gave considerable attention to education. Each year recommendations for patronage and financial support of educational institutions were made. Franklin College, Irving College,

Clinton College, and Minerva College are thus recommended to the Christians throughout the state.

Financial difficulties, threatening the future of Franklin College, was a matter of grave concern. The Committee on Education for the Co-operation in 1849 recommended that brethren help liquidate its debt, citing as justification for their action: "Many of its students have become obedient to the Faith, and several are successful proclaimers of the Gospel, and teachers of School." Two years later, a resolution was submitted for the appointment of a committee by the Co-operation to purchase the property of the College, make provisions to endow a sufficient number of Professorships to educate a large number of young men free of cost, and make all necessary arrangements for carrying out the wishes of the friends of the institution.

Ferguson was as good a friend to education as he was to evangelism. His name appears in practically every discussion of the subject. He urged its claims at every opportunity. In recognition of this interest in education he was made a Trustee of Franklin College. The pages of the Magazine were open to every constructive criticism and suggestion for the improvement of the status of education.

The Tennessee State Co-operation appointed Ferguson to deliver a message on "Education" at its annual meeting for 1850. This address, published later in the Christian

Magazine, is essentially his philosophy of Christian education. In developing the theme, he first reviews the history of education from its beginning--Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Babylonian, Median, Lydian, Persian, Egyptian, Hebrew, Greek, Roman--in order to show that, while there was "much that was great and good and beautiful in the education of the nations of antiquity," some of which "has been preserved to our own day," each failed in the ultimate purpose of education, degenerated, and was destroyed. Of this success and failure, Ferguson writes:

One reflection forces itself upon us as we survey all the proud monuments of ancient intellectual and moral achievements; they did much for separate and dis-social nations; they were of service to classes; they were effective for a brief season; but they were utterly incompetent to benefit the great family of man. They could not stop degeneracy; they could beautify but could not establish virtue--they could not conduct either the individual or the race to the true end of human existence. There was nothing in their highest culture that could, with persuasive energy, embrace the entire race, adapt its influence to every age, locality and condition; or satisfy the higher wants of the soul.

But what the educational systems of antiquity could not do, Christian education can accomplish. That which was lacking in their systems of education Christ supplied by His coming, developing "a spirit of Love which embraces the family of man." Christianity has taken education "as a mighty agent and made it subservient to the true, the

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1Ibid, October, 1851, pp. 293-304.
3Ibid.
spiritual interests of man."¹ Through Christian education "families, states, nations, rise in the scale of being: in genius, character, prosperity, power and social happiness."²

What, then, was the contribution of the Christian Magazine to the cause of education? (1) The editorial influence was a power constantly exerted on behalf of the education of both men and women; an education, practical as well as theoretical, embracing the entire person—physical, mental, and spiritual. (2) It gave encouragement to embryo educational institutions, such as Minerva College, as well as supporting the work of the older schools. (3) The pages of the Magazine were never permitted to become a battleground for conflicting opinions, lest the educational cause itself be destroyed in the heat of battle. (4) As the organ of the Christians in Tennessee, it recorded this Brotherhood's concern for education and educational institutions as expressed in the deliberations at their annual meetings.

Co-operation.—Continued growth and implementation of the co-operative idea marked this period. Among a heterogeneous group of loosely organized and autonomous churches, now completely separated from the older and established religious denominations, there was a deepening sense of need for closer fellowship and co-operation, the dawning consciousness of a brotherhood having a common task and common responsibilities. Having repudiated all authoritative

ecclesiastical organizations, their big problem was how to co-ordinate their efforts for effective service without jeopardizing the freedom of the local congregations.

The earliest efforts at co-operation were on a rather limited scale, a few contiguous churches joining forces in providing support for an evangelist to preach in their own area, or to labor in such other places—often spoken of as "destitute" places—where there was need for the preaching of the gospel. In some instances the geographical division of a county might serve as the basis for co-operation; or, it might involve two counties, a district, or a state. Such co-operative efforts began at an early period and increased rapidly.

The legitimacy of co-operation for evangelism was asserted in a state meeting at New Lisbon, Ohio, in 1831. The Millennial Harbinger suggested the county as a co-operative basis in the same year. Rush County, Indiana, put an evangelist in the field in 1833. Ohio experimented in a State-wide mass meeting that same year. Indiana organized the first State Convention and Missionary Society in 1839. By 1850 every State in which there were churches had followed this example.¹

The needs that justified local efforts became also the needs that justified state co-operation; and these same needs logically called for co-operation on a wider, or national level. Alexander Campbell soon became a proponent for co-operation on a national scale.² In 1849 the first

¹Walker, op. cit., p. 40.

²In 1842 Campbell presented his reading public with "Five Great Arguments for Church Organization":
"1. We can do comparatively nothing in distributing the Bible abroad without co-operation."
national gathering of the Christian Brotherhood was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, and the American Christian Missionary Society was formed. Four years earlier, D. S. Burnet, James Challen, J. J. Moss, and others, had organized the American Christian Bible Society in the same city and urged its support upon the brotherhood. The emphasis on co-operation led to other organizations in the succeeding years.

The Christian Magazine was sympathetic to the co-operative idea; but more, it was also actively committed to every effort and program to objectify the idea. Its pages became a constant source of propaganda for this cause. "We need organization in Tennessee," Ferguson wrote, "and our Brethren feel the need." But this interest did not stop at the borders of his own state; it embraced every section of the nation. His deep concern was expressed in the following words:

Of the necessity and propriety of a more adequate and efficient organization of the agencies of our

2. We can do comparatively but little in the great missionary field of the world either at home or abroad without co-operation.
3. We can do little or nothing to improve and elevate the Christian ministry without co-operation.
4. We can do but little to check, restrain, and remove the flood of imposture and fraud committed upon the benevolence of the brethren by irresponsible, plausible, and deceptious persons, without co-operation.
5. We cannot concentrate the action of the tens of thousands of Israel, in any great Christian effort, but by co-operation.
5. We can have no thorough co-operation without a more ample, extensive, and thorough church organization." (Millennial Harbinger, Vol. VI, New Series, November, 1842, p. 523).

Brotherhood for the purposes contemplated in Christian Philanthropy, no observing man can entertain a doubt. If we would make a permanent increase of our numbers, nay, if we desire only to retain what we have, and secure to ourselves alone free and improving religious privileges, we must do something.

Organization will increase our power and means for spreading the truth. Our churches will rally around it and support it by their contributions and prayers. They will make it the medium through which to send the gospel to all destitute regions. It will infuse new life amongst all, arouse the churches and lead to extensive and unremitting labor.

We have talent enough now, much of it lying idle and rusting, much more engaged in other pursuits, to supply the regular proclamation of the gospel, and the teaching of Christianity in all our churches. What we have in use will not long be, unless some method be devised to keep it. By a wise system of organization we can call it all out, sustain it and reap the glorious results.¹

John Eichbaum was as convinced of the propriety and necessity of co-operation as Jesse Ferguson. His article on "Co-operation Meetings"² was designed to engender interest in this work by answering objections urged against co-operation, as well as setting forth the proper aims and goals. He invited his readers to give careful attention and prayerful consideration to the following questions:

1. Can the great objects and purposes of our organization as Christian congregations be secured without co-operative effort? Can the gospel be preached to the destitute even in Tennessee without co-operation?

2. If not, and we refuse to come up to this work with our prayers, our presence and our means, will not our Master in Heaven justly condemn us as unworthy stewards of the Kingdom of heaven?

3. Because general meetings MAY be abused, is that any reason to a Christian man why they should not be used at all?

4. Is it not true that the fears which have been conjured up on this subject are purely fanciful, and is there a single fact going to show that co-operation meetings as held by Christian brethren are of dangerous tendency?

Ferguson's conviction of the necessity and advisability of co-operation was intensified by attendance at "some meetings" in Cincinnati in the fall of 1848. His fears of the dire results of failure in this important enterprise were expressed with great earnestness:

Never was my mind so fully impressed with the great deficiency in the organization of our Brotherhood, the lack of mutual encouragement, in our efforts to disseminate the gospel and secure the great ends of our profession, than during my stay at the meetings in Cincinnati. It must have been manifest to every mind properly impressed with the responsibilities that devolve upon us as a religious people, that something must be done. We must have a more adequate organization or be mortified continually with seeing irresponsible agencies acting for a people who never called them into being nor sustained their operations. Our State meeting ought to consider the matter and if possible devise some course that will serve to call forth

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1Ibid, p. 278.

2Ferguson gives no definite identification of the "meetings" which he attended. Perhaps these may have been the meetings of the American Christian Bible Society and the Cincinnati Tract Society. There was also a meeting of the editors and others announced to meet in Cincinnati on September 22, 1848. (Millennial Harbinger, Vol. V, Third Series, August, 1848, p. 479)

3This is the same position taken by Alexander Campbell in opposing the organization of the American Christian Bible Society: "I doubt the propriety of any institution being got up under the patronage of any society, and with its name upon it, without a general understanding some way obtained of the concurrence and support of the whole brotherhood in the scheme." (Millennial Harbinger, Vol. II, Series III, August, 1845, p. 372)
the voice of the Brotherhood from every part of the Union. Let us continue as we are now doing and our efforts will be the bye-word of the age and will meet as they will merit the contempt of the true and the good everywhere.1

Shortly before the gathering in Cincinnati to consider a national co-operative program, Tolbert Fanning, W. H. Wharton, J. J. Trott, and J. B. Ferguson issued a joint statement favoring the meeting. They entertained high hopes of the good that would eventuate as the result of such a gathering, hopes which they expressed in these words:

We believe in the necessity and propriety of such a meeting. . . . Our interest in, and the value we set upon a common cause, and our belief that the peace, harmony, safety and prosperity of our Brotherhood would be promoted by a general convention, induce us to make the above statements. We feel assured that a meeting numerously attended will serve to prevent threatening evil, will soften sectional and personal prejudices; will rebuke selfishness; will harmonize our hearts, if not our minds; will give a proper estimate and aid to lawful agencies for general good, and in various ways promote the great work of Christian knowledge and philanthropy; that it will serve to elevate our hopes and enlist in the proper objects of Christian interest our best and most efficient powers. . . . Our duty to the present age and people imposes the necessity of a general convention, and our interest in the future leads us to hope that its deliberations, sympathies and efforts, may lead to free, cordial and successful co-operation in all good works.2

Co-operation, however, was not to be achieved without a struggle; it became the object of bitter civil strife that has continued through the years without cessation. Its friends put forward a number of reasons in support of their


2Ibid, II, September, 1849, p. 311.
position. Co-operation would protect churches from "plausible and deceptive men," whose only desire was to make gain and glory for themselves, some of whose evil deeds and ungodly lives made them an abomination to the Lord and a reproach to the cause they claimed to represent. It would help to recruit and adequately sustain a worthy ministry, wholly given to the work of the Lord instead of being compelled to spend part of their time in secular pursuits in order to provide for the needs of their families. It would implement the great commission by establishing a missionary program that could provide gospel preaching for "destitute" regions, establish new churches and strengthen weak ones. The knowledge gained through reports from the churches would reveal the needy areas where efforts should be concentrated. It was necessary to any effective program for distribution of the Bible throughout the world. It would gain the united voice of a brotherhood upon the necessary means and methods for carrying out the purposes of the Church. And, in all these areas, the strength of united action would be much more effective than that of individual efforts.

Ferguson, along with others, based his argument for conventions and co-operations upon the principle of expediency. His views were expressed in the general meeting at Cincinnati in 1849, and later published in the Christian Magazine.¹ According to the minutes of the Tennessee State

¹Ibid, November, 1849, pp. 419-422.
Meeting for 1849, Ferguson "submitted and argued at length the propriety of taking into consideration the question, How far are we authorized to adopt measures of expediency in co-operating to spread the Gospel?" A Committee on Expedients, consisting of J. B. Ferguson, J. R. M'Call, and Tolbert Fanning, drafted the following report, which was approved as the sentiments of this meeting:

I. That whilst there is no authority to make a formulary of faith and bind it authoritatively on the conscience of others, the most perfect liberty has been granted to every individual and congregation, to adopt any measure of expediency by which he or they may wisely and efficiently extend the circulation and promote the knowledge of the one already given in the Scriptures of the New Testament.

II. That, as the recipients of the knowledge and favor of salvation by Jesus Christ, we are bound by the most solemn moral obligations to take advantage of every opportunity by which to devote our time, talents, and substance, to the propagation of the Gospel throughout the world, and especially in the regions wherein the Providence of God has cast our lot.

III. That there is not only nothing to prevent our co-operation in securing the legitimate ends of our profession, but that we are bound by the law and example of Jesus Christ, who pleased not himself, and who commands us to submit to each other in him;—by the principle which requires that we should in honor prefer one another, as well as by the common obligation to unity of spirit and action, to sacrifice our own expedients for those of others, (even where we deem ours most wise,) if by so doing we do not sacrifice an acknowledged principle, and can secure that co-operation.²

Alexander Campbell, later an ardent and determined advocate of co-operative organizations and the first president of the American Christian Missionary Society, made the

mold—his statements in the *Christian Baptist*—in which the enemies of conventions and missionary societies cast much of their ammunition. Allen R. Moore, one of Campbell's defenders, insists that Campbell's "views were, at that time in the formative period, and that it would be unjust to quote his expressions upon the missionary society, at that period of his career, as being his real teaching upon the subject." Moore finds the later statements in the *Millennial Harbinger* representative of the "full expression

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1 As an example, note the following words from the first issue of the *Christian Baptist*: "Their churches were not fractured into missionary societies, Bible societies, Education societies; nor did they dream of organizing such in the world. The head of a believing household was not, in those days, a president, or manager of a board of foreign missions; his wife, the president of some female Education Society; his eldest Son, the recording secretary of some domestic Bible Society; his eldest daughter, the corresponding secretary of a mite Society; his servant maid the vice president of a rag Society; and his little daughter, a tutoress of a Sunday school. They knew nothing of the hobbies of modern times. In their church capacity alone they moved. They neither transformed themselves into any other kind of association; nor did they fracture and sever themselves into divers societies. They viewed the church of Jesus Christ as the scheme of Heaven to ameliorate the world; as members of it, they considered themselves bound to do all they could for the glory of God and the good of men. They dare not transfer to a missionary Society, or Bible Society, or education Society, a cent or a prayer; lest in so doing they should rob the church of its glory, and exalt the inventions of men, above the wisdom of God. In their church capacity alone they moved. . . . They considered if they did all they could in this capacity, they had nothing left for any other object of a religious nature." (*Christian Baptist*, Vol. I, August, 1823, p. 20)

of his maturest years."¹

The Church of Christ at Connellsville, Pennsylvania, openly voiced disapproval of the American Christian Missionary Society and all similar organizations. A number of resolutions passed by this congregation were published at their request in the Christian Age, Christian Magazine, Millennial Harbinger, and Proclamation and Reformer. In these resolutions they affirmed that "it was the duty of every Christian, to do all within his power for the advancement of the cause of Christ by 'holding forth the word of life' to lost and ruined men";² that it was "the duty of all churches to co-operate in home missions";³ their own readiness and willingness to contribute as individuals for foreign missions; and that they approved "a plan similar to that adopted by the brethren of Tennessee for evangelizing in that State"⁴ for both home and foreign missions.

Most of the basic objections to societies and conventions were embodied in these resolutions, and in language strikingly reminiscent of Alexander Campbell and the Christian Baptist:

2. Resolved, That we consider the church of Jesus Christ in virtue of the commission given her by our blessed Lord, the only Scriptural organization upon earth for the conversion of sinners and the sanctification of believers.

4. Resolved, That, conscientiously we can neither

³Ibid. ⁴Ibid.
aid or sanction any society for this, or other purposes, separate and apart from the church—much less, one which would exclude from its membership, many of our brethren and all of the Apostles, if now upon the earth, because "silver and gold they had not."

5. Resolved, That we consider the introduction of all such societies a dangerous precedent—a departure from the principle for which we have always contended—and sanctioning the chapter of expediency, the evil and pernicious effects of which, the past history of the church fully proves.

6. Resolved, That we also consider them "necessarily heretical and schismatical"—as much so, as human creeds and confessions of faith when made "the bonds of union and communion."

The second resolution is basic to all the others.

The Church at Connellsville believed that the Church was the only Scriptural organization; they also believed that the Lord intended for it to remain the only organization.

In an explanatory statement, they wrote of the second of their resolutions:

That the church of Christ is in its constitution and design essentially missionary we conceive to be an axiomatic truth. Not a missionary society—the only one authorized by Jesus Christ or sanctioned by the Apostles. Her President is Jesus Christ, her constitution, the Holy Scriptures, the end for which she was established, the conversion and sanctification of the world. For this purpose she is fully commissioned by her great Head, and fully qualified to fulfill that commission. To affirm that she is not competent, is to charge her All-wise Founder with the inconsistency of assigning her a duty which she is unable to perform. If then she is authorized and competent, all other Societies for this purpose, are not only unscriptural, but they are unnecessary and uncalled-for. Unscriptural, because they appropriate to themselves, the duty and honor which rightfully belong to the church. Unnecessary, because the end for which they are instituted, the church is fully able to accomplish. But we are told by some, that "the church has not done its duty, and therefore they are necessary." . . . But

1 Ibid. 2 Ibid, p. 142.
grant that she has not done her duty. What then? Must we organize other Societies to do that which she has failed to accomplish? Or must we set about reforming her in order that she may do it? Certainly the latter. . . . If Jesus Christ has not qualified her for the work, can uninspired man institute anything better? ¹

Ferguson gave this communication from the Connellsville Church to his readers. In a later issue he published a reply by D. S. Burnet, who found a Scriptural precedent for co-operation and co-operative organization in the work of Paul as recorded in Acts. Of Paul's work, he writes:

He labored under a co-operation of churches during the greater period of his ministry. To carry out benevolent plans, he required a committee to be appointed to co-operate with him very much as Secretaries, Treasurers, Managers, and Presidents, manage the affairs of Societies now-a-days. When Paul establishes the office of "Messengers of the Churches," and requires that districts of churches should appoint a responsible holder and distributor of charitable funds, he deserves the same blame which is liberally bestowed upon those who are forward to get up a committee of church representatives, and call them by such official designations as President, Secretary, etc. . . . To show that a Society formed of the representatives of the Church, was not the Church, we are told that the Church has its initiatory rite, but the Society, its fee. But the Board of Eldership has no rites. Is it therefore not of the Church? Paul's "Jews' Relief Society" had no rite, but it was of the Church, and it required a fee as much as any of the institutions recognized by the Convention. Indeed, in this respect, there is no difference between Paul's co-operation for the relief of the Jewish Christians, or his system of co-operation for evangelizing the world, and our institutions for similar purposes. ²

The third, and last, publication in the Christian Magazine concerning the action of the Connellsville Church was from the pen of the editor, and entitled "Fear of

Consolidation--Independence of Individual Churches. This article is not so much a review of the letter as it is a general statement concerning certain abuses within the brotherhood. It is mild and irenic in tone, a plea for tolerance and consideration of the opinions of others. "No two of us occupy exactly the same position," he writes, "and consequently we should be less impatient of contradiction. Let us speak our sentiments clearly and strongly, but kindly and meekly at the same time." He advised the following practical course of action:

Are Conventions dangerous? attend them and lay bare the danger. Have monied qualifications for the direction of benevolent, Bible and Missionary enterprises, a tendency to "Aristocracy?" show it to the Society if they will allow you, and if not, then enter your protest.

John Eichbaum replied to some of the critics of co-operation in an article entitled "Co-operation Meetings." In an attempt to remove objections which had been urged against them, he lists a number of things not within the design of Co-operation Meetings:

1. They are not designed to interfere with the perfect and untrammeled independence of any congregation of Christ whatever, whether rich or poor, influential or obscure.
2. They are not designed to frame or devise a creed, church covenant, or articles of faith, or in any degree to infringe upon the fullest exercise of the divine right of private interpretation.
3. They do not claim the slightest authority to legislate as to any ordinance, custom or usage that

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must or must not be observed by the churches of Christ.

4. They do not claim any right to excommunicate or in any degree disfellowship any congregation that may think proper to refuse participation in their measures or recommendations.

5. They are not designed to establish any tests of Christian character, nor to decide who or who are not evangelists, bishops or deacons, nor in any sense to interfere with the action of any congregation with reference to sending forth preachers of the word.

6. They do not claim any authority to arbitrate the differences that may exist between different members of the same congregation or between distinct congregations.

7. They have not authority to enforce any recommendation or plan of expediency and their resolutions must be regarded, not as decrees or laws, but as simply propositions to the churches, with whom resides all power.

8. They are not designed to permanently concentrate power and money in the hands of a few. As a matter of fact, they have never done so, nor is it possible that they ever can.

9. They are not intended to give a separate and independent existence to any body ecclesiastic.

10. They are not designed to divert the means of the brotherhood from necessary and beneficial local operations, but rather to encourage and build up these local efforts.\footnote{Ibid, pp. 277-278.}

The first mention of co-operative effort in the Christian Magazine is a reference to the meeting of the Warren County Co-operation, which met on November 15, 1847, with four churches represented: Ivy Bluff, Fountain Springs, Philadelphia, and Rockey River.\footnote{Ibid, Vol. I, January, 1848, pp. 31-32.} M. C. Elkins was chosen as their evangelist for the following year.

There are a number of articles on co-operation, as well as references in other articles, reports of evangelists, notices of meetings and minutes of various Co-operations in the Christian Magazine. In its pages are examples
of co-operation on various levels: one county (Warren County Co-operation), two counties (Giles and Lawrence County Co-operation), district (East Tennessee Christian Co-operation), and State (Tennessee State Co-operation). Here, also, are records of Co-operations in twelve states: Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas.¹

State co-operation in Tennessee probably began some time in the fall of 1847.² The number of churches co-operating is not stated.³ The purpose in co-operation was to spread the gospel among the "destitute." The plan was simple: "Churches of the State" selected the Church of

¹For complete listing see index: CO-OPERATION MEETINGS.  
²Ferguson made the following statement in the Magazine for June, 1849: "Some eighteen months since the Church of Christ at Nashville accepted an agency from churches of the State generally for the spread of the Gospel among the destitute." (p. 228) If this co-operative program had been set up in 1848 rather than 1847 it is most likely that this information would have been published in this periodical. 
³Churches reporting to the meeting in 1850 were: Bagdad, Bethel, Bethlehem, Brawley's Fork, Cripple Creek, Cross Roads, Dresden, Fall Creek, Franklin College, Hartsville, Liberty, Lynchburg, McMinnville, Millersburgh, Murfreesboro, Nashville, New Hermon, Paris, Philadelphia, Richmond, Rock Spring, Roan's Creek, Salem, Sam's Creek, South Harpeth, Sycamore, Union, Woodbury. (Christian Magazine, Vol. III, November, 1850, pp. 346, 347) 

The churches represented in these meetings were not always included in the minutes. However, from the minutes when they were recorded we find these churches also present by representatives: Alexandria, Bigbyville, Beech Grove, Cane Creek, Cathey's Creek, Christian Chapel, Cold Branch, Columbia, Cornersville, Dunlap, Lewisburg, Linden, Memphis, Mt. Horeb, Philippi, Roberson's Fork, Shady Grove, Smyrna, Totty's Bend, and Wilson Hill.
Christ at Nashville to serve as the agency for the group.
A committee of five, composed of Moses Norvell, William A.
Eichbaum, W. H. Wharton, Orville Ewing, and J. B. Ferguson,
was appointed by the church "to correspond with the chu-
ches throughout the State; to collect and disburse funds,
to select and sustain Evangelists, and to report its pro-
ceedings to the congregation."¹ They employed two evange-
lists, J. J. Trott and John Eichbaum, who made regular re-
ports of their work to the committee. These reports were
also published in the Christian Magazine. All the money re-
ceived by the evangelists from preaching and solicitation,
as well as that collected by the committee, was handled by
the Treasurer, who paid the salaries of the evangelists.
Their records were "open to the inspection of all." The
success of this venture is described by Ferguson:

Congregations have been stirred up to their respon-
sibilities; things ready to perish have been strength-
ened; houses of worship have been erected in some of
the most important towns and neighborhoods in the state,
and many scores added to the army of the faithful. The
field of Christian Benevolence has been enlarged, and
we have no doubt many have realized that it is better
to give than to receive.²

But this system of evangelizing was not satisfactory
to all. Some were agitating for "better" methods of co-op-
eration. The following statement is found in the minutes
of this Co-operation for 1849: "Bro. J. B. Ferguson then
submitted and argued at length the propriety of taking into

¹Ibid., Vol. II, June, 1849, p. 228. ²Ibid.
consideration the question, How far are we authorized to adopt measures of expediency in co-operating to spread the Gospel?"¹ The minutes of the meeting for 1850 indicate the struggle that was going on between the advocates and opponents of the system of co-operation in effect at that time. J. J. Trott "delivered a written address on the subject of Co-operation, which address was unanimously adopted as the sentiment of the meeting."² At the same session "the address of the Bagdad Church" referring "to the caution necessary in conducting Co-operation meetings was taken up."³ The discussions of the Bagdad "address" carried through three sessions. The minutes indicate the great interest in this matter involved in this "address": "an


²Christian Magazine, Vol. III, October, 1850, p. 315. This address probably embodied Trott's sentiments as found in an article published in April, 1849:

1. Benevolent individuals co-operated in the days of primitive Christianity for benevolent purposes.
2. The members of individual churches, co-operated in a church capacity, to sustain the gospel at home, and to send it abroad.
3. Two or more churches co-operated for the same object.
4. The churches in a certain district co-operated in works of benevolence.
5. The churches of two or more districts, co-operated jointly in the great cause of christian benevolence.
6. In all these co-operations all the agency necessary to accomplish the object of co-operation, was chosen, or recognized, by those engaged in the work.
7. In these co-operations those means of expediency were resorted to, which, in the judgment of persons engaged, were best adapted to the ends proposed." (pp. 155, 156)

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animated discussion sprung up, during which the hour for
preaching having arrived, a motion to adjourn prevailed;¹
"The discussion on the Bagdad Address, and Co-operation was
then continued until the hour for preaching had arrived;²
"The discussion on the subject of Co-operation was then con-
tinued with some diversity of opinion in relation to the
present plan of operation."³ The Committee on Evangelizing
and Co-operation drafted the following statement which was
approved by the meeting:

The ministers of the Gospel, Bishops of Churches
and Disciples of Christ, assembled in Murfreesboro,
Tenn., for the purpose of consultation and Co-operation,
at a meeting called for that purpose, including the
5th Lord's day of September, 1850, would very respect-
fully suggest, that we see no necessity, in the breth-
ren or churches, adopting constitutions, articles of
government, decrees or resolutions amounting to law,
in conducting the affairs of the kingdom of Jesus
Christ. The laws of Christ are perfect, and we feel
safe only in studying them and obeying them. In the
first age of the church, individuals and churches
agreed together in carrying out measures authorized by
the Heavenly Teacher, as circumstances suggested,—in
preaching the word, adjusting difficulties, selecting
messengers, and affording help to the needy. Such
seems to us to be Christian Co-operation. In pursuance
of the objects of our consultations, the brethren who
have witnessed the success of the Co-operation efforts
in Tennessee, are satisfied, that the results have been
good, and we see no reason at present to propose a dif-
ferent plan. General co-operation is not designed to
interfere with county or district co-operations, for
local purposes, and we doubt not it would be beneficial
for counties and districts, not in Co-operation to hold
county meetings to secure preaching, and we would at
this meeting, respectfully request that one or more
State Evangelists, be requested to visit counties or
districts not co-operating and labor with the churches
in order to encourage co-operation.

¹Ibid. ²Ibid, p. 316. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid.
At the State Meeting in 1849 the Christian Publication Society of Tennessee was formed. Its membership included stockholders and "regular delegates to the annual Co-operation State meeting." Delegates were entitled to one vote; stockholders might have from one to five votes, depending on the number of shares held at five dollars per share: one vote for one share, two votes for three shares, three votes for six shares, four votes for ten shares, and five votes for twenty shares. Its Board of Directors was empowered to collect funds, secure the publication of such Tracts and other documents as its executive committee shall deem advisable; to select agents for their circulation, and to transact all business connected with the design of their organization, as a Society for the extension, by the Press, of such publications as shall be calculated to promote the cause of Primitive Christianity; and it shall be the first great duty of the Board of Directors to secure the permanent establishment and extensive circulation of a State Journal devoted to that cause.

The Christian Magazine was taken over by this Society as the "State Journal," Ferguson was chosen as editor and John Eichbaum as his assistant.

The State Co-operation appears under various names in the Christian Magazine: State Meeting, 1848; State Meeting of the Disciples of Christ, 1849; State Co-operation Meeting of Tennessee, 1850; Tennessee Co-operation Meeting, 1851; Tennessee Co-operation, 1852. At the meeting in 1852,

2Ibid.
the old, loosely-organized State Meeting gave way to a Society having a constitution, a money basis for membership, duly elected officers, and a stated annual meeting, taking the name, Christian Evangelizing Association of Tennessee. Annual membership was obtained by the payment of $1.00, and a life membership by payment of $10.00. Churches were permitted one delegate to the annual meeting for a contribution of $20.00, two delegates for $50.00, and three for $100.00. The object of this Association was "to employ and sustain Evangelists in preaching the Gospel to destitute churches and regions not embraced in local co-operations, and to publish a religious periodical and such other matter as shall be deemed useful for circulation." Its first officers were: J. J. Trott, President; J. B. Ferguson, Vice President; Tolbert Fanning, Corresponding Secretary; M. C. C. Church, Recording Secretary; and Alexander Fall, Treasurer. Failing to find an editor for the Christian Magazine, they relinquished all rights to it, and Jesse Ferguson continued its publication as a personal venture during 1853.

Co-operation has never had a more ardent champion than the Christian Magazine. Convinced that "concert of action and co-operation of effort was the most effective means for spreading the Gospel, its voice was constantly raised in favor of co-operation, its editors in the

forefront in every worthy enterprise.

Particular Doctrinal Emphases

The doctrinal emphases in the Christian Magazine are, in most areas, well within the generally accepted pattern of the reformation. This, as we have already seen,\(^1\) is true in theology, Christology, Pneumatology, and anthropology. It will also become apparent as we study its pronouncements on certain doctrines involved in Bibliology, soteriology, and ecclesiology. It is primarily in the eschatological realm that the emphasis in any way runs counter to the views held by the majority of this brotherhood.\(^2\)

The Bible and Creeds.--The basic principles of the Restoration Movement was, and is, the recognition of the Scriptures as the only rule of "faith and manners," the "charter of freedom, civil and ecclesiastical,"\(^3\) the "infallible test to which we bring all the doctrines of men,"\(^4\) and the "only preservative against being led astray by false teachers."\(^5\) All other emphases stem from this one.

The all-sufficiency of the Scriptures became a plea, a plan, and a program; an affirmation and an argument; a conviction and a contention. The Scriptures are the

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\(^1\)Supra, pp. 86-98.

\(^2\)Ferguson's eschatological views will be seen in the treatment of his controversy with Alexander Campbell, Chapter VI.


\(^4\)Ibid, Vol. III, April, 1850, p. 121.

\(^5\)Ibid.
embodiment of God's revelation to men. According to Ferguson, the distinctive feature of the Reformation is the recognition of the truth, that human nature with all its fidgetty and restless scepticism, will never reach any thing in religion essentially higher or more profound than that which was reached by the Apostles. In this field of thought there is ample room for the highest exercise of all our power; there is none for originality save that of going back to the original media of revelation, in breaking down the manifold barriers of dogma and human tradition which stand between us and the divine message, and in reproducing the primitive impressions of Christ, so as to suit our changed and changing conditions.

One of the most popular doctrines of the period under consideration was that the Holy Spirit, in some mysterious and miraculous manner, operated directly upon totally depraved men in order to impart the faith necessary to salvation. This doctrine the Christian Magazine repudiated as unscriptural. It was held, instead, that the Bible, written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, was the medium through which the Spirit operated in the conversion of sinners: the Spirit being the agent of salvation, the Scriptures His instrument.

Human creeds, characterized as "skeletons, freezing abstractions, metaphysical expressions of unintelligible dogmas," were rejected as terms of "union and communion." The Bible, "sufficient for all the purposes for which divine wisdom and goodness intended it," made all human

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1Ibid, Vol. IV, September, 1851, p. 287.
creeds unnecessary. B. F. Hall reasoned after this fashion:

If the human creed contains nothing but what may be found in the Bible, it is useless—for the Bible itself is all-sufficient. If it contains anything not in the Bible, it is just that far wrong—for the Bible contains all things necessary to salvation.¹

Objections to creeds centered in their authoritarian character,² in their use "as bonds of Christian union, and as conditions of Christian fellowship."³ The principal objections urged against creedal statements are found in this brief statement of position by Ferguson:

The fact that human creeds supersede in a great measure, the authority of the New Testament—that they give birth to bigotry, persecution and hypocrisy—that they subvert free inquiry—produce division, variance and schism—narrow the boundary of truth, and displace its author from his rightful dominion over the faculties and capacities of his creatures—these and kindred considerations have induced us, as a religious people, to acknowledge no formulary of faith—no authoritative regulation of conduct—as the bond of union or communion, other than those contained in the New Testament of our only rightful Lord and Savior.⁴

But what reasons did the friends of creeds use to justify their position, and how were they answered? (1) Is it not more honorable to clearly state your position, as in a creed? Creeds are not necessary to the statement of belief; this may be done through preaching, teaching, and printing. (2) How can you systematize Christianity without

¹Ibid.
²According to Ferguson: "It is not the writing, but the AUTHORITY attached to the writing to which we object." (Ibid, Vol. IV, April, 1851, p. 105)
⁴Ibid, Vol. IV, April, 1851, pp. 102-103.
making a creed? You cannot thus circumscribe and limit the Word of God and its great moral and religious truths; it cannot be compressed into a mold (creed) incapable of receiving it. (3) Do we not have Scriptural examples in the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, etc.? Because God makes a summary, it does not necessarily follow that men have a right to do so. (4) Are they not of great antiquity? Yes; but not as old as the Word of God. (5) Are they not the products of holy men? This may be true; but holiness is no guarantee of infallibility. The Scriptures are inspired; creeds are not.

John R. Howard accused Protestants who made creeds terms of communion of inconsistency, of violating the two basic principles of Protestantism: the supreme authority of the Scriptures, and the right and duty of private judgment. He writes:

These are the two great principles of Christianity—primitive evangelical Christianity. It is impossible there should be any more, or any less—morally—scripturally impossible—impossible according to God's prerogatives and man's rights. The first principle guards the honor of God; the second secures the honor of man. The first repels infidelity; the second disarms tyranny. . . .

Protestants seem afraid to trust themselves, or rather, each other, to these great principles alone. They, however, assert them—boast of them: but cannot, or will not confide in them. Hence, almost without exception, they adhere to authoritative standards, explanatory of the Bible and repulsive of private judgment. Thus we have the Protestant theory rejected by Protestants! Protestants in principle—Papists in practice! Christ their only Master in profession; yet each following his own Master! The Bible their only creed; yet every sect with a creed of its own! Private judgment the duty and right of all—and yet every sect
distinguished by the excommunicating energy of arbitrary, authoritative, and official judgments of its own! They bring the Bible to man, and beg him to read it, and assure him it is his duty to judge of its contents for himself. They next give him their understanding or judgment to control his judgment, and then gravely inform him that if his judgment shall differ from theirs, they will not admit him to their fellowship!  

The Christian Magazine opposed man-made creeds, deeming them unscriptural, unnecessary, presumptuous, and factional. Therefore, they were repudiated as criteria for fellowship, and appeal for directives in Christianity made to the Scriptures as the only divinely authoritative statement.

"First Principles."—"First principles" is a term used by the advocates of restoration to indicate those elements set forth in the Scriptures deemed essential in the process of a sinner becoming a Christian. Usually included in this category are faith, repentance, confession, baptism.

Faith, according to the prevalent religious teaching, was a miraculous gift of the Holy Spirit; faith, according to the writers in the Christian Magazine, the result of "belief of testimony." Ferguson acquiesced in this definition, but expressed a preference for the simple Scriptural statement in Hebrews 11:1: "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."

Three passages of Scripture appear in almost every discussion of faith in the Magazine: Hebrews 11:6; John

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1Ibid, Vol. V, April, 1852, pp. 119-120
20:30, 31; and Romans 10:17.¹ The first states the necessity of faith; the second, the testimony to be considered (the Scriptures), the purpose (faith—belief that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God), and the end result (eternal life); the third, that faith comes by hearing the Word of God. "Scripture, or evangelical faith does not consist in believing God's truth on human testimony. . . . We must believe God's truth on God's testimony."²

There is only one kind of faith in the world; it is the same in every sphere of human activity. It differs "according to the nature of the thing believed—the degree of evidence by which supported—the strength of the conviction."³ Christian faith is that faith "which is obtained by hearing the word of God," and this faith is saving faith. Ferguson affirms that faith in, or reliance upon God, is the principle by which we are accounted righteous, and without which it is impossible for us to please him; and this faith is efficacious in proportion to the promptitude and steadfastness of its exercise.⁴

¹"But without faith it is impossible to please God." (Hebrews 11:6).
"And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name." (John 20:30, 31)
"So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." (Romans 10:17)

³Ibid, February, 1848, p. 53.
⁴Ibid, April, 1848, p. 108.
Attention is directed to the difference between faith, opinion, knowledge, credulity, and presumption. Faith is the belief of testimony; opinion, "mere inference--deductions--conjectures--speculations"; knowledge, facts from our experience; credulity, belief without evidence; and presumption, tempting God by rash acts, supposedly to evidence faith. As J. J. Trott expresses it:

I know I exist. I believe God made the first man in his own image. I am of the opinion that the third word of the Bible is expressive of an indefinite period. Mr. Wesley and Dr. Clarke knew they were men, believed Christ was the Son of God, and were of opinion, the former that he was the eternal Son, the latter that he was not the eternal Son. . . . That which is common is faith, that which is peculiar is opinion.
Therefore, when Christians cease to make opinion faith, they will be of one faith.2

Faith precedes repentance, confession, baptism, the reception of the Holy Spirit, and "availing prayer." Faith alone is dead faith, and, therefore, justification is not by faith alone, but by faith plus works.3 "Faith is inseparably connected with obedience and implies it . . . faith is made perfect by works conformable thereto."4

Repentance is defined by J. J. Trott as "that change of mind which causes the sinner to regret the past and reform

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1B. F. Hall, ibid, April, 1848, p. 108.
3Reference was made to such passages as James 2:24, 26: "Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only. . . . For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also."
the life." Faith must precede repentance. "If one could repent without faith, and before he believes," wrote B. F. Hall, "it would be wrong—it would be a sin to do so; for whatsoever is not of faith is sin." While there are few articles on repentance in the *Christian Magazine*, there is constant emphasis on the necessity for reformation of life, of being conformable to the Christian profession.

There is one article on confession in the *Magazine*, "Confession—Its connections," one of a series on "first principles" by J. J. Trotto. In this article Trotto shows the connection of confession in the Patriarchal age with "faith, repentance and sacrifice in order to remission of sins," and in the Jewish age with "faith, repentance and sacrifice, the Priest and Tabernacle or Temple." Christian confession, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, is intimately connected with "faith, repentance and baptism in the name of Christ . . . for the remission of sins."

There are some fifty articles on baptism in the *Christian Magazine*, and passing references in many others. These articles may be divided into two groups: positive teaching on baptism (authority, subject, administrator, prerequisites, action, and purpose), and refutation of

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"errors" (sprinkling and pouring, infant baptism, baptismal regeneration, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, baptism a non-essential).

Authority for baptism is found in the command of Christ, the example of Christ, the practice of the apostles, and the teaching of the epistles.\(^1\) The proper subject of baptism is a penitent believer. Faith is essential in obedience to every command of the Lord. Since baptism without faith is both meaningless and useless, infant baptism is repudiated. The efficacy of baptism is not contingent upon the administrator. The significance of the act lies in the faith and penitence of the subject, and in the willing obedience yielded to the Lord. The character of the administrator, the validity of his ministerial order--these neither add to nor detract from the efficacy of baptism. Prerequisites for baptism are faith, repentance, and confession: faith in Christ and in the promises of His Word, followed by a change of mind that results in the reformation of life, and a confession of the central fact of the Christian system, "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God." The action of baptism is immersion; this is determined by appeal to the Scriptures, the meaning of the original word as given by lexicographers, and quotations from prominent religious leaders of the past, many of whom, although not

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practicing immersion, still identified it as the correct interpretation of the New Testament passages and the practice of primitive Christians. The purpose, or design, of baptism is to fulfill all righteousness, and to secure the forgiveness of sins. "Baptism, preceded by faith and repentance," Ferguson wrote, "has been appointed by divine authority, in order to the remission of sins."¹ The Holy Spirit is given to those who are baptized (Acts 2:38), and they are identified with Christ and His body, the Church, and enjoy the promise of eternal life.

Sprinkling and pouring are repudiated as "modes" of baptism. Baptidzo is shown to be a word denoting one specific action, not three; and that action is immersion. Both sprinkling and pouring are held to be without Scriptural command or precedent, and both are shown to be inadequate in meeting the specifications for baptism as given in the New Testament.

Infant baptism is described as a "superstitious custom, borrowed from a superstitious age, which is discreditable to this age of light and advancement."² B. F. Hall uses the term "pedo-rantists" to describe those who practice infant baptism, deeming it more accurate and descriptive than "pedo-baptists." Ferguson traces the origin of infant baptism to the decree of the Roman Catholic Church.

In order to tax the whole world, it was necessary that the whole world should be brought into the Church. And as the whole world could not be brought by force of reason under the dominion of an ambitious priesthood, the initiatory ordinance of the Church was given to infants, under the sanction of the idea that all the race of Adam was polluted and the ordinances of Christ were the means of effecting, as by magic, the purification of all.1

Ferguson, Hall, and other writers in the Christian Magazine, insisted that infant baptism is not taught in the New Testament, neither is there record of its practice. Moreover, if penitent believers are the only proper subjects of baptism, then infants are excluded, for they are incapable of faith and repentance. In fact, "infants are not the subjects of gospel teaching, gospel baptism, nor gospel salvation or damnation."2

Because they taught that baptism was "for the remission of sins" (Acts 2:38), and that in baptism "sins are washed away" (Acts 22:16), the Disciples were often accused of holding the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. This accusation is noted and denied in the Christian Magazine. Writers in this periodical insisted that baptism must be preceded by faith, repentance, and confession, and, therefore, baptism alone could not procure pardon. How, then, could they rightfully be accused of baptismal regeneration? Baptism was held to be a condition of pardon and not the cause of pardon or the forgiveness of sins:

1Ibid.
So with regard to the forgiveness of sins. Christ is the infallible Physician; his blood is the cause of pardon. He prescribes for EVERY creature (Mark 16:16). Baptism, therefore, to the believer in the efficacy of his blood as a remedy for sin is the condition of his pardon.  

Ferguson defines the "baptism of the Holy Spirit" as "A New Testament phrase signifying the over-whelming manifestation of supernatural power by which the Christian Religion was at first presented to, and propagated throughout the world." This baptism was shown to be a baptism of prophecy and promise, and not a baptism of command. Having fulfilled its purpose in giving Divine guidance to the leadership of the early Church, the baptism of the Holy Spirit is no longer necessary, and, therefore, has ceased. Later generations operate under the New Testament as their guide. "What the baptism of the Holy Spirit was to the primitive Disciples of Christ, the New Testament revelation is to us." The gift of the Holy Spirit is the promise to every Christian.

Having determined that command and precedent for baptism were in the New Testament, it was declared essential to remission of sins and salvation. Others, who held that baptism was not essential to salvation but still practiced it as a duty, were charged with inconsistency—the inconsistency of holding a "non-essential christian duty."

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An interesting article by "Persis" is based upon the arguments of N. L. Rice in his debate with Alexander Campbell, showing that every argument directed against the doctrine of "baptism for the remission of sin," may be turned with equal effect against the necessity of "faith in Christ in order to salvation"--that the identical reasoning which undermines the former sentiment, at once blots the latter from the Book of God!\(^1\)

Some of those identified with other religious groups objected to the doctrine of baptism (immersion) for the remission of sins because of its implications concerning the "pious unimmersed." W. B. Walker, a Methodist preacher, directed the following question to the editor of the Christian Magazine: "If, under the Christian dispensation, sins are forgiven in the act of immersion only, did not Scott and Henry, and Wesley and Clarke die unforgiven?"\(^2\) To which Ferguson replied:

Neither you nor I have been appointed judge of the living or the dead. The Judge of the whole earth will do right, and whilst we religiously regard this truth, we should rejoice in knowing that neither the learning nor piety of any man or set of men can prevent the design of God's appointments to us. He has appointed baptism for the remission of sins to every believer; neither the teaching or example of the worthy men you refer to can make his commandment of no effect to us if we obediently receive it.

You will, perhaps, be a little surprised to see that each of the Scholars and Commentators you refer to have expressed themselves as strongly as Mr. Campbell, upon the design of baptism.\(^3\)

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\(^1\)Ibid, July, 1851, p. 212.


\(^3\)Ibid.
A writer for the Congregational Journal, whose words were transferred to the Christian Magazine via the Nashville Christian Advocate, presented the following unique argument against using the word "immerse" instead of "baptize":

Baptism conveys the idea of a person and a religious rite; immersion supposes neither one nor the other. A human being is baptized; a stone, a log, an animal is immersed. Baptism is accompanied with the solemn formula, "in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" immersion may be practiced in the utter absence of any words. Baptism supposes the presence of a Christian minister; immersion may be the act of a murderer, a pirate, an animal, or even of an inanimate substance.¹

John Eichbaum easily refuted the argument of the writer by showing that the Greek word (baptizo) is used "both by classic and sacred writers without the slightest reference to a religious rite," that, in fact, "it is used in precisely the way in which the writer tells us that immersion is used."² Two quotations were sufficient to accomplish his purpose: one from Heraclides, "When a piece of iron is taken red-hot from the fire and plunged (baptizetai) into water"; and the other from Mark 7:4, "And many other things there be which they have received to hold, as the washing, (baptismos) of cups and pots and brazen vessels and tables."

It has been noted that the articles on faith and baptism in the Christian Magazine are far more extended and numerous than those on repentance and confession. This must not be taken as evidence that the first two are considered more important than the latter. There is no con-

¹Ibid, p. 12. ²Ibid.
flict between the Disciples and their religious neighbors on the necessity and significance of repentance and confession. This was not true, however, in the realm of faith and baptism. Here the differences were marked and the conflict often bitter. Disciples were convinced that their own lines must be strengthened and the enemy repelled. It is quite natural, then, to expect and find a great concentration in these areas where the battles were being waged.

The Christian Magazine was not the advocate of an only plan of salvation: faith only, repentance only, confession only, baptism only, moral life only. No one of these were deemed sufficient to guarantee salvation; neither is there a non-essential among them.

The Lord's Supper.--The Christian Magazine reflects the views held by the majority of Reformers from the earliest days, that the Lord's Supper is not sacramental but memorial in character. According to the editor,

the loaf and the cup were made visible signs of communion to endure after his departure. Their character was, therefore, symbolical; they were to represent a presence no longer visible. . . . These symbols before our eyes and in our hands, ever set before us the living excellence and patience, with the mortal pain and immortal triumph of our Master, and as his words come to us, "Remember me," we are ready to exclaim, yea, Lord, and God make us more like thee.¹

From the beginning communicants included "all who believed in Christ and desired to be placed under the discipline of his teaching," all of whom

as freely participated in it as they did in prayer or praise. There was no vote as to who should receive; a credible expression of faith was the uniform passport. All who believed and seriously purposed to lead a Christian life rejoiced to engage in the acts, office and meditations of the holy season.  

While there is no inclination toward the practice of closed communion, the idea of corporate worship is suggested. The following statement from Archibald McLean is quoted with editorial approval:

The Lord's Supper does not, like baptism, belong to a single individual by himself; for it is an ordinance of visible communion. Nor does it belong to a number of disciples occasionally meeting, and not properly united or set in order; nor to parts of a church meeting in different places; but only to a church regularly constituted as a visible body, with its proper pastors, and coming statedly together into one place to eat it. The bread and cup are the communion, or joint participation, of the body and blood of Christ; and as the bread is one, so the many who all partake of that bread must be one visible body.

The weekly observance of the Lord's Supper is urged. John Eichbaum submits the following reasons in support of this practice: the Scriptures point to a weekly observance; the apostolic example favors it; it is as logical to remember the death of Christ each first day of the week as to remember His resurrection; it incites to deeper love and consecration; the frequency destroys any superstitious regard for it; opportunity is afforded for meditation on the Lord's return; it creates an atmosphere suitable for instruction, edification, discipline, benevolence, and the conduct of business; it brings the worshipper into contact

with the great spiritual truths of religion."¹

The Lord's Day was considered the only appropriate day for this memorial observance. In replying to a questioner about the propriety of its observance at any other time, Tolbert Fanning wrote: "In my judgment, there would be as little meaning in taking of the Lord's Supper on any other day besides the first, as there would be in baptising any other, than a believer."²

Christian Union.--Articles devoted exclusively to the consideration of Christian union are relatively few in the Christian Magazine. However, statements of the evils of division and the necessity of union are found upon its pages from the beginning to the end. The basic restoration principle, the repudiation of creeds and opinions as terms of fellowship and the elevation of the Scriptures to the place of authority, is frequently stated.

A quotation from William Ellery Channing, the celebrated Unitarian preacher, includes his affirmation of the present reality of Christian unity. "Nothing is more real," he writes, "than this spiritual union. There is one grand, all comprehending church; and if I am a Christian, I belong to it, and no man can shut me out of it."³ While this unity of Christians in Christ is recognized, the necessity

for a more visible unity is urged; for "a cold, hypocritical and lifeless Sectarianism" continues to fill the earth with "party rancor, and jealous hatred."\(^1\)

Austin Craig, a prominent minister of the Christian Connection, contributed the synopsis of a sermon on "The Unity and Faith of the Christian Church,"\(^2\) based on the "ones" of Ephesians 4:1-6. He rejects all creeds and proclaims the Word as the "instrumentality by which man comes into a participation of the joys of God and fellowship with the Heavenly world."\(^3\) This Word imparts light and faith, influences men to make searching self-examinations, converts, cleanses, and sanctifies. Throughout the sermon he strikes telling blows against a divided Church, and especially in his treatment of the "one faith." In his words:

There is but one true faith. By embracing this "one faith" we become members of the "one body," and partakers of the "one spirit." All the members of Christ's Church have this "one faith." To obey this one faith does not bring a man into any one or all of the parties above named, but it does bring him into the Christian Church--into the one body of Christ. To be introduced into any one of these parties, a man must believe either more or less than simple christianity. If the reception of this faith brings a man into the Church of Christ, but not into any of these denominations, does it not follow that these are not the church of Christ. ... A man may be an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Baptist, a Unitarian, a Methodist, &c., and be a Christian, too; but God only requires him to be a Christian. Under what circumstances, and for how long

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\(^1\) J. B. Ferguson, *ibid*, March, 1849, p. 95.
\(^3\) Ibid, October, 1849, p. 366.
a time, a man may continue to wear these and other party names and be a Christian, we cannot decide.1

And how would the logic of the following be refuted?

It is frequently said that in heaven we shall not be asked, whether we are Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans, Episcopalians, &c., but only whether we are Christians. Why, then, should anything more be asked on earth? Are the sectarian parties on earth purer and more select than the Church of the first born, whose names are written in Heaven? If there will be but one body in Heaven, in which all will have common participation, and all distinctions of party be destroyed, why should it not be so on earth? And if it is not so on earth, is it right or is it wrong? Do not the sufferings of the great Head of the church tend as much to the unity of his mystical body on earth as to its oneness in Heaven?2

The editor contrasts the progress of physical and religious science in an essay on "Christian Union."3 He suggests three reasons for scientific success: scientific methods and results are open to the inspection of all; conclusions are based on the inductive system; and, the best source of facts has been used, the "volume of God's own creation." His proposition is that the Church, following the same methods, would progress equally well and would arrive at a unanimity of conclusion. For, if all Christians used the same book of divine truth, God's Word, they would discover the same facts; and, where the opinions of men had produced division, the conclusions drawn from the divine record would result in unity.

The name.--Controversy over the proper name to be

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1Ibid. September, 1849, p. 323.  
2Ibid.  
3Ibid, March, 1849, pp. 93-98.
worn by the followers of Christ began early in the Restoration Movement, Alexander Campbell contending for the use of "Disciples of Christ" and Barton W. Stone for "Christian." D. P. H.\(^1\) tried to inject this issue into the *Christian Magazine* by addressing the following question to the editor:

"What is the divinely authorized name of the members of God's family on earth?—Is it Christian; or is it Disciple?\(^2\)

Ferguson replied that the family name is Christian and the members are called Brethren, Disciples, Saints. He refused to re-open the controversy, however, "for," he writes, "we consider that the name is settled by the authority of the Scriptures and the usages of all ages, in such a manner that no human power can materially change it.\(^3\)

Christian, Church of Christ, Disciples, and Disciples of Christ are all found in the *Magazine*. All of these names are used by the editor, but he leaves no doubt of his preference. Early in volume one he gave his reader's Luther's statement on party names.\(^4\) In volume four he makes this positive statement:

> We repudiate all names and designations of Christian communities as such, save that of Christian, believing that it is inconsistent with our profession.

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\(^1\)Perhaps this is D. P. Henderson, associate of Stone.


\(^3\)Ibid.

\(^4\)"I pray you to leave my name alone, and not to call yourselves Lutherans, but Christians. . . . Cease my dear friends, to cling to these party names and distinctions; away with them all; and let us call ourselves only Christians, after him from whom our doctrine comes."
of loyalty to Christ to wear any human name as a badge of religious designation. We would be called by the name of the master, and not by that of his servants, be they ever so worthy or honorable. As individuals, we are called disciples or scholars of Christ, brethren and saints, while as congregations, we would be known only as Christian.¹

Stewardship.--There is no united voice in the Christian Magazine on stewardship. The need for increasing the liberality of Christians is recognized, and some suggestions made for improvement and growth in this grace.

In one instance, at least, Ferguson approves the tithe as the basis for giving. "To be acceptable it must be voluntary"; he writes, "and voluntary it will be with every man who regards his substance as the gift of God, and feels his responsibility in its use."² James H. Curtis also implies that the tithe should be the minimum standard of Christian giving; for if God required the tithe under the Mosaic Dispensation, surely "it would be reasonable to suppose that He would demand as much, in the Christian Dispensation, which offers so many and such abundant sources of absolute happiness."³

John T. Johnson was the advocate of a plan of finance which he presented to the brotherhood for consideration. His system was designed to supply the necessary funds for the support of preaching at home and in destitute

¹Christian Magazine, Vol. IV, April, 1851, p. 103.
places, for the expenses incidental to worship, and to care for the poor, needy, sick, afflicted, widows, and orphans. In a book provided for the purpose the names of the membership of the church were to be recorded in "classes" according to the amount each was willing to contribute weekly: five cents, twenty-five, fifty, or even a dollar. A committee of "3 to 7 members of experience" was to superintend the program and distribute the funds; a committee of similar size composed of "female members" to care for the women of the congregation; the clerk to serve as treasurer and receipt for funds; one of the number of each "class" to receive their funds and turn them to the treasurer; and a quarterly written report to be made to the congregation. A minimum of one tenth of the funds was to be applied to home missions and Bible distribution, and a like amount used for the relief of the poor, needy, widows, orphans, and disabled preachers.¹ In presenting this financial scheme to his readers, Ferguson added this commendatory word:

We hope it will commend itself to the favorable consideration of all the brethren every where; for assuredly, something is needed to call out and properly use the treasure committed to our hands as Stewards that must give an account. It is a just, equalizing and entirely practical plan for all who wish to glorify God with their substance.²

James H. Curtis interpreted 1 Corinthians 16 as an express command for weekly contributions, which were to be made only on the Lord's Day. Admitting that the collection

for the "poor saints" was usually made after this manner in apostolic times, Ferguson, nevertheless, contended that "the contribution for the support of the gospel was never circumscribed to time or method."\(^1\) And, furthermore,

the obligation to give our "carnal" to those who labor "in spiritual things" is obligatory in its own nature and grows out of the relation of rational beings and their duties to each other . . . the method has been left free. It could not be authoritatively prescribed, for it changes with the ever-changing circumstances of man's condition in the earth. The obligation is absolute; the manner of its discharge is free.\(^2\)

The editor deemed it highly impractical to require those who received their funds at seasonal periods, such as annually or semi-annually, to contribute weekly.

He favored any method that would meet the needs of the church. Every church should have some method.

But better than any indiscriminate method, let every church fall upon some method as its own by which its whole membership shall devote their substance to the cause of God, first in their own neighborhood where they may superintend its use and see the result, and then wheresoever the opportunity may offer.\(^3\)

Ferguson commended the following method used by a church of his acquaintance on the basis that it was "as simple as it is noiseless and effectual";\(^4\)

At the beginning of each year, at one of its regular meetings, each member is called upon to pledge (and pay if he see proper) the amount he or she is willing to contribute for the good of the cause. This amount is set down in a book kept open for all who may not have been in attendance, until each one who feels the obligation has signified the extent of his or her

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\(^1\) Ibid., Vol. IV, June, 1851, p. 168.  
\(^2\) Ibid.  
\(^3\) Ibid.  
\(^4\) Ibid.
sense of ability. Out of this fund they support general and local Evangelizing and the regular teaching of Christianity among themselves. In addition to this, at the ends of their communion-table are placed two bags, always open, into which "weekly contributions" are made, sacred to the poor. Attention to these for the benefit of strangers is occasionally called.¹

Much of the blame for the parsimonious attitude so prevalent among those affiliated with the Restoration Movement was laid to the pernicious practice of preaching and writing against a paid ministry, beginning with Alexander Campbell's vitriolic attacks upon the "Clergy" in the Christian Baptist. James H. Curtis wrote of those who, "in attempting to counteract the tide of the priestly craft and imposture, of exorbitant salaries and stipends, martyrized themselves in the advocacy of the other extreme."² The influence of the Christian Magazine was used in an attempt to alleviate this tragic condition by fostering Christian liberality and defending a paid ministry.

Church Polity.—All the discussions of church polity in the Christian Magazine assume a norm or divine standard for church government to be incorporated in the New Testament. "That there is a model in the New Testament," writes H. T. Anderson, "no one who regards the authority of that volume can doubt."³ The congregational form of government was considered that which conformed to this standard.

¹Ibid. ²Ibid. Vol. IV, June, 1851, p. 167.
The most complete exposition of church organization in the Magazine is made by John R. Howard. It continues through seven issues of the periodical. Other writers are in essential agreement with his position. Howard finds three offices in the New Testament Church: evangelists, bishops or elders, deacons and deaconesses. These offices are rooted in the threefold needs of the Church: conversion of the world, the spiritual needs of the congregation, and the temporal needs of the congregation.

Evangelists must be good, pure, blameless, irreproachable in moral and religious character, have a thorough knowledge of God's Word, a good command of language, and the ability to use discretionary judgment. Their duties are to proclaim the glad tidings, and persuade men to obey the gospel; to baptize those whom they can thus persuade, upon a confession of faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of God and Savior of the world; to constitute and form the Disciples thus made into congregations; and to organize these congregations, or set them in order, by the appointment and ordination of the proper officers.

Those aspiring to become evangelists were to exercise their talents within the local congregation until deemed qualified and worthy of recommendation to a wider area of service. The State Meeting in 1851 chose two evangelists and recommended that "some young brother of promise and piety be associated with each of them that they may be better

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prepared for the work of the ministry."¹

Elder, bishop, pastor, teacher--these names all refer to the same office. Elders are to meet the Scriptural qualifications found in 1 Timothy 3:1-7 and Titus 1:5-7.²

There must be a plurality of elders in every church,³ chosen from the older men within the congregation:

None but old or elderly men, or those advanced in the Christian life and character, are qualified by age. The term "Elder" as used for "Bishop," had particular relation to age, wisdom, prudence, experience--Every part of the description given us of the qualifications of a pastor, evidently supposes some advancement in age, or in qualities of age.⁴

Elders are to be selected by the congregation and sustained


²Howard explains the statement that an elder "must be the husband of one wife" as follows: "have but one wife; that is, at a time.--This was very important in an age of the world when polygamy, the having of a plurality of wives at the same time by one man was universally prevalent." (Ibid, Vol. V, August, 1852, p. 231)

³Ferguson thought a plurality not absolutely necessary. Asked if a congregation must have a plurality of elders, he replied: "Certainly not. . . . If a church have but one man qualified to lead its exercises, it is required of it according to 'what it has and not according to what it has not.' And if it have no man possessing the qualifications of a Bishop, yet may it be a congregation of the Lord, though of course it cannot enjoy the advantages of that which it has not. In this case the eldest and most experienced members of the body, in proportion as they feel their obligations to the Lord and his cause, will do all in their power to secure the growth, edification, and general prosperity of the body. . . . Not a Church spoken of in all the New Testament, but what at one time was destitute of Bishops; and yet not one that fulfilled its object as a church but what in process of time developed the qualifications of some who were appointed to that responsible office." (Ibid, Vol. I, September, 1848, p. 264)

by the congregation. They are to be ordained by the evangelist with prayer, fasting, and the imposition of hands. Their duties are twofold: feeding the flock—teaching, training, etc.; and overseeing the flock—correcting errors in doctrine and life, and exercising general oversight of their spiritual welfare.

Deacons are to have the oversight of the "temporalities" of the church. Their qualifications are listed in 1 Timothy 3:1-10, 12-13. Like the elders, they are to be selected by the congregation and ordained by the evangelist with fasting, prayer, and laying on of hands. They are to act as stewards of the congregation, attend to the poor, manage property and funds, and serve at the Lord's table.

Deaconesses are female deacons. Their qualifications are given in 1 Timothy 3:11. While nothing is said about their ordination, "it is probable that their selection and ordination were in the same manner as those of the Deacons." They are to serve in every way possible, but have a special ministry to the women of the congregation.

The autonomy of the local church is strongly emphasized throughout the Christian Magazine. The following statement will serve as an example of the strong feeling on this subject, and how jealously this freedom was guarded:

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1Howard refers this verse to Deaconesses, rather than to the wives of the Deacons.

God forbid, that the churches, calling themselves Christian, blind alike to the teaching of the New Testament, and the lessons of experience, should ever apostatise so far from the truth, as to sacrifice their independence to any far-fetched and fanciful notions about expediency. I hold it to be an indubitable position, that we have no more right to change the government of the church, than we have to change its ordinances--to abandon the New Testament independence of each individual congregation, than to convert the immersion of believers into the sprinkling of babes. Mr. Expediency has been perhaps the greatest heretic and innovator, that has ever cursed the world, or disgraced the Church.1

Ferguson found cause for alarm in another area. "I fear the invasion of Church independence," he wrote, "but not from Co-operative meetings, or conventions properly convened, but from the invasion of Church rights by our periodicals."2

While there was every tendency to guard zealously the independence of the local congregation, there was also a willingness to recommend and advocate co-operative enterprises for evangelism, education, benevolence, and Bible distribution. John R. Howard found examples of such cooperation among the early Christians. "They sometimes cooperated with each other;" he writes, "but always for definite purposes; and without sacrificing any of their independence as individual congregations."3

Each congregation was to handle its own disciplinary problems without outside interference of any kind.

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Representatives of other churches joined in judging disciplinary cases only by invitation of the congregation concerned. Ferguson expressed grave concern over past, and possibly future, editorial interference in such matters:

Almost every serious difficulty in any of our churches has been made an individual affair, bruited through our papers, to the violation of every principle of Christian Discipline, and to our common disgrace, and I have searched for the remedy. I have no hesitancy in saying that almost every difficulty that has seriously retarded the advance of the cause, has originated in palpable violations of the laws of Christian Discipline, by which causes of complaint, which should have been met and silenced, or at least confined in the churches in which they have originated, have been made personal difficulties with our Editors, giving them a position to the churches which, for the sake of the future estimate of their character, it is to be hoped was unsought, but which, to all intents and purposes, was a surrender of every principle held sacred in a government of the body of Christ. . . . The love of power and rule is insidious, and whenever a surrender of individual or church rights is given up to those who neither by reason or God are allowed to hold them, retributive evils must inevitably result.

Every Christian was held subject to no earthly authority beyond his own congregation, which "is the highest ecclesiastical court on earth, that has any sanction in the New Testament." 2

The Christian Magazine was a consistent advocate of "primitive Christianity". There is general agreement in doctrine and polity with the majority of those committed to the abolition of creeds as terms of "union and communion,"

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2Ibid, Vol. I, October, 1848, p. 296. This agrees with the expressed sentiments of Alexander Campbell: "I cannot give my voice in favor of appeals to any tribunal, but to the congregation of which the offended is a member."
the acceptance of the Bible as the only divine standard in matters religious, and the restoration of the Church of the New Testament.
CHAPTER VI

CONTROVERSY IN THE CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE

Editorial Policy Concerning Controversy

In the first issue of the Christian Magazine, Ferguson expressed his desire and purpose to publish a paper free from "party spirit and bickering." Experience and observation had convinced him that the end result of controversy was not good for the cause of the reformation: it often offended and repelled those not affiliated with the movement, while it created a spirit of dogmatism, hatred, and bigotry within its own ranks.¹

Many readers, however, were not to be pleased with an editorial policy which would make the Magazine a positive voice for Biblical instruction and Christian growth. They had tasted the fruit of victory in combat, liked its flavor, and joyfully anticipated another tree to supply

¹"We have had too much controversy--fruitless, profitless debating," wrote Ferguson," which has resulted in concentrating the mind upon the partial views of Christian truth, and which is hurrying us rapidly into the mere dogmatism of a fanciful orthodoxy we have professed to renounce, and a consequent intolerance of opposition to it, in the place of a true and tender sincerity of genuine discipleship of Christ." (Christian Magazine, Vol. III, September, 1850, p. 264)
them with the means whereby their acquired appetites could be satisfied. Their anticipation soon turned to disappointment, and they communicated their dissatisfaction to the editor. But Ferguson refused to be turned aside from his stated purpose to become an arbiter in personal squabbles between brethren and churches, to sit in judgment upon the orthodoxy of his brethren, to be-labor other religious groups in matters of opinion not deemed essential to salvation, or to reply to personal invective and vituperation.

As early as the second issue of the Christian Magazine, Ferguson re-iterated his purpose to make the periodical instrumental in the "instruction and edification of our readers." He offered this word of advice to contributors:

Our correspondents are informed that it is useless to forward articles upon personal difficulties. Our pages shall never offer a theatre for personal recountre, neither for ourselves nor others. We trust ever to have before us higher and nobler aims; and more desirable and profitable themes.

At the close of volume one, in the "Editor's Table," Ferguson made the following definitive statement of his own position on the subject of controversy:

It will be seen by the communications of brethren Graham and Butler, that our Brethren of the South have to make known the truth by the aid of controversy. This is necessary in some regions and no doubt in theirs. But we often give importance to unworthy opponents and questions, which would die out of themselves, or which ought to have been settled long since, by breathing into their dead carcasses the life of debate. Besides there are few subjects which have not already been fully canvassed by discussion; so true is

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1Ibid, Vol. I, February, 1848, p. 64. 2Ibid.
this that debating upon many of them is much like
Stern's comparison on book-making: "a pouring out of
one vessel into another." The stream, however, is
often nothing more than the shaken up sediment of old-
er reservoirs. Still there are many public men like
Mr. Chapman who presume upon the ignorance of their
audience, and strut and vapor in the stolen habili-
ments of learning, whose Lion skins ought to be
removed.¹

Continued expressions of dissatisfaction with the
course pursued by the editor resulted in his publication
of an article on "The Spirit and Temper of Our Paper" ear-
ly in the second volume. His remarks were occasioned by
these words from a sympathetic friend:

Brother Ferguson, I do not think you will attract
as many subscribers to your support, at present, as if
you were quarrelsome; neither will wholesome bread at-
tract as many insects as sugar mixed with poison. But
hold on your begun way. Faith waits its reward; your
paper will be compared with querulous ones, and from a
higher source will it be said at last, "Blessed are
the peace-makers!"²

In reply to those who criticized him and the Magazine, Fer-
guson penned these words:

It will be expected by some, perhaps, that we will
take notice of some allusions to us and our purposed
operations which have been made recently. In this they
will be disappointed, for as the "CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE"
was not established for personal ends, so we cannot con-
sent, neither for ourselves nor others, to make it the
vehicle of personal retort, or even defence in matters
by which our readers would not care to be edified...

There shall be no personal war in our Magazine. If
we misrepresent another, whether opponent or friend, we
trust we shall be ready to make reparation; believing
that, whilst to err is human, to correct it is Chris-
tian. Besides we have no dream of infallibility to
maintain; and we know that any one who supposes himself

¹Ibid, December, 1848, p. 384.
so regarded, is mistaken.¹

Not satisfied merely to state what the Christian Magazine would not be, the editor reaffirmed his purpose and policy in this positive statement:

We desire our paper to plead the cause of Christ, and not to turn aside to any thing else. We desire it to speak of the gospel and its truths; of man and his real and supreme interests; of God in his glorious perfections as manifested in his word and works. We wish to inspire men to seek purity, holiness, and heaven by the narrow way of self-denial, as laid down in the commands, spirit and example of our divine Master; to encourage faith, virtue and improvement. We wish to unfold to our readers the great themes of Redemption, viz: that God hath had compassion on us--on us all--and hath manifested himself in divine revelations in various ages, in miracles, in mercies, and now offers shelter, protection, peace and joy to all who will submit to his authority as revealed in Jesus Christ. These are more grand and noble ends than to build up our name or fame as reformers upon earth: than to gratify personal pride, than to secure any earthly reward. . . . With the redeemed we desire to walk, to co-operate, to labor; to divide honor, reputation and prosperity; nor can we turn aside for the growling of wild beasts who will neither go up themselves, nor suffer those who are going to pass in peace.²

As late as the fourth volume, the editor still felt compelled to defend the policy of the Magazine concerning controversy.³ He selected two of the complaints which he had received, for treatment in the first issue of

¹Ibid, pp. 78-79. ²Ibid, p. 79.

³"Amongst so many readers of every variety of culture and opinion," he wrote, "it is not to be expected that our method of conducting the 'Magazine' will meet with universal approbation. Hence, we are occasionally in the reception of suggestions, criticisms, animadversions and complaints, all of which receive attention, though all do not always appear to receive that kind of notice which their authors think they deserve." (Ibid, Vol. IV, January, 1851, p. 17)
the Christian Magazine for 1851, in an article which he entitled "A Chapter on Complaints":¹ (1) "You do not sufficiently denounce salaried preachers"; and (2) "You have not controversy enough in the Magazine. You should imitate the 'Christian Baptist'; for I contend, that during its days we were a purer people than we are now."

Ferguson's answer to the criticism stated in the second "complaint" centered in the distinction between discussion and controversy. "Discussion is necessary"; he wrote, "but there is a marked difference between discussion and controversy."² His objections to the controversies being waged in his day were based upon a number of factors:

(1) It was no longer necessary to fight the battles of the Christian Baptist, for its opponents had been defeated and the basic issues determined;³ (2) The manner of conducting


³According to Ferguson: "The Christian Baptist had a distinct work and it did it, and we think, it did it well. And because it was well done, we confess there are feelings akin to contempt that spontaneously arise in our minds as we behold the ungainly imitations of its work, either in the pulpit or press. If there is any thing supremely ridiculous, it is that of a man, standing up in the pulpit and in the spirit of a Bombastes Furioso, dealing out the weapons of the Christian Baptist upon opponents long since overthrown and dead. . . . The Christian Baptist had opponents who were men of acknowledged ability and character in their several denominations. But who are our opponents now? . . . The Semples, the Clacks, the Broadeses are dead; their successors in piety and ability, do not attack us; some stand in doubt of the movements of a few in our ranks; others are with us in feeling and to some extent in effort, and a large class are leavened with our principles without knowing that we hold them. A little less of repetitious and slang-whang controversy would make both them and us better acquainted." (Ibid, pp. 18-19)
controversies was conducive to evil rather than good;¹ (1) Controversy often glorified unimportant men and issues; (4) It generated a spirit of intolerance and dogmatism, often "as positive and unrelenting as its view of the truth is narrow and conceited";² (5) It had a tendency to make fellowship depend upon agreement in intellectual propositions; (6) It often built upon the spirit of ambition rather than the spirit of Christ; and, (7) It wasted "the time and strength of our most capable men in parrying perverse attacks which their controversies have provoked upon themselves.³

Attitude Toward Other Religious Groups

In keeping with its stated policy, the tone of the Christian Magazine is irenic and conciliatory throughout, although somewhat more pronounced in the closing volumes.

¹"We are in favor of controversy, but not of that kind most popular in these times. For many of the controversies at present amongst us, as a Religious people in contest with others, we have unqualified contempt. If they expose any thing, it is only the ignorance of those engaged in them, and the recklessness of truth and propriety with which they are conducted. They inflame and hoodwink otherwise peaceful and progressive communities; they make partizans, and drive off the love of truth for years, where a well-balanced and well-stored mind, in a conscientious religious teacher, could have guided a community to resources of spiritual knowledge and enjoyment, that would have made angels rejoice. Our pages are open to investigations of all questions on religion; but we reserve to ourselves the right to discriminate between subject and disputants such as we believe will or will not advance the cause of Primitive, i.e. Divine Christianity." (Ibid, p. 19)

The polemic and pugnacious attitude toward those of other religious groups which marked many of the periodicals of the Restoration Movement is largely missing from its pages. This is not to say that notice was never taken of such differences, for such is not the case.

This was an era of oral debates—debates which were often bitter and acrimonious, with claims of victory from both sides—and written discussions which filled many pages of the periodicals of the Reformers. However, only ten oral debates are mentioned in the six volumes of the Magazine: one each with Universalists, Mormons, Presbyterians, and Cumberland Presbyterians, two with Baptists, and four with Methodists. Of the ten, those with Mormons, Presbyterians, and Cumberland Presbyterians are merely announcements of forthcoming debates, or statements that such had been held. Somewhat extended notice is taken of the others, although elaborate reviews and summaries of the arguments of the disputants are not included.

Universalists.—The opponent of Universalists in the Christian Magazine was B. F. Hall. He is the author of three articles against this particular religious group and their doctrine of universal salvation. The occasion and incidents of his proposal to debate the merits of the Universalist system with Theodore Clapp, a prominent Universalist of New Orleans, and Clapp's refusal to participate in any public discussion of his faith, are recorded in the Magazine. Hall's debate with Clayton, which, according to
the report of James a Butler, "was conducted with decency, and in order,"\(^1\) covered the "five strong Citadels of Universalism, No Devil--No Hell--No future Judgment--No Religious distinction among men in this world--No distinction in their condition in the world to come."\(^2\) Butler writes of the results of this debate:

"The ways of God to men," have been successfully vindicated in our midst, by the beloved B. F. HALL. He came, panoplied with the whole armour of the faith. . . .

The cause of truth was set forward much, by the liminous labors of brother H. The hearts of the brethren made to leap for joy, and their tongues to sing the high praises of him who died to save.\(^3\)

Presbyterians.--There are very few accounts of conflicts with Presbyterians in the Christian Magazine. The American Messenger, organ of the American Tract Society, published these words from the letter of a correspondent in Iowa: "One large family, headed by an aged Campbellite, purchased $5 worth of books, expressly, as he said, to keep his children from being infidels."\(^4\) This statement called forth the following from the editor of the Christian Magazine:

It would give us a better opinion of the sincerity and Christianity of Presbyterian Editors in general and Colposteurs (sic) in particular, if they would cease to slander a people who abhor party names, by calling them Campbellites! The above was intended as a compliment, but we cannot receive a compliment at the expense of our true profession, and in dishonor of Him of whom all the family both in heaven and earth is named."\(^5\)

\(^1\)Ibid, Vol. I, December, 1848, p. 381. \(^2\)Ibid.
\(^3\)Ibid. \(^4\)Ibid, March, 1848, p. 95. \(^5\)Ibid.
An article entitled "Campbellite Views of Baptism," and signed J. R. B., appeared in the *Presbyterian Record* for 1849. It charged the Disciples with holding and teaching the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, so often urged against leaders of the reformation by Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. "There is scarcely one sentiment in it, with reference to the teaching of Brother Campbell, or any of our Brethren," Ferguson writes, "which is not, either in whole or in part, a bare-faced misrepresentation." Incensed by the continued repetition of this oft-denied doctrine, and repelled by the general attitude of the writer of this article, Ferguson issued the following challenge:

To attempt a serious polemical discussion with a man so utterly reckless in his representations of our sentiments, would be like following a lost traveller in an everlasting circuit. But if either of the worthy Pastors of the First and Second Presbyterian Churches of this city will assume the responsibility of the statements in that communication, we will hold ourselves responsible to this community to show that they are false, indecorous, and utterly unwarrantable misrepresentations of our public and private teaching. The challenge was not accepted, and so, notwithstanding the "unworthy" character of the writer, Ferguson continued his review of "J. R. B." through three issues of his periodical.

Roman Catholics.--Roman Catholicism also came under the critical pen of the editor and certain correspondents of the *Christian Magazine*. The struggle for supremacy between Church and State in Italy, which resulted in the deposition of the Roman Pontiff as temporal ruler of Rome,
received some notice in the Magazine. Stirred by this significant political and religious event, John R. Howard made this prophecy:

We believe that the Pope will eventually return to Rome; but we do not believe that he will ever regain his temporal or secular dominion. That has gone forever from him. He will henceforth be only a "spiritual" Pontiff. And as he will have to operate now entirely by spiritual or moral means, his influence will be far more dangerous and inviduous than it has almost ever been! Before, it was divided between his temporal and spiritual power; but now, being severed, and all his political influence destroyed and cut off from his "spiritual," all his power will be exerted through this latter channel alone. Having no longer any power to enslave the bodies of men, he will direct all his efforts to enslave their souls! Thus will he again acquire a new and tremendous influence! Having no temporal dominion to confine him at home, he can, and probably will, become a traveller, and traverse the nations, and confirm and extend his power.

Thus will that period be hastened when the "three frogs shall come out of the mouth of the Dragon, and the False Prophet, and the Beast," the three, or triple influence of modern Infidelity, Jesuitism, and Romanism, will be combined in their efforts, and involve the whole world in universal war, that shall terminate in the destruction of the wicked, and introduction and establishment of the millenium.¹

And Ferguson, in an evident attempt to show the inadequate concept of America and American civilization held by Roman Catholic dignitaries in the United States, and thus discredit Catholicism in the estimation of loyal citizens of the nation, made an excerpt from the Freeman's Journal, organ of Bishop Hughes of New York, in which the Bishop opposed the suggestion that the Pope find asylum in this country. The pith of the Bishop's opposition is found

¹Ibid, April, 1849, pp. 154-155.
in these words: "Do not afflict our Catholic hearts by seeing you in a land which is so unworthy of you, and which is too little advanced in the race of Christian civilization to know how to receive you becomingly."¹

In an exposition of II Thessalonians 2:1-2, the editor identifies the apostacy of Paul's prophetic statement with the Roman Catholic system. The "man of sin" represents that succession of corrupt princes, claiming civil and spiritual authority, known by the name of one man, as it is of one office—the Pope of Rome. He is the son of Perdition; for Judas-like, he has betrayed the cause he professedly espoused, and though a man, he has ever affected divine prerogatives.²

Ferguson held that the use of the term "Pope" to designate a spiritual leader was blasphemous, "for it contradicts the Master's command 'Call no man father on earth!'".³ Passing references to Roman Catholicism are found also in other articles in this periodical, most of which are critical and antagonistic. An extensive quotation from Macaulay's History of England included sections on "Salutary Influences of the Catholic Religion" and "Popery is Preferable to Barbarism."⁴ However, the editor refused to let Macaulay's statement go before his readers without comment. He writes:

Roman Catholicism has passed its zenith, and is fast nearing its nadir. But this may also be said of many forms of Protestantism. They have all answered a place in the world's progress, and this the correct view of them, justifies the ways of Providence. We

may venerate them; but it would be injustice to God and man, to light and virtue, to imitate or practice their exhausted ceremonies.—and the grand reason why Catholics have been more successful than Protestants in converting Pagan nations is, that their system being but a slight remove, is more easily apprehended by their idolatrous minds. As men advance in intelligence, Christianity is seen in its true principles, spirit and destiny.1

Methodists.—Reports of four oral debates with Methodists are found in the Christian Magazine. All four of these debates are discussions of the mode and subjects of baptism; the fourth also involved conflicting doctrines concerning the work of the Holy Spirit. Tolbert Fanning participated in two of the debates, the first with "Mr. Chapman" and the second with "Mr. McMillan," contending for immersion as the only Scriptural "mode" of Christian baptism, and penitent believers as the only proper subjects. B. F. Hall also covered these same areas in his debate with S. J. Henderson. Opponents in the fourth debate were W. H. Hopson (Christian) and W. G. Caples (Methodist). In addition to the mode and subjects of baptism, a portion of the time in this debate was given over to a discussion of the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion. Hopson affirmed that the Holy Spirit operated only through the Scriptures in the conversion of sinners; Henderson argued for the necessity of a direct and miraculous operation of the Spirit upon the winner in the impartation of faith and consequent salvation.

1Ibid, pp. 194-195.
In February, 1849, the editor published a discourse on "What Shall I Do To Be Saved."\(^1\) J. A. Clement, of Alabama, replied in "A Series of Letters Addressed to Rev. J. B. Ferguson, Editor of the Christian Magazine," which were printed in the South Western Christian Advocate, edited and published in Nashville. These letters, appearing in a periodical published in his own city, motivated Ferguson to write J. B. McFerrin, editor of the Advocate, requesting permission to reply to Clement through the same medium in which the letters had been given to the public. After waiting eleven days for a reply, he addressed a second letter to McFerrin with the same request. McFerrin replied, refusing the request, stating as his reasons that Ferguson had a paper of his own through which to reply, that he had

\(^1\)Ibid, February, 1849, pp. 46-51.

This sermon, based upon the statements of the commission of Jesus to His disciples as recorded by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, had four propositions:

I. In all the Old Testament Scriptures, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Malachi, no man, now living, can learn what he must do to be saved.

II. That from the history of the life of Jesus of Nazareth, up to the time of his crucifixion, no man can learn the conditions of his salvation.

III. That after the crucifixion, burial and resurrection of the Son of God, he gave forth a system of salvation which may be offered, by his authority, to every creature: which embraces us and all who shall live after us until the end of time.

IV. That faith in Jesus, as the Christ, who died for our sins; reformation of life and baptism into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, have been ordained as the conditions upon which God, for Christ's sake, will forgive our past sins, as appears both from the commission read and the teaching of the Apostles after the Holy Ghost was given.
not published Clement's letters in the *Christian Magazine*, and, since so much time had already elapsed, the discussion would continue beyond the expiration date of his term as editor of the *Advocate*. To these objections Ferguson replied that to insert the letters in the *Magazine* would not reach the readers of the *Advocate* in which the letters first appeared. However, he proposed to publish the letters in his own periodical if his replies would also be given to the readers of the *Advocate*. This proposal being rejected, Ferguson laid the correspondence before his readers to familiarize them with the incident.

**Baptists.**—More controversy was held with the Baptists in the *Christian Magazine* than with any other one religious group. The differences involved were creeds, the purpose of baptism, the proper subjects of baptism, predestination and election, and the operation of the Holy Spirit. We have already noted the fact that two debates held with Baptists were reviewed in the *Magazine*: D. P. Henderson (Christian) with R. S. Thomas (Baptist) on baptism; J. W. Wilks and T. Fenix (Christians) with John and William Hatfield (Baptists) on predestination and election.

Feelings on both sides were often bitter, and sarcastic words were directed toward opponents. A Baptist paper in Marion, Alabama, referred to B. F. Hall as "a 'tooth doctor' perregrinating the country and peddling heresies."\(^1\)

\(^1\)Ibid, May, 1849, p. 186.
D. L. D'Spain, writing from Texas, stated that the opposition from the Baptists in that state was most severe, being influenced by J. R. Graves, "who never says anything good about us."¹

The Brush Run Church, having become a congregation of immersed believers, was received into the fellowship of the Redstone Baptist Association in 1813,² although holding the New Testament as the only standard of faith and practice in matters religious. A minority objected to the admission of a church without subscription to the bond of union which was the basis for association, the Philadelphia Confession of Faith. The Campbellian influence, spread by sermon, debate, and the Christian Baptist (1823-1830), continued to weaken allegiance to this historic symbol and swept many preachers, churches, and entire Baptist Associations into the ranks of the reformatory movement. But the spark of opposition, fanned continually by resentful leadership among the Baptist clergy, became such a conflagration that all the waters of baptism could not extinguish it. Baptist Associations, such as the Dover, Beaver, and Elkhorn, finally anathematized and excommunicated all individuals and churches suspected of "Campbellism." Separation

was practically complete by 1830; but the separation did not bring a cessation of hostilities.

The doctrine of the Restoration Movement continued to infiltrate the Baptist Churches and make converts to the movement. J. R. McCall, in 1848, wrote of a Baptist Church of 120 members in Georgia, which, "after hearing five discourses by one of our teachers," decided unanimously "to be governed solely by the word of God in name and practice."¹ This was not an isolated case; McCall wrote of others:

I also learned that several preachers and congregations were determined to come up to Apostolic Christianity in Georgia. Some of the most devoted preachers in the Baptist connexion are preaching and writing in the South, as well as the North, urging a "Pure Christianity as the world's only hope."²

John Eichbaum's review of The Way of Salvation, a statement of Baptist doctrines by R. B. C. Howell, was continued through six issues of the Christian Magazine. In his reviews, Eichbaum discussed the basic differences between the Baptists and Christians on creeds, human depravity, baptism, remission of sins, prayers for sinners, and final perseverance of the saints.

Alexander Campbell and other leaders among the Christians, including Ferguson, had urged co-operation with the Baptists in the work of the American and Foreign Bible Society. Ferguson commended the Baptist society and

supported its work. Reports of the society were published in the Christian Magazine. The Church in Nashville, of which Ferguson was the minister, contributed over two hundred dollars to its support in 1848. But such co-operation was not without opposition. B. F. Hall, passing the show rooms of the Baptist Publication Society in Philadelphia, saw the prominent display of a work by H. Mattison, A Scriptural Defence of the Doctrine of the Trinity, or a Check to Modern Arianism, as Taught by Campbellites, Hick- sites, New Lights, Universalists, and Mormons: And Espe- cially by a Sect Calling Themselves Christians. In an in- terview with the manager, Hall accused the Baptists of pro- pagating a slander (charge of Arianism against the Disci- ples), and double-dealing (calling the Disciples brethren when obtaining money for the Bible Society, and heretics on all other occasions). As a result of this and other ex- periences, Hall wrote:

For one, I am opposed to our contributing money to the Baptist Bible Society until they learn to do us justice and to appreciate our motives, notwithstanding I am a life member of their society. As at present advised, I am not satisfied that our contributions are satisfactorily appreciated, unless we are willing to support Baptist Preachers, and pay them for retailing slanders and for preaching against us.--Nor are they prepared to appreciate our benevo- lence and magnanimity. I doubt whether we are doing any good with our misplaced charities. Moreover, if we are compelled to defend ourselves against the un- provoked attack of apople, I have no idea of fur- nishing them with provisions, arms and ammunition to carry on the unjust and wicked war."

\[1\text{Ibid, Vol. I, September, 1848, p. 282.}\]
Certain Baptist books and periodicals are quoted to show that many Baptist leaders had, and were, advocating the same principles as the Reformers in such matters as opposition to creeds as tests of fellowship, holding the Scriptures as the only and all-sufficient rule of faith and practice, the operation of the Holy Spirit through the Word, and the efficacy of baptism in the forgiveness of sins. In the works of Gilbert Boyce, John R. Howard finds "Campbellism, fifty years before Campbell was born." Certain agreements between the two groups were pointed out in the Western Watchman, a Baptist periodical: none admitted to church membership but those who profess faith in Christ and are immersed, the Word of God the only rule of faith and practice, the autonomy of the local church, and liberty of conscience. Ferguson directed attention to the words of T. Meredith in the Southern Quarterly Review: "Baptism is the only authorized instrumentality whereby the believing sinner becomes practically identified with the benefits of that kingdom," and his statement that sinners must fully comply with the conditions of the gospel in order to be saved. Such sentiments among Baptists led Ferguson to make the following observation:

We know many Baptists and some Baptist preachers,--

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2Ibid, Vol. II, April, 1849, pp. 149-152.
and with the above before us we may say at least ONE Baptist Editor,—who openly profess the cardinal principles we advocate, and seem devoted to them with the same earnestness and zeal, which any have manifested for their prevalence.—We cannot be indifferent to this fact, and it gives us encouragement to hope for future happy results—and if for nothing more, certainly for the substitution of mutual respect for the jealousies and discords heretofore subsisting between us. For one we shall cherish the hope.¹

The "Post-mortem Gospel" Controversy

With one exception, the editorial policy concerning controversy kept the discussion of differences between those within the Restoration Movement at a minimum. But that one exception, the controversy with Alexander Campbell carried on through 1852 and 1853, was more than sufficient to make up for its absence in the first four volumes.

"Spirits in Prison."—April, 1852, was a most fateful month for Jesse B. Ferguson. In that month he planted the seed of speculation which was to grow into the tree of controversy and produce an abundant supply of bitter fruit for the planter. It was in April that Ferguson's exposition of 1 Peter 3:18-20 and 4:1-6, bearing the Title "The Spirits in Prison," appeared in the Christian Magazine.²

In an introduction to the exposition, Ferguson readily admitted holding views which were not in harmony with the usual interpretation of the passage, views that some might regard as novel. He was convinced that they would not meet with the approbation of all; nevertheless,

he made them public "with the deference to the views of Brethren and authors we profoundly respect."\(^1\) He concludes his exposition with this apologetic statement:

We have written this with a full view of all that is said of a pleonastic use of language; of the difficulties suggested as to the nature and purpose of Christ's preaching to Spirits; of the Romanist view of the passage, and with all before us, we think that whilst our view may be novel, it ought not to be rejected merely on account of its novelty; and if rejected, the doctrine of Christ's death and triumph, extending its beneficial influences over the invisible worlds, as the teaching of holy Scriptures, is not thereby invalidated.\(^2\)

Ferguson took an expanded and extended view of the mission of Christ. According to his interpretation, Jesus during the three days his body was in the tomb, was "in the Spirit" preaching to the "spirits in prison," those disobedient during the days of Noah and since Noah's time. The mission of Jesus, which began in the flesh to those in the flesh, was continued in the Spirit to spirits in an "intermediate" world. He had little sympathy for those who circumscribed the ministry of Jesus by limitations of earthly space and time.

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, of Christ or the benevolent

\(^1\) Ibid, p. 113. \(^2\) Ibid, p. 115.
purposes of life. Men may profess to believe it, but it is a wilful faith or credulity, having neither warrant in reason nor the word of God.¹

Are all to be judged by the Gospel? Then all must have an opportunity to hear the Gospel, either in this world or the next—to accept it unto salvation, or reject it unto condemnation. "For to this end the gospel was preached to them that are dead, that they might be judged like men in the flesh, yet live after God in the Spirit."² Ferguson visualized a continuing ministry on the part of proclaimers of the Word in an intermediate, probationary world, holding that "should we be so happy as to become a part of Christ's sanctified host in the invisible world, our happiness, we apprehend, will consist in giving knowledge to all to whose capacity and advancement we may be there, as here, adapted."³

Perhaps the most damaging and most objectionable statement in the article, and the one which was constantly brought forward in the criticisms and discussions that followed, and which served as evidence for accusations of Universalism, was the following:

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 anything that was unavoidable in his outward circumstances on earth.⁴

Alexander Campbell gave Ferguson's views wide publicity by reprinting his exposition in the *Millennial Harbinger*, accompanied by an extended review and his own exposition of the passage, under the caption, "A New Discovery." The criticisms offered by Campbell may be summarized as follows: Ferguson held a doctrine advocated by English Unitarians and German and American Neologists; it was absurd to conceive of the physically dead, disembodied spirits, as the objects of preaching; his terminology was vague and incomprehensible; his translation, or paraphrase, of the passage was "borrowed from a school that wholly annihilates the sacrificial death of Christ"; the insertion of the word "now" before the phrase "in prison" in his translation could not be justified; new ideas should be given most careful and earnest consideration before they are offered to the public.

Deeming a correct exposition of the passage the best offensive weapon against the strange doctrines of this "New Discovery," Campbell presented his views concerning these spirits in eight propositions:

1. They were spirits of a former age. 2. They were not all the spirits of that age. 3. They were those, then, addressed by the Holy Spirit. 4. They were those addressed while Noah was preparing an Ark for the salvation of his family. 5. They were disobedient spirits. 6. They were then confined, or in prison. 7. But that prison did not preclude them for hearing Noah, the preacher of righteousness. 8. Therefore, it was

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a figurative prison, and here we are obliged to as-
certain the character of that prison.¹

"Rewards and Punishments of the Life to Come." Ferguson responded to Campbell's criticisms with an essay on "The Rewards and Punishments of the Life to Come."² When the views expressed in this essay also came under the cri-
tical pen of Campbell, Ferguson extended the original essay into a series of four embracing this subject. These essays were written to supplement the opinions set forth in his treatment of the "Spirits in Prison," as well as to answer some of the objections which had been urged against these opinions.

Ferguson's philosophy of life, present and future, was clearly set forth in these essays: (1) No man can be saved in his sins; both reason and revelation attest this fact. (2) Biblical writers used figurative language to describe Heaven, Hell, and the judgment. Confusion and er-
ror result when the figure is confused with the truth it is designed to purvey. The "figurative description of a future judgment" often "swallows up the ever-present idea of retribution."³ (3) Heaven and Hell are conditions, or states, rather than places. The Bible uses the language of place--city, garden, palace, mansion, prison, sulphurous

³Ibid, p. 185.
lake--an earthly image for a spiritual idea. (4) Distinctions in the future life are moral, including the distinctions of happiness or misery. (5) Heaven and Hell have their beginning here on earth in the character men acquire. "Many who are near neighbors in the flesh and sit on the same seat at church, are as much divided in the nature of their moral life as if they were of two worlds."¹ (6) "Literal and definite ideas of future punishment or reward are not attainable in this life."² (7) The future is carried in the life of today; tomorrow is determined by the acts of today. (8) Retribution for sin is certain, and "we have everything to dread, and nothing to hope, if we continue" in it.³ (9) Rewards and punishments will be based upon the "deeds done in the body," and upon the moral differences of individuals. (10) The day of judgment is inescapable. The length of that day, however, is not known, since the Scriptural use of this term is indefinite; the gospel day has lasted for eighteen hundred years. (11) God has opened a way of mercy for all who desire to come to Him. 

Campbell's criticism of the first of these articles on "Rewards and Punishments of the Life to Come" centered in two points: Ferguson's statement that the duration of punishment is uncertain, and his use of the word "moral" in relation to the future life of men.⁴

Ferguson asserted that "speculations as to the exact nature or duration of punishment are unwise, because neither is clearly revealed." To which Campbell replied:

Eternal life and eternal death are the two essential arguments—in other words, God's own two great motive arguments, annexed to the Christian gospel. These severally imply each other. The denial of one is a denial of both. There cannot be eternal life if there be no eternal death, and there cannot be eternal death if there be no eternal life.

And, he continued,

if eternal and everlasting do not define the duration of future punishment they cannot define the duration of future happiness; and hence he has, in this saying, taken away my hope as well as the sinner's fear!! That punishment and happiness are coeternal, or co-temporary, is, according to him, not revealed; and Paul and his master are charged, and chargeable, with ambiguity and indistinctness; indeed, with deception.

Campbell objected to Ferguson's use of the word "moral" in application to the future existence of men. Of this word, he affirmed:

In its essence and form it respects social actions. . . . Here we are under a moral government where moral actions are mixed, sometimes good and sometimes bad, in whole or in part. But that there is a moral government in heaven or hell, or that men are there under a system of moral government will require a little more philosophy and theology than that of brother Ferguson, or any other philosopher now living to demonstrate. And that a pure punitive government, as that under which fallen angels and fallen men are placed in another world, can be called moral government will require more learning and more Bible than any living man now possesses.

3Ibid, p. 395.
Chastisement is moral, but punishment is not. Our brother Ferguson's hell may be a state of chastisement; our's is a place of punishment. . . . In his presence there is fullness of joy—not in his presence there is fullness of pain. In his absolute absence there is literally no place. But he is as present in hell to punish as he is in heaven to bless. Here we are under a moral government. After judgment there will be no moral government over the lost, any more than there is now over the angels that kept not their first estate. . . .

According to all our reasonings, on law and gospel, there can be no sin committed by angel or man, in a state of absolute exclusion from law and grace. . . . Sin is possible only under a dispensation of goodness or of mercy. Hence there is no moral government, no moral discipline, no moral law in hell.¹

Therefore, Campbell argued,

it is . . . a sin against language, reason, and the Bible, to cherish or inculcate the idea of hell, or the grave, of a separate, or a future state, as being only a moral instrumentality, or as justifying the use of the word moral at all, in connexion with a future state of existence and retribution. . . . Hell is not a moral school, but a punitive prison.²

In answering Campbell's criticism of his use of the word "moral"--but without direct reference to Campbell or his criticism--and in defense of his philosophical position, Ferguson set before his readers his definition of this word as used in the essays:

We have said that the rewards and punishments of the future state are moral. In so saying, we thought we were uttering a stricter view of the subject than what generally prevails. We used the word in no unusual sense. . . . Moral, with me, includes the mind and the affections; and to say that reward is moral is to say that it will partake of the nature of the mind, heart and character. Thus heaven begins upon earth in the strength, purity, and beauty of the moral rather than the physical man. . . . His heaven depends not so much upon place as moral capacity, and the

¹Ibid, pp. 395-396. ²Ibid.
possession of the principle that gives introduction to all places.\textsuperscript{1}

Furthermore, according to Ferguson, under this conception of future life,

the Religion of Christ assumes a new aspect and its appointments come in as helps, where before they were unmeaning burdens, to a mind that looks upon reward and punishment as moral, or as ordered in the unavoidable nature and necessity of things. This religion is the grace of sovereign benevolence, given to touch the springs of our motives so as effectively to change our character from evil to good. Its conditions are explicitly laid down and solemnly insisted upon by the inspired writers, who, in tongues of fearful warning, announce this as the age of gospel mercy; our day of salvation, and the accepted season of the Lord. . . .

Destitute of this moral principle, with all our professions and assumptions we are nothing and prepared for nothing that is either good, pure or happy. We are neither happy nor capable of receiving happiness. . . . Separated from him we are miserable. We wrong our souls in the separation. Our misery may not be defined nor definable; but it is; we feel it and will feel it more and more, the more the soul is awakened to a sense of its real wants and exigencies.\textsuperscript{2}

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Controversy Between Alexander Campbell and Jesse B. Ferguson.---The "post-mortem gospel" controversy in the Christian Magazine was confined almost entirely to Ferguson's attempts to repel the "attacks" and refute the criticisms of Alexander Campbell.\textsuperscript{3} Campbell had criticized

\textsuperscript{1}Christian Magazine, Vol. V, September, 1852, p. 265.

\textsuperscript{2}Ibid, p. 266.

\textsuperscript{3}P. L. Townes submitted a review of Ferguson's exposition of the verses from 1 Peter which the editor published in the August number of the Magazine. Townes described himself as "a common farmer of Mulenberg (sic) Co. Ky, far removed from the literati amongst my brethren, and comparatively illiterate." In reply, Ferguson wrote that his letter savored "too much of humility for the pretentions (sic) it makes for the care of the spiritual
Ferguson severely following the publication of his exposition of the "Spirits in Prison" in April, and his essay on "The Rewards and Punishments of the Life to Come" in June. Until August, 1852, Campbell waged war with an opponent who refused to fight; but in that month Ferguson entered the battle with an article which he entitled, "The Attack of the 'Millennial Harbinger' upon the 'Christian Magazine' and its Editor." This controversial battle, once begun, became increasingly bitter with the passing months.

Campbell continued the controversy with Ferguson through the Millennial Harbinger during 1852 and 1853, with some references in 1854 and 1855. The direct prosecution of the controversy and allied articles fill more than one hundred pages of this periodical. Ferguson also used considerable space in the Christian Magazine. The original essay occupied about three pages; the series on "Rewards and Punishments," fourteen pages; controversy with Campbell, seventy-three pages; controversy with others, seven pages; other materials related to the controversy, eighty-five pages.

interests of others"; defended his translation of the passage under discussion; denied that his teachings were akin to Universalism; insisted that his language had been misunderstood, and that he was being condemned, not for what he had written, but for things which he had not written, for false conclusions which his critic had drawn from his article. (Christian Magazine, Vol. V, August, 1852, pp. 225-231)

Note: a P. L. Townes is listed as preaching at Amelia, Va., in the Millennial Harbinger for November, 1833, p. 565.

pages; making a total of one hundred and eighty-two pages given to this controversy.

Alexander Campbell's strategy was simple, direct, and effective. Past experiences in oral debate and written discussion added to his power. He laid his plans with expert generalship and consummate skill so as to seize every advantage in the attempt to defeat his antagonist.

(1) He published Ferguson's article as it had appeared in the Christian Magazine, labeling it "A New Discovery." He condemned the exposition and opposed it with his own. He also published and opposed Ferguson's later essays.

(2) He identified Ferguson's views with those held by Universalists, and German and American Neologists. By placing him in bad company Campbell discredited Ferguson with his brethren.

(3) He accused Ferguson of heresy and called upon him to recant. Ferguson's publication of these "crude and undigested speculations"\(^1\) required "an apology to the whole brotherhood, an apology as public as the offence";\(^2\) nothing could undo the "mischievous tendency" of his essays "but a formal renunciation";\(^3\) the publication of the essays was the "funeral knell to the man that obtruded it

\(^2\) Ibid, p. 398.
\(^3\) Ibid, August, 1852, p. 441.
upon us";¹ "a retraction will be essential to his usefulness, holiness and happiness."²

(4) Campbell published letters from Samuel Church, John T. Johnson, John Rogers, Isaac Errett, and other influential men of the movement, condemning the views of Ferguson. In some instances at least, these were private letters, not written for publication, according to Campbell's own statement.³ The censorious and scurrilous tone of the letter from Samuel Church was well calculated to enrage Ferguson and alienate the sympathy of his brethren:

I am truly sorry to see that Bro. Ferguson has got a maggot in his brain. This will destroy his usefulness and influence, and probably end in his becoming a wandering star, like Mr. Thomas. . . . If there be a "damnable heresy," this is unquestionably one. I can see in it a perfect Pandora box. I regard the propagation of such a sentiment as the destruction of all that is vital in religion.⁴

(5) Campbell called upon the brotherhood to repudiate Ferguson and his teaching. "Our brotherhood," he wrote, "will not long endure any one who has inflicted so deep a wound on the common faith and the common hope of God's heritage."⁵ F. Garvin Davenport makes the following comment on Campbell's procedure in opposing Jesse Ferguson: "With an editorial fanfare he announced a declaration

³Ibid, July, 1852, p. 415; September, 1852, p. 515.
of war and called for help from all the orthodox brethren.
The church Campbellite had become the church bellicose.⁴¹

Having called upon the brethren to join him, Campbell asserts that an almost solid phalanx opposes Ferguson.
According to Campbell, Ferguson virtually stood alone:

The whole brotherhood, North, South, East and West, so far as I have heard from them, are unanimous in the opinion, that the avowals on this subject, as set forth in that essay, and as further indicated in subsequent essays on Rewards and Punishments, are subversive of all that is vital in the sanctions of the gospel.²

And again:

I have, in common with every intelligent brother that I have either seen or heard from in the union, bewailed this blighting dogmatism, this leprous spot, this gangrene, which I have from its first utterance regarded as a funeral knell to the man that obtruded it upon us, as if to try our credulity or test our love of principle. Many brethren mourn--I do not know one that does not mourn over this apostasy.³

⁶ Campbell set Ferguson in opposition to all orthodox Protestantism. He doubted that Ferguson could find seven ministers among "Episcopalian, Presbyterians of every School, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists or Disciples, of unblemished reputation,"⁴ who would endorse his interpretation of the passage in 1 Peter. Furthermore, Ferguson's essays "implied a view of the remedial economy

which, in its legitimate bearings, essentially entrenches not upon our faith alone, nor on that of all Protestant Christendom, but on the whole evangelical economy.\[^1\]

(7) He insisted that the Nashville Church was obligated to take disciplinary action against their pastor or suffer the displeasure of the Lord:

I am not a member of the Church of Christ in Nashville, and consequently, have no authority there, any more than I have in Rome, Edinburgh or London. But if the Spirit of the Lord is in the church of Nashville, Rome, Edinburgh, or London, and if I speak of and from that spirit, in any matter pertaining to the duties, privileges, honors, and profits of these churches, and speak as the Oracles of God require, I will be heard, just as certain as the Spirit of God is there.

If that spirit be not there, and I speak of, or according to, that Spirit, I will not be heard there. I presume that I am now understood, and will not be misrepresented when I say, that if I have now spoken and written in harmony with the teachings and inspirations of that Spirit, recorded in the Christian Scriptures, the church of Nashville, being under the influence of that Spirit, will hear what I say, and act faithfully to the Lord and Jesse B. Ferguson, and will constrain him to preach the word, and not old men's genealogies, nor old wife's fables, nor young men's dreams and visions.\[^2\]

Campbell concluded his appeal to the Nashville Church on a nostalgic note, a bid for approval by his friends of yesterday:

Of the present church of Nashville, I know but little. I knew the fathers of that church, and labored amongst them some five and twenty years ago. They were, at that time, a precious band of brethren and sisters, and all my associations with them were not only then pleasing, but the remembrance of them still breathes fragrances more aromatic far, and

\[^1\text{Ibid, Vol. II, Series IV, September, 1852, p. 535.}\]
\[^2\text{Ibid, November, 1852, p. 633.}\]
redolent of bliss, than were the mountains of myrrh, the hills of frankincense, or the groves of Lebanon, to the cultivated taste of Israel's wisest and greatest prince.

But perhaps another king has risen that knew not Joseph, or years of success and prosperity have obliterated those scenes of tranquility—those spiritual joys and pleasures that always gladdened the city of our God, and accompany the first love of the Christian bride on the day of her espousals. Still, we shall pray that grace, mercy and peace, may be multiplied to them all, and to all that love our Lord Jesus Christ sincerely!¹

Campbell strengthened his appeal to the Nashville Church by quoting from the Christian Intelligencer, a periodical which evidently did not circulate widely in Tennessee, thus showing that he did not stand alone in appealing for disciplinary measures against Ferguson:

What has the church in Nashville done with reference to this matter? Do they mean to tolerate such notions? Do they intend to sustain him who teaches them? Can it be possible that they are so deluded and bewitched? We will see.²

In November, 1854, Campbell made a trip to Nashville, preaching in the Cherry Street Church of which Ferguson was the pastor. He was denied the opportunity he desired to discuss publicly, or privately, the issues between them; for Ferguson, now turned to spirit communications, received a message from the spirit of W. E. Channing advising him to have nothing to do with Campbell.³

The Nashville Church divided, and those who opposed Ferguson withdrew to worship elsewhere. Later, they

¹Ibid, p. 634.
sued for possession of the building. Within a day or two after the court decided in their favor, April 8, 1857, the building burned.\textsuperscript{1}

(8) Campbell insisted that his reviews of Ferguson's essays be published in the \textit{Christian Magazine}. Ferguson replied that the periodical was not his personal property, but the organ of the Churches in Tennessee, and, therefore, he had no right to fill its pages with the personal attacks upon his faith from the pen of Alexander Campbell or any other man.\textsuperscript{2} But Campbell contended that withholding his reviews from the readers of the \textit{Magazine} was "another act of injustice" toward him.\textsuperscript{3} Exasperated by the obstinacy of his young opponent, he finally "demanded" that his articles be laid before Ferguson's constituency.\textsuperscript{4} He was still unsatisfied, however, when his replies were published in an \textit{extra}, complaining that Ferguson had not published all of the articles.\textsuperscript{5}

(9) Campbell presented himself as the object of personal "attacks" by Ferguson, thus creating sympathy for himself and his cause. He wrote:

\begin{quote}
Since the commencement of my public labors in the
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Boles, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 190; \textit{supra}, p. 6.
\item \textsuperscript{2}\textit{Christian Magazine}, Vol. V, October, 1852, p. 317.
\item \textsuperscript{3}\textit{Millennial Harbinger}, Vol. II, Series IV, October, 1852, p. 569.
\item \textsuperscript{4}\textit{Ibid}, p. 574.
\item \textsuperscript{5}\textit{Ibid}, Vol. III, Series IV, February, 1853, pp. 146-147.
\end{itemize}
cause of Primitive Christianity, I have not been so assailed and so misrepresented by any man, young or old, learned or unlearned, calling me a Christian brother, as I have been in the August number of the Christian Magazine, by Elder J. B. Ferguson. For the truth's sake, I trust I shall be able to bear it with meekness and Christian temper, and to respond to it in becoming candor. With the motives of the author I shall have nothing to do. I will attempt to review his strictures as though I were not the subject of his castigation. I respond under a sense of Christian duty, which I owe alike to my Master and my fellow-servants.¹

Campbell presented his readers with a summary of the "assertions and allegations" of Ferguson, which, he affirmed, had wounded him deeply because of their personal nature. Included in his summary are such expressions as the following: "heresy hunter"; "no more daring speculatist than the Editor of the Millennial Harbinger"; "made many insinuations against the Magazine, unworthy of a noble nature and a magnanimous gentleman"; "Papal authority, whether from Rome or Bethany"; "I prefer a Methodist Conference, Presbyterian Synod, Episcopal Convention, to the one editor court"; etc.²

(10) John R. Howard was the associate editor of the Christian Magazine when the exposition of 1 Peter 3:18-20 and 4:1-6 was published. Campbell attributed the views in this exposition to the editors, making Howard co-holder of the speculations with Ferguson. "Were it merely the private opinion or view of Elders Ferguson and Howard,"

he wrote, "it would be, of course quite another matter."  

As a result, Howard was constrained to deny any fellowship or sympathy with Ferguson in the "new theology":

Now, as far as I am concerned, permit me to say to your readers, that I have never, for a moment, from the very first, as far as I am concerned, ever entertained such doctrine. I utterly repudiate it, and have from the first done so, as not only inconsistent with the plain teachings of the Bible, but as subversive of them, and as calculated to destroy the sanctions of the gospel and annihilate human responsibility! It is the sentiment and teaching of Elder J. B. Ferguson, and is not, and has never been, my opinion or view, either public or private. He alone is responsible for it, and for its appearance in the Magazine. I have had no hand in it. God forbid that such a sentiment should ever enter my head, or be uttered or written by me—one so utterly at variance with all the teachings of the Bible, as I look at them.

Howard also denied any complicity in withholding Campbell's reviews from the readers of the Magazine:

It was nothing but just and right that they should have been published in it, but it was something over which I have had no control whatever. It was something that the readers of the Magazine wished, as far as I knew and have heard. But even they could not be gratified in it. I regret extremely that Bro. Ferguson has pursued the course he has.

(11) Ferguson's contention that the Magazine was not personal property, but the organ of the churches in Tennessee, gave Campbell the opportunity to exert pressure upon these churches to reject the editor and his views. "Elder Ferguson has," he wrote, "under the sanction of our brethren in Tennessee, introduced a new doctrine, untaught

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1Ibid, October, 1852, p. 568.
2Ibid, December, 1852, p. 683.  
3Ibid.
in the Holy Scriptures, and not believed by a Christian church in America, known to me."¹ Since the Christian Magazine purported to be the official organ of the churches of the Christian brotherhood in Tennessee, the views expressed in it would "be regarded as the approved views of the churches of that State, so long as unrebuked and disowned by the churches."² A letter from "J. Y." of Tennessee, which was published in the Harbinger under the heading, "The New Doctrine of the Christian Magazine Not Endorsed by the Churches of Tennessee," denied that the Magazine was truly representative of the Christian Churches of the state; in fact, attempted to prove that only about twenty-five churches co-operated in the Society responsible for its publication.³ And, in 1854, Campbell published extracts from the minutes of the "Christian Co-operation held at Ebenezer Church, 15th October, 1853," detailing their action in repudiating Ferguson's views.⁴

Ferguson never fully recovered from the opening blasts of this controversial campaign by Alexander Campbell. It must have been evident, even to him, that he was expending his energies in a lost cause. Nevertheless, since he felt that he could not withdraw honorably from the opinion to which he was committed, Ferguson fought valiantly to

defend it and himself.

(1) At first, Ferguson ignored Campbell's review of his exposition. Campbell's review was published in the Harbinger for June; Ferguson's first reply was not published in the Magazine until August. Later, Ferguson expressed regret that he had deigned to reply to Campbell.1

(2) He defended his translation of the passage in 1 Peter as one "recommended by the first American Biblical critics and Theologians," and supported by such scholars as Demarest, Whitby, Hodge, Tholuck, and Lachman.2

(3) He emphatically denied the charges of Universalism, insisting that he had no affinity for this doctrine, that his teachings were neither Universalian in fact nor in tendency, and that to find Universalism in his statements was completely to misunderstand, misconstrue, and misrepresent them. He insisted that Campbell's inferences drawn from his exposition were without foundation. We are not responsible for them. They are gathered from what we have not said and not from what we have ever spoken or written. We do not believe them any more than he. And it seems strange to us, that a man who has suffered so much from misrepresentation and who is so sensitive to the

1"Bro. C.'s Master and ours was once silent so 'that he answered never a word.' It was when he was accused of blasphemy by a church court. He was silent because the questions they propounded betrayed a desire to find cause of condemnation. In view of that silence we confess we could wish we had allowed our assailants to say of us and to us whatever seemed to them right. But it is now too late." (Christian Magazine, Extra, December, 1852, p. 24.

slightest misconception of his meanings, should lend himself to the misrepresentation of a man he calls an "estimable brother," and that too without seeking a word of explanation before he enters upon his voluntary labors. There is not a statement which he makes with regard to our views that is true: they are either misconceptions in whole or in part.¹

(4) Ferguson asked for the privilege of stating his own position, calling Campbell's attention to his own pleas for similar consideration from his opponents:

It will not do for Bro. Campbell to say that he gathers our views from our writings. The men who for twenty years have denounced him as a Sandemanian, an Arian, and a Unitarian, and his system of religion as baptized infidelity, have done the same. They, too, pretend to base their charges upon his writings. But what does he say? Almost every number of the Harbinger contains most positive averments of misrepresentation and slander. And what does he claim in view of these charges? That he be allowed to explain his own language. We ask no more; and think there is an end to all honest investigation till this be conceded.²

(5) Ferguson contended that his faith and character has been challenged by accusations of heresy and infidelity. Campbell, he said, "has done us an injustice. He has misrepresented our faith as a Christian, and our character as a minister of the gospel."³ Such conduct was reprehensible, and unworthy of a Christian gentleman. "If it be decided in advance that we are unsound in the faith," he wrote, "nothing we can say can be heard impartially by those who thus decide."⁴

¹Ibid. ²Ibid, September, 1852, p. 277.
⁴Ibid, October, 1852, p. 313.
(6) Campbell's reviews of his exposition and essays were construed as personal attacks by the editor of the Christian Magazine. These attacks were premeditated, having been "predicted by one of his friends who stated that the whole affair was planned in Memphis during the recent Bible Convention."1

Most of the articles which had appeared in the Millennial Harbinger were reprinted by the editor of the Magazine in an Extra, published in December, 1852. In the course of his review of these articles, Ferguson continued to dwell upon the personal elements involved in Campbell's reviews:

Meanwhile bro. C continues the contest, and avows that it is not now, and has not been a personal one. Upon this subject it would be disrespectful to make an affirmation, where he so positively denies. But we would ask, what meant his efforts to prove us infidel in the beginning? What mean his allusions to Dr. Thomas and the fall of his Metropolitan church, which the Dr. since so unequivocally denies? What mean his efforts at ridicule; his publication of private and offensive letters, just such, too as his article was calculated to call forth? What mean his recent allusions to a "certain" Fisher case? What mean the low and false publications with regard to the kindness of our friends in bestowing house, &c? What mean his insinuations against the character of our preaching, our defective studies and education? What is it he calls personal?2

Further proof for his contention that these were personal attacks and not benevolent reviews, as Campbell chose to call them, was found in a number of expressions,

1Ibid, August, 1852, p. 241.
"every one of which," Ferguson stated, "are to be found in his reviews before we published a word in defence." He lists such expressions as the following: "our too ardent and speculative brother"; "brainless and heartless translation"; "not even an ingenious evasion of truth"; "tongue and pen devoted to error and schism"; "irresponsible editors, just out of the shell"; "comic scribes"; "infant sages"; "it appears downright hypocrisy and sinful trifling"; "lending his strength to the enemies of soul-redeeming truth"; "ever learning, never able to come to the knowledge of the truth"; "radical and fundamental unbelief of the whole Christian Religion"; "incompetency to teach religion"; "it is an avowal of lack of faith"; "very amiable, but neither the understanding nor education." 2

Ferguson hinted at some unknown reason for Campbell's vindictive attitude toward him. "I know that anathema against me is ready," he said. "It was ready before my opinions were published." 3 And in his reply to Campbell's first review, Ferguson wrote: "We have been made for sometime to feel that Bro. Campbell had somewhat against us. What it was or wherefore, we could not divine." 4

(7) Ferguson contended that his heresy was merely an opinion, and that it vitiated no essential doctrine

1 Ibid.  2 Ibid.  3 Ibid, November, 1852, p. 324.  
4 Ibid, August, 1852, p. 244.
having to do with man's salvation. In his first notice of Campbell's "attacks," Ferguson emphasized this issue above all others:

If we must discuss let us first understand the point of difference. In this case so far as doctrine is concerned, I have uttered and stated an opinion, that men who have not heard the gospel will hear it before they are condemned by it. THIS IS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE WHOLE MATTER.¹

(8) Did he have the right as a Christian to hold his "exposition" as an opinion without being accused of heresy? Did his opinion in this area nullify his faith in every realm and make him infidel? This was the significant point in the controversy according to Ferguson. And he insisted that he was within his rights as a Christian to hold his doctrine as an opinion, and that his opinion should be no bar to fellowship within the Master's Kingdom. "I have done nothing worthy of death or bonds," he wrote. "I have expressed an honest opinion, carefully examined, and its consequences weighed. I have or have not the right to express it."² Ferguson received a second letter from P. L. Townes which he withheld from his readers, giving the following explanation for doing so:

We would be glad to publish it and show wherein our views of "law," and his, differ; but at present we think, that if possible, all controversy upon the merits of the exposition should cease, until the right to differ has been settled. We are more than willing to publish his article without note or

¹Ibid, p. 245.
²Ibid, September, 1852, p. 278.
comment, if our Brethren shall determine that we may differ with them, and still retain their confidence and fellowship.  

(9) Ferguson expressed his dissatisfaction with Alexander Campbell's tactics as an opponent:

Such, to our observation, is the common course of bro. Campbell as a disputant.--His opponents are ever confounded and ought candidly to own their inability. It is a matter of temperament and not principle, we think, and is easily accounted for. He has lived in war for thirty years, and he seldom has an opponent that does not prove in his estimation, either a knave or a fool. . . . Bro. C. never can be like the rest of mortals, partly right and partly wrong. He is always right, and knowing this we ought to bear his "rash humor." When he chides, therefore, we will remember that it is not bro. Campbell, the man and the Christian, but bro. C., the debater and "leader of a great party."  

(1) He pleaded for the expression of Christian love and brotherly consideration:

Are you devoted to the spiritual improvement of yourself and others? I am striving to be, and all I ask is, that the measure that you claim for yourselves, you will extend to me, and if you deem me below you in these respects, give me your hand to help me up and not to strike me down.

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1Ibid, October, 1852, p. 313.  
3Ibid, October, 1852, p. 313. Ferguson asked no more from Campbell than he was willing to do himself. He wrote of Campbell's relation to the Nashville Church: "The church of Nashville, however, knows and loves its brother Campbell. Nothing has ever been done, or will be done by us to lessen its admiration. But we have no kings here either that know or do "not know Joseph!" And were bro. C. to visit us again, no doubt he could again renew the spiritual joys and pleasures of which he so eloquently speaks, and perchance they could be made so great as to allow even us a share of the crumbs that might be gathered under the table. He has done some things that sadden the hearts of his brethren here; some that might have crippled the influence of their preacher; but he has done many that
(11) Ferguson called attention to the fact that his so-called heresy had been published in 1845. Why was the opposition so pronounced in 1852 when his opinion had received little or no attention when first published?

(12) Ferguson averred that if he was subject to Christian discipline because of the statements of his doctrine of last things, the matter should have been considered by the congregation of which he was a member. Therefore, Alexander Campbell's judgment, published through command their highest applause and love. Let them forget those and remember these!" (Ibid, Extra, December, 1852, p. 25)

1 He refers to an article published in the Christian Review, Vol. II, October, 1845, entitled "Another State of Probation."

"We are often asked by men more curious than wise, What will become of the ignorant but honest Heathen, who have died without hearing the saving truths of the Gospel? To get rid of this difficulty; for some men can never hold their mind in suspense, and being unable to arrive, by any natural process of reasoning at a conclusion, have jumped at one; that they, in common with all who are in infancy and idiocy, will be annihilated at death. Who knows but that with reference to such there may be another state of probation. There is at least as much authority for this as for the sweeping conclusion that covers them over with the impenetrable veil of everlasting oblivion. Nay more, for whilst the Bible is as silent as the annihilation to which these sapient reasoners have consigned them, all its great principles of benevolence would dictate at least a more rational end. Besides, we are informed, that after the downfall of all the sin-promoting governments of earth, that the kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High God. I ask, for what purpose shall it be given into their hands? For the destruction or torment of those over whom they reign? Then they would be very fiends. For their salvation?--Then the difficulty is removed and such persons may still be saved from the oblivious shades of annihilation, the sage reasoning of our modern metaphysicians to the contrary, notwithstanding. J. B. F.
the *Millennial Harbinger*, was a breach of Christian etiquette, a violation of God's law of discipline as recorded in the New Testament.

**Alexander Campbell's Victory.**—Alexander Campbell was entirely too powerful, too confident of his position, too certain that he scented heresy, too adept in controversy, and too adamant to settle for anything less than complete capitulation and recantation on the part of Jesse Ferguson. On the other hand, Jesse Ferguson was convinced that his opinions should be no bar to fellowship within the Master's kingdom. Perhaps, also, he was too proud, too sensitive, and too stubborn to submit to censure stemming from what he termed a popish attitude, and couched in the authoritarian language of Alexander Campbell. In the course of the controversy, Ferguson wrote these words:

> No wonder we lose our preachers. No man of any independence of mind and reputation worth preserving, would place either where the mere suggestions of some offended or impudent man from Texas or Maine may induce the Editor of the Harbinger to hold him up to contempt, at his pleasure. Our views of gospel liberty and Christian morals were learned in another school. . . . But if he or any may decide for us what we must believe, or conceive that our liberty either of speech, pen or press is committed to their keeping, we beg to leave us say, and we would say it very respectfully, Brethren, we were free born and have preserved our liberty at a great price.\(^1\)

These were brave but prophetic words! The price of his liberty was great indeed! Defeated and dejected, Ferguson turned to spiritualism for comfort and solace.

\(^1\) *Christian Magazine*, Vol. V, August, 1852, pp. 243-244.
The last article from his pen to be copied into the Harbinger presents the picture of a most pathetic and pitiable figure--friendless, visionless, faithless.¹

Significance of the Controversy.---Considerable space has been given to the presentation of this controversy for two reasons: first, it is the only controversy of any importance in the Christian Magazine; and secondly, it focuses attention upon a practical problem faced by a particular group of Christians believing in the autonomy of the local church.

Two slogans have been used extensively by leaders in this movement to restore apostolic Christianity: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent"; and, "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity." Most difficulties have risen in the areas of Scriptural silences and of defining non-essentials.

In the "Magna Charta of the Restoration Movement of the Nineteenth Century,"² the Declaration and Address, the province of opinions was clearly stated. In this historic document we find such expressions as these:

We dare not therefore, patronize the rejection of God's dear children, because they may not be able to see alike in matters of human inference--of private

opinion; and such we esteem of all things, not expressly revealed and enjoined in the word of God.¹

But according to the principle adopted, we can neither take offence at our brother for his private opinions, if he be content to hold them as such; nor yet offend him with ours, if he do not usurp the place of the lawgiver; and even suppose he should, in this case we judge him, not for his opinions, but for his presumption.²

Let such but duly consider, what properly belongs to the unity of the church, and we are persuaded, this objection will vanish. Does not the visible scriptural unity of the christian church consist in the unity of her public profession and practice; and, under this, in the manifest charity of her members, one toward another; and not in the unity of the private opinion and practice of every individual.³

A second evil is, not only judging our brother to be absolutely wrong, because he differs from our opinions; but, more especially, our judging him to be a transgressor of the law in so doing; and of course treating him as such, by censuring, or otherwise exposing him to contempt; or, at least, preferring ourselves before him in our own judgment; saying, as it were, stand by, I am holier than thou.⁴

It is evident from these statements that there was a desire on the part of Thomas Campbell, and followed by many of the leaders of the movement to restore unity to the Church, to confine the essentials of the faith, those items considered necessary to Christian unity, to a minimum, and to permit the widest latitude for opinions not affecting the eternal destiny of men; at all times accepting the New Testament as the only authoritative standard of essentials. It was under this conviction that Aylette

Rains was fellowshipped while holding the doctrine of Universalism.

By 1837 a problem which had seemed so simple and so easily solved had assumed a different aspect. Alexander Campbell published a series of articles on "Opinionism" in the Harbinger for that year. These articles covered substantially the same ground as the message delivered at the meeting of the Mahoning Association at Warren, Ohio, in 1828, when the status of Aylette Rains as a minister of the Christian Church was under consideration. The difference lies in the development of what Campbell terms "opinionism."

He defined knowledge as "our own experience"; faith, "our assurance of the experience of others"; and opinion, "persuasion without proof," or "speculation built on probably evidence," and in the absence of knowledge and faith, "an inference, a conclusion to which the mind inclines or assents according to its information and modes of reasoning." According to Campbell, "opinionism" was "the liberty of propagating one's own opinions." This


liberty he denied to every man. "It is not the right of any one citizen of Christ's kingdom to propagate any opinion whatever," he wrote, "either in the public assembly or in private." Therefore, to propagate an opinion made the propagator "a factionist in embryo, in infancy, or in manhood." 2

Throughout the controversy with Campbell, Ferguson contended that he had merely uttered an opinion, an honest opinion, that "men who have not heard the gospel will hear it before they are condemned by it." 3 And he insisted that he had the right to hold this opinion; but Campbell denied that right, and accused him of creating schism by propagating this doctrine. 4

1 Ibid. 2 Ibid. 3 Christian Magazine, Vol. V, August, 1852, p. 245. 4 It is difficult to reconcile Campbell's theory, which he applied with such force against Ferguson, with his own practice. In the Harbinger for September, 1837, pp. 411-414, we find Campbell's answer to this question forwarded to him by "a lady" at Lunenburg: "Does the name of Christ or Christian belong to any but those who believe the gospel, repent, and are buried by baptism into the death of Christ?" He replied: "But who is a Christian? I answer, every one that believes in his heart that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, the Son of God; repents of his sins, and obeys him in all things according to his measure of knowledge of his will." (p. 411) He concluded, therefore, that there was no occasion "for making immersion, on a profession of faith, absolutely essential to a Christian--though it may be greatly essential to his sanctification and comfort. . . . But he that thence infers that none are Christians but the immersed, as greatly errs as he who af-

firms that none are alive but those of clear and full vi-

sion." (p. 414) Again: "We cheerfully agree with them, as with our sister of Lunenburg, that the term Christian was given first to immersed believers and to none else;
That which Ferguson called an opinion, Campbell called by another name. Ferguson's exposition of 1 Peter 3:18-20 was not the expression of an opinion according to Campbell, not a "mere speculation," but the advocacy of a dangerous doctrine, "an avowal of the want of faith in a future state of retribution" which "opens a door out of hell to the vilest inmate that ever died." He regarded the situation as a "new and very important crisis" in the current reformation, one which had to be met with "candor and firmness." Campbell's idea of the importance of the controversy will be seen in these words:

It is not improbable, but this speculation about the Spirits in Prison will be the occasion, the memorable occasion, of calling forth and unimprisoning one or more ideas of more importance to the cause we

but we do not think that it was given to them because they were immersed, but because they had put on Christ." (p. 507)

Campbell accused Ferguson of having violated the express statement of the Scriptures concerning the duration of punishment for the wicked. How did he justify his opinion as stated in the foregoing with such Scriptural statements as these: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved" (Mark 16:16); "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins" (Acts 2:38); "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ" (Galatians 3:27).

Campbell accused Ferguson of being a schismatic because he was "propagating" his views. Was he not equally guilty of "propagating" his opinions in his reply to the questioner from Lunenburg? By his own admission, he always expressed this opinion "when called upon." In this article he also affirmed that this view was to be found throughout his writings.

What made the difference between Alexander Campbell's opinion and the opinion of Jesse Ferguson?

plead than any volume ever issued from our press, or any other press in the service of primitive, unso-
phisticated Christianity.¹

Therefore, he was ready to put on his "Christian harness," and "at every risk and hazard, unsheath the sword of our spiritual warfare, and enter into the field."

What procedures were to be followed in dealing with men holding obnoxious opinions? Who was to serve as the judge of opinions? In the case of Jesse Ferguson, Alexander Campbell was the judge, a judge "divinely charged with this duty," and immediately rendered a verdict against him.³

The position Campbell assumed in the controversy with Ferguson was not unusual; it was in keeping with his general attitude, practice, and policy established through years of leadership in the Restoration Movement. In the course of a discussion on the Scriptural passage, "The

¹Ibid, September, 1852, p. 492. ²Ibid.
³Ferguson wrote of Campbell's attitude and action: "It makes the 'Millennial Harbinger' wear the appearance of an Ecclesiastical court, set up to try the faith and character of every man who does not mouth its Shibboleths and who gains sufficient importance to command its notice. . . . Now we have often respected the 'Millennial Harbinger' but we never believed it an ecclesiastical court, and hence we do not hearken to its summons and do not expect to confess before it or any other tribunal it may see fit to appoint. . . . And I do not hesitate to say, that if Bro. Campbell or any other Editor, or class of Editors, persist in recognizing such a court, whether it have three papers or thirty and whether they be all printed at Bethany or not, we renounce it. . . . In this case, and we are determined it shall be understood, Bro. Campbell decides that our faith undermines the Christian Religion and pronounces judgment without hearing a word from me, and insists that I come forward and make acknowledgement before all the world." (Christian Magazine, Vol. V, August, 1852, p. 243)
gates of hades shall not prevail against it," he plainly
stated his position:

Am I told in reply, that I decide what is specu-
lative, opinionative, &c. and what is truth, fact, or
sound doctrine? I answer, Certainly I do; and that
something which does so, is called the Editor of the
Millennial Harbinger; otherwise he is a no-minded,
no-willed, non-descript cypher. But in doing this,
he takes care to do injury to no man, and still leaves
to every man the solemn duty and the most sacred right
of judging for himself on all questions of religion
and morality properly so called.¹

Should those whom he opposed cry, "popery, prelacy, or a
dictatorial heresy hunting spirit," then he replied: "No!
I say no! We must have reviews. While we have so many
voluntary, and only partially educated scribes and irre-
sponsible editors, we must have reviews."²

Benjamin Franklin also opposed Ferguson's views of
the "Spirits in Prison." While we have not had an oppor-
tunity to examine the Christian Age, through which Franklin
voiced his opposition, his biographers have written his
part in the controversy into their record of his life.

Franklin enumerated some of the sanctions which would be

¹ Millennial Harbinger, Vol. II, New Series, July, 1838,
pp. 307-308.

But after he and Brother Ferguson say all they have to say on the point in dispute, every man has a right to make up his own verdict as a juror in the case, and this right the brethren will not relinquish. Where, then, is a decision to come from? As Brother Ferguson has taken the Christian Magazine to publish upon his own individual responsibility, perhaps the first decision of importance will come from the subscribers. If they are satisfied with his course, and intend to sustain him, they will continue to take his paper; if not, they will discontinue. Another decision must come from the Church in Nashville. She cannot avoid it. If she retains him as her pastor, she justifies Brother Ferguson, and decides against those who oppose him; if not, she decides against him.

Another decision will come from the brotherhood and churches at large. If Brother Ferguson claims the right to write and preach what he pleases, regardless of all the remonstrances of the brethren, they will most certainly claim the right to decide whether they can fellowship him or not; and if any one church claims the right to hold him in her fellowship, while he preaches doctrine subversive of the whole Christian argument, other churches will claim the right to determine whether to fellowship that church.1

Ferguson held that any decision concerning heretical tendencies involved in his teachings should come from the church of which he was a member.2 He also objected

1Joseph Franklin and J. A. Headington, The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin (St. Louis: John Burns, Publisher, 1879), pp. 213-214.

2Alexander Campbell had clearly stated the same principle for the benefit of Walter Scott, who had attacked him through the medium of the Evangelist: "Permit me then to say," wrote Campbell, "that the whole affair, from the September and December numbers of the Evangelist 1838, up to the present time, is contrary to the law of Christ; and I do hereby enter my solemn protest against the continuance of those unscriptural and unchristian proceedings. They are most evidently unscriptural, because:

1st. Christ says 'Tell it to the church,' and is not
to Campbell's branding him as a heretic and infidel before the Christian world—one who must recant or be condemned—without first having called upon him for an explanation of his views. Ferguson outlined what he would have considered the proper and just procedures in dealing with his opinion:

With us, a desire to avoid an injurious controversy and sincere interest in the cause of Religion, would have dictated one of three lines of procedure. First.--If he were not certain that he understood us, to have made a private call for an explanation. Secondly.--If he thought the interest of truth

the Evangelist inculpating me and telling it to the world. Why summon me to appear before the tribunal of the public so often, in self-defence? Does the Christian law allow Christians to address the world, and bring all their grievances before it, before they complain to the church! I trow not.

2nd. The subscribers to the Evangelist certainly did not covenant and agree with its editor in the conditions of that work, that it should be used as a rod to chasten me or any public brother, whenever its editor took it into his head that we needed it, according to the law of his suspicions and jealousies. I contend that no editor in this reformation has a right, scriptural or by covenant, to prefer any charge upon his pages, in the least implicating the moral excellence or purity of a brother.

3d. If speaking evil, one of another, be unscriptural, and if dogmatically affirming our judgment against a brother, without the intervention of any tribunal, be unscriptural, then are these proceedings to be discountenanced and disallowed by all lovers of Christian discipline and good manners."

Campbell appealed to Bethany: "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. The Evangelist, to my mind, is obviously in a very singular dilemma. I have transgressed some law of Christ in the case, or I have not. If I have not, he is culpable for arraigning me before the community for no transgression; and if I have transgressed any law, he is culpable for telling it to the world before he told it to the Church, and for compelling me to appear before a tribunal which the law of our King forbids." (Millennial Harbinger, Vol. IV, New Series, September, 1840, pp. 417-418)
required a public explanation, to have made a call upon us through the "Harbinger" or "Magazine."

Thirdly.--If he could not reconcile it to his conscience to pursue this fraternal and magnanimous course, and he must needs review our article, then to have confined himself to a review of the Exposition.

Either of the above would have saved him the necessity of appearing to assume a lordship over our conscience and conduct; would have prevented the pedagogue style of his articles; his complaints of the sin of being young, and of using a declamatory oratory; the suspicions he has thrown upon our faith and character; the disagreeable duty of requiring us to come forward (to Bethany?) to make a public confession to a self-constituted court, and one in which we could not be heard; and the shame that has otherwise been cast upon the cause, so far as either of us has any connection with it.1

Ferguson made a tour through Kentucky and Ohio during August and September, 1853. The elders of the Church of Christ in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, refused him permission to use the meeting house of that congregation, so he preached in the court house to the curious and friendly of the community. Campbell commended the elders for their action.

What else could the brethren do, who repudiate this revival of Papal purgatory? Should they fellowship those who believe in it and teach it? If so, what not fellowship other Universalists and Restorationists? Can any one give a reason? I Cannot.2

Had the passing years invalidated the course followed at Warren, Ohio, in 1828? At that time Aylette Rains, a professor--even a public professor, a "propagating professor"--of Restorationist views, was accepted and

fellowshipped by such men as Alexander Campbell, Thomas Campbell, and Walter Scott, men "highly elevated above the paltry bickerings of speculative partisans." According to Rains, they considered his Restorationist sentiments a "vagary of the brain," but treated him "with firmness and kindness" and encouraged him to "persevere in the Christian race." Later, in commenting upon the consideration given him by these early leaders, Rains bore testimony to their wisdom and understanding:

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 had 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.

In 1853 Alexander Campbell was horrified at the thought of fellowshipping "Universalists and Restorationists"; in 1828 he fought for the privilege! That which Rains feared might have happened to him under adverse treatment and criticism happened to Ferguson; for "he made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience and became a castaway." Would a more generous course, a kindlier

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1 William T. Moore, A Comprehensive History of the Disciples of Christ (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1909), p. 293. Rains wrote later: "Sometimes I told such persons as approached me becomingly, that I was still of the opinion that all men would, ultimately, in some distant period of eternity, be saved." (Hayden, op. cit., p. 167)

2 Moore, op. cit., p. 293.

3 Ibid.
attitude, have saved Jesse Ferguson for a useful and conti-

nuing ministry in the Christian Church? We wonder.

1In his debate with N. L. Rice, held in Lesington, Ky., in the closing months of 1843, Mr. Campbell expressed himself in the following words concerning opinionism:

"It is not the object of our efforts to make men think alike on a thousand themes. Let men think as they please on any matters of human opinion, and upon "doctrines of religion," provided only they hold THE HEAD Christ, and keep his commandments. I have learned, not only the theory, but the fact—that if you wish opinionism to cease or to subside, you must not call up and debate every thing that men think or say. You may debate any thing into consequence, or you may, by a dignified silence, waste it into oblivion. I have known innumerable instances of persons outliving their opinions, and erroneous reasonings, and even sometimes forgetting the modes of reasoning by which they had embraced and maintained them. This was the natural result of the Philosophy of letting them alone. In this way, they came to be of one mind in all points in which unity of thought is desirable, in order to unity of worship and of action. We have had as much experience in the operation of these principles, having observed them longer than perhaps any of our contemporaries." (A Debate Between Rev. A. Campbell and Rev. N. L. Rice, on the Action, Subject, Design and Administrator of Christian Baptism . . . Lexington, Ky., A. T. Skillman and Son, 1844, pp. 797-798)

Evidently Mr. Campbell was unwilling to follow such a course with reference to Jesse Ferguson. It might have saved Ferguson; it might not have saved him. It does seem tragic that such a brilliant young proclaimer of the Gospel of Christ was lost to the movement.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The editorial quality of the Christian Magazine is comparable to that of other periodicals within the Restoration Movement. Of those men associated with Ferguson in an editorial capacity, only John Eichbaum had no previous experience in conducting a religious periodical. Tolbert Fanning had edited the Christian Review for four years; B. F. Hall shared in the responsibilities of the Gospel Advocate and the Christian Panoplist; John R. Howard was personally responsible for the Christian Reformer and the Bible Advocate; and Ferguson had been an associate editor of the Heretic Detector during a portion of one year. And all of these men had been welcomed as contributors to other periodicals. Their articles in the Magazine are excellent in tone and content.

In launching the Christian Magazine, Jesse Ferguson stated a policy that is, perhaps, the best characterization of this periodical:

The Magazine will seek to preserve whatever of truth or goodness may have been transmitted by any age, but will seek also ever to have its face forward, for we desire a fair view in front in order that without any compromise with error, we may be
neither embarrassed by individual scruples nor past ecclesiastical entanglements. Our Master acknowledged whatever was good either in Jewish bigots or Roman Centurions: but his face was set upon the Kingdom of Heaven as all-embracing in its arms of truth, righteousness and a holy spirit. We would humbly follow his example.¹

The Christian Magazine is characterized by a positive religious emphasis. Ferguson endeavored to redeem his promise and make the paper a "truly Christian magazine." Matters having little or no value in furthering this purpose were generally ignored. The editor was more concerned with construction than destruction in religion. He was an advocate of adequate and consistent instruction and training for all those won to the Lord. He favored a "religion that seeks to sanctify the whole business of life, to consecrate all its capacities and all its achievements; to make it a healthful discipline to the soul and a safe passage to a blissful eternity."²

Ferguson expressed a devotion to religious improvement and union, at all times allowing for the largest liberty of opinion in matters not revealed in the Scriptures. However, Christianity was designed by Christ to embrace all men, and it must not be "circumscribed by creeds or bound by political jurisprudence."³ The Church must be reformed, freed from all error, superstition, and "false

²Ibid, March, 1848, p. 84.
³Ibid, Vol. IV, October, 1851, p. 300.
philosophy."

The Christian Magazine was a consistent and persistent advocate of "Primitive Christianity." This does not mean that the editor closed his eyes to all the errors or failures involved in the efforts to restore apostolic doctrine and practices in the Church. These errors and failures were considered incidental to the movement; they did not invalidate the plea and program for the unity of all Christians, nor did they dim the hope for ultimate success. Ferguson readily acknowledged that amongst us, as a people, we have instance enough for humiliation and self-reproach. We have done some things badly; we have left much undone in the noble sphere of our action; we have had unfaithful laborers who came in to prey upon us and spy out our liberty. But we have a firm foundation... and all that we need to ensure an unexampled success, is fidelity, devotedness and zeal as large as the trusts committed to us and the opportunities offered.1

The spirit of evangelism envelops the pages of the Magazine like the fragrance of some rare perfume. The gospel must be preached in the weaker as well as the well established churches; it must also be carried to those "desolate" regions devoid of gospel ministrations. The report of a successful evangelistic effort, the establishment of a new congregation, the surrender of creeds as a test of fellowship and the substitution of the New Testament as the only authority and guide by some congregation—all these were given joyfully to the readers of the

Christian Magazine for encouragement in well doing and a challenge to renewed evangelistic efforts by all Christians.

Education was considered the "fairest, strongest, indispensible hand-maid"\(^1\) of Christianity, and vital to the most successful prosecution of the Restoration Movement and its principles. An educated people would better understand and more accurately evaluate the Scriptures. In an address on education delivered at the Tennessee State Meeting in 1850 Ferguson said: "Our success in every community depends upon the spread of light and intelligence; for it is only by these we can expect sufficient freedom of mind to hear without prejudice the views of religion we now advocate so successfully."\(^2\)

Co-operation was also a favorite theme in the Christian Magazine. This periodical was the organ of the State Co-operation of Tennessee for three years. J. J. Trott defined Christian co-operation as "the united effort of the best men in the world, using the best means in their possession, in order to accomplish the best ends ever connected with the agency of man."\(^3\) Such a program was fostered in order "to refresh the spirit of the holy brethren, to give words of encouragement to the weary, wisdom to the inexperienced, strength to the weak, humility to the proud, and to shed over all the genial influences of fraternal

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\(^1\)Ibid, Vol. IV, October, 1851, p. 300. \(^2\)Ibid. 
love. Ferguson was willing to pay almost any price to secure the co-operation of effort he deemed so essential to the most effective work of the church. "We can have concert of action in securing common interests," he wrote. "We can have co-operation of the concentrated power of the hosts of the Lord instead of the feeble individual efforts of the scattered few." Ferguson expressed disapproval of "any organization which will jeopardize the rights of any individual congregation," for there should be "no higher tribunal than the Church of God." But he had no fear that co-operation would result in limiting the freedom of the local congregation, basing his assurance in the good sense and understanding of the Scriptures on the part of his brethren. He was convinced that they could be safely trusted to work out a system of co-operation that would protect every Scriptural right of the local congregations and yet be effective in promoting the work of Christ.

Ferguson stressed the immanence of God in the strongest terms. It was a short step to a belief in the immanence of other spiritual beings. While he vigorously denied any affinity with spiritualism, there are expressions which auspicate the complete espousal of this cause.

In a sermon preached at the dedication of the new house of worship built by the Nashville Church, Ferguson spoke of "communion" as one of the characteristics of the Christian Church. In discussing this point, he said:

Tell me not that we cannot be thus near the departed because we cannot see them? We are near to God every moment, but what mortal has ever seen his form, or heard his voice? The simplest thought of God--God as a spirit--is not yet realized, unless the impossibility of spiritual communion be removed by it. The Savior saw the dead and talked with them, for his spiritual vision was full and clear. We, his Disciples, see them not--nor do we hear them, for our spiritual vision is partial and closed; but by faith a free communing with the invisible may be opened, as the tabernacle of God with men is now anticipated.¹

In at least two instances Ferguson voluntarily corrected erroneous impressions left by articles in the Magazine. He published a letter from P. R. Osborne--adding some remarks of his own--concerning Thomas W. Jones, an attorney and Tennessee Senator, who reputedly had stated that marriages performed by preachers of the Christian Church were not legal. Ferguson later made a statement of Jones' avowal of innocence and closed the pages of the Christian Magazine to controversy on the case.² The editor stated that Thomas J. Fisher, a prominent Baptist revivalist, had been excluded from the Christian Church for "gross immorality." After further investigation, he informed his readers that the facts were "exparte and

contradictory," and that, in his judgment, the charges were groundless.¹

For some unknown reason Ferguson's inappetence for controversy was almost an obsession. Maintaining and justifying the non-controversial character of the Christian Magazine was a matter of great concern for the editor.

In the light of later developments, there is something almost prescient in Ferguson's warnings against the abuses of editorial privileges. "I fear the invasion of Church independence," he wrote, "but not from Co-operation meetings, or Conventions properly convened, but from the invasion of Church rights by our periodicals."² Early in the second volume of the Magazine he recorded these words:

We have partizan and personal feeling in our periodicals, and sometimes it appears as if some love to injure their Brethren by holding them up to public scorn, by publishing their follies, in a word by abusing the power of the press . . . The time will come when we will cease to seek the place of leaders and be jealous of every man who happens not to labor as our views of propriety dictate; when we will not make our opinions the standard of all excellence and knowledge, and our plans the acme of all wisdom and experience,—when we will be willing to serve rather than dictate.³

And in an article which he entitled "Editorial Puffing," Ferguson made the following statement:

Seriously, it is astonishing how much even public teachers and Editors deceive themselves in their

disputes. If they are intolerant, it is for general good and not through private jealousy! Society is injured, not they; certainly not, by no means! Their duty they vainly and sometimes sincerely conceive, leads them to expose others with bitter spirit, when really it is their vanity which engenders denunciation. They feel the importance of their position, the church depends upon it, and hence imperative duty compels them to violate the laws of Christian discipline, and execrate and anathematize their brethren.  

"There shall be no personal war in our Magazine."  

So wrote Jesse Ferguson in February, 1849. And for some four and a half years he steadfastly adhered to this policy. But during the next year and a half his periodical did become the medium for a personal war with Alexander Campbell, a war touched off by the editor's exposition of 1 Peter 3:18-20 and 4:1-6. 

Campbell indulged in no susurrant campaign. Ferguson had ignored personal attacks from other sources for several years, but Campbell's public castigation and ridicule through the Millennial Harbinger were more than he could endure. He was silent for a time, but finally, patience exhausted, he chose to reply to his critic. 

Perhaps it is useless to speculate on the reasons underlying this controversy with Alexander Campbell. It is apparent that there were reasons which did not appear on the surface, strained relations occasioned by other matters, which are not openly stated. The controversy broke

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with harsh words from the participants and was prosecuted with bitterness. Campbell carefully planned his campaign and relentlessly followed up every advantage. Ferguson fought desperately, even frantically, against a far superior general, until finally, defeated but not conquered, he was driven from the field to die in obscurity and ignominy.

The following words, penned by Jesse Ferguson as the concluding statement for volume three of the Christian Magazine, give us an insight into the purposes, desires, and hopes for his ministry through pulpit and periodical:

Our's is the work of salvation. To diffuse intelligence, to preach the gospel, to promote the cause of righteousness, and extend the Kingdom of Christ over the hearts and homes and society of our countrymen, is the labor we have chosen and the labor we love. It is to share the mighty work which the Savior commenced and to which he gave his life and his labors. To bring the guilty to repentance, forgiveness and peace, to encourage the wavering, to lift up those who sink beneath temptation, to lead the young with gentleness in the path of Christian instruction, to sustain the mature in their contest with the pride and lust of the world, and to direct the closing life to the consolations of an opening immortality, this is the work for which we would seek a pure heart and ready hands. To hears which never regarded any law but their own perverted inclinations to make known the authority and love of Christ, to the selfish to portray the benevolence of Emmanuel; and to the revengeful to exhibit the beauty of holiness and the forgiving spirit of Christ.

Strange irony, indeed, that a periodical committed to such high and noble purposes should be remembered only as the vehicle for the "post-mortem gospel," and that the editor's name should scarcely be mentioned by later

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generations apart from this "heresy"!
PART II

INDEX TO THE CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the process of compiling an index to the Christian Magazine it became necessary to make some decisions concerning entries. These decisions are embodied in the following explanatory notes for the guidance of those who may have occasion to use the index.

**Analytical entries.** Most users of an index to a periodical such as the Christian Magazine will not be familiar with the titles of the articles. Therefore, analytical or subject entries have been given preference over title entries. Limited use has been made of inverted titles. Analytical entries are indicated by the use of capital letters. Personal names, other than names of Biblical characters, are an exception.

**Bible.** Books of the Bible are listed under the names of the individual books.

**Capitalization.** The first word in the title of an article has been capitalized; other words are capitalized only if they would be capitalized when standing alone, such as proper nouns and adjectives.

**Churches.** Churches are listed in the following
manner: State. Church (County). For example:

ALABAMA
1:62, 189, 221; 4:165, 167; 5:63
ANTIOCH (Montgomery). 5:349
ANTIOCH (Pike). 5:349
ATHENS. 4:220

**Filler.** Short quotations used as filler have not been indexed. Extended quotations have been indexed in the regular manner.

**Initials.** Initials appended to articles in the Christian Magazine are consistently given in the regular order: J. B. F., B. F. H., J. E., etc. Therefore, where more than one initial has been signed to an article, entry is made as follows: H., B. F., for the initials B. F. H.

A single initial has not been indexed.

Initials signed to poems have not been included.

Where only initials are signed to an article and the full name has been supplied by the compiler of the index, instead of indicating this by the use of brackets, the initials are given following the title of the article. For example:

Fanning, Tolbert
The Bible Revision Convention at Memphis, Tenn. T. F. 5:154, 155.

**Institutions.** See: Persons, places, institutions.

**Obituaries.** An obituary is indicated by the use of this word (obituary) in the following manner:

Curlee, Calvin. Obituary. 4:382

Gowan, Dr. William D. 2:34; 3:58
Obituary. 5:351, 352
Notice of the death of a wife is indexed under the name of the husband when this information is given; otherwise under the name of the deceased. For example:

Hicks, Isom.
Death of wife---Martha M. Hicks. 4:224
Davis, Mrs. Parmelia E. Obituary. 2:312
Andres, Georgette. Obituary. 4:255

Notice of the death of a son or daughter is indexed under the name of the father when this information is given, with a cross reference from the individual's name. For example:

Fitzgerald, John
Death of Daughter---Elizabeth Ann Thomas. 4:160
Thomas, Elizabeth Ann.
See: John Fitzgerald and James Thomas

Persons, Places, Institutions. All references to persons, places, and institutions have been included in the index. Some of these references may prove disappointing and of little value to some who use the index, but to others the slightest and most insignificant reference may be of value.

In some instances we have both references to an individual (analytical), and to articles written by him (author). To avoid confusion and unnecessary repetition, all references to persons are made in the same manner—the initial capital, followed by lower case letters. For example:

Graham, Alexander. 1:31, 126, 351, 380
Obituary. 4:222, 223
Easter. 2:187, 188
Paidobaptism and Mr. Chapman. 1:371-374

Poems. Poems and hymns will be found under the name of the author and under the entry "POEMS." Title entry for poems is made only under "POEMS."

Reviews. Reviews and notices of publications of interest and having specific relation to the Restoration Movement are listed under the title of the periodical, or the author of a book.

Title entries. See: Analytical entries.

Titles of distinction. Titles of distinction are indicated by underscoring: General, Major, Dr.
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carried on extensively by Alexander Campbell
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