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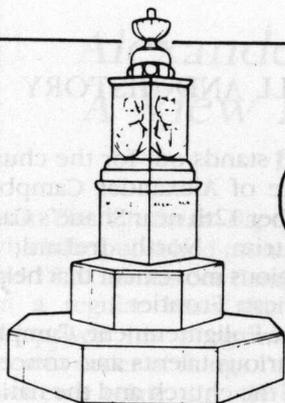
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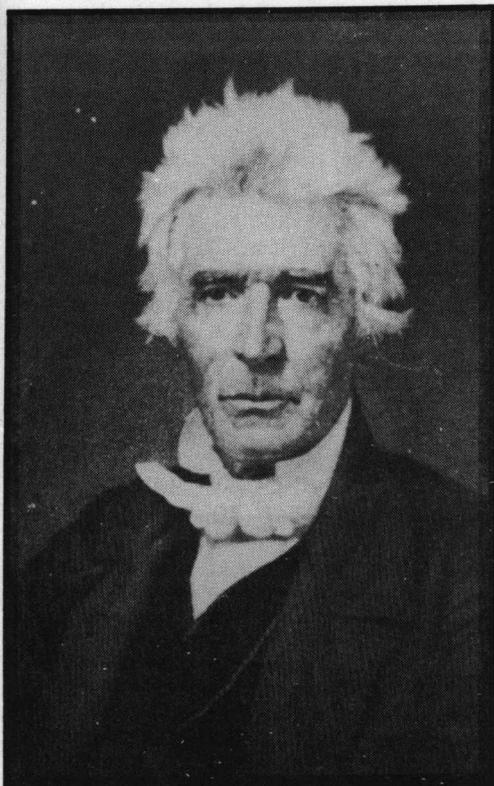


Discipliana

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Spring, 1988, Vol. 48, No. 1

SOCIETY TO SPONSOR CAMPBELL LECTURES



Alexander Campbell

As a means of recognizing and observing the 200th anniversary of the birth date of Alexander Campbell, the Disciples of Christ Historical Society is sponsoring three series of lectures during 1988 to be held in Ft. Worth, TX; Claremont, CA; and Indianapolis, IN. Dates are March 16-17 in Ft. Worth, April 18-19 in Claremont, and October 10-11 in Indianapolis. For more information on the lectures, please contact:

Disciples of Christ Historical Society
1101 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, TN 37212 (615) 327-1444

Joseph Jeter, Jr.

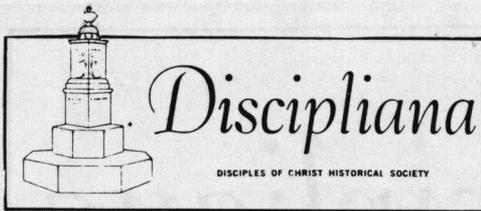
Texas Christian University
Brite Divinity School
Ft. Worth, TX 76129 (817) 921-7575

Peter Morgan

Division of Homeland Ministries
P.O. Box 1986
Indianapolis, IN 46206 (317) 353-1491

Donald Reisinger

Disciples Seminary Foundation
P. O. Box 1177
Claremont, CA 91711-1177
(714) 624-0712



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EDITOR: James M. Seale
 ASSISTANT EDITOR: David I.
 McWhirter

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Members of the Society receive DISCIPLIANA quarterly, along with other benefits. Annual membership categories are as follows: Sustaining — \$50, Participating — \$25, Regular — \$10.00 Student — \$5.00. Single payment Life memberships are: Life — \$250, Life Link — \$500. Life Patron — \$1,000.

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CAMPBELL AND HISTORY

The year 1788 stands out for the church as the birth date of Alexander Campbell. Born on September 12th near Shane's Castle in County Antrim, North Ireland, he influenced a religious movement that helped shape the American Frontier.

As a man of the Enlightenment, Campbell employed his various talents and concerns in the service of the church and the nation. He was a religious reformer, Bible translator, and scholar deeply influenced by the philosophies of John Locke and the Scottish School of Common Sense. He was author, editor, and publisher; educator and college president; preacher, lecturer, and debater; gentleman farmer and shepherd.

Campbell served as a delegate to the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1829. He engaged in this political activity because of his special concerns as an advocate of free public schools and the abolition of slavery. There he became a leader in the struggle to embody the principles of Jacksonian Democracy in the new constitution of Virginia.

Because of this great influence on the nation and church of his day, his influence has carried forward to our own time. This year the Disciples of Christ Historical Society will be leading the church in the remembrance of Campbell and the celebration of his influence on us today. This celebration will take two major forms: a series of lectures given in three different areas of the country and four issues of *Disciplina* dedicated to writings about Campbell.

An article in this issue of *Disciplina* will offer more information concerning the lectures. These lectures will be published in a single volume early in 1989. A prepublication order blank is also included. The issues of *Disciplina* will carry one or two major articles concerning his life and legacy. Hopefully every congregation in the Campbell-Stone Movement will take the opportunity to recognize the influence of this man of God on the church today.

James M. Seale
 President

Alexander Campbell and the Bible¹ A View from *The Christian Baptist*

by Rod and Mary Ann Parrott*

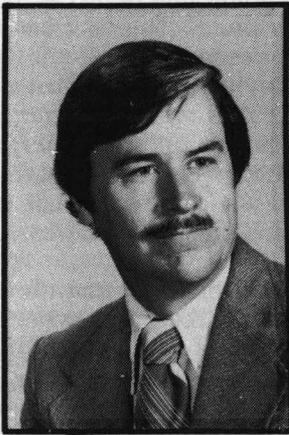
In *The Christian Baptist*, the periodical which he published monthly between 1823 and 1830, Alexander Campbell first set forth on a regular basis the concerns which comprised his program to restore "the ancient order of things." A number of those concerns relate directly to the use of the Bible in the larger church of his time, and make the *Baptist* a gold-mine of indications of what Campbell considered to be important questions regarding the scriptures. In this article we propose to explore some of those indications and to highlight some of Campbell's concerns.²

There are, of course, some perils involved in such exploration. The reader may think we conclude that because Campbell

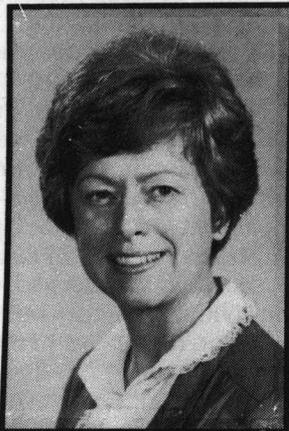
identified them, they are appropriate agenda for today. Not necessarily. Yet, we cannot deny that the exploration, as with rummaging through a room of artifacts, may reveal some useful, even valuable, resources largely forgotten. We may wish to pick them up and dust them off and return them to service, whether as actual tools or as symbols of other, more contemporary versions.

Having said that, let us turn to the task.

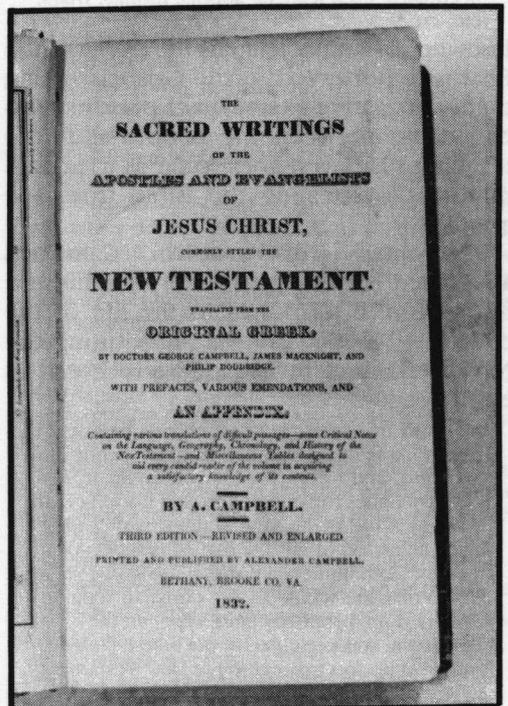
It seems clear that above all Alexander Campbell sought to restore the Bible — and particularly the New Testament — to its proper place and authority in the church. This goal gave rise to both his iconoclastic



Rod Parrott



Mary Ann Parrott



and positive programs.

On the negative side, he believed the power of the scriptures had been blunted, if not displaced by creeds and dogmas. These had been developed and perpetuated as a system by the clergy and the seminaries in order to establish and maintain their respective "kingdoms." This was perhaps Campbell's most strident note. Again and again he inveighed against the "kingdom of the clergy." The following excerpt is an example.

Instead of the apostles' doctrine, simply and plainly exhibited in the New Testament, we have got the sublime science of Theology, subdivided into scholastic, polemic, dogmatic, and practical Divinity. Instead of the form of sound words given by the Spirit to be held fast, we have countless creeds, composed of terms and phrases, dogmas and speculations, invented by whimsical metaphysicians, christian philosophers, rabbinical doctors, and enthusiastic preachers. Instead of the divinely established order of bishops and deacons, or as they are sometimes called, elders and deacons, which remained when the age of "spiritual gifts" and "spiritual men" passed away; we have popes, cardinals, archbishops, metropolitan bishops, diocesan bishops, rectors, prebendaries, deans, priests, arch deacons, presiding elders, ruling elders, circuit preachers, local preachers, licentiates, class leaders, abbots, monks, friars, etc. etc.³

Elsewhere, Campbell likens the clergy to the Pharisees portrayed in the Gospels, citing them as negative examples of persons who had come between the people and true teaching.⁴ He even goes so far as to accuse ministers of stealing the Bible from the people!⁵

To remedy this problem, Campbell advocated removing all other systems and returning the scriptures to the life of the church: "We only aim at substituting the New Testament in lieu of every creed in existence..."⁶

My faith in creeds and confessions of human device was considerably shaken while in Scotland, and I commenced my career in this country under the conviction that nothing that was not as old as the New Testament should be made an article of faith, a rule of practice, or a term of communion amongst christians. In a word, that the whole of the christian religion exhibited in prophecy and type in the Old Testament, was presented in the fullest, clearest, and most perfect manner in the New Testament by the Spirit of wisdom and revelation.

This has been the pole-star of my course ever since, and I thank God that he has enabled me so far to prosecute it, and to make all my prejudices and ambition bow to this

emancipating principle.⁷

His proposal was simple:

Christians, read your Bibles, and be admonished to explode from your religious faith and practice what you cannot find in the scriptures. The New Testament is the creed, discipline, and formula of christianity.⁸

However simple the program, Campbell recognized that it would not be easy. Nonetheless he believed that thinking readers, readers who were willing to undertake the discipline, could "access" the text.⁹

Campbell's optimism at this point was buttressed by a number of convictions.

1. He believed the scriptures are adapted to human use. Campbell first sounds this theme in a treatise on the scriptures as revelation.¹⁰ He repeatedly asserts that even the lowliest, most poorly educated person can read and understand the Bible,¹¹ — a notion with interesting resonance in contemporary liberation theology.

2. He believed that commonly accepted ways of reading literature can be used in reading scripture. This is clear from the following description of the proposed "reformation": "It is to receive it as it stands, and to make it its own interpreter, according to the ordinary rules of interpreting all books."¹² Campbell spelled out this method for reading scripture in detail in several places, including a letter addressed to B.W. Stone.¹³

3. Campbell believed that the scriptures open up when read as a whole. On the negative side, this conviction furnished him with the basis for his criticism of scrap preaching (preaching about this or that small piece of text) and textuaries (those who engaged in textual or scrap preaching).¹⁴ His sarcasm on this point often is thick. It is clear that he had no stomach for those who butchered the scriptures into texts and controlled the serving of them to the people. One can only wonder what he would have thought of the contemporary practice of preaching from the lectionary!

On the positive side, Campbell preferred that the scriptures be taken in large pieces, as a whole. He urged readers to work not only with individual passages but also with their contexts and their place in the writer's extended thought. Beyond that he gave considerable attention to the relation of the Christian and Jewish scriptures.¹⁵

4. Campbell urged a reading of the

scriptures with an inquiring spirit, with humility and with an openness to do God's will. He encouraged people to practice the scriptures, rather than to use, maneuver or manipulate them:

But among the myriads who religiously read the Bible, why is it that so little of the spirit of it seems to be caught, possessed, and exhibited? I will give one reason, and those more wise may add to it others. Many read the Bible to have a general idea of what it contains, as a necessary part of a polite education; many read it to attain the means of proving the dogmas which they already profess; many read it with a design of being extremely wise in its contents; many read it that they may be able to explain it to others; and alas! but few appear to read it supremely and exclusively that they may practice it; that they may be conformed to it, not only in their outward deportment, but in the spirit and temper of their minds. This is the only reading of it which is really profitable unto men, which rewards us for our pains, which consoles us now, and which will be remembered for ages to come, with inexpressible delight.¹⁶

5. Finally, however, the over-arching support of his program with respect to the Bible in the pages of the *Baptist* was his belief that the program was an appropriate expression of Christian liberty. Campbell trusted human freedom! He wished for readers of the *Baptist* a religious freedom akin to that which invigorated the new nation and moved over the face of the western frontier. He wrote of the problem in the first volume:

I honestly confess that the popular clergy and their schemes appear to me fraught with mischief to the temporal and the eternal interests of men...How has their influence spoiled the best gifts of Heaven to men! Civil liberty has always fallen beneath their sway — the inalienable rights of men have been wrested from their hands....¹⁷

He returned to that theme on July 4, 1829, writing in the first number of his final volume in language clearly reminiscent of the young revolutionary nation's Declaration of Independence. He outlined the "inalienable rights" of Christians — "the preservation and enjoyment of christian life, the acquisition and enjoyment of christian reputation, and the pursuit and application of christian wealth...."¹⁸ — and asserted that these "are all born equally free and equally independent of foreign agency."¹⁹ From first to last his program was one of freedom.

Campbell carried these themes on into his other publishing activities: the *Millennial Harbinger*, *The Christian System*, the debates. But here in the *Baptist* they come

to light and provide insight into the early thinking of one who was both biblical scholar and social leader in nineteenth century frontier America.

¹In a recent extended article, ("The Formation of a Tradition: Alexander Campbell and the New Testament," [*The Disciples Theological Digest* 2/1 (1987) 5-62]), M. Eugene Boring of Texas Christian University has re-examined a number of aspects of Alexander Campbell's study of the Bible. He treats Campbell's work under three heads, each with a number of sub-heads: Content and Themes; Method; and Orientation.

In view of Boring's work, it is not necessary here — even if it were possible — to touch on many aspects of Campbell's understanding of the Bible.

In addition to Boring's article, the interested reader should consult chapter 2 of Royal Humbert's *A Compend of Alexander Campbell's Theology* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1961) where Humbert treats four aspects of Campbell's understanding of the scriptures: the Bible as Word of God; principles of interpretation; translation; and the internalization of scripture.

²Of course the *Baptist* is not Campbell's last word about scripture. In fact, one could argue that it does not contain his positive, programmatic answers to the problems he saw. Nevertheless, some of the main contours of his later thought do appear already in the work, so that the *Baptist* points with some accuracy to Campbell's agenda for the study of the scriptures.

³1/1 [July 4, 1823] 15-16 (read: *Christian Baptist*, vol. 1, no. 1, date, pages from Gospel Advocate Company edition, 1956)

⁴2/2 [September 6, 1824] 20

⁵1/3 [October 6, 1823] 59

⁶1/5 [December 1, 1823] 94

⁷2/2 [September 6, 1824] 36

⁸1/10 [May 3, 1824] 188

⁹1/5 [December 1, 1823] 95-96

¹⁰3/4 [November 7, 1825] 82-83

¹¹4/4 [November 6, 1826] 72

¹²1/6 [January 5, 1824] 122; Cf. 6/10 [May 5, 1829] 235, where Campbell cites Chalmer's Essay on the Evidences of Christianity as a call to apply usual grammatical criticism to biblical texts, or see his reference to the "natural contexts and connections" (2/4 [November 1, 1824] 69).

¹³5/3 [October 1, 1827] 68-69

¹⁴1/1 [July 4, 1823] 18-19; cf. 2/10 [May 2, 1825] 189-198; also 4/1 [August 7, 1826] 22-23; 4/10 [May 7, 1827] 197; 4/12 [July 2, 1827] 262; 7/6 [January 4, 1830] 133.

¹⁵Campbell was convinced that the Bible was a single work, but he was also clear that the Christian scriptures were authoritative. He did not, however, thereby dismiss the Hebrew scriptures. Rather, developed a typological method for relating the two scriptures. He understood the Christian dispensation to be pre-figured or "symbolized" in the Jewish one. Cf. 2/2 [September 6, 1824] 36.

¹⁶3/8 [March 6, 1826] 172-173

¹⁷2/1 [August 2, 1824] 5 (emphasis ours)

¹⁸7/1 [August 3, 1829] 5

¹⁹Ibid.

*Rod and Mary Ann Parrott are on the staff of the Disciples Seminary Foundation, Claremont, California.

Submerged in Grace — Recollections and Reflections

by Joseph M. Smith*

The “signs of the times” can be discerned, by hindsight at least, in the seemingly chance encounters with persons caught up in the vast social changes that have convulsed China in the last half century. The sudden flash of anger or contempt on the face of the young cadre behind the desk in the government office in 1949; the look on the face of the woman worker as she extracts the culls from the never ending dance of silkworm cocoons along the moving belt; the eagerness of the inexperienced young guide to demonstrate his mastery of the latest American slang or musical “hit” in 1986 — these and a thousand other “flash cards” crowded into the largest storage file in my memory, the one marked CHINA: 1940-1987, jump out crying for attention when I begin to record recollections and reflections renewed by a three week visit to China in 1986 to mark the centennial of the arrival of the first Disciple missionary, Dr. W. E. Macklin, in that country.

BEIJING (PEKING OR PEIPING)

October 1940: Arrival on a Japanese ship at the port of TangKu where a “white Russian” English speaking guide sees us through Japanese managed immigration and customs and puts us on the train to *Peiping* — so called because the Japanese army of occupation has made Nanjing — “Southern capital” — the seat of government for the Chinese puppet president replacing Chiang Kai Shek who has fled to West China.

October 1977: Arrival on a Chinese airline at night to a sombre, almost silent airport to be greeted by Mr. Hu of the Committee for Friendship with Foreign Countries. We had welcomed Mr. Hu to Indianapolis more than a year earlier on Christmas Day when he accompanied the Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe on the first visit of a Chinese cultural group to the United States since 1949.

October 1986: Arrival on a Japan Airlines plane to a relatively, busy and modern

airport to be greeted cordially by guides from the China International Travel Service who clear us quickly through immigration and customs.

October 1940: First ride in a ricksha, pulled by a lean and hungry-looking Chinese who must stop and bow low to the Japanese guard as we pass through the massive city gate on our way from the railway station to the College of Chinese Studies affiliated with the University of California in Los Angeles.

October 1977: Rickshas have completely disappeared — replaced by tens of thousands of bicycles. China has “stood up” and every man and woman carries or pulls his/her own weight.

October 1986: Bicycles have increased but so have buses and autos crowding the new overpass and even the wide streets built where the massive city walls stood in 1940.

1940: In the cool evenings vendors of hot, roasted sweet potatoes — their charcoal stoves mounted on two wheel carts that serve as warehouse, kitchen and retail store — compete with sellers of hot, roasted peanuts or large Chinese chestnuts. In the early morning hours the wary walker in the narrow streets and narrower alleys or “hut-ungs” wisely gives right-of-way to the approaching figure with a swaying bucket of night soil on each end of his bamboo carrying pole.

1977: The vendors and individual entrepreneurs have all disappeared. All business is communal and small tractor driven trailers are transporting only one vegetable — Chinese cabbage — by the hundreds of tons from the farm communes surrounding the city.

1940: We picnic alone in the Imperial Palace grounds before the multicolored nine dragon wall. This symbol of China’s ancient cultural heritage is almost deserted and falling into decay. The only buildings in use are occupied by Japanese soldiers.

1977: We visit the Great Wall and the

Ming Tombs for the first time since they were closed to tourists in 1940-41 because Chinese guerillas were active in the area. The Imperial Palace grounds are crowded with visitors — most of them Chinese military. Chairman Mao's mausoleum has just been completed — a year after his death. When we emerged from the massive structure on the Great Square of the People, I asked our young guide, "What were you thinking as we stood before the statue of Chairman Mao in the vestibule of the mausoleum?" She replies: "The mountains and the trees in the background mural behind the statue are China. I was thinking: As long as there is a China, Chairman Mao is with us!"

1986: Far more traffic on the way to the Great Wall and the Ming Tombs, much of it buses carrying Chinese visitors of all ages. More of the wall has been restored and parking spaces at all tourist attractions are crowded with vendors of a great variety of arts and crafts.

1940: Many churches of various denominations and nationalities are open in "Peiping". The Japanese have just opened a new YMCA building and Soichi Saito, National President of the Japanese YMCA, comes for the dedication. I learn that there is an autonomous church near the language school called simply "Hataman Christian Church." I attend and receive my first communion served in the same way to which Disciples are accustomed though the church has no known connection with Western Disciples of Christ.

One cold November morning we sit with a thousand other people in a barn like structure and hear the preacher-evangelist, Wang Ming-Tao, preach for an hour. In 1948 he conducts a revival in the Christian high school in Wuhu and two hundred young people signify their desire to become Christian. After "liberation" Wang Ming-Tao publicly declares his refusal to sanction or cooperate with the new regime and we hear of his imprisonment.

Win sings in the choir at the Union Church — an English speaking congregation which employs a full time pastor. On one Sunday John Leighton Stuart, then President of YenChing University, a church founded University, preaches from a text in Revelation. Later, in 1948, when he is United States Ambassador to China, we see him with Generalissimo Chiang and Madame

Chiang at a church service in Guling where they are on vacation.

1977: Only one Protestant church is open for public worship in Beijing and I learned that it is attended by only a few elderly Chinese and Western diplomats. The only Catholic church building I visited is used as a primary school and I am not permitted to enter. The building of the Union Church is used by the Committee for Friendship with Foreign Countries and we are shown a movie there on our first evening in Beijing.

1986: We arrive early for worship in one of several Protestant churches open for public worship in Beijing. The Gang Wa Shi church is also the site of the newly opened YenJing Seminary where the foster "granddaughter" of Edna Gish, long time Disciple missionary at South Gate in Nanjing, teaches music. Through her, the China Travel Service has arranged our attendance at this church. The three pastors who lead the service are from different denominational backgrounds. One leads the liturgy, a second preaches a powerful sermon on "seeking first the Kingdom of God," and the third celebrates communion. After several have communed, our group is invited to the communion rail. After half a century, another communion in Beijing! A truly "Disciple" communion — celebrated in and by a "post-denominational" church!

NANJING (Nanking)

1941: Arriving by train from "Peiping," we cross the Yangtze River by ferry. Housed in the home of a missionary, we hear firsthand some of the stories of the 1937 Japanese occupation of Nanjing when Disciple missionaries Bates, McCallum, Smythe, and Minnie Vautrin helped protect the lives and self-respect of thousands of Chinese. We are guests at an elegant dinner in the home of Herbert Minard, Disciple Secretary of the Nanjing YMCA.

1947: The family remains in Nanjing in the home of Lewis Smythe while I go on to Wuhu to prepare our living quarters there. The Disciples, not yet a part of the united Church of Christ in China, hold their own convention — led by Chinese but with missionaries still prominent in the word of the church, especially hospitals and schools, all of which are interdenominationally supported.

1977: Arrival by plane from Beijing. Nanjing Yangtze River bridge has been

completed — object of great pride and the main showcase of Nanjing since it was completed by Chinese after pullout by Russian engineers who said it could not be built without them. K. H. Ting, national head of the Protestant Three-Self Movement, says in a private conference, “We could have our church buildings back now that the Cultural Revolution has ended and the Gang of Four has been overthrown. But we don’t want them because they remind us of the dominance of the church by the West. We continue to worship in our homes.” Wu Yi Fang, retired President of Ginling College for Women, relates how she was converted to the Maoist revolution by the concern of People’s Liberation Army officers for the poor and the sick.

1986: We arrive by plane from Sian — the ancient capital and burial place of the first builder of the Great Wall. With a group which includes a granddaughter of Dr. Macklin, we visit what is now University Hospital, successor to the institution founded by him. The Chinese woman “President” of the hospital describes the government supported, multi-million development program designed to make the institution the number one medical facility in the Central China region.

Han Wen Zao, President of the Amity Foundation, describes the program of Nanjing Theological Seminary and the main Protestant seminary in China and tells how Amity was established by Christians and other religious leaders to be a channel through which overseas friends can participate in support of China’s modernization. When asked to explain the recent rapid growth of the Chinese Christian community, he and a colleague who teaches “English Divinity” in the seminary agree, “It is primarily a work of the Holy Spirit.”

HEFEI (formerly LUCHOWFU)

November 1947: Travel by bus to Hefei from Wuhu for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Disciple mission and Luchowfu Christian Hospital by Dr. James Butchart in 1897. The highway is the abandoned roadbed of the railway between Hefei and Wuhu — torn up by the Japanese to use the materials elsewhere and not yet rebuilt because the civil war has kept the economy in chaos.

November 1986: Travel by train from Nanjing to Hefei. At Bengpu, junction point

for Hefei on the Nanjing-Beijing railway, our baggage is not transferred and arrives a day late. I remember that it was the victory of the People’s Liberation Army over the Nationalist Army at Bengpu in early 1949 that opened the way for the movement of the Maoist forces to the banks of the Yangtze where they regrouped for the final victorious march through South China. Arriving in Hefei we are greeted by a large group of former colleagues and friends of the seven people in our tour group who had either lived in Hefei as children or served there as missionaries. Grace Corpron with her husband, Dr. Douglas Corpron, had served for more than a quarter century in the Christian Hospital at Hefei, greeted friends and colleagues whom she had not seen for forty years.

Among those who welcomed us to Hefei was an Associate Professor of Physics in the Anhui Institute of Engineering. As he greeted me, I was seeing a young journalist on the local newspaper in Wuhu who had come to our house with three friends asking me to tutor them in English in 1948-49. As we arrive for the church service on Sunday morning, we are led into an already crowded large sanctuary by the senior pastor. He is the President of the Anhui Christian Council and a member of the National Standing Committee of the Three-Self Movement. His church is the only one open for public worship in this growing educational and industrial center of 800,000 people. He has recently opened a satellite unit of the Nanjing Theological Seminary to train leadership for the reputed 40,000 new Christians in Anhui Province.

He is assisted by two young pastors and a teacher in the seminary. When we were in Wuhu in 1948-49, he was living there in his ancestral home with his wife and their five children, hesitating to accept the call to the Hefei church. Shortly after our arrival in Wuhu, we had met him at the funeral of his grandmother — one of the pioneer Christians and a spiritual leader of the congregation in that place. He was the most brilliant and promising of the Disciples’ recent seminary graduates. In the post-liberation summer of 1949, he had led a summer conference for high school students who later went into the countryside to conduct Vacation Church Schools. One spring evening in 1949 we had stood on the

fourth floor veranda of our missionary residence and watched the Nationalist gunboats on the Yangtze exchange fire with the People's Liberation Army on the north bank of the river. As we watched he said: "We know that if America got into a war with China they would come to you for information about Wuhu when you return for you missionaries who have lived here know more about China than anyone else!"

ENROUTE FROM HEFEI TO WUHU —
November 1986

As we look out the train window, we observe the well tended fields are worked by individual farmers or man and wife with simple tools. The large groups of people working the fields together which we saw in 1977 in our visit to a similar area are gone. The "responsibility system" is producing results — allowing the farmer to sell his surplus on the market or enter a private business once he has fulfilled his contract to the state. Further on, the ponds and canals by the railway are filled with hundreds of ducks reminding us that the *Survey of Service*, published by the Disciples in 1928 had stated: "...Wuhu ranks first in the world in the amount of feathers shipped from the port..." (p. 370).

Off to the West is Wuwei, the town to which we were assigned in 1947 but which we never reached because guerilla forces controlled the countryside. But there is a thriving church there now and one of the pastors in the Hefei church comes from Wuwei.

Off to the East a short distance is the Ts'ao family village. The Ts'ao brothers are members of the Wuhu church. Prosperous tailors, they had used their income to build a school and send a Bible woman teacher to their ancestral village as a Christian witness. In the summer of 1949, Mr. Ts'ao the Second had come to me and said: "I have no business now since no one is buying the Western clothes which I make. Maybe this is God's opportunity to use me. You cannot go into the country with me any longer but if you can supply materials I'll go to Ts'ao Jia Juang and spend a month teaching and giving the treatments for trachoma as you and the young people have done in their visits to the countryside."

A month later he came back with a glowing report. He had been able to resist the efforts of the cadres to send him back

to Wuhu on the charge that he was a member of a banned secret society. Among other activities he had conducted a daily Bible class for young men. Nineteen of them had indicated their desire to continue study preparatory to becoming Christian. A foretaste of the most massive movement into the Christian faith ever experienced in China — now taking place after a 25-year absence of foreign missionaries — with neighbors and family members, mostly laymen, the prime carriers of the Gospel.

WUHU

November 1986: Approaching Wuhu by ferry on the Yangtze, we can recognize no landmark except Yi Ji Shan — the hill on which the Methodist hospital with the revolving illuminated cross on top stood until 1949. This is where Fred, our oldest, almost died of Chinese measles. He was saved by the timely return of an Austrian refugee doctor from Shanghai who was filling in for the missionary doctor on furlough. The Jewish doctor recognized the symptoms of allergy to the sulfa drugs being used and immediately prescribed penicillin.

We are housed in the Iron Hill Guest House next to the area on which the buildings of the high school operated by Disciples and the Church of the Second Advent still stand. They are used now as dormitories for the Anhui Teachers College. I wonder whether the building bearing the name of Alexander Paul, pioneer Disciples missionary in Wuhu, was "de-named" in the cultural revolution. I am told that Joseph Wang, principal and close associate in the rural work in 1947-49, is still living but does not recognize anyone. We have only one day in Wuhu so we cannot visit *Guan Dou Men*, the ancient village five miles to the East, where high school young people and I began the village's first-ever program of Christian witness and service in 1948. There I made my last extended visit into the China countryside at the China New Year in the spring of 1949. The young people who had conducted a week's winter vacation Bible School in the Buddhist temple which served as village school had gone home. I stayed on as guest in the home of a wine merchant who was a relative of my Chinese teacher. After he had performed the ritual honoring the ancestors and welcoming the kitchen god back on the last evening of the old year, he sat down and after a long silence said: "I

don't believe in these things any longer! I keep them up for the sake of my old mother who lives with me!" During the night an old man — a long ago refugee from famine in the north who had been taken in as a servant by a rice merchant — died without any medical care. A child's voice could be heard under my window as the New Year dawned singing: "Jesus loves me this I know!"

Shortly after the return from my last visit to Guan Dou Men, it is clear the People's Liberation Army is preparing to cross the river. A terrified young man comes into my bedroom before I wake and tries to borrow money so he can join the wealthy and the privileged who are fleeing with Chiang Kai Shek to Taiwan. I met dozens of people on the street carrying heavy loads, fleeing to escape the "Communists." One day as I enter the gate of my compound, an elderly neighbor woman seated in her doorway across the alley calls out: "Aren't you running away?" "No. Where would I go?" "That's right! Where would you go?" (There's no escape on this small planet from the effects of the mighty struggle convulsing this most ancient and populous of earth's societies.)

Finally, on the Saturday night before Low Sunday — the Sunday after Easter — in April 1949, the People's Liberation Army entered the city. On my way to the 6:30 a.m. prayer service at the church, I saw my first Communist soldier coming in my direction. Just then the church bell rang. "What's that?" he cried. "A church bell!" I replied and moved on. In the crowded church before the period of oral, simultaneous group prayer the pastor read a passage from Nahum. (Where is Nahum in my Chinese Bible?) "The Lord is a sure refuge for those who look to him in time of distress; he cares for all who seek his protection and brings them safely through the sweeping flood; he makes a final end of all who oppose him and pursues his enemies into darkness." (Nahum 1: 1-8)

Whereas in 1949 there were numerous local churches in Wuhu representing several Western denominations and various indigenous Chinese bodies, now there is one Protestant Church open for public worship. It is in process of being rebuilt after suffering considerable damage while it was occupied during the cultural revolution. The existence of this church is a prime reason for our visit

to Wuhu. When we arrive at the church, we are greeted by several people and two of the pastors — one a former Methodist and the other an Anglican. We are ushered into a fellowship hall where tea has been prepared for us. On the wall behind the head table hangs a large reproduction of Da Vinci's Last Supper. Is it the one which hung in the large meeting-room of our missionary residence?

Suddenly I was back in that room a few days after Wuhu was "liberated." A relative of my teacher, son of the wealthiest landowner in Guan Dou Men from whom we had rented a house for our young visitors to the village, has come to visit. I learn later that he has been sent by the new authorities to check up on foreigners remaining in Wuhu. I learn that he is a graduate of the local Anglican high school and was converted to Maoism while studying at the University of Shanghai. Looking up at Da Vinci's Last Supper he asks, "Which one is Judas?" "You know," I reply. "Yes, he's the one with the money. Looks like Uncle Sam doesn't he?"

After discussing the way in which all Protestants are now working together in the one congregation, we visit the recently established clinic where the doctor-son of the former Anglican rector of the church and his nurse colleagues administer medical care in traditional Chinese and modern practice. The building which houses the clinic is also a residence for the pastors and the families of retired church workers. As we are preparing to leave, the senior pastor points out an elderly woman standing among the onlookers. "There's Mrs. Li!" he says. The smile on the serene face of the stooped frame brings back at once the image of the sprightly woman who invited us into her home for the first meal we ever had in a Chinese home. We were new arrivals in Wuhu and as the wife of Pastor Li Cheo Wu, national evangelist for the Disciples, she invited us to share in the dinner she was giving the Walter Haskells upon their departure from Wuhu.

On the evening before our departure we visit Wuhu's Number 2 Department Store, crowded with lookers and shoppers. We walk in semi-darkness toward our hotel along sidewalks where guy wires from light poles and an occasional concrete post in the middle of the walk make travel hazardous. Suddenly a flashlight shines on one of the



Missionaries to China, 1949

Front row: Edna Gish, Grace Corpron, Grace Young, Winifred Smith.
 Back row: Douglas G. Corpron, Joseph M. Smith.

cement obstructions immediately in front of us and a voice in clear English says, "Be careful!" "Thank you!" We walk on a few moments in silence. Then the voice says, "I'm a Christian. I graduated from Tsui Wen (the Disciples-Advent High School). You visited the church this afternoon. Did you know Mr. Haskell?" "Yes," I reply, "I knew him and Mr. Wharton and Miss Cassidy." "They were all my teachers," the voice says and moves on into the darkness when I turn into the street leading to our hotel.

SHANGHAI

January 1941: We arrive in Shanghai from Nanjing on our way to Baguio in the Philippines where our Chinese teachers will join us and we can continue the study of the language "safe" from the dangers of the threatened Japanese-US confrontation. We are given an apartment in the International Settlement section where we enjoy immunity from Japanese military dominance of the rest of the city. Alexander Paul, who has sublet the apartment from the British owner, moves temporarily to the "foreign" YMCA where he enjoys the celebrative

worship services on Sunday with hundreds of others — Chinese and foreigners.

December 27, 1947: We arrive on a freighter from New Orleans. As the ship moves toward the dock, the deck hands turn fire hoses on the Chinese who pull alongside in small boats trying to peddle their wares. Greeted by the Mission Secretary, Edwin Marx, who says: "Don't unpack your bags. You'll be going home in less than a year!"

October 1948: We are in Shanghai from Wuhu to see Win and the two boys off on their return to the States because the Peoples Liberation forces are moving inexorably toward the Yangtze and Wuhu. The streets are filled with beggars, prostitutes, and ragged ricksha men seeking patrons.

September 1949: Arrive in Shanghai from Wuhu preparing to depart for the United States on the General Gordon — the last American passenger ship to call in Shanghai for 25 years. Mao Tze Tung has called the first Peoples Political Consultative Congress to assemble in Beijing where he will proclaim the founding of the Peoples Republic of China on October 1st. I take my

baggage to the dock several days before departure so I am the first person to pass through the baggage examination procedures. *Everything* has to be examined. Selected pictures must be taken to the Security Bureau for inspection before I can take them out of the country. The tall, young PLA soldier who accompanies me to the Bureau, says quietly as we walk along together: "I went to a Christian high school in Hunan!"

November, 1977: Arrive in Shanghai from Nanjing by train with a US-China Peoples Friendship Association tour group. As we walk along the platform on our way out of the station the young woman engineer of the train waves to us from the cab. We have a conference with Talitha Gerlach, American YWCA worker, who has been in Shanghai since 1950 working with Madame Sun Yat Sen (Soong Ching Ling) on the magazine *China Reconstructs* and in the Child Welfare Association. Liu Liang Mo, former YMCA Secretary, shares stories of the simple life-style of Chou En-Lai. The YMCA, like all the churches, has been closed for ten years and I am told that there is only one church building open for public worship in Shanghai and it is sparsely attended.

November 1986: Arrive in Shanghai by train from Suzhou. Li Shou-Bao, national executive of the YMCA, and the joint staffs of the YM and YW meet with us in the YMCA building. The recently revived YMCA is renovating its main building with funds received from the government for rental or sale of other YMCA property. Travel accommodations are provided. High quality instruction is offered to meet the need for supplementary English classes, art appreciation, classical music and other cultural and vocational interests. No public worship services are held, but, says Mr. Li: "We confront people with Christ. The church nurtures them in Christ."

On the last day in Shanghai, before our return to the States, we visit the former Moore Memorial Church. (This is being written in Epworth-by-the Sea, Georgia, next door to the Moore Memorial Museum named for the same Methodist Bishop Arthur Moore.) The pastor tells us of the newly established seminary in Shanghai; of the thousand people who attend each of two services on Sunday; how they are trying to prepare people to give Christian training to

the children in their homes since no public education of any kind can be provided for youth under 18 except through government auspices. "We don't use the name "Moore Memorial" any more. We are the Mo-En Church," says the pastor. Mo-En means "Submerged" or "Immersed" or "Washed" in grace.

As we turn to leave the sanctuary, we note a large character motto on the back wall. It reads: Gong Mo Ju En. The character "Gong" is the first in the name for the Communist Party of China. It means "mutual" or "communal" or "public." The motto is a fitting description of our feelings as we relive our half century love affair with China: "Mutually submerged in the grace of the Lord!"

By the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, operating through his church, we have been privileged to be observers-participants in the four decade love-hate-love relationships of the United States and China; the end of the foreign missionary enterprise in China, and, the trial by fire and the rebirth of a new and genuinely Chinese, Christian community. "Submerged in Grace." Indeed!

*Joseph M. Smith, formerly a missionary to China and an executive in the Division of Overseas Ministries of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), is now serving interim ministries with his wife Winifred W. Smith.

PERSHING DRIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCH NAMED FUND

In 1987 the Pershing Drive Christian Church of Arlington, Virginia, brought a sixty year ministry to a visible close. A decision had been made to discontinue its existence, to sell the property, and to invest the proceeds in the continuing life of the church. A gift of \$10,360 was made to the Disciples of Christ Historical Society for the establishment of a named fund in memory of the congregation and to provide for the perpetual care of its records. Those records have been received by the Historical Society. This congregation will continue to live on in many aspects in the life of the church since it has invested its monetary assets in the ongoing ministry of Jesus Christ.

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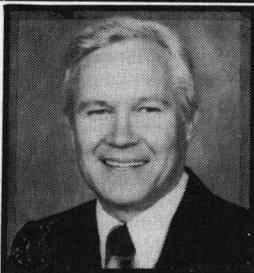
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Additional information about making a bequest or other gifts to the Society is available from Dr. James M. Seale, President, Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1101 Nineteenth Avenue S., Nashville, Tennessee 37212 - telephone 615-327-1444.

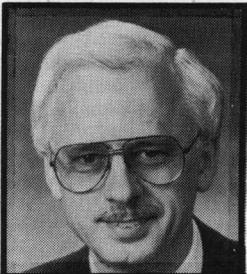
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Born in Henderson County, Tennessee, near Lexington, Mr. Boswell was educated at Freed-Hardeman College and graduated from Peabody College. He taught school at Longsought School (so named because it was wanted for such a long time). Later he went into the insurance and real estate business. An active church man and community leader, he served as elder in the First Christian Church of Jackson, Tennessee. He took pride in his membership on the Board of Trustees of the Historical Society and was a Trustee Emeritus at the time of his death. This named fund was established by his daughter and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. William Henry Smith.



EUGENE N. FRAZIER — NEW TRUSTEE 1988-1991

The Reverend Frazier is the Executive Regional Minister of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Oklahoma. He has pastoral oversight of more than two hundred congregations and has been in this position since 1977. He holds an A.B. Degree from Phillips University, Enid, Oklahoma, and also a B.D. and D.D. Degree from the same institution. Prior to assuming the position of Regional Minister, Dr. Frazier served as a congregational pastor in Kansas for eighteen years. Dr. Frazier and his wife, Bonnie, are members of First Christian Church, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



EDWIN S. GLEAVES, JR. — NEW TRUSTEE 1988-1991

Dr. Gleaves is State Librarian and Archivist for the Tennessee State Library and Archives. He holds a B.A. Degree from David Lipscomb College, a M.A. and Ph.D. Degree from Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, and a Certificate of Studies, Escuela Normal de Profesores, Saltillo, Coahuila, Mexico. Until recently, Dr. Gleaves has served as Professor and Chair of the Department of Library and Information Science, George Peabody College for Teachers, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. He is a member of The Otter Creek Church of Christ and he and his wife, Janey, live in Franklin, Tennessee.

AN INDEX TO THE CHRISTIAN RECORD

Compiled by David I. McWhirter
(Nashville, Tennessee: Disciples of Christ
Historical Society)

1987

The Christian Record was published in Bloomington, Indianapolis, and Bedford, Indiana from 1843 to 1884 with several interruptions. From 1862-1866 the editor, Elijah Goodwin, published it under the title *The Weekly Christian Record*. In 1866 he merged it with the *Christian Standard* when it began publication. *The Weekly Christian Record* is not included in this index. In December, 1875, James Mathes, then editor, merged it with the *Evangelist*. Mathes resumed publication under the original name in January 1882.

Twice the publication carried a slight change of name. In 1870 and 1871 the name became *The Christian Record and Living Laborer* while in 1875 it was *The Christian Record and Sunday School Worker*. These publications are included in this index.

Throughout its publication history the *Christian Record* had only two editors

although others acted as assistant or joint editors. James Madison Mathes (1808-1892) was the editor from 1843 to May, 1859 and from 1866 to 1884 with the interruption noted above. Elijah Goodwin (1807-1879) was co-editor with Mathes from July, 1847 to December, 1848 and the only editor from June 1859 through 1861. Others who shared editorial responsibility included David Oliphant (during 1870 and 1871) and W. B. F. Treat (during 1873 to 1875).

An index to this publication has been produced at the Disciples of Christ Historical Society.

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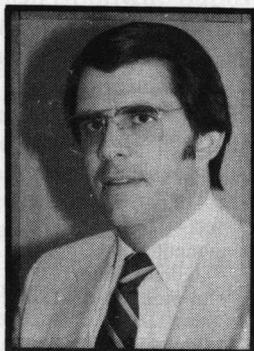
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D. NEWELL WILLIAMS — NEW TRUSTEE 1988-1991

Dr. Williams is Associate Professor of Modern and American Church History at Christian Theological Seminary, Indianapolis, Indiana. Prior to his current position, which began in 1984, he served as Associate Dean and Assistant Professor of Church History at Brite Divinity School of Texas Christian University, Fort Worth. He received his B.A. Degree from the University of Tulsa, Oklahoma, his M.A. and Ph.D. Degrees from Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. Dr. Williams is a member of the University Park Christian Church and he and his wife, Mary Susan McDougal, make their home in Indianapolis, Indiana.

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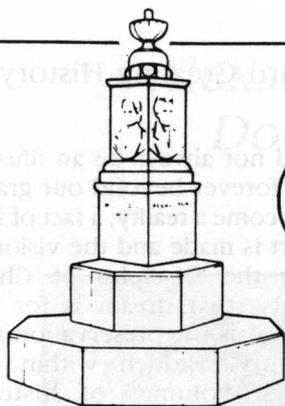
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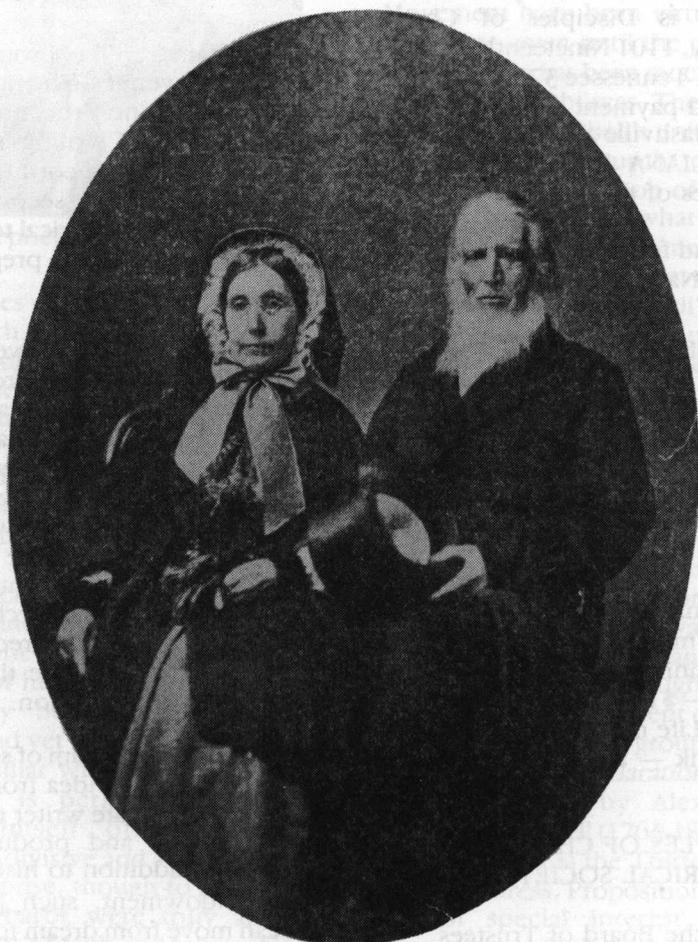
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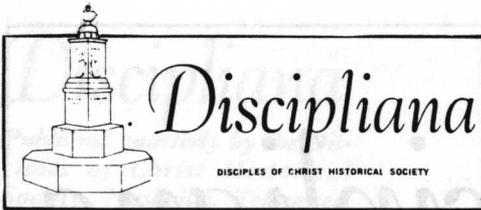
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Summer, 1988, Vol. 48, No. 2



Mr. & Mrs. Alexander Campbell
Portrait made in Cincinnati in 1861 while they attended the annual
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A Step Toward Creating History

A dream need not always be an illusive situation that is forever beyond our grasp. Instead, it can become a reality, a fact of life, if the right effort is made and the vision is held high. For the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, that dream is for the production as well as the preservation and sharing of history. Hidden within the personal papers, volumes of history, biographical files, and materials are literally hundreds of historical events which need to be recorded or persons who need to be recognized.

This dream can be brought to reality through two avenues. The first avenue is to inspire someone to undertake the challenging task of writing, such as a local church historian to record the memory of that congregation. The second avenue is to identify a specific historical topic or person and then seek a writer to prepare a creative history.

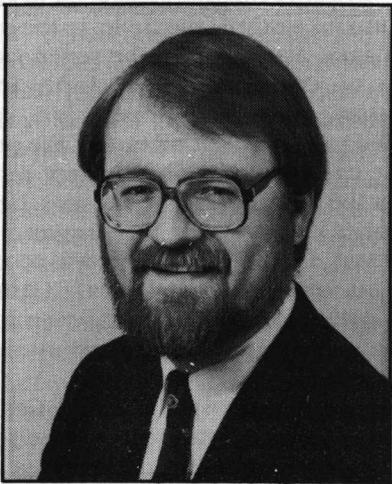
At the Historical Society we would like to accomplish both of these dreams. Another dream is to sponsor an annual workshop in which local church historians would be invited to spend several days exploring, discovering, and researching history, then do creative writing. Such a workshop here in Nashville would enable local church historians to examine church records, become familiar with church publications and materials, and be inspired to go back to their community to write the meaningful story of their congregation.

There is also the dream of selecting a little known character or idea from history and asking an appropriate writer to research the person or idea and produce a notable writing as an addition to history. With the proper endowment, such programs and ideas can move from dream to reality. At the Historical Society we are dreaming and working to bring those areas of historical development into reality.

James M. Seale, President

Alexander Campbell and the Doctrine of the Church

by Stephen V. Sprinkle*



Stephen V. Sprinkle

The Disciples of Christ have a love affair with the church. For a movement consumed by the vision of a “whole church” of Jesus Christ upon the earth, Alexander Campbell’s commitment to the oneness of the church is enough, by itself, to enshrine him in the memory of all Disciples. If for no other reason than this, he is a part of the founding tradition of this church.

Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) is everywhere acknowledged as preeminent among the founders of the Campbell-Stone Movement. One of the curiosities of this bicentennial of his birth is that the sage of Bethany may be taken so seriously historically, and yet so lightly theologically.

To one familiar with the temper of this church, this is perhaps no surprise. Campbell himself often caviled at “theology” as divisive and something of an onerous enterprise, though to be perfectly accurate, his barbs were truly aimed at setting up “tests of faith and fellowship” in divisive and exclusive ways. There was something so overtly theological about the man from start to finish, that his theology deserves a fresh appraisal.

In the Disciples’ intellectual tradition, it

would be difficult to find any substantive work on the theological vision of Alexander Campbell which ranks as more than a footnote to the thesis of W.E. Garrison in 1900 [*Alexander Campbell’s Theology: Its Sources and Historical Setting* (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company)]. Like Garrison, the interpreters of Campbell for the progressive wing of the Restoration Movement have been virtually exclusively historians, even until the present day. The consequence has been much literature about what his thought was. The theological task of opening Campbell’s unique vision to the contemporary church remains largely undone. That is the job of a theologian: to suggest to the church what the Campbellian aspect of our tradition means to us today. The burden of this short work, then, is to lift up Alexander Campbell’s doctrine of the church as a resource for us as we seek an inclusive, substantial ecclesiology for our day.

Campbell’s doctrine of the church was eschatological and revolutionary. His earliest tutor, his own father, had convinced him that the Bible, most especially the New Testament, was the irreplaceable foundation for any further thought about the church. A thorough “purification” of language concerning the church was carried out by the elder and younger Campbells and their followers as they sought “the ancient gospel,” and “the ancient order of things.”

The charter of this group of “reformers” was the famous *Declaration and Address* of 1809, authored by Alexander’s father, Thomas Campbell (1763-1854). The heart of the document is the Thirteen Propositions of the *Address*. Propositions 1, 2, 9, and 10 are of special interest insofar as the formation of the younger Campbell’s doctrine of the church is concerned. Briefly, we may summarize these principles which served as the lens through which Alexander Campbell first began to read the Bible and consider the nature and mission of the

church. 1) The church is possessed of a God-given unity in essence, intention, and constitution. 2) The Bible is to be taken as the authority in determining the essentials of the Christian faith. 3) The diversity of manifestations of the church is no bar to the God-given unity of the whole church. 4) The divisions among Christians are a horrid sin to be condemned as anti-Christian, anti-biblical, and anti-natural. In a word, then, *The Declaration and Address* presented to Alexander Campbell the foundational notions of a substantial, visible church whose unity, diversity, and division were to be taken with the utmost gravity.

Avery Dulles, the contemporary Roman Catholic ecclesialogist, reminds us that the doctrine of the church must give a clear and coherent account of a *real* church. That is, we must recognize from our reading of the New Testament a dilemma that demands solutions to the nagging problem of true unity on the one hand, and evident division on the other ["The Church, the Churches, and the Catholic Church," in *Theological Studies*, Volume 33, 1972]. The Christian faith declares the unity of the church as a glorious fact to be proclaimed (Ephesians 4:5) and defended (I Corinthians 1:13 ff). Within the usage of the New Testament, the unity of the church is understood to be inclusive of a multiplicity of local congregations called "churches," whose variety adorns and strengthens oneness. But the reader of the New Testament is rescued from triumphalism by intimations of an almost original condition of discord in the church. Dulles cautions us that the only valid solutions to the dilemma of unity and division are those which "take seriously both the necessary unity of the Church of Christ and the actual dividedness of the bodies that lay claim to the Christian name" [Dulles, "Church," 1972, p. 200]

From the foundations of his thought, Alexander Campbell had at hand the necessary elements and methods for the construction of a valid doctrine of the church. The method was *prima scriptura*; that is, by the best canons of exegesis he possessed, Campbell sought to employ the authority of "the ancient gospel" as the integrating principle for his doctrine. Allegiance to Jesus as the Messiah, the Son of the living God, was the bright theological center from which emanated his maturing

thought.

Campbell developed into too original an exegete and too careful a theologian to fall into the one dimensional position of biblicists, that "the Bible alone is the only religion of Protestants." His was a highly nuanced integration of scripture, tradition, and reasoning that transcended any simple *sola scriptura* methodology. Serious and continuous study of the Bible, in the original languages, according to the seven cardinal rules of criticism he set forth in *The Christian System* [Bethany, VA, 1839], yielded to him a clear picture of the practice of the early church. That ancient practice, under the guidance of the apostles, bore the authority of Christ for the present church [Garrison, 1900, pp. 69-70]. It was according to this methodology that Campbell arduously labored to purify his own speech, a task he claimed that took twenty years of his life.

"The ancient gospel" served Campbell both as an architectonic principle for the construction of a substantive ecclesiology, and as a purifying tool which excluded insufficient or excessive accounts of the church. He shows great confidence in his defense of the "indicative" unity of the church.

The *true* Christian church, or house of God, is composed of all those in every place that do publically acknowledge Jesus of Nazareth as the true Messiah, and the only Saviour of men; and, building themselves upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, associate under the constitution which he himself has granted and authorized in the New Testament, and are walking in his ordinances and commandments — and of none else [System, 1839, pp. 72-73].

Because he was convinced of the *a priori* oneness of the church *on earth*, Campbell held for a substantial, institutional model for the community of faith [see Avery Dulles, *Models of the Church* (New York: Doubleday, 1974), pp. 39-50]. Dualistic models that divided the reality of the church into "visible" and "invisible" manifestations seemed patently absurd to him. In the *Millennial Harbinger* for 1853 he argued against any such formulation.

...There is but one real Kingdom of Christ in the world, and that is equivalent to affirming that there is but one Church of Christ in the world. As to an invisible church in a visible world, schoolmen may debate about it till doom's day, but we know nothing of an invisible church in our portion of creation [Alexander Campbell, *Millennial Harbinger*, Volumes I-XXXV (Bethany,

VA: published by the author), Volume XXIII, 1853, p. 106. Hereinafter noted as "MH."]

In common with classic substantialist ecclesiologies, Campbell believed that there already is a true church in the world, with identifiable marks or signs manifesting themselves both in particular local congregations of Christians and in the whole church [see *System*, 1839, p. 73]. The presence and enactment of the "ancient gospel" constituted such marks and signs, and provided a ground of Christian unity that did not fade away under careful scrutiny, or melt away into invisibility.

Rationalistic doctrines of the church rest upon the assumption that the community of faith is a society of "like-minded believers." Like whole and individual pearls held together by a voluntaristic string, the church exists as an "association." The supreme "virtue" of such a conception is toleration, and its operant model is a political one: the liberal democratic state. Campbell's debt to the philosophy of John Locke (1632-1704) is well enough established to raise our expectations that the Campbellian church should bear a striking resemblance to Lockean associationism [see *A Letter Concerning Toleration* of 1689].

Not so. Campbell exhibits a plainly organic conception of the church in his 1845 affirmation that the local church is a manifestation of the whole church ecumenical, a statement which is typical of an ecclesiology rooted and growing in the biblical witness. He stated that the body of Christ is made up of many communities, "each one of which is in itself...a miniature...representation of the whole...church of Christ in the world" [MH, 1845, p. 62]. By so saying, Campbell demonstrated the power of a *prima scriptura* theology to reform a mind whose general outlook was largely shaped by a potent, rationalistic philosophy.

The "ancient gospel" was Campbell's ally in undercutting sectarian excesses. In the opening pages of the *Christian System* he reiterated that "faith in Christ and obedience to him [is] the only test of Christian character, and the only bond of church union" [System, 1839, p. 6]. The doctrine of the church is not founded upon a provocative way to live, an esoteric, speculative set of ideas, or a distinctive political position. It is established and

fashioned by the intention of God in Christ to be the reconciler of all. It is out of the indicative unity of the church, God-given and witnessed to in scripture, that the imperative unity of the church arises. Any suspicion of Platonic and Kantian dualism in Campbell's conception of the church may be laid to rest. The stalwart principle that division among Christians is a heinous sin is the chief warrant to the claim that Alexander Campbell took sectarian divisions in the church at least as seriously as he took its indicative unity. The unity of the church is at one and the same time a given fact and an imperative duty for all those in every place who have cast their allegiance with Jesus Christ. Division is recognized as a clear and present danger. It is to be accorded the utmost seriousness, and then it is to be combatted with unrelenting vigor. There is no utopian escape from the fact of division for Campbell, nor can there be any compromise with divisive sectarianism. He fluminated against the church-dividers.

At present the congregational church is carrying on an unholy war, external and internal. Sectarianism is naturally and necessarily a state of hostility...The rival synagogues are full of doctrinal, political, ecclesiastic strife, jealousy, and competition. — They meditate, they machinate and they carry on ecclesiastic wars, while every Sabbath praying for peace!" [MH, 1856, p. 699].

Taken together, this "ancient gospel" method and these three elements of organic unity found in the *Address* comprise the fundamentals of a classic, Protestant substantialist ecclesiology. The church is visible, duly constituted according to biblical principles, and clearly marked off from what is not the church. We are familiar with the agenda that lay behind this doctrine of the church. As the elder Campbell had taught, this larger purpose was the conversion of the world to Christianity, after the appeal of Christ himself in the high priestly prayer of John 17, "...that they may all be one...so that the world may believe that thou hast sent me" (John 17:21 RSV). Alexander's father had believed that the unity of all Christians would serve as a powerful witness to a lost world. But it took Alexander to bring to life the even larger, eschatologically oriented purpose that had lain incipient in the call for the unity of all Christians for the evangelizing of the world.

Substantialist ecclesiologies are of two

basic kinds, exclusive and inclusive. The former characterizes the Roman Catholic Church, pre-Vatican II. The church is constituted by God with seven sacraments and four marks. Those societies not possessing the full complement of sacraments and marks are not churches, they are sects. The latter characterizes the post-Vatican II church. Now, the realm of the true church is perceived as widened to include churches which manifest the two dominical sacraments, as well as the four marks of unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity. The substantialist integrity of the Roman Church remains undiminished; on the contrary, it has now been enhanced by ecumenical spirit.

Without something of the same transition, the substantialist doctrine of the church we have seen arise in the Campbell tradition would have remained exclusive. The primitive restorationism of the period stretching from the *Declaration and Address* throughout the publication of Campbell's hot and smokey *Christian Baptist* [that is, from 1809 until 1830] has been critiqued and cartooned by progressives as being ahistorical, biblically naive, and exclusivist. It is not the purpose of this work to evaluate those interpretations, only to note that a significant theological metamorphosis overcame the exclusive character of Campbell's doctrine of the church thanks to his continued study of the Bible and the awakening of his eschatological consciousness.

His choice of a title for his new journal, *The Millennial Harbinger* [published by Campbell from 1830 until his death in 1866], reflects the eschatological turn his thought was taking. Campbell's biographer, Robert Richardson [*Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, Two volumes (Cincinnati: Standard, 1897, 1898)] tells us that seven years of the more polemical spirit of the *Christian Baptist* was enough [Richardson, 1898, p. 302]. He was ready for a new approach, a more irenic tone. The years 1829-30 had seen the failure of the "reformation" among the Baptists, and the quickening of the union impulse between Barton W. Stone's "Christians" in the west and his own "Disciples of Christ" in the east. Campbell was being beckoned by the call of God's millennium to reconsider the whole temper of his doctrine of the church.

As early as February of 1825, Alexander Campbell had declared a coming millennium. He saw the coming rule of God on the earth as a harbinger of judgement for "dilapidated and prostrated christendom," and as the clear warrant for the gathering of a true "millennial" church. The overriding purpose of the *Millennial Harbinger*, was, in his own words, "...to look at christendom specially in its present attitude to what is called the Millennium" [MH, 1856, p. 699].

Campbell offers to his theological heirs the model of an eminently sane postmillennialist whose vision of the church broadened and deepened as a consequence of his piety. In the fury of an age in which enthusiastic and idiosyncratic schedules for the Second Coming abounded, and the civil religion turned darkly eschatological, Campbell kept a clear eye on the horizon of God's new age. The role of the Church of Christ upon the earth in light of this imminent millennium was to prepare the spiritual and moral climate for its coming.

As a postmillennialist, Campbell was in good company. Timothy Weber, in his landmark study, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism 1875-1982* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983], reminds us that Campbell was in the distinguished line of American postmillennial thought that flowed from Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), the great Puritan divine. Edwards turned the tide of American eschatology away from premillennial speculation by his 1739 book, *History of the Work of Redemption*. He argued that Christ would not return prior to the millennium, as had previously been held. Rather, the millennium would be brought in before his coming through "the preaching of the gospel and the use of the ordinary means of grace" [Weber, 1983, p. 14]. Edwards felt that the signs of the approach of the millennium were already on the American scene in the vigorous revivals of religion, which pointed to "...the dawning, or at least the prelude of the glorious work of God...and there are many things that make it probable that this work will begin in America" [Ibid.].

The two mighty religious awakenings that had swept the American continent since Edwards' death seemed to confirm his judgment. By the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the millennium seemed

within reach. A visionary Vermont Baptist minister, William Miller (1805-1895), drew an enormous audience for his premillennialism by predicting that Christ would return first in 1843, and then by setting a "fool-proof" second date, October 22, 1844 [Weber, 1983, p. 15]. With characteristic vigor and wit, Campbell debated Miller and other enthusiasts in the pages of the *Harbinger*, "I advise all our brethren to be ready always to die any day, and every day; but I caution them against suffering themselves to be greatly excited about the end of the world in 1843" [MH, 1842, p. 265]. Campbell denied that the preaching of the soon-coming of Christ promoted either the conversion of sinners or the edification of the church. Neither the certainty of death nor the uncertainty of life had much to do with repentance or sanctification. It is the power of a gospel whose force is undiminished since the time of Christ that calls the church into being, not the terror of time running out [MH, 1842, pp. 259-265].

To people in the contemporary mainline church, there is something vaguely off-putting about the term, "millennium", and its derivatives. There is a triple source for this uneasiness. Some mainline clergy identify millennialism with escapism, abdication of social responsibility, and narrow fundamentalism. Laity are suspicious because of the excesses, real and imagined, of particular enthusiastic practitioners. Taken together, the clergy and laity of *status quo* mainline churches suffer from a general ignorance of anything eschatological. But the hunger of Christians for an eschatological dimension to their faith is evident in the successes of ventures like Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* [New York: Bantam, 1970], which has gone through better than thirty-six reprintings to date, and was the top-selling religious book outside the Holy Bible for the last decade [fifteen million copies by 1981].

The real objection that should be raised against Lindsey's premillennialism is that where there should be a doctrine of the church, there is a void. What is the use of the church, if it is little more than a "waiting room" on the way from salvation to the rapture? So much of modern premillennial teaching is exalted individualism that it should be rejected. But to reject the

eschatological dimension that is so plainly unavoidable throughout scripture and tradition is to enfeeble and impoverish any subsequent doctrine of the church.

It is unnecessary for the heirs of the Campbell tradition to satisfy themselves with eschatologically anemic ecclesiologies. Alexander Campbell lived into the millennium differently, and therein lies the value of his example for those of us who follow his lead. The millennium for him was both a gift of grace and a call to participate in the reconciliation of the whole world to God. It was a hoped-for time of unprecedented improvement, of holiness, of prosperity and joy, of serenity and justice [MH, 1841, p. 9].

There was nothing utopian about Campbell's vision of the coming rule of God. His was an empirical, pragmatic turn of mind, and the coming millennium would be visible and real, both in time and space. There could be no victory of the millennium as long as governments oppressed, war tore the human breast, sects split the church, and the good news was not published everywhere [ibid.]. He even predicted the collapse of the American nation as surely as every previous nation had fallen, because it was founded on violence. "The injustice, cupidity, ambition, oppression, which are found in our political institutions will doom this nation...before the triumphant day of the Lord come" [MH, 1833, pp. 121-122].

As Harold Lunger points out, Campbell offers us the picture of a theological thinker who, while he was reserved and despairing about politics, was aggressive and revolutionary in the ecclesiastic sphere [*The Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell* (St. Louis: Bethany, 1954), pp. 53-65]. His eschatological vision exerted such pressure on his conception of church and church unity, that he moved into inclusive categories, gradually leaving behind his inflexible Christian primitivism. His moderating position concerning baptism is a case in point, evidenced by the irenic and broad-minded tone of the famous Lunenburg Letter, which extended warmth and acceptance to pedobaptists [MH, 1837, pp. 411-414].

It is the most impressive achievement of Campbell's eschatological vision of the church that he was able to criticize his own thought, and exchange his exclusive

substantialism for the inclusiveness of the "Millennial Church." Carrying forward his unshakable faith in the oneness of the church, and continuing to employ the tools of intelligent biblical interpretation, he set about the work of understanding Christian unity as issuing in a common ground upon which all humanity could be one.

On no platform in christendom can larger societies exist than do already exist. They will and they must divide into smaller and smaller factions... What will be substituted in their stead?...The belief of Gospel facts upon scripture evidence...There will be...there is now, a scheme of things presented, in what is called the Ancient Gospel, which is long enough, broad enough, strong enough for the whole superstructure called the Millennial Church — and that alone will be the *instrument of converting* the whole human race, and of uniting all Christians upon one and the same foundation... If the gospel facts are believed, the authority of Jesus Christ regarded, we have everything which Christianity presents to redeem, save, and happily the world [MH, 1856, pp. 57-58].

What Campbell developed on the American frontier was an inaugural eschatology which anticipated something of the same phenomenon in German New Testament scholarship by fully a century. He and his reformers lived in the tension of "the time between the times", and Campbell allowed that spirit to reorient his lifework in tone, method, and application. Eschatological tensions transformed his own program of restoration, freeing his doctrine of the church from bondage to the first century and opening it to the promising creative tension in which the protological word of creation and redemption is being consummated in the eschatological word of the Lord of the millennium.

The movement of Alexander Campbell's ecclesiology changed from a naive return to the past, to a dialectical program which was to teach Christians the essentials of the personal offer of God in Jesus Christ, and then how to march together in faithful obedience towards the high calling of the millennial Lord, who himself was coming to meet his church.

Campbell's discovery of eschatology for the unity of the church still has a unique contribution to make. Restorationism, which adheres to a substantialist-exclusivist model of church, unity, could profit from the judgment under which Campbell's more inclusive vision put his own ecclesiology. Liberal Protestant spiritualist-dualist views of

the church need the reforming influence of one of their own forebearers who took division and imperative unity seriously enough that it would not erode into invisibility when put to the test. Roman Catholic substantialists of both inclusive and exclusive schools need to face a notion of church unity that is strongly substantially grounded, but in such a way that diversity, personal development, and eschatological responsiveness are not only allowed, but are encouraged.

Finally, members of the church which Campbell spawned need to face the reasons for the failure of liberalism among them. Disciples of Christ championed theological liberalism in the first third of the twentieth century with as much zeal as restorationists held it at bay. Since the collapse of that theological consensus among them, Disciples have attended to structural matters, and have called that, "ecclesiology." They shunned restorationism, biblicism, and evangelicalism as reactionary and ahistorical. Perhaps they should have. But the ecumenical dialogue that Disciples are committed to these days hardly offers an appealing vision of the church. It is hard to be too excited about a rendition of the church that is topheavy with structural, bureaucratic matters, and is a rather pallid version of the liberal democratic state. Disciples have ignored the eschatological dimension of their own historical ecclesiology. Without that dimension, church union is a machine with no spirit to run it. The odyssey of Alexander Campbell points the way to a better ground. His spiritual descendants should march there and take it.

The gift of Christian eschatology to the unity of the church is not simply a parroting of Alexander Campbell's millennial faith. He would be the first to admit that anything not truly central to the Christian gospel should not be binding on any Christian. But Campbell discovered an eschatological emphasis that was open to reason, that was thoroughly biblical, and that was broadening to himself and to his generation. What Campbell pointed to was Jesus Christ and *his* future, and thus all formulations concerning the nature and mission of the church must use the person and history of Jesus Christ as their theological touchstone.

Campbell took the church seriously as a

sign of the real presence of Jesus Christ in the world. His future was its future, and the church was to be the earthly society where the presuppositions of the heavenly kingdom were to be tried out. Such a church was and is, of necessity, one church. Campbell's was a pilgrim ecclesiology, designed for a church on the move. His church was like a Conestoga wagon, a home on wheels headed west, packed with the necessities, carrying a people through the frontier where the future meets the present. The eschatological impulse drove Campbell to free himself and his church of any excess ecclesiastical baggage that would impede the journey towards the future of Jesus Christ.

Out there was a storied, goodly land. The long journey to reach it made a "ship of the prairie" the best of all possible homes for a people on the move. Campbell's legacy to us is essentially a simple one. In matters of the church, the journey that has to be taken *always* determines the vehicle for getting there, and *always* clarifies what has to be left behind. That is a churchly lesson worth learning.

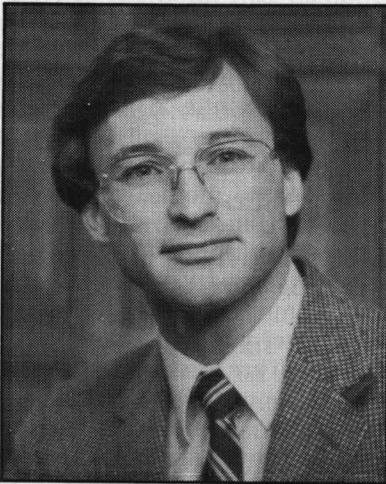
Note: I thank my student and friend, Bryant Camp, for the invaluable role he played in helping prepare this article for publication.

Stephen V. Sprinkle

*Stephen V. Sprinkle is Assistant Professor of Religion and Philosophy at Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, North Carolina.

Alexander Campbell's Use of the Bible in His Views of Slavery

by Randall Eugene Harrison*



Randall Eugene Harrison

The object of this study is to comprehend how Alexander Campbell used the Bible to address a social issue of his day. The issue we will examine is slavery. The material covered here was published in the "Millennial Harbinger" between 1830 and 1849.

A brief review of the issues and factions involved in the slavery debate will be helpful. The most extreme group against slavery was called the "Abolitionists," or "Liberty men." This group was small

relative to the whole population, but very vocal and exclusively northern. Campbell defined their fundamental doctrine in the following way, "That the relation of Master and Slave is, in all cases morally wrong — a relation not authorized by God — evil, and only evil, and that continually." (M.H. 1845:52) The religious conviction that slaveholding was *sin*, gave an evangelistic zeal to this group. The political remedy of slavery for them was a call for immediate emancipation of all slaves. (M.H. 1840:99)

The upshot of connecting these religious and political themes was seen in the split among Methodists and Presbyterians along the Mason-Dixon line, a split Campbell saw as irreconcilable with scriptures. Campbell charged the abolitionist with a preference for dismembering the church and dissolving the union for the sake of annihilating slavery. He further says, "This is a definition of an abolitionist in reference to whom I have said, *as a Christian*, no man could be an abolitionist: I might perhaps, also have added, *nor as an American citizen*." (M.H. 1845:239)

On the other end of the spectrum stood the pro-slavery group. It was not as well organized, but had its spokespersons. As for their primary doctrine, Campbell says it was, "That the relation of Master and Slave is one of divine authority, consonant to the genius

of human-nature to all the principles of morality and piety; and is, therefore, morally right and may, with all propriety exist among Christians." (M.H. 1845:52) This side sustained its religious argument by pointing to the sanction of the master-slave relationship in the Old Testament, and the toleration of the same in the New Testament. (M.H. 1845:68) Additionally, political justification for pro-slavery views arose in part from the constitutional guarantee of State autonomy.

With the extreme sides of the slavery issue summarized, where did Campbell stand? And how did he use scripture to support his views?

For Campbell, the Christian's allegiance lay with the gospel. When this crucial point is missed, Campbell's intent in the slavery controversy is easily misrepresented. In 1845, he wrote,

The gospel is not a system of morality for the moral improvement of any nation or state. It contemplates something more sublime and salutary. It gives life to the "dead in trespasses and sins." It "creates men anew in Christ Jesus." Its legitimate product is "a new creature." (M.H. 1845:238)

Some have called Campbell a political moderate, meaning that the middle path he chose between the extremes was the result of lack of ingenuity, or of courage, or mere altruistic optimism. It was none of these, but rather a forthright commitment to steal the gospel out of the clutches of those who would identify their side of the moral issue of slavery as God's side. What Campbell saw more clearly than most is that God had people on both sides, and the gospel was independent of either. If Campbell looks like a moderate on the issue so be it. But this conclusion must be seen in light of his radical commitment to keeping the gospel untainted. All else is secondary.

Indeed, some tendencies toward political moderation may be found in Campbell. For instance, he attempted to dissuade readers from extreme views on slavery, particularly those of the abolitionists. He felt that reasoning on the issues could win the day, but reason takes "calm, dispassionate, and attentive hearing" on both sides. (M.H. 1845:67) He was suspect of extreme views because of their typical passion and intolerance, which, he believed, counter-productive to solving the slavery problem. Another moderate attitude is seen in his

respect for people on both sides of the issue. He wrote, "Men equally distinguished for talents, learning, general intelligence, good morals, Christian character, and elevated standing, are found on both sides of this controversy, as on many others." (M.H. 1840:98) Such toleration is foreign to minds that think in the extreme. Finally, he simply refused to take sides. When feeling pressure to do so in 1845, he explained, "I neither assume to be an apologist for American slavery, a reformer, or an abolitionist." (M.H. 1845:108) This harkens back to his allegiance to the gospel only.

Having established Campbell's disposition toward moderation, we may now begin the examination of his use of the Bible to address issues connected with American slavery. We will look for any particular pattern in his application of biblical texts to the issues.

One of Campbell's most famous writings on slavery is "Emancipation of White Slaves." (M.H. 1840:128f) It is his reply to charges that he was fostering rebellion among slaves through his publication. In retort, Campbell endorses the exhortation to obedience on the part of slaves in Ephesians 6, and adds, "Paul thus taught me, and thus I would teach them [slaves]." (M.H. 1830:128) More to the heart of the article, though, Campbell tries to show that fear of insurrection has gripped the slave owners, and that they are slaves of this fear. For emphasis, Campbell quotes Romans 6:16, "To whatsoever you deliver yourselves up as servants, you are the slaves of that which you obey." The rest of the article attempts to show how whites are captive to the fear of slave insurrection. As for Campbell's use of the scripture, we need further examples to detect any pattern, although it is interesting that he seems to find no cultural discrepancy between the time of the biblical writing and his own. What was written in one context by Paul is applied directly to his own. Let us go on.

In 1840, Campbell addressed the moral question raised by abolitionists, "Is slave holding a sin?" Their answer was yes, and led to the further call for immediate emancipation of slaves. Campbell disagreed with the abolitionists, and his reasons are recorded in the article "Morality of Christians." (M.H. 1840:97-103) He did, indeed, believe slavery to be evil, but to

label slaveholding a *sin* was inconsistent with the scripture. In setting forth his argument, he includes a lesson in hermeneutics.

Had the Apostles viewed the subject in this light, we never would have met with the command, "Masters, render to your servants that which is just and equal." It would have read, "Masters, immediately emancipate your slaves, and pay them wages, or let them go and seek employment elsewhere." And to take the ground of some Christian abolitionists and affirm that these masters were not slaveholders, and these servants not slaves, in the popular acception of these words, is at once to shake the foundations of all interpretation, and make both Old Testament and New of non-effect, because wholly unintelligible. For if there were not slaves and slaveholders in the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian communities, there never were slaves nor slaveholders in Egypt, Greece, Rome, or America. (M.H. 1840:99)

We may now ask, what can be surmised about Campbell's view of the Bible and how it addresses this moral issue? Clearly, scripture is an authority. It is the preeminent authority, to the point that Campbell will not allow political biases to color the plain meaning of scripture. That would be putting the cart before the horse. The prescriptive nature of this approach to biblical ethics would be revolting to many within the Church today, just as it was in Campbell's. However, his use of scripture was more refined, and to leave it here would be an injustice to Campbell's ethical system.

While it had disadvantages, Campbell reaped one very important advantage from his application of scripture to this moral problem. Early on we noted that Campbell's concern in the slavery controversy grew increasingly toward preserving unity among Disciples and Christians in general. His position of non-condemnation toward the master-slave relation (in that it is not *sin*) created the theological means for preserving unity not available to either the abolitionists or the pro-slavery sides. The abolitionists categorically denounced all slaveholding. Slaveholding then became not just a political issue, but a religious one in the form of discipline. Christians who were also slaveholders were disfellowshipped until they repented of their "*sin*." Campbell's refusal to presume that slaveholding was immoral in all cases also allowed for Christians of either opinion on slavery to remain in fellowship. To him, unity among believers was much more of an issue than

solving any earthly problem, even as serious as slavery was. (M.H. 1845:270, mismarked 258) This was the strategic advantage of his particular ethical system, it allowed for religious unity despite political disagreement.

One may ask of Campbell, if the scripture did not condemn slavery, what other reasons did he give for his anti-slavery position? We will examine two: expediency, and spirit of the age. They expand the seemingly narrow territory of a prescriptive biblical ethic.

Expediency is a regular theme in Campbell, not only in discussions about slavery, but in general. His clearest explanation of it in relation to our topic, though, is found in article VIII, of the series "Our Position to American Slavery," published in the "Millennial Harbinger," in 1845. There he states that matters of *expediency* relate to "such actions as are not obligatory by law or positive requirement, but which may, by the influence of circumstances, become praiseworthy, meritorious, and sometimes necessary with reference to very great and moral results." (M.H. 1845:271, mismarked 259) True to his form, the idea of expediency may be found in scripture. It comes from Paul, in I Corinthians 10:23, "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient." For Campbell, while scripture makes no prohibition against slavery, it is obviously inexpedient. As proof of the expedience of removing slavery from America, he at one point compares the agricultural production of Kentucky and Ohio. Kentucky was a slave state, had more tillable land, and a larger work force, yet it was far behind Ohio, a free state, in agricultural production. (M.H. 1849:245) Thus, because of expediency he could claim to be anti-slavery.

We now move on to find out about the "spirit of the age." If expediency is regularly invoked, so is the "spirit of the age" in Campbell's thought. Just what this term means is clarified in his many applications of it. For example, the spirit of the age picks up the moral slack of scripture, for he says that even though scripture does not explicitly decry slavery, the spirit of the age does. (M.H. 1845:269) Again, for Campbell, the spirit of the age is the "evangelical" force which goes beyond the negative limits of law to the positive character of true

Christianity. He writes,

The Christian master rendering to his servant that which is "just and equal" on Christian principles, seems yet a mystery to myriads of nominal Christians. Were that Christian precept interpreted and applied according to the genius and spirit of Christianity, the servant would be more an object of envy than his master. (M.H. 1849:252)

The spirit of the age bridges the gap between the specific directives in scripture and the general principles of the gospel. The spirit of the age is nothing explicit, like scripture. It is a more intuitive rule, somehow connected to the overarching intentions of Christianity. Indeed, in another place Campbell exchanges the word "age" for "Christianity" when he refers to "the whole genius and spirit of Christianity." (M.H. 1845:234) In sum, his application of this phrase could answer the critique levelled above concerning the limited nature of prescriptive ethics. We have uncovered another dimension to Campbell's ethical formula — more general, more intuitive. And to a significant degree, Campbell's use of expediency operates in a similar vein.

We have now examined the place of the Bible in Campbell's moral evaluation of slavery. A two-pronged system is

discernible. The most prominent prong is his reference to specific passages of scripture for discerning right conduct. We have labelled this prong, "prescriptive." It stems from a high view of scripture which is understandably important to one wanting to restore the church to unity and a primitive character. The drawbacks of this approach are manifest, however, and no doubt put Campbell in disfavor with many Christians with whom he shared an anti-slavery view. But we have also seen that Campbell's ethical system is not limited to prescriptions.

Throughout Campbell's writings on slavery, he condemns it on the grounds of expediency and spirit of the age. These ideals are more intuitive and positive in moral influence. They also balance Campbell's otherwise stiff application of scripture. This second prong is more akin to "principles" of Christianity, rather than prescription. And both prongs should be seen as two parcels of a whole ethical package.

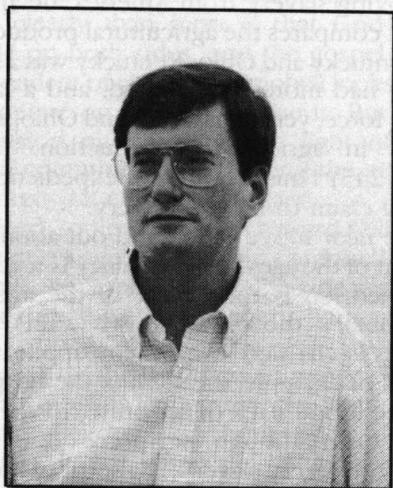
Special thanks to Dr. Newell Williams, (C.T.S. Indianapolis, Indiana) for suggestions in preparation of the manuscript.

*Randall Harrison is minister of Evangelism, First Christian Church, Canton, Ohio.

A Mixed Welcome In England—1851

by Philip S. Fall

Transcribed with Notes by James Edward Fall¹



James Edward Fall

[In the summer of 1847 Alexander Campbell visited Scotland, where he was attacked on the issue of slavery and briefly imprisoned over a libel suit brought on by an attempt at self-defense.² Campbell was not the only early Disciples leader to find a mixed welcome in Britain.

In the summer of 1851 the Rev. Philip Slater Fall (1798-1890) of Nashville, Tenn. journeyed to England in the company of his wife and daughter Mary to be present at the settling of the estate of his great-uncle Philip Slater, a rich London pharmacist. By 1851, incidentally, the case had been before the Court of Chancery for seven years a' la *Bleak House*; Fall inherited but a tiny fraction of the fortune.

While in England, the Falls received many invitations to worship at churches in London and outside the capital. In the undated letter below Fall recounts for Tolbert Fanning, editor of the *Religious Historian*, his recollections of the trip.³ The original document, which is probably a draft dating from the period 1872-74, is now in the Fall Family Papers, Kentucky Historical Society Library, Frankfort. Apparently, the letter was never published till now; the *Religious Historian* ceased with Fanning's death in May 1874.]

Bro. Fanning,

In the January number of the *Historian* you refer to my visit to England in 1851. That visit made a vivid impression on me as to the brethren that I had the opportunity of meeting; and I must ask for space to give you some of its details.

On the first Lord's Day after reaching London that was at my disposal, I went to Elstree Street, Pancras Road, King's Cross, where the chapel is situated in which the London congregation worshipped. The welcome extended to me was of the most cordial character; and the worship, as to its order, was just like our own and was earnest and devout. The singing was very fine, and all joined in it, not simply to sing, or for the sake of the music, but to worship. All seemed to feel that "in the midst of the congregation" the Lord Jesus was singing praises to His Father; and that to sing as He would Himself sing should be their chief care (Heb. 2:12).

If I remember rightly, the air only was sung. I remarked the same thing in the chapel occupied by the Baptist congregation to which the late Baptist W. Noel preached and those of the famous Mr. Binney, and Dr. [Henry] Burder in Hackney. The celebrated Dr. Wardlaw filled Mr. Binney's pulpit, and delivered a most beautiful discourse on "the death of Moses." The singing at Elstree Street was, however, to my taste more spiritual, more earnest, less formal & more elevating than in either of the others. The leader of the singing occupied, in the other places alluded to, a sort of desk in front of the high pulpit, elevated above the congregations. He gave the number of the hymn & the tune.

There was no choir singing in any

dissenting chapel that we attended, and our intercourse with the members of the different congregations impressed us with their spiritual-mindedness and intelligent zeal. We did not drink tea at any house without family worship before the company separated.

An annual meeting of our brethren was held the week after our arrival; and altho' our home at Lower Clapton was several miles from the place of meeting, I walked to Fitzroy Hall in the West of London, reaching there after the morning session had closed, but finding many brethren to whom I was introduced and whose cordial greeting was highly gratifying. One very intelligent brother intimated that much feeling had been excited on the subject of slavery, and I learned that a certain Mr. Gary had been lecturing for pay, and describing in most extravagant terms the horrors of the system — in Virginia in particular. He had threatened to go to the above named meeting, but Bro. [James] Wallis, who had received letters from Virginia in regard to him, told him that his presence there, for any such purpose as he contemplated, would render the reading of those letters necessary and he did not appear.

Having an appointment for the afternoon in the northeast part of the city, I could not remain to the meeting to be held that evening, or to the tea party for which they were preparing, nor could I, on account of business, be again present.

Several brethren whom I had seen at Fitzroy Hall were present on Lord's Day in Elstree Street, and participated in the worship. Bro. Wallis & his excellent lady very kindly insisted on a visit to Nottingham, and an appointment was accordingly made for August 10th 1851.

I had spoken at the meeting for worship to a very serious and intelligent congregation on the spiritual gifts bestowed on the first Christians, as demonstrating the truth of the grand New Covenant proposition that Jesus Christ had "led captivity captive," had "ascended on high" & was "seated at the right hand of God," with "all authority in heaven and on earth." Whatever others may have thought of it I did not know — for about this I never enquire — but Bro. Black expressed voluntarily his great satisfaction, because he had taken the same view, and because it was

seen that on both sides of the Atlantic we were "perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment."

The brethren had their New Testaments — some of them in the original — open and in use as I spoke. It was proposed by some of the brethren that I should speak again at night. "No!" said Bro. King, "The time tonight has been divided between several speakers, and we cannot give it all to one."

I could not, however, have remained, but dined with Bro. King — in company with Bro. Apperson, who afterwards came to this country and was very kindly and hospitably entertained. I was struck by the great simplicity and excellence of the repast. No extra trouble had been taken; no elaborate provision made; little cooking was needed to set before a stranger a perfect Christian meal, characterized at once by neatness and healthful abundance. A cordial welcome seasoned everything.

In due time we made our way to Nottingham. From that city came the first person who had accepted our plea for a return to original Christianity that from England I had met with. This was a Mr. Oldcastle, who in the year 1828 delivered a course of very interesting lectures on Astronomy in Nashville. His name was not known to the brethren living in 1851.

Bro. Wallis met us at the station and conveyed us in a carriage to his home, where we were most kindly treated. We spent Saturday in looking over part of the City, & amongst other things witnessed the effect produced on the working classes by want of employment. A large number of men were passing thro' the street singing hymn tunes, and received donations from such as heard them. Bro. Wallis handed them money.

On Lord's Day morning we repaired to the Chapel and found it well filled. Many had come for the first time to enquire, as the Athenians did, "what these things meant." A hymn was well sung, and prayer was offered by Brother Greenwell. After another hymn I was requested to address the audience. The passage selected was Matt. 10, and the question examined: "What does the Son of Man require of those who would be his disciples?"

I noticed, just in front & not more than ten feet from me, a lady somewhat advanced in years, sitting on the right hand of a rather

youngish-looking man. Their conduct was incomprehensible. While all others listened with the most respectful attention, they — especially the latter — threw their faces into the most ludicrous distortions. As children shew their contempt for each other by "making mouths," these Christian philanthropists attempted to awe or to embarrass me by their grimaces. Not imagining, however, that all this was intentional — since I could not suppose it possible that religious people would in this *outré* was try to be "entertaining to strangers" — I took no notice of their insane rudeness, but went on as tho' they were not there.

The discourse being ended, Bro. Wallis arose to attend to the breaking of bread. Some unaccountable trepidation might have been observed in his manner, and it became apparent very soon that he anticipated what followed. The young man said, "Bro. Wallis! Before you proceed, I wish to ask the person that has spoken some questions."

"You cannot ask them now, Bro. Lee," said Bro. Wallis. "You know that no question can be asked in public that has not beforehand been laid before the elders of the congregation."

"I know that," said Lee, "but this is a matter involving truth and righteousness and I must ask them."

"You must wait then till the worship has ended," replied Bro. Wallis.

"No! I shall not do that; I want to know beforehand if this person is a *man-stealer*; and if not, whether he *sympathizes with such as are*; and if neither, *if he hires from either*."

I sat still, observing the mortification of Bro. Wallis and others, & not knowing whereto the thing would grow. One after another arose, said a few words expressive of regret that the hospitalities of a Christian community had been so contemned, and when Lee retorted that Bro. Wallis was responsible for the men he introduced into the pulpit, I saw, I thought, some desire to oust Bro. W. from the oversight. Of course I said at once: "Brethren, I might possibly answer those questions, but I shall not do it. These are matters over which you have no jurisdiction and about which no one here has a right to interrogate me, or any of your visitors. For the sake of others that may come after me, I will not countenance such a

precedent," and sat down.⁴

Lee arose and remarked, "Well, if he can answer those questions and will not, there must be something wrong. I have no fellowship for him."

Bro. Greenwell added that he had had a desire to ask the same questions, but that he had conversed with Bro. Wallis and his family and was satisfied to be silent. One or two others said something of the same pacific character, but it was evident that much anxiety prevailed.

Thinking it better to stop discussion, I remarked, "Brethren, it appears probable that my presence will interfere with your worship. I shall take leave to withdraw. In doing so I must remark that I am not here to discuss the subject of slavery with anyone, and especially with such as can know nothing really about it."

Bro. Greenwell said, "We read your books."

I rejoined, "Personal observation, long continued, alone could give an adequate knowledge of slavery." As to the fellowship of the person who had thus marred the peace of the meeting, that had not yet been asked, and the want of it was not very important; still, I would not be even in *his* way, and would disturb him no further. In withdrawing I hoped they would not attribute my conduct to either anger or fear. I thought they were allowing a great wrong, and that the course was suicidal; still, without one ill feeling I must bid them a kind adieu. "You have made an appointment for me to speak tonight, but I must respectfully decline to fill it." I then left the house by a door near me.

Someone immediately said, "Well, I hope we may imitate his spirit."

Mrs. Fall and my daughter remained to see the end, which was not far off, for soon the members left the house and joined me outside. One brother said: "So long as the Epistle to Philemon remains in the New Testament no man living has a right to ask such questions."

A lady, much excited, added: "He ought to be turned out of the Church at once."

The meeting was broken up. Bro. Wallis said afterwards that he *could not*, under the circumstances, go forward with the worship, and no one else *would* do it. They had then no alternative but to disperse.

That young man had the bad ambition

and the bad fame of Herostratus. I have known young persons at school, who rather than not be noticed at all, would do wrong, [so] that — such was their vanity — they might be punished.⁵

[Bro. Wallis], however, was not alone in the grief that followed. I never saw so much sorrow and mortification resting on an assembly — or more regret — not only that their worship had been thus inopportunistly interfered with, but that outsiders should have witnessed so disgraceful a scene & that enquirers for truth should have had so sad an exemplification of selfishness and meddling in other people's affairs, as illustrating the system they desired to study.

A deputation from Bulwell reached Nottingham on Lord's Day afternoon, bearing an affectionate letter and a cordial invitation to visit the congregation there, and to be present at their social meeting that night; after which they desired "the ancient gospel" to be preached. The letter was signed "W. I. Dawson."

I saw, however, that in Nottingham there were fears that Lee might get up a mob; and thought it best not to go to Bulwell. The next morning, to quiet all misgivings on this subject, I concluded to return to the house of my relative at St. Albans in Hertfordshire [John Gomme] and accordingly bade adieu to Bro. Wallis and his amiable family.

The news soon spread amongst the congregations, and by way of shewing the effect it had, the following extract of a letter from Bro. [John] Davies of Mollington is copied:

Dear Sir,

I have indeed been grieved at and ashamed for the gross impropriety committed at Nottingham, and do not wonder you should be desirous to avoid similar outrages on Christianity. I can assure you there is no fear of anything of the kind here. All our brethren will be most happy to welcome you to their fellowship & to pay you all that kind respect due to a Brother from a distance, of whom most of them have heard something.

May we hope that Mrs. & Miss Fall will accompany you? The best endeavors of Mary Davies will be used to make them comfortable, and the more so if only to shew that *all* the friends in Great Britain are not Lees.

Discipliana

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My business in London, however, had detained us so long that we had to go on board the *Pacific* without the opportunity to accept this very kind invitation — much to our regret — especially as an appointment had been made for the Lord's Day after we sailed, in the hope that we could be there.

¹James Edward (Jef) Fall is compiling a book of letters pertaining to the Fall family. He is Philip Fall's great-great grandnephew.

²Fowler, Newton B., Jr., "Alexander Campbell's Imprisonment in Scotland," *Discipliana*, vol. 44, #2, Summer 1984.

³The Rev. Tolbert Fanning (1810-1874), founding editor of both the *Religious Historian* and the *Gospel Advocate*, was married to Fall's sister Charlotte (1810?-1896).

⁴The Falls, or at least Mrs. Fall, did own several slaves.

⁵"Herostratus, an Ephesian, set fire to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus...on the same night that Alexander the Great was born, B.C. 356...Herostratus was put to the torture for his deed, and confessed that he had fired the temple to immortalise himself. The Ephesians passed a decree condemning his name to oblivion; but Theopompus embalmed him in his history, like a fly in amber." (Smith, William. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1867.)

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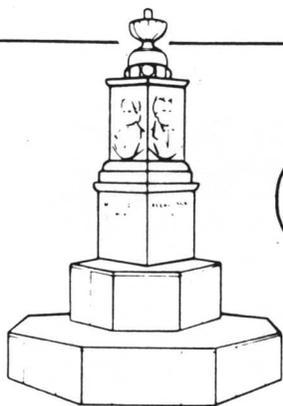
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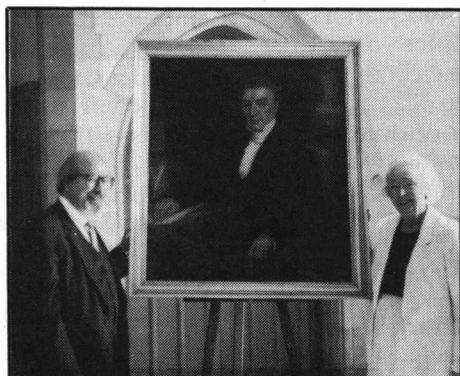
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Michael Cassaday, Cambridge, MA.
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Tracey Wyatt, Marion, IL.



Discipliana

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Fall, 1988, Vol. 48, No. 3



Society Receives Treasured Campbell Objects

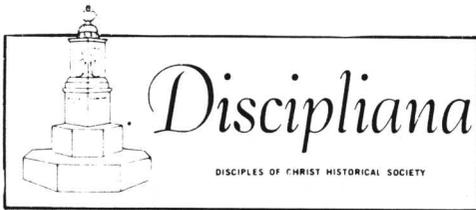
As a part of the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birthday of Alexander Campbell, Eva Jean Wrather presented to Dale W. Brown, Chairperson of the Board of Trustees of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, three gifts for use in the Thomas W. Phillips Memorial Building. Most significant of the gifts was an oil painting of Alexander Campbell by William Page. Mr. Page, a Nashville, Tennessee, artist, copied the painting from an 1842 engraving by Sartain which was based on a painting by William Cogswell.

An oriental rug (Anatolin Sirves) that was purchased by Decima Campbell and John Judson Barclay while he was Consul on Cyprus was given to Miss Wrather by Mrs. Mary Campbell Magarey Barclay and her son Magarey. Until Decima's death in 1820, it was used as a hearth rug before the fireplace in the "new" parlor of the Campbell home

in Bethany, West Virginia. The rug measures forty and one-half inches by seventy-five inches.

A Tutor-Gothic table copied from an Elizabethan table in an Inn where the Queen slept in Chester, England, was made by a Nashville craftsman at the request of Miss Wrather. It has a Tennessee marble inlaid top. Alexander Campbell spent some of his happiest years in Chester, England, home of his friend and supporter, John Davies, and the Davies family.

The portrait and table are in the Board of Trustees room of the Society. The rug is displayed in the museum. These gifts are very important additions to the collection of Campbell artifacts held by the Society. The Board of Trustees accepted these gifts with great appreciation from Miss Wrather and they are on display for all who visit the Society to see.



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EDITOR: James M. Seale
 ASSISTANT EDITOR: David I.
 McWhirter

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The Disciples of Christ Historical Society was established in 1941 "to maintain and further interest in the religious heritage, backgrounds, origins, development, and general history of Disciples of Christ, Christian Churches, Churches of Christ, and related groups."

Members of the Society receive DISCIPLIANA quarterly, along with other benefits. Annual membership categories are as follows: Sustaining — \$50, Participating — \$25, Regular — \$10.00 Student — \$5.00. Single payment Life memberships are: Life — \$250, Life Link — \$500. Life Patron — \$1,000.

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The Society, A Museum and More!

The lady walked in from the street because the architecture of the building fascinated her. Nashville, after all, does not have many Tutor-Gothic buildings the size of the Thomas W. Phillips Memorial. She was intrigued to know if it were a church, a university building, or something else. She was delighted to discover a beautiful and interesting museum, but was surprised this was only one part of the building.

Presently, the museum is displaying a major collection of Alexander Campbell material in celebration of the 200th anniversary of his birthday. Three display cases; a desk, chair, and rug belonging to Campbell; and oil portraits and writings of Campbell give people a concept of Alexander Campbell and the significant role he played in the early history of the church and this nation.

However, church tour groups, researchers, and historians all come for other reasons. Somewhere among the 28,000 books, the 1,000 permanent paper collections, the 17,000 biographical files, and the 5,000 congregational files are the historical material these persons are looking for. A glimpse of a church of the past, personal writings of an early church leader, the teachings or beliefs of a well known leader, or even the personal papers of a distant relative are found day in and day out at the Society.

A researcher may come for two or three weeks, a group of lay persons may spend an entire day, a scholar may spend an entire semester or a school year working in the library, but all are working with the historical materials belonging to the Campbell-Stone Movement.

This fall the Historical Society is celebrating the 30th anniversary of being housed in the Thomas W. Phillips Memorial. The building itself is a credit to the architecture of a growing city like Nashville, but the treasure trove of material found inside tell the story of three church groups which developed over the past two hundred years. You are urged to visit the Historical Society to see, experience, use, and gain knowledge from the wealth of material found here.

James M. Seale
 President

Alexander Campbell's Millennial Program

by Hiram J. Lester*



Hiram J. Lester

No other preacher more completely fused the religious and secular elements of the millennial utopia; none more strongly emphasized the need for social reform as preparation for the great age. One might say that for Campbell, . . . "Americanizing" the world, in the right sense, is almost identical with millennializing it. (*Redeemer Nation*, p. 217)

Thus, Ernest Tuveson summarized his brief treatment of Alexander Campbell's role in 19th century American thought. Tuveson's statement contrasts strikingly with the judgment of Winfred Ernest Garrison who, reflecting on Campbell's 1829 decision to name his new periodical the *Millennial Harbinger*, said:

The name of the new magazine...does not indicate any special interest in the second coming of Christ in a spectacular way or any marked devotion to either the premillennial or the postmillennial view. (*Religion Follows The Frontier*, p. 147)

Earlier Disciple historians and biographers had agreed with Garrison, but most scholars since Robert F. West (*Alexander Campbell and Natural Religion*) have recognized that the concept of an impending millennial age had great importance in Campbell's thought. West noted that Campbell's international reputation in his own time resulted from his commitment to and churchmanly defense of revealed religion against the natural religion of the Enlightenment, a fact obscured by other historians. He asked: how could the *Christian Baptist* editor, who had concurred

with the French and British opponents of revealed religion in both principle and strategy in his attacks on "priestcraft and kingcraft," tradition, creeds, speculative theology and sectarian structures, make the change to become the defender of revealed religion?

Near 1830, according to West, Campbell changed radically in temperament and in the application of his principles. The clue to this change from radical individualism with an "infidel-type" temper to constructive churchmanship and defense of revealed religion, West averred, is found in the Campbell-Owen debate:

Campbell had developed a philosophy of history which changed the whole perspective of the current struggle. The culmination of history was now at hand. The millennium was coming. World history and current events must be interpreted in the light of what was about to take place. (West, 164)

While West's survey of Campbell's millennialism is probably the fullest treatment to date, it has three major problems:

1. West's own fileopietistic concerns color it. (Note the italicized words in the preceding paragraphs; West openly acknowledges his bias.)
2. Campbell's millennial philosophy of history was not a new development in 1829-30.
3. West does not clarify Campbell's basic millennial concept and his programmatic approach to the Millennium.

Unlike the early chiliasts, Campbell did not speculate vividly on the Millennium. We are near the heart of his millennial imagery in his "An Oration In Honor of the Fourth of July:"

All confess that were men truly religious political government would be unnecessary. So far this is a concession in favor of our grant position, that Jesus Christ will yet govern the world by religion only, and that by the operation of one single principle. . . . Christianity, rightly understood, cordially embraced, and fully carried out in practice, will as certainly subvert all political government, the very best as well as the very worst, . . . The admirers of American liberty and American institutions have no cause to regret such an event, nor cause to fear it. It will be but the removing of a tent to build a temple. . . (MH [1830] p. 306.)

*Hiram J. Lester is on the faculty of Bethany College, Bethany, WV.

At a time when Barton Stone, Walter Scott, and many others were enamored with William Miller's enthusiastic predictions of the immediate pre-millennial return of Jesus, Campbell repeatedly affirmed his own *post-millennialism*. This post-millennialist stance sprang from at least three sources in Campbell's theology:

1. Campbell's eschatological philosophy of history.
2. His deep trust in the faithfulness of God and the reliability of the Scriptures;
3. His abiding certainty of the triumph of the Gospel.

Garrison (*The Sources of Alexander Campbell's Theology*) observed that Campbell's philosophy of history is the key to his theology. Certainly it was the touchstone for his millennialism, although Garrison inexplicably makes no reference to the Millennium. West agreed, adding that the dispensationalism central to his mature churchmanly activity was developed in the late 1820s.

Beginning as early as 1812 and continuing throughout his life, Campbell expounded his understanding of the dispensations of God's dealings with humanity. He even asserted that this philosophy of history was the hermeneutical principle essential to interpreting scripture correctly. He named them the Patriarchial Dispensation, the Jewish Age, and the Christian Age. His favorite metaphor shows clearly the progressive nature which he saw in God's self-revelation: "Thus the patriarchial age was the star-light of the moral world; the Jewish age was the moon-light; the ministry of the harbinger was the twilight; and the Christian age was the sun-light of the moral world." (CB, VI [1828] pp. 61-64, 81-91)

In the scheme, the past and present derive their meaning from the *future* which encompasses the whole creation. Campbell insisted that the New Testament be read from a millennial perspective (*Living Oracles*, [1832], pp. 41-51). The divine self-disclosure was progressive; the covenants of each age were not binding on later ages, but did foreshadow the coming ages. Thus, there was both continuity and 'revolutionary' discontinuity.

Eugene Boring has demonstrated that Hebrews and Romans constitute Campbell's canon within the canon; both epistles played decisive roles in his post-

millennialism. Hebrews provided the Biblical support for his philosophy of history. Although highly critical of attempts to date the Millennium, he expected it to dawn before the year 2000, a *terminus ad quem* evolved from the common assumption that creation was almost six millennia old and from the promise of an eschatological Sabbath in Hebrews 4.

Romans 11:25-26 was also key in his post-millennialism. Campbell studied Biblical prophecy systematically from the first years of his ministry, listing in a notebook prophecies that had been specifically fulfilled and those awaiting fulfillment. This study continued throughout his life; he carefully read books from all viewpoints. At the height of Millerite enthusiasm, he called the list of unfulfilled prophecies, especially Romans 11, to the attention of Miller and others (MH [1843] p. 74 and *passim*).

I have no objection that the present dispensation close during the present year. But were it to close, the fortunes of Christianity are vastly diverse from all that we have learned in both Testaments (MH [1840], p. 24).

If Jesus came in 1843, there would be no conversion of the Jews, no fullness of the Gentiles, no Gospel triumph, no beating of the swords into plowshares. It was not a question of apocalyptic calculus, but of God's faithfulness — does God keep his promises?

The central Millennial issue for Campbell was the triumph of the Christian Gospel, the promised conversion of the *whole* world. While Campbell does not fall into the heresy of affirming that humanity initiates the Millennium, he believed that the millennial dawn was necessarily connected to the ultimate triumph of the Gospel throughout the world:

there is now, a scheme of things presented, in what is called the Ancient Gospel, which is long enough, broad enough, strong enough for the whole superstructure called the Millennial Church — and that it will alone be the instrument of converting the whole human race, and of uniting all Christians upon one and the same foundation. ...All that the world needs to its happiness, and all that is necessary to bring us into the millennial enjoyments, will be to have the ancient gospel and the ancient order of things clearly, fully, and faithfully propounded to us. (MH [1830] p. 58)

The explosive growth of Campbell's reformation, not an assumed theological change, accounts for the escalating millennial emphasis near 1830. Fifty years

later, A.S. Hayden (*Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio*, p. 183) remembered the millennial excitement engendered by the phenomenal growth of the late 1820s. Among Campbell's associates, Hayden reports, the Millennium provided the meat for many sermons, a topic for exhaustless conversation, a motivation for intensive Bible study, and the inspiration for many hymns because "the restoration of the ancient gospel was looked upon as the initiatory movement" leading to the millennial dawn. Campbell wrote in 1830:

No seven years of the last ten centuries, as the last seven, have been so strongly marked with the criteria of the dawn of that period which has been the theme of many a discourse, and the burthen of many a prayer. (MH [1830] p. 8, cf. also CB [1829] p. 6)

Campbell's millennial philosophy of history has its roots in the evangelical experience of his Irish Presbyterian background. In the decades of Campbell's childhood and adolescence, astonishing, but long-anticipated, apocalyptic events shook the western world. The American Revolution, Irish parliamentary independence (1882) and the French Revolution followed each other in close order; the last destroyed the kingdom of "His Most Catholic Majesty," ended papal power in France, and established the rule of reason. In 1798, French troops seized Rome, established a republic and banished the pope, exactly 1260 years after Belisarius ended the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy and left papal power supreme. In the dramatic upheavals of the 1790s, devout students of apocalyptic literature were convinced that they were living through the fulfillment of Daniel 7 and Revelation 13.

In the same decades, a revival swept western Europe and America, reaching an apex at Cane Ridge. Thousands responded to the itinerant evangelists of the Second Awakening. In these halcyon days, the Protestant missionary enterprise was born with its vision of winning the world for Christ in one century. Concurrently, the great Protestant evangelical or voluntary societies arose, dedicated to education, the transformation of morals, the distribution of Bibles, and the conversion of the Jews. It looked like Romans 11 was soon to be fulfilled.

Was there ever such unambiguous

evidence of the fulfillment of apocalyptic prophecy or such portents of the Second Advent? Irish Presbyterianism, especially its left-wing Protestant sects, had long been rife with apocalypticism. But now the western world became drunk on the millennium; more than 339 works on prophecy were published in England and Scotland between 1775 and 1815, and comparable numbers were issued in America.

The Campbells in Ireland were deeply involved in this vortex of apocalyptic change. Northeastern Armagh was in the center of sectarian and socio-economic conflict, and the Aforey congregation had resulted from revolutionary ferment. Thomas developed a passion for itinerant preaching and became a founding officer of the Evangelical Society of Ulster just months after his ordination. Recently discovered letters demonstrate that the evangelists and officers of this *ecumenical* association interpreted apocalyptically both the unparalleled response of the masses and the ensuing turmoil in the Seceder synods. Richardson describes this Irish experience as very formative in Alexander's life.

Thomas Campbell reflected much of apocalyptic woes and millennial hopes of those Irish experiences in *The Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington*, the earliest extant statement of the Campbell millennial philosophy of history. The entire document is set upon a series of millennial premises, which may be summarized as follows:

e.g., God has demonstrated the near approach of his Eschaton by a sequence of remarkable events which obviously fulfill key Biblical promises. This, then, is a favored time for the church, a circumstance confirmed by other collateral evidence. Since the world must be won to Christ before the Millennium commences, that happy circumstance can be hastened by concerted evangelical action. This evangelical action cannot be successful unless the church is united. Because the United States has never been tainted by the Mark of the Beast, the unity and evangelical action necessary for the Millennial Dawn have the greatest chance of succeeding here.

The word Millennium does not appear in the document, but it is full of images to which Alexander Campbell would return again and again to describe the millennial age: "we desire to be at rest — give rest to our brethren throughout all the churches — restore unity, peace and purity to the whole

Church of God.”

One may object that Alexander Campbell did not write the *Declaration and Address*, but he read and approved it in galleys and later republished it, reiterating his total agreement with it. Furthermore, his notebooks from the first years of his ministry (1811-1816) have extended notes on, and lists of, specific Biblical prophecies which have been fulfilled and which are yet to be fulfilled, as well as sermon outlines in which young Alexander details his dispensational view of salvation history, which West identified as his millennial philosophy of history, often using the same metaphors that later became so familiar.

Campbell's program to facilitate the Millennium's coming grew from his belief that it would arrive when society believed and practiced the Gospel. He was not naive — he knew that many things both in the church and in the world impeded the desired triumph of evangelical principles. Therefore, much of Campbell's thought and ministry were devoted to removing the obstacles and advocating the reforms necessary to Gospel progress.

The first sentences in the Prospectus of his new *Millennial Harbinger* contain the most concise statement of this program:

This work shall be devoted to the destruction of Sectarianism, Infidelity, and Antichristian doctrine and practice. It shall have for its object the development, and introduction of that political and religious order of society called THE MILLENNIUM, which will be the consummation of that ultimate amelioration of society proposed in the Christian Scriptures. (MH [1830] p. 1)

Negatively, the cosmic rivals to be removed were typical of early evangelicals. Martin Luther identified the Holy See with Revelation's demonic beast, the 19th century evangelicals had tasted the sweet wine of his demise in the days of the French Revolution. The lists of opponents to Biblical Christianity varied some, but most shared Campbell's expectation:

...the triumphs of the gospel over its four grand rivals, Mahometism, Papalism, Paganism, and Atheism, occupy a large space in the yet unfulfilled visions of Daniel and of John. Public attention is, therefore, specially directed to five great events: — The downfall of Mahometianism, the demolition of the Papacy, the conversion of the Jews, the end of Paganism, the abolition of Atheism, or the Millennium, and, as connected with them, the coming of the Lord. (MH [1841], p. 7)

Campbell's favorite phrase for the positive

process to facilitate the millennial dawn was the *amelioration of society*. This implied social reform, which led Campbell in his third essay on the Millennium to affirm that innovations were necessary to the coming of that kingdom (MH [1830] pp. 311-313). Although he never published a specific list of all the areas that needed to be changed before the Millennium came, the list of concerns to be addressed in the *Millennial Harbinger* comprises much of Campbell's program for millennial amelioration:

1. The incompatibility of any sectarian establishment, now known on earth, with the genius of the glorious age to come.
2. The inadequacy of all the present systems of education, literary and moral, to develop the powers of the human mind, and to prepare man for rational and social happiness.
3. The disentanglement of the Holy Scriptures from the perplexities of the commentators and system-makers of the dark ages. ...
4. The injustice which yet remains in many of the political regulations under the best political governments, when contrasted with the justice which Christianity proposes, and which the millennial order of society promises.
5. Disquisitions upon the treatment of African slaves, as preparatory to their emancipation, and exaltation from their present degraded condition.

At one time or another, Campbell declared that each of these issues was essential for bringing in the Millennium, and the *Harbinger* frequently carried news items and essays on each. Although he was active on occasion in every aspect of this ameliorative program, Campbell understood his role in much more specific terms. Explaining why he had waited until 1840 to write a major series of essays on the Second Advent of Jesus, he said that the extension of apostolic Christianity throughout all nations and languages (i.e., evangelism, Christian unity, restoration) was where he could make his greatest contribution (MH [1840] p. 561).

This program of social amelioration provides the necessary context for understanding Campbell's view of America's millennial role. He believed that America had a special God-given eschatological destiny; he even suggested that the Millennium might begin in America's central river valleys. But he never thought, as Tuveson and others have suggested, that America (or even the Anglo-Saxon nations) would be the chosen instrument to initiate the Millennium. One of his clearer statements of America's limited millennial

role is found in the oration for July 4, 1830:

The fourth of July, 1776, was a memorable day, a day to be remembered as was the Jewish Passover — a day to be regarded with grateful acknowledgements by every American citizen, by every philanthropist in all the nations of the world. The light which shines from our political institutions will penetrate even the dungeons of European despots, for the genius of our government is the genius of universal emancipation!

The American Revolution is but a precursor of a revolution of infinitely more importance to mankind. ...A more glorious work is reserved for this generation — a work of as much greater moment, compared with the Revolution of '76, as immortality is to the present span of human life — the emancipation of the human mind from the shackles of superstition, and the introduction of human beings into the full fruition of the Reign of Heaven. ...This revolution, taken in all its influences, will make men free indeed. (MH [1830] pp. 306-307).

More prudent than Stone, Scott and others whose hopes were crushed in 1843-44, Campbell still experienced deep millennial disappointments. He believed that Christian union was essential to the Millennial Church; but this great goal eluded his quest. He confessed to C. L. Loos late in 1865 his painful awareness that Baptist opposition to him personally prevented even the initiatory steps. Restoration had seemed to be the key, but much of his editorial work was devoted to maintaining a modicum of unity, tolerance, freedom, and openness to change among his fissiparous brethren. And the admiring James A. Garfield quickly recognized that Campbell's Bethany had more social classes than one should find among Christians!

The Civil War was his crushing disappointment. Knowing that slavery was pernicious, he tried to alter the nation's course in 1829. In 1835, he warned grimly, but eloquently, that war seemed inevitable. But the Civil War came in spite of him, and each side justified its massive blood-letting by appeal to apocalyptic images. The fracturing of Campbell's reformation began before the war and quickly escalated as prominent leaders took up arms on opposing sides. His beloved college almost closed for lack of students. Even his own family divided, with Campbell and his siblings for the Union, while his wife and children favored the South. No wonder the Patriarch often drifted into fantasy!

But hope did not die! Campbell's last essay, published shortly before he died, concluded with the promises of God:

The present material universe, yet unrevealed in all its area, in all its tenancies, in all its riches, beauty and grandeur, will be wholly regenerated. On this fact we have full assurance: since he that now sits upon the Throne of the Universe, has pledged his word for it, saying, "Behold, I will create all things new," — consequently, new tenancies, new employments, new pleasures, new joys, new ecstasies. There is a fullness of joy, a fullness of glory, and a fullness of blessedness, of which no living man, however enlightened, however enlarged, however gifted, ever formed or entertained one adequate conception (MH [1865] 517).

The Old Man did not enter the Promised Land. But like Moses, he had climbed the mountain and seen it from afar. He bore witness that "there abideth yet a Sabbath rest for the People of God."

CWBM: A Flame of the Lord's Kindling

by Debra Hull*



Debra Hull

Go back in history with me to the year 1834 in London, England. We are eavesdropping on a group of fairly well-to-do church women who are hearing a report from Rev. David Abeel, American missionary to the Orient. He is telling them of secluded Hindu, Chinese, and Moslem women who are not allowed to leave their zenanas (small sections of their homes where they may move about). No men, except their masters, are permitted to see them. Rev. Abeel is asking the assembled English church women to send unmarried women missionaries to share the Gospel with their

*Debra Hull is on the faculty of Wheeling Jesuit College, Wheeling, WV.



Ida Withers Harrison

secluded sisters. The English women responded, sending the first single women missionaries into the world.

Rev. Abeel also brought his appeal to this country. Although he was well received by American church women, male members of church boards in various denominations bitterly opposed the women's efforts to organize, reminding them that they should not be heard in church. Thus, American women's missionary societies were delayed in their formation for at least 25 years. Instead, church women continued to sell spare butter, eggs, and rags, and to give the money they raised to the men to spend.

The Woman's Century

Several 19th Century developments finally set the stage for American women to form independent missionary societies. Women gained access to formal education. In the words of Ida Withers Harrison, written about 1920, "Less than a century ago the most rudimentary education was considered all that was necessary for a woman. Anything beyond that was considered indelicate and unwomanly, and was supposed to unfit her for the sphere to which God had assigned her." (*The CWBM*, p. 19).

Because these newly educated women, especially the married ones, were frequently unable to find employment, they turned their energies and talents to social reform, specifically in the areas of urban poverty and decay, abolition, and women's rights. Again in the words of Harrison, "The women in

the church heard the call of the poor and needy, and felt that same impulse to organize that found expression in the Women's Rights movement" (*The CWBM*, p. 21). Women were finding that they could organize themselves, raise substantial amounts of money, and work together for social justice.

Many of the men who opposed women's missionary societies were distracted by the Civil War. The women who were left at home found they could manage the farm, make financial decisions, and act independently in areas previously controlled by men.

Women's skills were also needed in the war effort. Substantial numbers entered the paid work force for the first time and had their own source of income. No longer would their church organizations be referred to as the Female Mite Society or the Women's Cent Society. Now women controlled enough money to have a decision-making impact in the world. As Harrison says, "A certain amount of financial independence is an auxiliary to self-respect...certainly initiative is impossible when one lacks the means of carrying out one's plans" (*40 Years*, p. 11). When men returned from war, they found strong, capable, educated, sometimes financially independent women who would not be kept silent this time.

Formation of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions

Increasing efforts to eliminate discrimination against women, higher levels of education among women, successful organization of groups responding to social needs, the example of church women in other denominations (Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Baptists), and dissatisfaction with the male-run American Christian Missionary Society, provided the climate into which the Christian Woman's Board of Missions was born. Founding mother Mrs. Caroline Neville Pearre was a well-respected teacher and church member from Iowa City who felt the call to spread the gospel of Jesus. She corresponded with women church leaders in Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, who were able to establish a few local women's mission societies.

But Mrs. Pearre saw the need for a broader

organization. "On the ninth day of April, 1874, after my private devotions, about ten o'clock in the morning, the thought came to me to organize the women of the church for missionary work...No one has the right to say nay to a movement that [I] and the other women of the church believe to be of God." (*The CWBM*, p. 27).

Largely in response to editorials written by Isaac Errett in *The Christian Standard* and J. H. Garrison in *The Christian*, church women were invited to the regular meeting of the (male) General Missionary Convention of the church. About the invitation, Thomas Munnell, corresponding secretary of the ACMS said, "This is a flame of the Lord's kindling, and no man can extinguish it" (*The CWBM*, p. 28).

A committee headed by Mrs. Pearre, Mrs. Maria Jameson of Indianapolis, and Mrs. M.M.G. Goodwin, met in the basement of the Richmond Street Church in Cincinnati and drafted a constitution which was approved by the assembled men. "At that time there was no woman among them experienced in public work; they were untrained in speech, in the conduct of business, and in audible, articulate prayer. But though these obstacles bore heavily upon them, like the women on that Easter morn long ago, they still pressed on to their goal" (*The CWBM*, pp. 28-29). Under their constitution, the Christian Woman's Board of Missions (CWBM) affirmed that all affairs, money, and property was to be owned and managed by the women members.

Although the official response of Christian church men had been positive, few men had attended the General Missionary Convention, and editorials opposing the CWBM followed. "Their scriptural right to do separate work was challenged, and [one minister] exhorted them rather to turn their attention to dress reform and to caring for their own homes and children" (*40 Years*, pp. 27-28).

But the CWBM survived, grew, selected Jamaica (a former ACMS post) as their first mission emphasis, and turned their energies to fund-raising. One notable fund-raiser was Miss Elmira J. Dickinson, a leader in the Illinois CWBM. Miss Dickinson graduated from Eureka College with an MA in 1869, and later served as a teacher and trustee of that institution. She wanted desperately to be a missionary. Although she was never

able to fulfill that dream, under her leadership many others did; Illinois raised one-third of the CWBM's budget in 1878.

Mrs. Rosetta Hastings' fund-raising efforts were of a very different sort. Because her husband was often absent from their Kansas farm due to his evangelism work, she had to manage the farm and care for four children under age 5. But she also found time to write letters and essays urging pioneer women to support the CWBM. "While the conditions under which these pioneer State workers labored were widely different — Miss Dickinson from the quiet of a beautiful College town, and Mrs. Hastings from a little settler's farm, with the cares of motherhood and household work pressing hard on her — both had the vision of the new call to service of the womanhood of the church, and both gave themselves without reserve to rousing them to their high calling" (*The CWBM*, p. 52).

Foreign Mission Efforts

In 1876, CWBM sent its first missionary, W. H. Williams, M.D., of Platte City, MO, his wife, and baby to Jamaica. Despite his request two years later for another *man* to help him, CWBM sent its second missionary and first unmarried *woman*, Miss Jennie Laughlin. Throughout its 45-year history, CWBM foreign mission endeavors included establishing: an orphanage, a hospital staffed by women doctors, and churches in India (their first missionary efforts in a non-Christian country); a Christian publishing house in Mexico (in cooperation with other denominations); churches in Puerto Rico; a theological seminary in Argentina; and a women's college in China. CWBM also worked cooperatively with the men in a Foreign Christian Missionary Society (FCMS) project in the Latin Quarter of Paris. In all the foreign work, emphasis was on training native people to become self-sufficient in evangelism, medical care, education, famine relief, and relief from oppression.

Domestic Mission Efforts

At home, church women were encouraged to study and inform themselves on mission work and to involve their children in the efforts. Several CWBM projects were funded by pennies collected from children, including contributions from an auxiliary society for children under age 5. At CWBM's tenth anniversary meeting in St. Louis, when children were first formally

included, Harrison says "Man may start out alone in his quest of the Celestial City...but when woman goes the long journey...she takes the children with her" (*The CWBM*, p. 58). In 1919, the last year CWBM functioned independently, there were 30,000 child members who had raised half a million dollars for mission work.

In the United States, mission efforts first centered around helping Southern blacks deal with reconstruction. (Jacob Kenoly, a black man educated in the CWBM school in Jackson, Mississippi, later went on to establish a mission post in Liberia.) Other efforts went toward: establishing Japanese speaking churches in western states; assisting the Chinese in California; helping to educate Mexican aliens; aiding the French creoles in Louisiana; conducting evangelism work in Montana and Colorado, endowing chairs for Bible Study at public universities (the Universities of Michigan, Virginia, Kansas, and the State University at Austin); and establishing mountain schools for the education of Appalachian children (one of which was Hazel Green Academy in Wolfe County, KY).

In 1909, 100 years after Thomas Campbell pleaded for union in his Declaration and Address, the CWBM committed itself to raising \$100,000. Because of the large number of small contributions, the CWBM succeeded in raising more than two and a half times their goal and adding almost 30,000 new members.

This large centennial collection enabled the CWBM to establish, in 1910, a school to train missionaries in theology, mission skills, and the language of their host country. The Sarah Davis Deterding Memorial College, located in Indianapolis, offered the BD and

MA degrees, and was able to admit missionaries from other denominations.

The United Christian Missionary Society

On October 20, 1919, after about five years of study, the CWBM united with the ACMS, the FCMS, the National Benevolent Association, and several other groups, to form the United Christian Missionary Society. In response to the magnificent work of the CWBM and the perseverance of its members, this newly formed society had equal numbers of men and women on all its committees, and every office could be held by either a man or a woman. The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) was the first denomination to grant women such extensive representation and powerful leadership roles. (Today's successors, the Divisions of Homeland and Overseas Ministries continue this gender balance.)

In its 45 year history, the CWBM grew from local societies in 9 states to local societies in 43 states, from 75 members to more than 100,000 members, from contributions of 430 dollars to contributions over 7 million dollars, from one mission post in Jamaica to mission fields in 10 countries, with 974 missionaries serving 68 churches, 284 schools, and 9 hospitals.

If Paul were writing today he would certainly send his greetings to our faithful mothers, Caroline Neville Pearre, Elmira Dickinson, Rosetta Hastings, Ida Withers Harrison, and all members of the CWBM whose names have never been published. The mission work we are able to do today rests on our heritage in the CWBM. These women, as other people down through the ages, responded to Jesus' words: As you did it to the least of these you did it to me.

J. B. Briney And The Army Of The Lord

*by Charles L. Woodall**

In 1990 the McLemore Christian Church in Memphis, Tennessee, will celebrate the one-hundredth year of their history. They will observe the event with the publication of a centennial history of their congregation which began as the Mississippi Avenue Christian Church. In doing so they will give tribute to a well-known pioneer preacher of the Disciples who, more than anyone else,

was responsible for the establishment of the church. What makes this fact significant is that the preacher was never associated with the church and had left the pastorate of the Linden Avenue Christian Church in the city two years before.

The preacher was J. B. Briney. His brief two-year pastorate in Memphis made such an impact on the city that the church tried

*Charles L. Woodall is minister of Central Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Memphis, Tennessee.



Charles L. Woodall

to call him back three different times. When Briney died in Virginia thirty-nine years later and was brought to Louisville for burial, both Memphis newspapers carried the story and his picture. In 1939 the Memphis churches held a "J. B. Briney Centennial Service," observing the one-hundredth anniversary of his birth. And not only the McLemore Christian Church but others organized much later can credit Briney with significant influence on their birth.

A General, Not a Nurse

The explanation of this uncommon preacher's effect on Memphis Disciples was because of his concept of the wholeness of the church, his passion for the missionary spirit within the city, and his image of the role of the minister.

All of this is unveiled in a most unlikely source: his letter of resignation! In 1888 he suddenly and unexpectedly accepted a call to the First Christian Church in Springfield, Illinois. It was quite a shock to the board of Linden Avenue and they asked him why, a question I suspect some later regretted asking. His reply bears quoting at length.

My reasons for leaving Memphis may be summarized in one statement, to wit: On the policy that seems to prevail in this Church in regard to operation in the city...

Upon coming to Memphis...I began to organize forces of the congregation for aggressive work on the city, beginning with the young people of the church, and succeeded in arousing enthusiasm among them in this direction, that I have rarely seen equaled, and

never surpassed. It was not long, however, before to my great astonishment, I discovered that I was bound to take as evidence, that the Church as such, was not in sympathy with my ideas of the work, and that there was enough opposition to them, to render me almost powerless in the execution of my plans...I cannot be satisfied with preaching to from 100 to 300 people twice a week when there are thousands that could and should be reached.

As a member of the Army of the Lord I want to be a general in the Field of Battle and not a nurse in a hospital. To call me and the fighting forces of my division of the Army from the front in so important a field as this, and put us to work of supplying what may be called Meeting house luxuries, such as windows, pews, carpets, paint and decorations, etc., etc., is to my soul intolerably galling. I make no objections to these things; on the contrary I like them; but as they are so infinitesimally small in comparison with the great work of preaching the Gospel and saving souls, that I must not, cannot and will not be turned aside from the latter to the former. If in addition to doing the essential and important work of the church, brethren desire to supply luxuries, that has my hearty approval. But the policy seems to be to push the luxuries to the front, and retire the work the Lord has most solemnly charged us to do, to second place. It is like pushing aside bread and meat and eggs and trying to live on Charlotte Russe!

The one strong idea which seems to shape the present policy of this congregation; an idea upon which our brethren have failed wherever it has been tried. The meaning of this idea seems to be to have one meeting place for all the city. On this policy and church has barely held its own for twenty years and I predict its gradual decadence for the future unless there is a change.

Only One Church In The City

I believe in this powerful letter written ninety-nine years ago is set forth a theology of the church and a strategy for mission that had a significant impact upon the history of the Disciples in Memphis, and that the theology and strategy is not irrelevant for Briney's spiritual great-grandchildren today.

The "young people" that Briney began his work with were the young adults and he unmistakably made his mark upon them. He organized the "Young Peoples' Christian Aid Society," a group that was inspired with Briney's vision of the church as "The Army of the Lord" for many years after the "General" had departed to other battles. It was this group that organized Sunday Schools in the ethnic communities on the edge of the city. They were the ones who raised the money to buy property and construct the Mississippi Avenue Christian Church. They were on fire with Briney's idea that there was one army of the Lord in

Memphis and their mission was to the whole city.

Out of this Young Peoples' Christian Aid Society grew the leadership of the Disciples for more than thirty years. Those who sat at the feet of the General were the men and women whose names again and again appear in the leadership of the emerging congregations in the city. But there were no walls separating the congregations. At least for Briney's army, there was only one church in Memphis. It was not Linden Avenue; it was the Disciples in the city. The Young Peoples' Christian Aid Society became the Young Peoples' Society of Christian Endeavor and they began the publication of a weekly paper that went into the homes of all the Disciples. It did not just carry Linden Avenue on the masthead; it carried Linden, Mississippi Avenue, and Third Church. For over thirteen years it was the voice of the whole army of God in Memphis, telling about the men (mostly Briney's recruits) who were filling the pulpits of the new congregations being organized, Binghampton, Fourth Church, Raleigh. It tells of the congregations picnicking together in the new Overton Park and of their wagon caravan traveling out into the country home of Grace Toof's called Graceland (which Elvis Presley fans will recognize) and having strawberries and cream in the summer pavilion. It tells of the riverboat excursions on the Mississippi River of all the congregations together. It tells of the weekly meetings of the Disciple ministers at noon on Monday begun in 1901, a tradition that is uninterrupted to this day.

It is no exaggeration to say that this consciousness of the wholeness of the church had its inception with the preacher who would not be a nurse in the hospital, but a general in the army of the Lord.

In 1889 the president of the Young Peoples' Christian Aid Society wrote an article in the *Christian-Evangelist* entitled "History of the Mississippi Avenue Christian Church." (This may be the only example of a congregation whose history was published in the year before its first service!) In it he says, "We love and honor him who had the cause of Christ so much at heart, as to be the means through which the Memphis Christian Church should breathe the

missionary spirit."

The General and a Different Army

When J. B. Briney returned to Memphis in 1926 it was as a leader of a different army and the battle was one of strife and division. It was the infamous International Convention that marked the second division of the Christian Church and Briney was the recognized old warrior of the dissident group. As the champion of orthodoxy, he was the floor leader of those who would ferret out any taint of "open membership" on the mission field. He and his soldiers would search out and destroy any missionary with the slightest deviation from their view of immersion, even to breaking the bonds of fellowship with the majority who supported the Missionary Society that stood behind their missionaries.

Briney had written, "a congregation that receives unbaptized people into its fellowship thereby ceases to be a church," and this new test of fellowship had led him into fighting the wrong enemy.

In 1917 he had been president of the right-wing Bible College League which was one of the most powerful forces engaged in the "heresy-hunting" controversies at the College of the Bible (Lexington Theological Seminary). The aged warrior, with his sword dipped in printers' ink, tried for years to wrest control of the seminary from the faculty and did immeasurable damage to both the institution and to those ministers who were graduates.

But even so, the general could not violate his own principles: though he was the chief of those who separated themselves from the cooperative work, he could not himself split the army. He continued to be a respected dissident voice, the loyal opposition, in the mainstream Disciple movement.

Nevertheless, as the Disciples in Memphis observe the centennial of his brief pastorate here, they will extol the man who breathed the missionary spirit into a whole generation of young adults and built them into an effective army of the Lord.

[This paper was given at the Historical Society Breakfast of the West Area Assembly of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Tennessee.]

Campbell Video Available

"LIGHT FROM ABOVE: The Life Of Alexander Campbell" by Dr. Bill J. Humble of Abilene University, Abilene, Texas, is a one hour documentary on the life of Alexander Campbell. Filmed on location in Northern Ireland, Scotland, England, and the United States, the documentary is divided into four fifteen minute video taped segments designed to be used with a resource booklet, "Light From Above." A leaders guide is also included. This film has received wide acclaim in all parts of the Campbell-Stone Movement. It is available from the Gospel Advocate Company in Nashville. For information call toll free 1-800-251-8446.

WINFRED AUDIF HARBISON NAMED FUND

Christian teacher is a good way to describe the life of Dr. Harbison. He spent forty-three years of his life as a Professor at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, but found time also to do some teaching at the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, and the International School of Learning, Thailand. Yet, some of his most meaningful and productive teaching took place in church relationships. He taught many classes in religion at the college level and was a leader as well as teacher in his congregation, Central Woodward Christian Church, Detroit, Michigan. Dr. Harbison was co-author of a book "Constitutional History Text Book", used at both Harvard and Yale and was in its sixth edition in 1984. Born in Montgomery County, Indiana, he received his formal education at Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, and at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. He was a writer of church history, having published articles in *Discipliana*. He served as Trustee of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society from 1962-1970. This named fund was created by a bequest Dr. Harbison made to the Society in his Will.

BETHESDA CHRISTIAN CHURCH NAMED FUND

The Bethesda Christian Church of Chevy Chase, Maryland was founded August 4, 1940. It had a meaningful and productive ministry for many years. On February 22, 1987, the congregation met in a duly called congregational meeting and voted to

discontinue its visible ministry. The resolution instructed that the Board of Trustees "be authorized...to dispose of the church property and assets in a manner consistent with the goals of providing a lasting endowment for the continuing ministry of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)."

On May 31, 1987, the congregation voted a specific plan for disposition of assets and the Disciples of Christ Historical Society was named as a recipient of some of those assets. The gift was given in gratitude for service in providing for the continued care and preservation of their historical records and material. It is with that gift that a named fund was established with the Historical Society for the Bethesda Christian Church.

M. PAUL AND ANNA HARRIS PATTERSON NAMED FUND

Mr. Patterson went to Texas in 1885 when he was eighteen years old and later married Anna Harris who was born in Kaufman County, Texas. They were members of the First Christian Church of Arlington, Texas. Their son Harley has little memory of his parents since he was very young when they died. His maternal grandmother spoke often of Harley's father as being a fine, clean man who "cleaned and planted his fence rows." This fund is established by Dr. Harley Patterson.

LORENZO J. AND LOUISE BATES EVANS NAMED FUND

Dr. Lorenzo J. Evans began his journey to the ministry at Southern Christian Institute and continued his studies at Clark College, Gammon Theological Seminary and Atlanta University. As a young minister he pastored in Georgia and Oklahoma before serving as a chaplain during World War II. For twenty-seven years, Dr. Evans was a member of the General Staff of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) serving as a National Director of Christian Education for The United Christian Missionary Society and the Division of Homeland Ministries. In recognition of his Christian service Texas Christian University awarded him the Doctor of Divinity degree. Now retired he continues his ministry consulting with the Department of Church Men/Division Homeland Ministries and serving as a trustee on several boards. His wife, Dr. Louise Bates

Evans is the Director of Family and Children's Ministries, Department of Christian Education/Division of Homeland Ministries. She is an active lay woman, a former university professor. Her field of expertise is family studies and counseling, an area which she is pleased to share in a Christian setting. The Evans are residents of Indianapolis and charter members of Faith United Christian Church.

This fund was established by the Evans' as a living memorial for their children.

**KIT FOR CAMPBELL
BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION
AVAILABLE**

The Historical Society has prepared a kit containing material which will help a congregation celebrate the bicentennial birth date of Alexander Campbell. The actual date of his birth is September 12, 1788. This packet contains the following material:

1. Photocopy of several photographs of Campbell which are available.
2. A Glossy Photograph of Campbell (5x7).
3. Biographical sketches of Campbell.
4. Copies of three manuscripts written by Campbell.

5. Copy of a Communion Service prepared and led by Alexander Campbell.

6. List of hymns used in that period of time.

The cost of the packet is \$7.00 cash or \$7.00 plus postage if payment is not made with the order. These may be ordered from Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1101 19th Avenue, South, Nashville, TN 37212.

SEARCHING

It looks mean in here sometimes
when all the lights are out;
It looks mean in here sometimes
when I'm the only one about
But I just think of that what's
all around me, and I say to
myself "it's only His-tory."

Boxes and boxes of paper and words;
much-so-much more than milk
and curds; tho one feeds the body,
the other the mind — the two
put together makes life so fine.
Searching, searching, the
words and me; His-tory, Her-story
which today shall it be.?

Talking about DCHS Archives
May Reed, Jan. 14, 1988

**PRE-PUBLICATION CAMPBELL
BOOK ORDER**

The Alexander Campbell lectures delivered in 1987 and 1988 in behalf of the Historical Society will be published in a hard back single volume early in 1989. Orders are being taken at a pre-publication price of \$10.00 for this book containing nine lectures delivered by outstanding historians from across the country and the life of the church. These books may be ordered by using the following form. The price after publication will be \$15.00 or more.

Please reserve a copy of the Campbell lectures to be printed early in 1989 at a pre-publication price of \$10.00.

NAME _____

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I am paying by check _____, cash _____.

A receipt for your gift will be sent for your records.

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WANTED PROCEEDINGS

Recently the Historical Society has been receiving many records of state missionary societies. Within the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) the states are now named Regions. Some of the Regions have already sent their records while others are preparing to do so.

Unfortunately, like so many historical records, many proceedings of state Missionary Societies meetings have been lost. Recently, for instance, we have received requests for Proceedings of the

Ohio Christian Missionary Society and we have very few. It is evident how much information can be obtained from these proceedings which would help researchers. Names of those attending and speaking, short historical sketches of states and congregations, and locations for meetings are but a few of the historical facts usually included in the Proceedings.

Members and friends of the Society are encouraged to send proceedings from Ohio and other states they might want preserved.

NEW MEMBERSHIP AS OF JUNE 30, 1988

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REGULAR TO PARTICIPATING

Ralph Churchill, Dallas, TX.

Rev. Gordon W. Hagberg, Zanewille, OH.

Robert M. Hedges, Hancock, MD.

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Discipliana

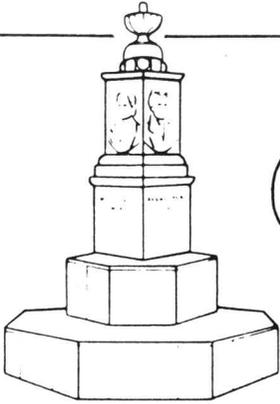
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CAMPBELL LECTURES
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OCTOBER 10-11, 1988

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Peter Morgan (317) 353-1491
Post Office Box 1986
Indianapolis, IN 46206
or
Disciples of Christ Historical Society

GIFTS RECEIVED JANUARY-JUNE 1988

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Christian Women's Fellowship, First Christian Church, Gulfport, MS - Endowment Fund
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Homer Cole - Endowment Fund
Audrey Cooke - James M. and Mary Dudley Seale Named Fund
Dr. and Mrs. A. T. DeGroot - Endowment Fund
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Mary I. Williams - Endowment Fund
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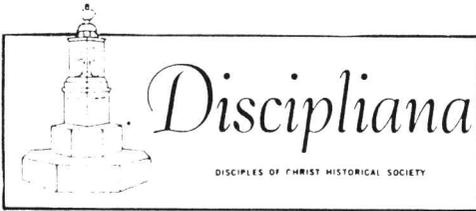
Discipliana

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Winter, 1988, Vol. 48, No. 4



**Shane's Castle
Country Antrim
Northern Ireland**



Winter, 1988, Vol. 48, No. 4

EDITOR: James M. Seale
ASSISTANT EDITOR: David I. McWhirter

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The Disciples of Christ Historical Society was established in 1941 "to maintain and further interest in the religious heritage, backgrounds, origins, development, and general history of Disciples of Christ, Christian Churches, Churches of Christ, and related groups."

Members of the Society receive DISCIPLIANA quarterly, along with other benefits. Annual membership categories are as follows: Sustaining — \$50, Participating — \$25, Regular — \$10.00 Student — \$5.00. Single payment Life memberships are: Life — \$250, Life Link — \$500. Life Patron — \$1,000.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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DCHS Archives Serve As Source For Lilly Study

The Lilly Endowment, Incorporated, is sponsoring a series of research studies relating to various aspects of the life and history of main stream protestant denominations. Christian Theological Seminary, Indianapolis, Indiana, has received a major grant for the study of one hundred years of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in American Culture. Dr. D. Newell Williams, Associate Professor of Modern and American Church History with Christian Theological Seminary, is responsible for the grant program.

A portion of the research and writing concerning this program is being conducted by church historians from across the country and from several church groups. Five of these persons have already spent time working at the Historical Society here in Nashville on such themes as "Biblical criticism and the response to it in the churches," "The United Christian Missionary Society and its theology of missions," "The concept of unity-/ecumenical effort — A comparative study between Disciples of Christ and the Presbyterians," "Family, marriage, divorce, sexuality, contraception, abortion, and related issues," and "The influence of the College of the Bible/Lexington Theological Seminary on the Disciples and the connection with the University of Chicago Divinity School."

These historians thus far have done extensive research in the archives of the Society. One researcher has spent over four weeks here and another who lives in Nashville has worked at least one or two days every week this summer. These historians have been from Disciples of Christ, Presbyterian, Church of Christ, and Roman Catholic backgrounds.

Some or all of the other seven persons working on the historical aspects of this study will be coming to the Historical Society to do research. This library and archives is the only one which offers the basic historical material on all three church groups (Church of Christ, Christian Church, and Disciples of

Home Not His Own: Shane's Castle and the Campbell Bicentennial

by Stephen V. Sprinkle*

Irish mist fell from an ambiguous Ulster sky on the day of Alexander Campbell's bicentennial, September 12, 1988. All day the rolling clouds arm-wrestled the sun for domination. Had Campbell been with me, his homecoming after two hundred years would have been an anonymous one. No one on the Shane's Castle Estate even recognized his name. It was as if the seasonal rise of Lough Neagh's bright waters had washed away any sign that Thomas and Jane Corneigh Campbell had given birth to their son near there. But the older memory of the troubled land remained febrile and fresh as the day Campbell was born into it.

By special arrangement, I was granted access to Shane's Castle Estate by Raymond, the Rt. Hon. (4th) Baron and Lord O'Neill. Usually, with the end of the summer holiday season, the narrow-gauge railway and miniature amusement park are "put to bed" for the winter, and the ruins of the castle allowed a few months of brooding solitude without the tourists whose revenues are so necessary these days to the continued operation of the Estate. Because of the nature of my "pilgrimage", Lord O'Neill admitted me to the 1,500 acre demesne, and agreed to an audience with me in the private portion of the grounds where he, his wife and three sons reside in an elegant 1958 Neo-Georgian house. I was determined

not to be late for my appointment.

Rain studded the windshield of the Belfast taxi which whisked me up the motorway the sixteen miles or so to the edge of the Estate, which lies on the outskirts of the town of Antrim, in the county of the same name. As we swept out of the last of Belfast's northern suburbs, I saw the mark of the current troubles for myself, this round beginning in 1971.¹ To the left of the super highway, a great red-white-and-blue canvas banner festooned a modern, evangelical Protestant church. Its legend: "ULSTER STILL NEEDS JESUS!!" Confronting the banner to the right of the highway, scrawled on the "Exit Belfast" sign in letters white as bone, were the words: "BRITS OUT!!"

The taxi stopped outside the gates of an old entrance to the Estate, and as I hiked the considerable distance to my meeting point with Lord O'Neill, the evangelical handbills stuck to every lamp post bruised my eyes with hot pink appeals to repentance and fluorescent yellow warnings of divine judgement. Then, just as I prepared to round the last corner in the road which led to the main public entrance to Shane's Castle, a mottled grey troop carrier, the kind the Irish call "pigs", charged past me. Its back doors were ajar, and the muzzles of black

*Stephen V. Sprinkle is on the faculty of Atlantic Christian College in Wilson, North Carolina, and is presently studying in Cambridge, England.

Christ) which have grown out of the Campbell-Stone Movement. The Historical Society is very honored to be

a major source for this Lilly Endowment research.

James M. Seale

weapons jutted out at the road as it retreated. I caught a glimpse of young soldier boys in camouflage and combat gear, nervously pulling drags from cigarettes.

Patrols had been stepped up that morning, I learned, because of the terrorist bombing of Sir Kenneth Bloomfield's country home in the pre-dawn hours of Alexander Campbell's birthday. Sir Kenneth is Northern Ireland's senior civil servant, and the IRA attempt on his home had meant to kill him and his family in their sleep. Miraculously, the family had survived four Czech-made Semtex bombs, two of which detonated and blew the house off its foundations. Rescue workers had carried Mrs. Bloomfield out of the rubble of her bedroom screaming hysterically, clad still in her night clothes.

It seemed peaceful enough on the outskirts of Shane's Castle, but the sky was still troubled, and the smell of the troop carrier's exhaust was lingering in my nostrils. This place was no stranger to the deadly arts.

The British have been involved directly in Ireland, in various forms, for better than eight hundred years. The ancestors of the current Lord O'Neill were the staunchest enemies of the British. The Clanaboy, Shane McBrian O'Neill, who gave his name to the sixteenth century fort at the loughside fishing village of Edenduffcarrick, succeeded in uniting the two great clans of his ancient family,² and made hot war upon the Elizabethan British. In 1597 the British Lord Deputy learned that his castle at Belfast had been captured by Shane: "all the English men in the ward were hanged and their throats cut, and their bowells cutt oute of their bellyes by Shane McBrian."³

Later that year the British laid siege to Edenduffcarrick and turned

it into a smouldering ruin. Shane McBrian O'Neill carried on resistance against the British until, after the defeat of the Irish in 1603, O'Neill made peace with James I, and had the O'Neill Estates, including the site of Shane's Castle, finally settled upon him by the Crown in 1607.⁴ It was a case of "the lion lying down with the lamb," but as a current historian of Antrim has noted, such an arrangement is not conducive to peaceful sleep for the lamb!⁵

The oldest part of the ruins which remain of Shane's Castle was built by Shane O'Neill during the uncertain years of James I's "Ulster Plantation".⁶ Most of Northern Ireland's Protestants descend from the Presbyterian Scots planted by the British during this period, who were settled on farm land which had been confiscated from the native Irish.⁷ Others trace their lineage to the Ascendancy, or the British landholding classes, who were Anglican (Church of Ireland).⁸ There were Protestant-Catholic and intra-Protestant tensions virtually from the beginning of the Plantation which acted out the sectarian and political conflicts brewing across the Irish Sea on the British mainland.

The O'Neills of Shane's Castle were in the eye of the storm. Shane McBrian's granddaughter, Lady Rose O'Neill, was lady-in-waiting to Princess Mary, who was to marry the Dutch Prince of Orange. Lady Rose, who inherited Shane's Castle from her father, Sir Henry in 1638, had been introduced to the intrigue of the court at Whitehall as a prudent political measure. Should enemies of the O'Neills move for the sequestration of their lands, Lady Rose would have access to the royal ear. She followed her English mistress to Holland, and reputedly became nanny to the young William



Shane's Castle

of Orange, who as William III of Great Britain has left an indelible mark upon Ireland to the present day.⁹

Lady Rose settled large numbers of Scots Presbyterians as tenants on her vast estates, and gave herself largely to their prosperity and improvement.¹⁰ With the victory of William III (Protestant), who had been her charge, over the army of James II (Catholic) at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, the hold of the Clanaboy O'Neills upon Shane's Castle was secured and consolidated.¹¹

From Lady Rose's death in 1695 until the succession of John O'Neill, the First Viscount, in 1769, Shane's Castle had gradually expanded in size and granduer. The great house was considerably modernized as befitted as significant a politician as the First Viscount, who was a member of the old Irish Parliament in Dublin, and a power broker skillful in pressuring the British Parliament in Westminster for Irish concessions.¹² By 1780 the village which had grown up in the shadow of the castle was removed, and the handsome castellated structure which Thomas and Jane Campbell would have known was the envy of the province.¹³

The First Viscount was Lord of an Estate of better than 64,000 acres, and Shane's Castle often rang with the merriment of lavish entertainments. The London

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Chronicle for July 18-20, 1786 carried the report from its Northern Ireland correspondent of a fete given by First Viscount O'Neill for 300 weavers at the castle. Lord O'Neill's band met and accompanied the procession of the weavers, which was "the most pompous and brilliant scene that has appeared in this town for many years." At Shane's Castle

"they met with the most grateful reception, were fumtuoufly regaled in the beautiful canvafs room, with great profusion of wines, &c., and were honoured with every mark of respect worthy that distinguished and dignified character . . . Lord O'Neill. . ."¹⁴

As I caught sight of the ruins of the eighteenth century house for the first time, from the passenger's seat of the car Lord O'Neill sent to pick me up from the gate, I wondered how the Campbells felt as they gazed upon the same site 201 years ago. Thomas Campbell had come up from Newry, and in 1787 had wed an Antrim girl, Jane Corneigh. Whether they had ever been inside the residence of the First Viscount, there is no record. But somewhere in the vicinity of this now ruined opulence, Jane had given birth barely a year later to a son, Alexander. Before he had outgrown

infancy, Alexander was taken away from Shane's Castle, Randalstown, and Antrim, as his father and mother pursued a calling which would affect world Christianity.

Mrs. Siddons, friend of the wife of the First Viscount, and a famous actress who frequented the castle during those grand days, reminisced of the place:

"I have no words to describe the beauty and splendour of this enchanting place which, I'm sorry to say, has been levelled by fire . . . which broke out during a party in 1816. . . Here was often assembled all the talent, and rank, and beauty of Ireland. The luxury of this establishment almost inspired the recollection of an Arabian Nights entertainment."¹⁵

Raymond, Lord O'Neill greeted me in his second floor Estate Office. He is a keen man of compact build, just shy of six feet tall, with slightly greying hair. His manner is polished and formal, yet withal cordial. Immediately we engaged in conversation about Alexander Campbell and the Restoration Movement. His questions were intelligent and probing. Before my earlier communication with him, he had no knowledge of Campbell or the Disciples of Christ. He wanted to know more. I expected no less of the Honorary Vice-President of the Ulster Historical Foundation.

Lord O'Neill explained that his home was the third residence of the Lord O'Neill on the Estate. After the assassination of the First Viscount in the Battle of Antrim in 1798,¹⁶ the Second Viscount and First Earl O'Neill had employed the famous architect Nash, whose masterpiece is London's Buckingham Palace, to extend the castle. The cause of the fire of 1816 remains a mystery, but the legendary explanation is as good as any. The room of the Banshee of the O'Neill's, Kathleen, had been confiscated to billet some of the merry-makers in an otherwise full house. The blaze was interpreted as

her vengeance for being unhomed, and some of the heartbroken guests reported seeing her shrieking and wheeling above the flames.¹⁷

Earl O'Neill lost all heart for salvaging the old castle, and built a small home for himself attached to the stables. In 1865 a large Gothic-style castle was commissioned from the illustrious Belfast architect Lanyon to replace the interim house. It stood proudly for fifty-seven years, until Sinn Fein guerillas burned the new Shane's Castle to the ground in the Troubles of 1922.¹⁸ Virtually all of the family's valuable papers and records were lost at that time, and Lord O'Neill suggested that any trace of the Campbells at Shane's Castle was probably consigned to the flames.

As he bade me good-bye, and I set about the Estate on foot, I had the distinct impression that the ambiguities of the troubled land permeated Lord O'Neill as well. This cordial, urbane, and polished gentleman has a great investment in the establishment of which he is a part. His great uncle was the first member of the British Parliament killed during active service in World War I. His own father had died in defense of Great Britain in Italy in 1944. An uncle, Terence O'Neill, served as Prime Minister of Northern Ireland from 1963-1969, until he resigned in the face of the current Troubles which continue to ravage his country. His ancestor, the First Viscount, Lord of Shane's Castle when Alexander Campbell was born, was shot dead in the Troubles of his time. I wondered if this man worries for his sons, for his wife, for himself in a province in which the Protestant majority sits uneasily in the larger context of an island in which they, too, are a minority. Nothing is simple in this land of green, rolling hills and

ambiguous skies.

Ruins are mutely eloquent. For several hours I wandered among them, and quietly celebrated Alexander Campbell's 200th birthday in a home not his own. It was a very anonymous day for him in Northern Ireland, in all of Great Britain for that matter. He is forgotten by the Irish Presbyterians he left behind on his way to America. The United Reformed Church on the mainland of Great Britain, of which the Churches of Christ are now a part, remained oddly silent concerning him, now one of their own founders as surely as Calvin, Knox, or the Congregationalists of the English Dissent. But, no matter. In Campbell's honor, I read aloud the sixteenth chapter of Matthew to the quiet walls and the sea gulls careening overhead.

After returning to Belfast that evening, I decided to finish Campbell's day with a walk to the imposing City Hall on Donegall Square. Tired from the day's exertions, I broke off my walk and made my way back to my hotel near Queens University. One hour later an IRA bomb packed in a nondescript taxi cab ripped through an entire city block I had just visited. Eleven minutes warning had been given. Seventeen people were injured, one old woman severely. Donegall Square Methodist Church was ruined. Eighteen stained glass windows in the City Hall which had survived the German blitz were blasted in.

In the newspaper that morning, the **Belfast Telegraph** carried a story of a Protestant paramilitary bombing of the home of a Catholic family of seven in an overwhelmingly loyalist estate.¹⁹ Like Sir Kenneth Bloomfield's family, they had barely escaped with their lives.

There were eight bomb alerts in the center city the next day, but as I made my way down to Donegall Square to see the destruction, I merged with hordes of people off to work as usual. There were lovers in the park which surrounded City Hall who paid no attention to the news cameras grinding away near them. An old busker was gaily playing his harmonica and dancing around his hat for a few pence. And the cabbies had simply established a new temporary stand around the corner from where the terrorists had demolished their old one.

As I headed back to catch my bus, the irony of this inscription on a war memorial, the words of an English king, caused something to tear within me: "THROUGHOUT THE LONG YEARS OF STRUGGLE WHICH HAVE NOW SO GLORIOUSLY ENDED THE MEN OF ULSTER HAVE PROVED HOW NOBLY THEY FIGHT AND DIE."

In a land in which 900,000 Protestants and 600,000 Roman Catholics share fear, tribal animosity, and grief, one cannot pretend to choose sides. Eight hundred years accrues unto itself enough wrong to go around to everyone. Yet, out of respect for the goodly homeland of Alexander Campbell, even on so violent a birthday as his 200th, I believe there is everything present in Northern Ireland necessary for peace.

Dozens of species of wild birds have found a safe haven at Shane's Castle. Eddie Franklin, warden of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, keeps watch over them from a tiny cabin outpost which nestles up against the ruins like a chick to its dam. Eddie is a great bear of a man, former RAF, who pulled his hitch in Northern Ireland, and decided to stay. Over a cup of hot coffee, he explained how

Liverpool seemed like a dream to him, now. His place was in Antrim with the grebes, the long-necked herons, the mallards, and the children — hundreds of them during the summer months who were brought to the castle for school outings. As we chatted, a ring-necked pheasant broke from the cover of the tall grass by the water, and raced for the forest. “As long as she stays here,” whispered Eddie, “the hunters can’t have her.”

“When I have a group of children here, it’s usually from Belfast,” he said. “Some are from Catholic schools; some are Protestant. But the birds, they don’t ask no questions about that, and neither do I.” He walked past me to his bulletin board, where two Christmas cards were proudly displayed. As he took them from the wall, it was plain that he had held them often in his big hands.

“See, this one is from Sister Philip’s class. And look at this one from St. Columba’s, the Protestant school. All the children signed them. I feel that if we can just have the children, and teach them not to harm the birds, they just might learn to respect each other in the bargain. As long as there are children coming here, there’s hope.”

Eddie Franklin knew no more about Alexander Campbell than anyone else on the Estate. But he and I raised our cups to Campbell in honor of his 200th. And of all the people I met in that troubled land, Eddie was the best equipped to understand our founder’s mission of reconciliation. He and the gentle waterfowl were like a cool cloth on the hot brow of a fevered land. They bear within themselves the seeds of a peaceable kingdom, they and the children of Belfast. The message of Shane’s Castle’s anonymous son, that the horrid evil of sectarian division among Christians must be

and is being overcome in the love of God in Christ, may yet find a fuller hearing in Northern Ireland. Please God, it will.

Endnotes

¹In 1968 a non-violent civil-rights movement began in Northern Ireland based on the example of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in the United States. Their goal was to win equal voting, housing, and employment opportunities for Roman Catholics from the Protestant administration which was then in power in Belfast. Frustrated by the resistance of the state, rioters took to the streets. Initially, the British military were sent in to protect the Catholic minority from sectarian violence, but they stayed to stabilize the current regime. Subsequent violence gave rise to the organization of the Provisional IRA (the “provos”), and Protestant paramilitary groups such as the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Ulster Freedom Fighters (the “paras”).

In the summer of 1971 the British arrested and interned hundreds of suspected PIRA men without trial. Virtually the entire Catholic population of Northern Ireland erupted in violence. Recruitment for the IRA rose dramatically. 1972 was the worst year for terrorism in the province to date, and in response to the incessant sectarian bloodletting the British suspended the Belfast government and instituted Direct Rule from Westminster. In that year there were 22,000 regular British army soldiers deployed in Northern Ireland, as against 10,200 today (see “Ulster: Civil War or Law and Order?” in *The Independent*, September 17, 1988, p. 15).

²The O’Neills of Shane’s Castle are of a descent which is recognized as the oldest dynastic family of Europe. The Clanaboy branch, represented by Raymond, the 4th Baron and Lord O’Neill, and the Tyrone branch, are descended from the ancient pagan Iron Age kings of Tara and from Charlemagne, the Holy Roman Emperor. In their ancestry are Philip of Spain and the French “Sun King”, Louis 14th. They are the first Irishmen to have a surname, and their emblem, the Red Hand of the O’Neills, was adopted as the national symbol of Ulster. See Alastair Smyth, *The Story of Antrim*, (Antrim, NI: Antrim Borough Council, 1984), p. 91.

³*Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁴David Barzilay, ed., *Shane’s Castle Railway and Nature Reserve: Official Guide*, Foreword by Lord O’Neill, (Belfast, NI: Century Services Ltd., 1975), pp. 18, 25.

⁵Smyth, p. 17.

⁶Barzilay, ed., p. 18.

⁷Sally Bellfrage, *The Crack: A Belfast Year*, (London: Grafton Books, 1988), p. 406.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹Smyth, p. 92; Barzilay, ed., p. 25.

¹⁰Smyth, p. 92.

¹¹Only patience can unravel the strands of sectarian allegiance among the royal and noble actors in this turbulent period of British history. Princess Mary, mistress of Lady Rose O’Neill, was the daughter of the staunch English Catholic

king, Charles I, whose head rolled at the stroke of a Protestant Parliamentary axe, climaxing the English Civil War. Yet Mary was married into the Dutch House of Orange, which was Protestant. Lady Rose married Randal, the Catholic Marquis of Antrim, though she was a devout Presbyterian. The paradigm of this seeming confusion is the person of William of Orange, and the Battle of the Boyne, which Protestant Ulstermen glorify as the warrant for their hegemony each July 12th. As Catholics never tire of telling, William was bankrolled at the Boyne by the Pope himself. Sally Bellfrage reports that Dorothy Elliot, Protestant ex-principal of the mixed faith Finiston School in Belfast, burst the Ulstermen's bubble further by teaching her students that "King Billy was gay, had piles, wasn't English, hadn't a white horse, and was supported by the Pope" (Bellfrage, p. 345).

¹²Barzilay, ed., p. 26.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁴Public Record Office (Northern Ireland), D.1470/6, Sub #12, N4628.

¹⁵Barzilay, ed., p.19.

¹⁶By the end of the eighteenth century, angered and aroused Presbyterians and Catholics alike founded the Society of United Irishmen, whose purpose was, in the words of Wolf Tone, one of the Protestant leaders of the Rebellion of 1797-98, was to "break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political evils" (quoted in Bellfrage, p. 407).

Alarmed by reports that Antrim was seething with rebellion, First Viscount O'Neill rode break-

neck from Dublin on horseback to meet magistrates of the county at the Market House to declare martial law. Hoping to capture O'Neill and all his magistrates at once, an insurgent army of around 3,500 marched on the town, and a pitched battle was fought there on June 7, 1798 with the garrison of Antrim Castle and government reinforcements. In the savage firefight, the First Viscount was mortally wounded. Though the insurgents were crushed mercilessly by the English, O'Neill died ten days later at Shane's Castle. See Smyth, pp. 41-46.

¹⁷A more plausible explanation is the report that a jackdaw's nest was set afire atop a relatively unused chimney, and came crashing down into the interior of the house. See Barzilay, ed., p. 20.

¹⁸1921-22 marked the struggle for Irish Independence which culminated in the separation of the twenty-six counties of the south from the six counties of the north. The Sinn Feiners who razed new Shane's Castle in 1922 are to be distinguished from the current lot, who are the political wing of the "provos," the PIRA. See *Ibid.*

¹⁹"Family's Home Destroyed in Terror Attack", *The Belfast Telegraph*, September 12, 1988, p. 1.

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Alexander Campbell A Heart not Made of Stone

by Anthony L. Dunnivant*



There is a good-natured sense among those Disciples of Christ that cherish especially the memory of Barton W. Stone that Alexander Campbell was not the same sort of fellow as their hero, Stone. We remember, too, that these two

founders of the Campbell-Stone Movement had significant disagreements. There were differences, of which they became increasingly aware, in their theologies. And, though this is harder to *prove* historically, we have a feeling that the two men were very different temperamentally. I am not prepared to challenge any of these notions. Rather, I'm going to suggest that we not blow these differences out of proportion or embrace a distorting, one-dimensional view of these men and their relationship to

*Anthony L. Dunnivant is on the faculty of Lexington Theological Seminary, Lexington, Kentucky. This is an address given at the Cane Ridge Meeting House on June 25, 1988.

one another.

I suspect that of the two, Alexander Campbell has more frequently been the recipient of overly extravagant praise *and* the victim of overly negative criticism. Campbell seems to call forth both. In this the 200th Anniversary Year of his birth, he is probably enjoying a brief period in which the balance of exaggeration is in his favor. But every year is not like this year. In many years the depiction of Campbell that we're likely to come across is like the one offered some time ago by the distinguished historian Roland Bainton. Bainton said, "Alexander Campbell sought to unite {Christians} and increased division. Th{is} outcome cannot altogether be regarded as a malign trick of a capricious fate" because "there was something of the same anomaly in the man's deportment. ...He sprayed Christian divisions with vitriol. He was an artist in denunciation, ridicule and satire, and reveled in debate."¹ There is certainly much historical evidence to support Bainton's image of Campbell as a "sprayer of vitriol" and a "reveler in debate," but that image is a cartoon, a caricature. Like all good caricatures, it is based on the exaggeration of a feature that is really there! But that is not all that is there.

In the same sort of way, Barton Stone's complex personality is often reduced to one feature: his *peace-seeking*, or *irenic*, spirit. Stone is seen, as Frederick Kershner put it in very typical language, as "a singularly irenic individual filled with the spirit of kindness and of courteous generosity."² Again, the prooftexts for this generalization abound, but that is not all there is to Stone, either.

One of the reasons we like

oversimplified one-dimensional images of women and men from history is that these historical figures then come to represent or symbolize a single virtue, vice, or commitment. Benedict Arnold represents only treason to us; Florence Nightengale — compassion; Carry Nation personifies the temperance movement; Harriet Tubman — the underground railroad; P. T. Barnum means show business; and so on. In a similar way, it has been easy to make the typical images of Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone into symbols for a single commitment of the Campbell-Stone movement. That is, Stone comes to represent the movement's commitment to Christian unity and Campbell is left to represent the Disciples' passion to be a Biblical people. The movement as a whole is sometimes characterized as pushing for Christian union on the basis of Biblical truth. In the symbolism, then, Stone comes to stand for *union* and Alexander Campbell stands for a sometimes shrill, unyielding commitment to his understanding of Biblical *truth*. Listen to the following words. Don't they sound just like that stubborn Mr. Campbell?

...A union of ten pious, uncompromising persons in the truth, is better than 10,000 of the contrary character. Truth must never be sacrificed for the union of numbers. Truth preached and lived in the spirit will cut its way through all opposition.

But what is truth? The Bible and the Bible alone — not opinions which men have formed of the Bible.³

Listen to that harsh language talking about "*uncompromising persons*," "*never sacrificing truth*" and "*cutting through...opposition*." Typical Alexander Campbell, right? Wrong! The words are Barton W. Stone's. (Had I finished the quote, you might have guessed it, because Stone included "*opinions*" comprising a "*christian system*" in

the category of things that weren't truth . . . *The Christian System* was Campbell's most famous book . . .).

My point in that little deception was to illustrate that Stone, sweet and gentle as he — by many reports — was, can sound like quite the stickler. Now the question is, can we make Alexander sound mild?

Obviously, I'll not be able to put Campbell's words in Stone's mouth; you're on to me now. But *Campbell* certainly did make some extraordinary proposals for the unity of the Church. In 1839, he proposed that a congress of all Protestant parties, and even the Catholic and Orthodox communities, be called with delegates proportionately representing each body. Once convened, he suggested that they accept as the bond of union "whatever in faith, in piety, and morality is...universally" accepted "as of divine authority."⁴

One may, of course, argue that Campbell was being coy, assuming that the "universally accepted" would be his own view — which he regarded as the Biblical one. But even so, the proposal reveals a commitment to Christian unity. Evidence of that same commitment is found throughout Campbell's writings, just as an emphasis on Biblical truth is common in Stone's. Because they had basic convictions in common, many people could and did move easily from beneath the pastoral leadership of Stone to follow the younger Campbell. A correspondent to the *Millennial Harbinger*, Campbell's newspaper, in 1869 (after the deaths of both Campbell and Stone) recalled how he had "put on Christ" because of the care of "my old friend and teacher..yes, I will say...a father" Barton W. Stone whom "I loved with a pure love up until his death." The letter writer goes on to say that no

one "had more confidence in, and more love for Alexander Campbell for forty years that I had."⁵

The differences between Campbell and Stone were real, but they were less important than their shared commitment to Christian unity with Biblical integrity. Many friends and foes of the movement knew instinctively that they belonged together. (Perhaps the rank and file of the movement, sensing only dimly, if at all, Campbell's and Stone's differences, exhibited a better wisdom than that of the leaders themselves.)⁶

All of the founders of the Campbell-Stone movement were frequently bound together by the common experience of attacks from outsiders. One enterprising pamphleteer even decided to take on Alexander Campbell, Walter Scott, and Barton Stone all at the same time! He promised to demonstrate "'four awful lies in three lines' of a single issue of the *Harbinger*; 'four positive lies in three pages of the *Evangelist*,' published by brother Scott of Carthage; and 'two wilful, determined lies in three lines' of the *Christian Messenger*, then edited by B.W. Stone and J.T. Johnson."⁷

Campbell and Stone were especially attacked and Stone summed up the whole experience beautifully shortly before his death when he wrote: "Brother Campbell has to suffer on my account, what I have had long to suffer for him. He is malevolently assailed for holding me in fellowship...and I have been with equal malevolence assailed for holding him in fellowship."⁸ They were assailed; they were controversial. Yet they held each other in fellowship. What held them together? It was certainly *not* full doctrinal or theological agreement. This can be seen by looking at some features of one of the controversies

between them.

The two biggest controversies between Campbell and Stone had to do with the name for the movement (whether it should be Christians or Disciples) and the nature of the atonement. The dispute over atonement is generally less known but was probably the more important in the mind of Campbell. It was not conducted face to face but in the pages of the *Millennial Harbinger* and *The Christian Messenger* in the early 1840s. The exchange was only opened when Stone had been convinced by his associates in the faith that such a "discussion" in print would not "withdraw the minds of the people from humble piety and devotion to strife, con{ten}tion and division."⁹

As the debate wore on it became clear that there was a deep disagreement between Campbell and Stone on "the meaning and design of the Messiah's death." Not only this, but some of that old caricature Campbell seemed to show up at places. He sometimes said things that sounded very much like complaints and accusations about the way Stone was conducting the discussion.

These "complaints" were veiled behind not-very-convincing-sounding statements like this one: "Were it not that no one could impute to you any thing uncandid, I should have thought you were playing off the controvertist here."¹⁰ Or, in a passage complaining that Stone had not stuck to the original plan of debating the point exclusively in the *Harbinger* (Stone was using the pages of his own *Christian Messenger*, too), Campbell writes "in almost any other person I would have regarded this as an ingenious contrivance for effect; but your venerable years and high reputation for candor and

guileless magnanimity elevate you far above all such suspicions."¹¹ Really? Or, is this just the caustic Campbell putting a sarcastic sugarcoating on his complaint? We don't have to read it that way.

Campbell's disappointment in the views Stone expressed during their debate on the atonement was accompanied by Campbell's ultimate refusal to devalue Stone the man and Stone the Christian. This episode suggests that, contrary to the frequent stereotype of Campbell, he may indeed have been a man of "strong personal attachments."¹² For Campbell and Stone did *not* agree, nor did they *divide*. Campbell was compelled by his disappointment in Stone's *ideas* to state, once again, a position that had been held (though sometimes obscured by other emphases and perhaps virtually forgotten) in the Campbell movement from the days of the *Declaration and Address* and that appeared again in Alexander's famous reply to the Lunenberg letter. That principle is that *perfect* knowledge of, or agreement on, doctrine is *not* the bond of Christian unity. Campbell's epilogue on the atonement debate with Stone is a moving restatement of this important conviction.

...I did, I confess, expect that brother Stone would have more fully and satisfactorily relieved himself and the cause of reformation from the imputation...of *Unitarianism*...In this respect, ..I have been.. measurably disappointed...

All admit the excellence of the character of Elder Stone, however they may regard him as muddy and confused on...the meaning and designs of the Messiah's death, I can bear with a difference of opinion on ..even.. a subject so vital, which many would regard as an insuperable obstacle to Christian communion.

...We are not saved by the strength and comprehension of our views, but through obeying from the heart the apostolic mould of doctrine. ..Therefore.., more stress ought to be laid upon moral excellence than upon abstract orthodoxy; especially when all the great facts and documents of

Christianity are cordially believed and cherished.¹³

That sounds very little like the harsh Campbell of the cartoon. Perhaps Stone accomplished by his "muddiness" of thought and excellence of life what he never could have accomplished in skillful debate — reminding Alexander Campbell of what he'd stood for from his youth.

Alexander's father, Thomas, had said a generation earlier something that became a Disciples slogan: "the Church of Christ upon the earth is essentially, intentionally, and constitutionally one." That's as far as our memorization takes us, but that's not the end of the proposition. Thomas went on to say that the Church consists "of all those in every place that profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him in all things according to the Scriptures"; and then this clause comes: "and that manifest the same by their tempers and conduct." It goes on to insist that the Church consists of these "and of none else; as none else can be truly and properly called Christians."¹⁴ "Tempers and conduct" we might call "attitudes and actions," or in other words, how one lives. Barton Stone was preeminently one whose "tempers and conduct" manifested Christianity. No son of Thomas Campbell could divide from Barton Stone, however "muddy" were Stone's views.

Please don't think I'm saying Campbell was just being tolerant. G. K. Chesterton has observed that tolerance is the easy virtue of those people who don't believe anything in particular.¹⁵ Campbell would by no means fall in that category. What I am saying is that he had the wisdom to allow *substantial* agreement in doctrine and the overall quality of Stone's life to

counter-balance even a significant disagreement over doctrine. They cared about doctrine in all points but about the totality of faithful life in the world even more.

This is the thread that runs through the whole relationship of Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone. As early as 1830, Campbell was writing in the *Millennial Harbinger* in defense of "the intelligent and virtuous editor of the Christian Messenger." It was the usual accusation; Stone was labeled a Unitarian. Campbell offered the usual defense that Stone had *conducted himself* "virtuously" and "morally" throughout his long years of ministerial labors. And this, Campbell added, was "but a tithe of what I could say in behalf of . . . the . . . persecuted man."¹⁶

This was in the first number of the *Millennial Harbinger*. Fifteen years later, Campbell's obituary of Barton W. Stone was on much the same theme. He attributed to Stone's former Presbyterian associates the view that Campbell with little doubt shared, that Stone's "life was sound, though his doctrine was not." He went on to say,

...still he was the honored instrument of bringing many out of the ranks of human tradition, and of putting into their hands the Book of Books as their only Confession of Faith and rule of life, and will no doubt, on this account, ...long continue to be a blessing to those who, by his instrumentality, have already been, or may hereafter be, translated into the fulness of the blessings of the gospel of Christ.¹⁷

This little obituary was not Campbell's most heartfelt response to Stone's passing. According to his biographer Robert Richardson, Campbell's affection for Stone was expressed when Alexander "entered with deep feeling the apartment" in Hannibal, Missouri where Stone had died a few months earlier. In Hannibal he "was happy in being able to procure an oil portrait" of

Stone. Campbell took it home, and placed it in the room where the portraits of his own dead father and children hung — the same room where the Campbell family assembled for morning and evening worship.¹⁸

I opened by speaking in fun of the perils of praising Alexander Campbell in Stone country. Let me close by speaking seriously of the real appropriateness of celebrating Campbell at Stone's shrine. We do well to honor the man whom Stone himself honored with perhaps the greatest possible tribute — that of becoming his partner in laboring for the Church of Jesus Christ upon the earth. I think our remembrance of Campbell and Stone today ought to lift our thoughts, at least briefly, against those too-easy caricatures that diminish and distort their partnership, that we should recall that even though Alexander Campbell did not perhaps, have a heart *as great as Stone's*, neither was Campbell's a heart *made of stone*. As we have seen, his heart could not reject even one with whom his head could not fully agree.

NOTES

¹Roland H. Bainton, *Christian Unity and Religion in New England* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), 88.

²F. D. Kershner, Introduction to "Declaration and Address," by Thomas Campbell, "Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery." by

Barton W. Stone and Others (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1960), 15.

³B{arton} W{arren} S{tone}, "A letter to the Church of Christ Scattered Abroad Throughout the United States of America." *The Christian Messenger* (August 1844): 116.

⁴A{lexander} C{ampbell}, "Union of Christians," *Millennial Harbinger*, n.s., 3 (May 1839):212.

⁵John Curd, "A Word of Charity," *Millennial Harbinger* 40 (May 1869):298.

⁶George Richard Phillips, *Differences in the Theological and Philosophical Backgrounds of Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone and Resulting Differences of Thrust in their Theological Formulations* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 68-17, 989, 1969), 448-49.

⁷Editor {Alexander Campbell}, "Notes on a Tour to the North East — No. VII," *Millennial Harbinger* 12 (December 1836):548.

⁸B. W. Stone, "Charge of Unitarianism: Reply," *Millennial Harbinger* third series, 2 (November 1845):496.

⁹A. Campbell, "Atonement: A. C.'s Reply to B. W. Stone," *Millennial Harbinger*, n.s., 4 (June 1840):246.

¹⁰A. Campbell, "A Note to B. W. Stone," *Millennial Harbinger*, n.s., 5 (August 1841):373.

¹¹A. C. {Alexander Campbell}, "Atonement—No. IX: To B. W. Stone," *Millennial Harbinger*, n.s., 5 (July 1841):304.

¹²Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* (Cincinnati: R. W. Carroll & Co., 1872), II:539.

¹³A. C. {Alexander Campbell}, "Note," *Millennial Harbinger*, n.s., 5 November 1841):538-39.

¹⁴"Declaration and Address," by Thomas Campbell, 44.

¹⁵David C. Steinmetz, *Reformers in the Wings* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 107.

¹⁶Ed. M.H. {Alexander Campbell}, "Barton W. Stone," *Millennial Harbinger* 1 (July 1930):334.

¹⁷A. C. {Alexander, Campbell}, "Obituary," *Millennial Harbinger*, third series, 1 (December 1844):622.

¹⁸Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, II:538-39.

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Twenty-seventh Annual Report

PERMANENT GIFTS PROVIDE STABILITY

The endowment funds of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society have grown from a small endowment in 1961 to an endowment of \$640,120.10 in 1988. This growth has been due to the concern of

many friends of the Society who have established named funds, remembered the Society in their wills, or have made gifts to the endowment program.

At the present time all permanent

memberships (Life, Life Link, Life Patron) are placed in the endowment program. All cash gifts in excess of \$5.00 are placed in these same funds unless otherwise designated. This endowment program is a very necessary part of the financial undergirding needed to annually balance the budget of the Society. Through October 1988, \$46,171 has been received in earnings from this endowment. This is 28% of the total income received to date in 1988.

The endowment program of the Society is set forth in two different funds, one managed by the Society's Board of Trustees and one handled in trust by the Third National Bank of Nashville, TN. Through its endowment program, the Society is capable of handling annuities and trust funds established by donors. One each of these has been established recently and they total over \$100,000.

The Historical Society encourages people, institutions, and Foundations to make gifts to the endowment program to strengthen its future. There is no way the Society could operate without the income from these funds.

In the endowment program there are provisions for special, designated funds. These are gifts which have been given to fulfill specific purposes. The Society has a fund for the publication of "Footnotes to History," an annual publication of some major historical paper. The first publication will be possible through the earnings of this fund in 1989. A second fund is for the purchase of books for the library. Many books are given to the Society, but there are books of historical importance and library reference books which need to be purchased. This fund enables this to happen. A third fund created through a gift from the Oreon E. Scott Foundation, a gift which is to be matched, is for the purpose of actively seeking and searching for old historical papers and materials. The Society looks to you for strength as it moves toward the 50th anniversary of its founding in 1991. We invite you to have a share in the growing endowment program of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society.

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Forrest F. and Katherine M. Reed

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\$1,000 - \$2,499

Dr. and Mrs. L. D. Anderson

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Walter J. and Allie Taylor Bassett

Rexie Bennett

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Ernest A. and Eldora Haymes Brown

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 *Since October 1987

TRUST FUND ASSETS

(As of September 8, 1988)

Common Trust Fund

Cash	\$710.29
Investments	
Short Term	5,800.00
Balanced	24,113.30
Equity	39,668.89
Fixed Income	17,200.15
Short Term Bond	76,583.94
	<u>\$164,076.75</u>

ENDOWMENT FUND ASSETS

(As of September 30, 1988)

Third National Bank	\$12,360.19
J.C. Bradford and Company	8,412.24
Certificates of Deposit	275,936.50
Board of Church Extension	85,000.00
First Trust Fund - U.S.	
Government	18,124.88
GNMA's	27,581.60
National Medical Enterprise	
Debenture	46,000.00
Philadelphia Electric Stock	93.13
Premium on Investments	2,534.99
	<u>\$476,043.53</u>