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DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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JUST AS I LIVED IT
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— *From the Editor's Desk*

Both articles in this issue address neglected topics in the history of the Stone-Campbell movement that the authors believe are relevant to the contemporary life of the Church. Keith Watkins examines the sacramental character of the great camp meetings of the Kentucky Revival of 1797-1805. Historians of the Stone-Campbell movement have paid little attention to the sacramental character of Cane Ridge and the other camp meetings of the Kentucky Revival, despite the fact that the meetings were referred to by Barton W. Stone and other promoters of the Revival as "sacraments" and were organized as observances of the Lord's Supper. Watkins examines the origin and character of the meetings from the Scots sacramental tradition and the transformation of the meetings that took place during the Kentucky Revival. Watkins, who teaches the history and practice of worship, sees a challenge to contemporary liturgical leaders in the fact that for at least a brief moment in the history of American Protestantism objective sacramental worship and subjective experiential religion were closely related.

The article on Stone's doctrine of atonement traces the development of Barton Stone's distinctive views on the significance of Christ's death from 1805-1821. With the exception of William G. West's, *Barton Warren Stone: Early American Advocate of Christian Unity* (Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1954), Stone's writings on the significance of Christ's death have been largely ignored. The author argues that Stone's views can help contemporary Christians to recognize the relationship between God's justice and God's grace, to define the relationship of Christian faith to Judaism, and to understand the significance of any doctrine of the atonement for Christian faith.

Watkins' article is a result of a study leave granted by Christian Theological Seminary. An earlier version of the article on Stone's doctrine of atonement was delivered as the 1993 Russell Disciples Heritage Lecture at Brite Divinity School, Texas Christian University. The Russell Lectures, established by Charles Jones Russell, honor Mr. Russell's father and grandfather, both of whom were elders in the Christian Church.

The Sacramental Character of the Camp Meeting

by Keith Watkins*

The Great Western Revival, which reached its highest pitch in the Kentucky Revival of 1797-1805,¹ was the convulsive climax to a long cycle of development that had begun two centuries earlier in the Scottish Reformation and continued, with modifications, in Presbyterian segments of New England and Middle Atlantic Protestantism. Earlier American revivals, including the Great Awakening, were important expressions of the same spirit. Although the revival form has largely disappeared from American religion, the craving for intense religious experience has permanently implanted itself in the American religious psyche.

The distinctive element in this revival was the camp meeting which for three quarters of a century was to be a prominent part of protestant church life, especially in the west and south. People would gather from a wide area for a long weekend of preaching, praying, and spiritual exercises. At first, these camp meetings were one-time-only events, but in many places across the country they became institutionalized so that people would gather at the same place year after year for a religious celebration of great intensity.² Much of the literature describing the camp meetings, especially during their early years, focuses on the frenzied behavior and social implications of these frontier meetings. Occasionally, there are fleeting references to the eucharistic setting for the camp meetings. The more spectacular religious display, however, usually receives greater emphasis; and this is what the camp meetings are remembered for.

This inattention to the sacramental aspects of the camp meetings continues in the series of addresses and papers published in honor of the 200th anniversary of the construction of the Cane Ridge Meetinghouse in 1791, a decade before the communion service that established its fame.³ Most of these essays were contributed by members of the churches that look back upon Cane Ridge and its pastor Barton W. Stone as part of their foundation and that include weekly celebrations of the Lord's supper as a significant element in their tradition. Yet even these writers, with a couple of exceptions, focus upon other aspects of the meaning of Cane Ridge.

In this paper I reverse the emphasis by focusing upon the eucharistic setting of these revivals and setting aside the trances, glossolalia, and other types of ecstatic behavior. The questions lying back of my interest are these: How did the sacrament shape the revival? How did the revival influence sacramental life in American Protestantism? These questions are interesting because during one brief period, perhaps a quarter of a century, Eucharist and conversion formed an explosive compound that led to the rapid expansion of church membership in the new churches, contributed to schism in older churches, caused scandal and amazement across the Protestant

world, and contributed to the stabilizing of public life in the Ohio Valley.

A PRESBYTERIAN APPROACH TO EVANGELISM

Our knowledge of the camp meetings has been dramatically increased because of the publication of two books that focus directly upon this tradition.⁴ In his 1989 book *Holy Fairs*, Leigh Eric Schmidt gives a comprehensive account of the Scottish tradition and its American continuations. The result is a book that reorders our efforts to understand the history of sacramental worship in the United States. Schmidt shows how the annual celebration of the Lord's supper, which had become the practical norm in Scottish Presbyterianism, was the continuation in Reformation dress of the pre-Reformation Catholic festival of Corpus Christi. He explores the relationship between popular religion and official religion, and between preenlightenment and enlightenment theologies of the Eucharist. In his discussion of the tension between festivity and frequency Schmidt defines one of the perplexing questions about the attitude of American Protestants toward eucharistic worship. The second recent book that requires attention is Paul K. Conkin's *Cane Ridge: America's Pentecost*. Although he accepts the larger historical and ecclesiastic context presented by Schmidt, referring several times to the earlier work, Conkin's interest is primarily in the American aspects of Cane Ridge itself. He traces the careers of several leaders of the Cane Ridge congregation, showing their later influence in Presbyterianism, the Shaker movement, and in the Christian movement that later amalgamated with the Disciples movement led by Alexander Campbell. He also introduces, but with little discussion, the prominence of African-Americans in these revivals which otherwise were dominated by the Scots-Irish.⁵

The Kentucky Revival took place in the framework of Presbyterianism that was brought to this country by immigrants from Scotland and Ireland. This background is necessary if we are to understand the camp meetings and their eucharistic import. Both in Britain and the colonies, Scottish Presbyterianism used celebrations of the Lord's supper as the occasions for evangelism. Since most of the people already had been baptized in infancy, evangelism for them was understood as experiencing regeneration. For a few who had not undergone early baptism, evangelism meant their first coming to Christ through adult baptism.

One of the most striking aspects of this history is the interaction of politics and eucharistic practice, with liturgical activity used as sign of loyal obedience to the sovereign and as means to enforce conformity. Each swing of the political fortune, from Presbyterianism to prelacy and back again, from the Scottish way to the English, led to repercussions in the conduct of worship. The most important of these effects was upon the celebration of communion. Here the ceremonies such as sitting or kneeling were most evident, and here

the conformity to the Anglican ways could be measured. As a result of this intensive politicization of the Eucharist, two types of institutionalized practice arose.

The one was pressure against frequent communion. Changes in government, whichever way the changes went, led to the dismissal of many pastors; and many congregations were closed during these periods of political turmoil. Even when pastors and congregations were working together harmoniously, the tendency was to resist communion since preaching services seemed less subject to politicizing than the Eucharist. Fewer signs of political and theological loyalties could be detected; so people could gather to read, preach, and pray. Even baptism could be done without inciting the passions of episcopacy or presbyterianism. Yet the Eucharist always seemed to arouse the feelings and lead to dissension. Thus it became common for congregations to administer the sacrament now and then, perhaps annually, often less frequently than that.

A second consequence was the staging of celebrations of the Lord's supper when people from two or more congregations under the same minister would assemble at one place for a combined service. Or congregations in a larger area would plan a district Eucharist. At certain periods, the pattern was less specific, the invitation being sent out widely and the congregation gathering as much for political reasons as for religious. During periods of intense Scottish self-awareness, the sacramental season became a time to instill national loyalties and the willingness to uphold the values of the country. Frequently, ministers who had been deposed from their parishes would be able to use these occasions to continue their preaching and their urging of loyalty to the causes which they supported.

Due to the size of the crowds, it early became necessary, and normal, for the services to spill into the out-of-doors. The customs varied from early years until later as to who would be inside and who outside. What seems to have become common practice in the later portion of this period was for the communion tables to be set up in the church so that the central part of the sacrament would take place there. The rest of the congregation—several thousand strong—would remain outside where preaching services would continue. People would be seated at tables for communion. During days of episcopacy, there was an effort to get people to kneel; and there would also be some encouragement for the table to be continuous, with people coming in a steady line to fill up vacancies as other communicants left the table. Under Presbyterian auspices, people would sit. One group would sit at a table for the communion liturgy; then they would partake of the bread and wine. After this group was dismissed, another group would be admitted. This procedure would continue throughout the day and well into the night. It was advantageous to schedule the service on a Sunday near the full moon. Or they would break off at a convenient time and resume the following Sunday. With this use of the outside, certain arrangements would be made,

especially the erecting of a shelter for the preachers and exhorters. Sometimes there was even provision made for some protection for the people. At some churches the Eucharist itself would be administered outside, which would lead the local sponsors to erect a roof over the space where the tables were set up.

The sacramental seasons included three major phases which persisted over time although some of the details varied. First there was preparation. Sometimes this was a service on the previous Sunday that included repentance for sins and serious efforts to reconcile disputes and personal animosities. A very common practice was for this activity to take place during the week just ahead of the eucharistic Sunday—perhaps on Thursday and Saturday. There was a rising and falling of interest in a one-day fast as part of this preparation. The elders would supervise the evaluation of the readiness of parishioners for communion; it was common practice to distribute communion tokens during the period of preparation so that people could be identified to elders at the tables that they were properly qualified.

The second phase of the event was the administration of communion. There would be a sermon called "the action sermon" that would set the stage for what was to follow. The fencing of the table would take place, the recitation of the qualifications for communion and the disqualifications. People would be admitted and then the ritual would take place. Either as they came to communion or as they left, they were to make an offering for the poor—for the destitute and for the relief of people who had traveled a long distance to the event.

The final phase was thanksgiving. Although this service sometimes took place late on Sunday, it was common for this event to occur on Monday. At the conclusion of this service, alms would be distributed.

This same kind of sacramental occasion became common practice in the new world, carried here by Presbyterians from this Scottish tradition. Two accounts give a full description of the uses of the sacramental occasion in the American setting. One source is the minute book of the Presbyterian Church in Booth Bay, Maine, describing its founding period of 1767-78.⁶ Another is a full description of the outdoor sacramental seasons in the Redstone Presbytery of Western Pennsylvania.⁷ Although there is a slight variation in detail, the form of the eucharistic celebration in these two parts of the Presbyterian world is very similar.

What makes the Kentucky Revival exceptional is that for a brief period of time the sacramental occasions became unusually important occasions for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The major steps in traditional sacramental seasons would take place in much their usual way; and the behavior of the people would be serious and ordinary—until the sacrament had been concluded. Then would come the thanksgiving service in the evening after a very long day. By

now the emotional energies generated by several days of strong teaching and exhorting would be compressed to the highest pressure that the crowd could contain. All that was needed was someone to pull the cork so that the power could explode. In the first of McGready's camp meetings, a visiting Methodist preacher did what none of the Presbyterians knew how to do. Sensing the power present in the crowd, he sprang to his feet, shouting out his message; and the night broke open with the cries of terror and exclamations of joy.⁸ From this point on until dismissal the next day, the Eucharist itself was forgotten as large numbers of people experienced directly and dramatically the very salvation which the Lord's supper had portrayed. Thus, the spiritual exercises were God's way of applying to specific people the redemption that the Eucharist presented in a more generalized way. Indeed, the more explosive the post-eucharistic awakenings, the more authentic the sacramental celebration was seen to be. Seeing God's Spirit convulsing sinners, who could doubt that in the bread and wine God had powerfully communicated Christ-crucified for the sins of the world?

The two central figures in the Kentucky Revival were James McGready and Barton W. Stone, both of them evangelistic ministers in the Scots-Irish Presbyterian community. The major events in the revival took place at Presbyterian Churches in various parts of Kentucky and in Tennessee. James McGready⁹ was born of Scotch-Irish parentage and studied with John McMillan and Joseph Smith, two of the most prominent pastors in the Presbyterian orbit of the middle Atlantic states. He was licensed by the Redstone Presbytery on August 13, 1788. This presbytery was the first organization for Presbyterians in western Pennsylvania and the northern Ohio Valley. McGready travelled in the Carolinas and Virginia, preaching and ministering to Presbyterians. In 1796 he came to Logan County, Kentucky, and became pastor of congregations at Muddy, Red, and Gasper Rivers. He was about 33 years of age at the time. Already noted as a strong revivalistic preacher, McGready concentrated upon evangelical preaching to this scattered constituency. During the period between 1797 and 1804 a series of revivals broke out among his people so that his fame spread. The later period of his life was blemished by a bout of public drunkenness for which he apologized and later wrote a treatise concerning the evils of alcohol. He was involved in the debates that gave rise to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, but decided to stay with the regular Presbyterians. The last period of his life was spent at Henderson, Kentucky, and he died in 1817.

While McGready was developing his reputation as evangelistic preacher, Barton W. Stone¹⁰ was a young man trying to find himself. Born and reared in a nominal Anglican tradition, Stone moved around from one academic setting to another trying to find an education and an occupation. Conversion was very much in the air in the schools which he attended and almost against his will, he would

sometimes attend religious meetings and be impressed by what he heard. In February 1791 he went to a sacramental season presided over by J. B. Smith, president of Hampden-Sidney College, with McGready serving as one of the supporting cast of preachers. For nearly a year, this young student had been in religious turmoil because of the despair into which an earlier McGready sermon had plunged him. Now he heard Smith preach on "the sacrifices of a broken and contrite heart" urging those who felt themselves in such a condition to approach the table lest they incur divine disfavor. Stone obeyed and for the first time in his life partook of the Supper. That evening McGready preached the post-communion sermon emphasizing the sharp contrast between the sinner who depends upon his legal works and the regenerate person. The result was that Stone's despair returned.

Some weeks later, Stone heard a sermon by another Presbyterian, William Hodge, on the text "God is love." Although his mind was absorbed by the doctrine he was still distressed by the idea that the experience had to be overwhelming. "This cannot be the mighty work of the spirit, which you must experience—that instantaneous work of Almighty power, which, like an electric shock, is to renew the soul and bring it to Christ" (Stone, 11). Later, meditating in the woods, Stone came to the conviction that there was no reason to delay, for delay was disbelieving the scripture's injunction. Now was the accepted time for the sinner to act; God had already done God's part and was waiting for the sinner to respond. The conversion was now complete.

After completing his studies, Stone spent a time wandering over the Carolinas, Virginia, and the Kentucky-Tennessee area. He was ordained by Presbyterians in 1798 and shortly thereafter assigned the Cane Ridge and Concord Churches a few miles outside of Lexington, Kentucky. Three years later, under his leadership, the greatest of all the camp meetings was to take place.

McGready's own account of the revival shows the importance of the sacramental seasons. His record begins with May of 1799 when he became pastor of a new congregation at Gasper River, Kentucky. Here he preached doctrines of regeneration, faith, and repentance. During the winter, says McGready, people often asked the question, "Is religion a sensible thing? If I were converted, would I feel it and know it (McGready, ix)?" During the months that followed, the conversations and discussions continued to grow and feelings of conviction were intensified within the congregation. The climax came in July of 1798 when the congregation gathered for the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. "On Monday the Lord graciously poured out his Spirit: A very general awakening took place"(McGready, x). In September of the same year in McGready's Muddy River congregation a similar event took place and at his third congregation, Red River, another awakening occurred. The account reports that the revival gathered momentum during the next year.

At every point in the narrative, McGready underlines the fact that these revivals broke out at eucharistic meetings. For example, he closes one part of his discussion: "The present year has been a blessed season, likewise; yet not equal to last year in conversion work. I shall just give you a list of our sacraments, and the number, we believe, experienced religion at each, during the present year, 1801."

The most important of all of these sacramental occasions was the one that took place at Cane Ridge. Early in the spring of 1801, Pastor Stone heard of the excitement generated in southern Kentucky by his mentor, McGready. Traveling down to observe, he saw his first camp meeting with a large number of people gathered in for the occasion. Many of the worshipers fell "as men in a battle." Some of his own acquaintances were struck down and Stone sat by them for hours. By the time that they returned to their normal consciousness, Stone was convinced that this was a work of God. "That cannot be a Satanic work," he concluded, "which brings men to humble confession and forsaking of sin—to solemn prayer, fervent praise and thanksgiving, and to sincere and affectionate exhortations to sinners to repent and go to Jesus the Saviour" (Stone, 35).

Stone returned home and next Sunday reported to his Cane Ridge congregation in the morning and to the Concord congregation in the evening. At Concord two little girls were struck down exactly as was happening under McGready's ministry. Others were soon converted and the news spread rapidly as Stone began his plans to replicate McGready's success. The result was the sacramental season at Cane Ridge late that August in which some 20,000 people came to the most spectacular of all the camp meetings.¹¹ All heard the word of salvation preached; all saw the sacramental signs of God's redeeming love in the crucified savior. Some of the people—perhaps one in ten—came to the table to receive the visible signs of Christ's love. But even more received the unquestioned confirmation that God loved them. Their normal powers of speech and bodily movement were taken over by a power greater than their own. They bewailed their sins and experienced a new release that gave the assurance that they too were now numbered among the elect of God.

SEEING THE SALVATION OF GOD

We now have reached the point when it is possible and necessary to push toward a theological interpretation of these events. What theology of the Lord's supper was explicit among the participants? What theology of the Lord's supper was implicit in the events themselves?

We are limited in our sources for the explicit doctrine of the Lord's supper. During this period, we have few printed sources for prayers, devotions, and personal narratives. Only a few sermons are extant. Even so, it is possible to suggest a theology of the Lord's supper that is connected to earlier Puritan ideas and points the way

toward later developments in evangelical protestant churches. Central to the body of literature for presenting this eucharistic theology are the sermons of James McGready; and central to his understanding of the Lord's supper is the idea of seeing the salvation of God.

A well-schooled Presbyterian, McGready believed in writing sermons, some 40 of which were published. The editor of these posthumously published sermons says that most of them were prepared for preaching during the great revival, although a few of them were altered slightly for later use by changing names and other historical references (McGready, vi, vii). As did many others, McGready prepared a manuscript for the sermon proper, but then turned to extemporaneous speech for the exhortation. The editor tells us that the sermonic portion is what we have available, but that the exhortation is lost.

Of the sermons extant, two deal primarily with the Eucharist. One may have been the action sermon, while the other seems to have been written for a day of preparation. A third sermon in the book is suitable for the fencing of the table, which described the sins that would keep people from communing unworthily and warned the people to examine themselves in order to discern their worthiness. A fourth sermon is also important. It does not deal explicitly with the Eucharist but it does discuss one of the ideas that is central in McGready's eucharistic doctrine.

The central term of McGready's eucharistic theology is meeting Christ. He states unequivocally and often that at the sacramental table Christians meet Christ. By this language he means that in the Eucharist there is a direct, sensible encounter with the fullness of Deity. In the action sermon McGready says: "Every place where God and the believing soul hold communion ... is solemn and dreadful; but as the sacrament of the supper is one of the most affecting institutions of heaven, and one of the nearest approaches to God that can be made on this side of eternity, and in which believers are permitted to hold intimate conversation with our blessed Jesus, we will particularly accommodate the subject to that occasion" (McGready, 175).

In this same paragraph occurs the one use of "soft" language that I have seen in these eucharistic sermons. McGready refers to "the table of Christ spread and the memorials of his broken body upon it" (175). Whereas it is common for Protestants to use terms like symbol and memorial, and even sacrament, as ways of easing the bluntness of eucharistic theology, McGready's sermons are free from such equivocal language. Only in this one paragraph does he use a word from that group, the word memorial. In its context, even this word seems hard, or should I say weighty.? Certainly, the rest of the sermon indicates that for McGready this encounter is filled with the power of the living God, the God who is to be feared. The biblical text is Jacob's theophany as he fled from Esau: "How dreadful is this

place? This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven" (Gen. 28:17).

McGready develops his sermon with four reasons why the sacramental table is a dreadful place: "for God is there" (McGready, 175); "because it is a striking exhibition of the most important transaction ever witnessed by men or angels, viz. the redemption of guilty sinners by the bitter agonies, bloody sufferings, and dying groans of the incarnate God" (McGready, 176); "for the Holy One of Israel here confers and sups with pardoned rebels" (McGready, 178); and "for here heaven is brought down to earth" (McGready, 178). The rhetorical force of McGready's language is illustrated by the way he develops his third reason for the dreadfulness of the sacramental table: "And how must the inhabitants of heaven be astonished to see the omnipotent Jehovah seated at his table and holding communion with the worthless sons and daughters of Adam, embracing them in his arms and kissing them with the kisses of his mouth. O, pardoned sinner, while you view the smiles of his lovely face and feel his love shed abroad in your heart, you who have so often pierced him with your sins—are you not ready to sink into nothing in his presence, saying, I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes?" (McGready, 178).

In another of his sacramental sermons (*The Meeting of Christ and His Disciples*), McGready uses the central figure in the title and in the body of the sermon. His text is Matthew 28:7, the resurrection account when the messenger tells the disciples that Jesus has gone on to Galilee to meet them. Then McGready applies this text to his congregation who are preparing for a Eucharist a few days hence. "It has been the practice of the blessed Jesus ever since his resurrection, to make similar appointments for his mourning disciples to meet him, to see his glory, and feel his love shed abroad in their hearts. The ordinances of his house are so many places where the children of God, like Moses, obtain a sight of their divine Lord. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in which his death is shown forth, and he is exhibited as crucified before our eyes, is one of his most important appointments. There his spiritual children [here McGready refers to the elect] are permitted to come into his presence, to see his face and enjoy sweet tokens of his love. And it is to this precious ordinance that we shall endeavor to accommodate this subject. There, I tell you, as the angel did the disciples of old, by the authority of your glorious Lord—behold he is risen and goeth before you next Sabbath—to Race Creek—there shall ye see him" (McGready, 361).

In this paragraph McGready uses a verb that is important in his eucharistic theology, the verb see. He also uses other verbs that refer to vision, notably the verb view. These words are important because they help us understand the nature of the eucharistic transaction which McGready believes to occur when the faithful gather around the Lord's table. The sermons present two points of view. In one of them, seeing Christ is a spiritual experience, but in

the other interpretation this vision of Christ is physical. In order to understand McGready and the revivals, both forms of vision must be considered.

In a letter to a friend, dated October 23, 1801, a few weeks after the Cane Ridge meeting, McGready reports that early in his ministry in the Gasper River congregation, when he was preaching vigorously the doctrines of regeneration, faith, and repentance, the question was often put to him: "Is Religion a sensible thing? If I were converted would I feel it and know it" (McGready, vii). The description McGready gives of the revivals seems to be his answer—that the Spirit of God does move in ways that are sensible, that people can feel and know. In this brief account he mentions the intense feelings of distress and the overwhelming sense of joy. He speaks of people "under deep conviction," many of whom "fell to the ground, lay powerless, groaning, praying and crying for mercy" (McGready, viii). In addition to these visible signs of meeting Christ, McGready also cites the many people who after being saved had continued steadfastly in their new profession. At this point, however, McGready falls short of saying that the intensity of experience, and especially the "spiritual exercises," were physical evidence that Christ was present.

Late in another sermon he comes closer to making this claim. "When Christ meets with his children," says McGready, "he cannot be hid—strange things are to be seen when he comes into a congregation, and meets his people in the administration of his supper, or in the ordinances of his house." Then drawing upon a theme used in another of his sermons, McGready affirms: "The breath of the Lord breathes the four winds of heaven upon the valley of dry bones. There is a noise and a shaking—and the bones begin to come together—bone to his fellow bone" (McGready, 375). Again, McGready refrains from describing the spiritual exercises, but the tumultuous character of the sacramental assemblies is clearly implied as empirical evidence that Christ is meeting sinners in the administration of the Eucharist.

Elsewhere, McGready presents a second view of his word see. The Christian sees Christ, but now in a way that can be called spiritual. In a sermon based on John 12:21, "We would see Jesus," (title: *The Saving Sight*), McGready describes the all-absorbing interest his people have in seeing Christ. In two pages that read like a precis of the earlier portion of Jonathan Edwards' *Treatise concerning Religious Affections*, McGready states what this sight is not. The vision is spurious when it comes in ways that the believer cannot describe; the vision does not consist of extraordinary feelings of joy and delight. Later in this sermon, McGready makes his point even more forcefully: This vision "is not a visible light or apparition, which is seen by the eye of the body, nor sound that can be heard by the ear; it is nothing which can be received by the external organs of sense; neither can it be communicated in dreams or visions" (McGready, 352).

Again, following Edwards' lead (although McGready does not mention Edwards), he makes a positive statement: "Then to 'see *Jesus*', is to behold the holiness, justice, wisdom, power and mercy, truth and goodness of the Deity, manifested and gloriously displayed in the active and passive obedience of the Lord Jesus Christ. This is the view which calms the troubled conscience, melts the hard heart, and transforms the soul into the image of God—which communicates unspeakable joy and comfort to the soul and begets a well founded hope of heaven and immortal glory. This glorious object is not seen by the eye of the body, or of the imagination, but yet is plainly and conspicuously beheld by the understanding" (McGready, 353).

This passage is filled with the language of Edwards, abridged, simplified, adapted to McGready's own purposes. Although he does not cite Edwards in this sermon, he does in his description and defense of the spiritual exercises (see McGready, 474). He then goes on to discuss this spiritual vision, stating that it is both an inner illumination and the testimony of scripture which the spiritually enlightened are permitted to see. The key to his theology is contained in his statement that "a saving view of Christ, is no new revelation distinct from that contained in the scriptures, but simply a divine illumination of the mind, enabling it to understand the spiritual meaning of what is already revealed" (McGready, 355).

In this same vision, to bring the argument full circle, Christ "appears to their view, clad in the dyed garments of salvation—in his vesture dipped in blood." As he often did, McGready slips into poetry: "Then he describes the thorns he wore,/And tells his bloody passion o'er." Continuing in this characteristic style, McGready drives the point home: Jesus "shows all the scarlet streams of divine blood flowing from all his open veins, until their hearts are broken with deep contrition and penitential sorrow for sin; and then their hearts love, adore and wonder; and are lost in the boundless ocean of the love of God" (McGready, 354).

These two kinds of vision seem to be struggling against each other. Schmidt discusses this tension, drawing primarily upon documents from Scotland as evidence for his interpretation.¹² Ministers made a clear distinction between seeing Christ's agonies with the "eyes of the mind" or "the eyes of faith" in contrast with seeing them with "the eyes of the body" (Schmidt, 148). Using this distinction, Scottish "could advocate disciplined, if extremely vivid, meditation without accepting visionary experience" (Schmidt, 149). He then points out, however, that the limits to visionary experience were often "obscured" as in McGready's preaching. Furthermore, he notes, this neat distinction was even less likely to be maintained in popular piety; and he states that the vivid style of preaching was a contribution to this confusion between two kinds of vision (Schmidt, 150).

This blending of two kinds of vision may be illuminated by another reference to Jonathan Edwards. In an especially interesting, although overstated passage, Perry Miller¹³ discusses the Lockean

empiricism of Edwards, using it to explain the special power of his imagery. Edwards believed, says Miller, that only experience of the senses can lead to the ideas that are the fundamental processes of human life, whether that life be thinking, feeling, or choosing to act. Edwards knew that his people could not experience heaven or hell while still citizens of the earth. In his preaching, therefore, he developed images so potent and immediate that the people could experience the reality of these places without going to either one. Thus the prerequisites for action were supplied by imagination.

In a brief review such as this one, it is not possible to convey the richness of McGready's rhetorical power. In his sacramental meditation preached at Gasper River meeting house, undoubtedly during the revivals of 1800, he displayed this power with great force. The passage begins with a graphic description of the crucifixion in highly evocative language. Then McGready says that Jesus was "denied the privilege of common malefactors, who were executed with their faces towards the temple." Instead, Jesus was crucified facing west. "But here," McGready continues, "the rage of men and devils defeats their own designs; for while his back is turned towards the temple, his face looks far away to the western world—even to these ends of the earth—and he casts a look of pity towards many millions of lost sinners weltering in their blood in these dark regions of the shadow of death, and a gleam of joy fills his breaking heart, when upon the cross he looks even towards Gasper River" (McGready, 177). After describing Jesus' death, McGready concludes this section of his sermon: "O, believer, look into his pierced side, and view his broken heart, the fountain of life, from which precious streams of love and mercy flow to guilty sinners" (McGready, 177).

McGready uses the word blood frequently and realistically in his preaching. Of course, there would not have been a self-conscious theory of ritual language in his mind; nevertheless, a modern analysis leads to an explanation of the rhetorical force of his language. Victor Turner¹⁴ has developed a thesis concerning rituals in Africa and elsewhere. One of the functions of ritual is to convert emotion that is generated in psycho-biological experience to the values and needs of the society as a whole. The specific ritual substances that accomplish this transfer most completely are those which resemble discharges of the body, because these discharges are the carriers of our emotional responses. Blood is one such discharge, carrying with it the emotions connected to sexual intercourse, the adulthood of women, the birth of children, and injuries sustained in hunting and warfare. The loss of blood threatens life itself. Blood, therefore, carries a heavy weight of emotion.

Thus, McGready is using an emotion-laden term throughout these sermons. Furthermore, the Lord's Supper itself, with its wine that represents Christ's shed blood, continues this imagery. The wine is the ritual substance that evokes the emotions of human life and attaches them to Christ's self sacrifice for the sinner's sins. The effect

upon worshipers would have been powerful. This power is increased when it comes as the climax to a sermon that presents the doctrinal foundation for McGready's soteriology. In a sermon based on Simeon's picking up the baby Christ (Luke 2:28), McGready urges the sinner to embrace Jesus with the arms of faith. Most of the sermon is built around the central image—the arms of faith, which are leaning arms, winning arms, capacious arms, etc. (in each case, McGready has a passage of Scripture to illustrate his point, but the passages are bent, sometimes severely, to serve his purposes.)

Even so, this sermon contains characteristically McGready ideas. (a) The faith by which the sinner takes hold of Christ is not a natural faith, but is given by the Holy Spirit. "This faith the sinner cannot exercise by the operation of his natural powers upon the truth of God's Word and promise, but such a faith devils and damned reprobates may possess. The unconverted sinner is as incapable of acting faith or laying hold of Christ, as a man born blind is of opening his eyes and beholding the natural light or as a dead corpse is of performing the works of a living man" (McGready, 126). (b) Yet saving faith is active, aggressive, as was Jacob's when he wrestled with the angel. McGready sounds throughout the sermon as though the sinner can influence the coming of faith ... for faith comes in the terror of realizing one's own sinfulness, in hearing a sermon which "is carried with power to his soul" (134), in some period of personal affliction, at the communion table, or at the time of death. Although McGready does not say it, or even hint, his position seems to be this: God wants to bestow saving faith and intends to do so widely. The sinner does not control what God will do, but the sinner does have the opportunity of getting into favorable circumstances—feeling the terror of sin, listening to sermons, meditating upon Christ at communion. (c) The doctrine of atonement is clear: justice is satisfied and God is glorified by Christ's death.

Then comes the fourth point which is the climax to his sermon: (d) Blood is the trigger for releasing emotion. "Says the sinner, this Christ just suits me, and that moment his heart yields, and when by faith he views this precious Savior, all his burden of sin and guilt is carried away and lost in the red sea of divine blood, and joy and peace flow like a stream from the Eternal Throne into his soul" (McGready, 133). In this same sermon McGready says that the sinner sometimes embraces the dying, rising, triumphant Jesus, "heading his own table, and feasting his blood-bought children with the bread of life and the milk and honey of Canaan. Then faith views him in ineffable glory with a crown upon his head, arrayed in the dyed garments of salvation, with his vesture dipped in blood, and *that name written upon his robe and upon his thigh*, "The king of kings and lord of lords" (McGready, 135).

In other sermons in this volume McGready expounds his evangelical theology and ecclesiology. He stands central in the Anglo-American tradition of covenant and discipline as the formative

images. In his version of this tradition, the Eucharist functions in two ways. It is the occasion for the exercise of the church's moral discipline in personal life. In this regard, McGready's handling of the Lord's supper is much like the traditionalist New Englanders, such as Increase Mather. At the same time, participating in the Lord's supper became the vehicle for the most intense awareness of union with the Holy. Thus McGready also represents the innovations of pastors like Solomon Stoddard.¹⁵ The heightened sense of discipline in McGready's system seems to have been the catalyst for the more intense experience of union.

We look in vain for traditional Catholic and Anglican ideas about eucharistic presence. The leading themes of Calvin's union with the Christ in heaven are missing; but in their place is a vivid phenomenology of eucharistic life that makes some other theologies of the Eucharist seem pale and lifeless.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EUCHARIST AND CONVERSION

The historical record shows that during this period Eucharist and conversion were closely related. But what is the significance of that relationship? Were they related circumstantially so that, in time, the connection would prove to be unimportant? Or was the relationship causal and effective? To put the question another way, did revival come as the result of the fact that great crowds of people came together? Or was revival caused by the fact that the Lord's supper was the focal point of the assembly?

One support for the claim that Eucharist led to conversion is the doctrine that the Eucharist is a converting ordinance. Solomon Stoddard was the first American theologian to make this claim. He argued that the very nature of the Eucharist is evangelical and that it is given for the purpose of converting the unregenerate. He believed that everyone who was orthodox in theology and obedient to churchly canons of behavior could properly come to communion. Then it would be God's own doing if these persons were to be converted, and from time to time in Stoddard's ministry, as if to prove his doctrine, this converting experience took place in community-wide revivals of intense religious experience.

Clearly, the sacramental setting was a strong contributor to the probability of conversion. Preaching during the sacramental seasons focused with special clarity upon the center of the Christian gospel, the death and saving work of Jesus. This preaching would be especially poignant and forceful since it emphasized sacrifice and the shedding of blood, the awesomeness of God, and the divine mercy, and provided a way of insisting upon the importance and the possibility of being saved. Then would come the eucharistic celebration itself in which this sermonic message was graphically expressed in strong and powerful symbolism. The combination of very clear

exposition and strongly emotive liturgical form would do much to bring about the sharp intensification of the possibility of conversion.

This relationship of Eucharist and revival may well have contributed to the development of an important characteristic of American Protestantism: the relocation of the outward signs of divine presence. One of the religious questions that persists through the generations is how can we experience the direct presence of the Holy Spirit? The classical answer is that the Eucharist exists for that very purpose, the bread and wine being tangible signs of the presence of God. By contemplating these physical things, we come again into the presence of the crucifixion and the other events surrounding the passion of Christ. By eating and drinking, we share in the very life of Christ that was given for the life of the world. Although our senses continue to experience bread and wine, the various theologies have asserted, our spirits experience the direct and true union with God revealed in Jesus Christ.

According to McGready's description of the revival, the question of tangible experience was important among his parishioners in Kentucky. They were formed by Calvinist theology, which insisted that God saved those whom God desired to save. Thus the long standing questions remained: how do I know if I am one of the saved? Among people who believed in the objective power of sacraments, the answer had always been that baptism and reception of the Eucharist in a worthy manner were the proofs that God had saved. After the revivals were over, representatives of the Stone movement could argue that they did not need the spiritual exercises because they had already been baptized. Here is a clear indication of the mentality of sacramentalists even then.¹⁶

Yet the effect of the camp meetings was to shift the outward signs of divine presence away from the objectivity of the sacraments to the objectivity of physical and psychological experience. The people would know that they were saved when some power other than themselves took control and drove them to do things which could not be explained in any other way. I am not sure if McGready had intended this to happen, but finally the answer that he would have to give to his parishioners would be: if the Spirit seizes you, drives you to do the remarkable things, totally transforms your emotional life, then you will know that you have been saved. This answer is a precursor to what developed in the modern American Pentecostal movement.¹⁷ The literature of this movement, especially in its description of the Topeka episode, makes it clear that this same interest in tangible evidence of possession by the spirit was all-important. And the answer that they came to as they studied scripture anew was that when people speak in tongues, then they know that the Spirit has visited them.

Another aspect of the significance that comes from this episode in American religious history is that it represents a shifting of the Godward focus from Christ to the Spirit. Classical Christian theology

argues that God is revealed most fully in Jesus, whose life and teaching depict God's will and God's presence in a full and complete way. By yielding ourselves to Christ, we enter into a full and complete relationship with God. Jesus promised the spirit to be a down payment for that inheritance in heaven that would someday come to all of us and as a comforter during the time when Jesus is physically absent. Thus, the Spirit would continue to make present the reality of God's self-revelation in Jesus.

The Eucharist, in its classical texts, maintains this point of view. It becomes the continuing power of the Christian life because of the full and complete identification of worshipers with Jesus. The Holy Spirit is an instrumentality that helps maintain the completeness of this union of Christian and Christ.

What seems to have happened in the camp meetings is that the union with Christ became the subsidiary element and possession by the Spirit became the dominant one. From that time on, at least in the churches shaped by the revival, the chief means whereby God is revealed to people today is the Spirit which transforms the psychological makeup of those who encounter the word.

The later history of churches in the Stone-Campbell tradition and in the Methodist tradition illustrates the way the two sides of the Eucharist-Revival combination divided. For the Stone-Campbell movement, an objective although naive sacramentalism became the more important aspect of their experience on the frontier. While theologians in this tradition have given little attention to the definition of the Eucharist, their attention to a sacramental theology of baptism has been strong and significant, although increasingly idiosyncratic.¹⁸ In contrast, the churches influenced by Wesleyan ideas have given priority to a religion of the Spirit. Through much of the formative and developmental period of the 19th century, the several movements of Methodism have emphasized intense experience and de-emphasized the importance of sacramental worship.

These two tendencies continue to be present in the protestant churches of North America, seemingly as opposing tendencies. Yet the Scottish sacramental tradition that exploded at Cane Ridge, affirms that objective and subjective religion can go together. The challenge to historians of American Protestantism is to trace the post-Cane Ridge history of the conflict between sacramental and experiential religion, considering ecclesiastic, liturgical, theological, and cultural aspects of this later history. The challenge to liturgical leaders is to bring objective sacramental worship and subjective experiential religion back together again. They belong to each other, even in the Spirit-filled Protestantism of North America.

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NOTES

¹A partially annotated bibliography of the Cane Ridge revival, consisting of nearly two hundred entries, with some two dozen pages of source materials, has been compiled by Lon D. Oliver, and is published under the title *A Guide to the Cane Ridge Revival*. The most important modern treatments of the Kentucky Revival are John B. Boles *The Great Revival, 1787-1805*; Leigh Eric Schmidt's *Holy Fairs* and Paul K. Conkin's *Cane Ridge: America's Pentecost*. Contemporaneous accounts were published in several ephemeral forms. An excerpt, under the title *The Kentucky Revival*, is given in Smith, Handy, and Loetscher, *American Christianity*, 11, 566-570. The full account was published in William W. Woodward, ed., *Surprising Accounts of the Revival of Religion in the United States of America*, 35-8. See also James McGready, *Posthumous Works*, ix-xvi; Robert Davidson, *The History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky*, 131-141; Homer M. Keever, "A Lutheran Preacher's Account of the 1801-02 Revival in North Carolina," *Methodist History* 7 (1968-9), 38-55.

²Much of the literature dealing directly with camp meetings describes the later form that became permanent in American life. Examples include: Dickson Bruce, *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845*; Charles A. Johnson, *The Frontier Camp Meeting*. Interesting insights into the camp meetings are suggested in Elmer F. Suderman, "A Study of the Revival in Late Nineteenth-Century American Literature," *Methodist History* 5 (1966-7), 17-30. For a description of the acculturation of a camp meeting location, see Ellen Weiss, *City in the Woods*. Kenneth O. Brown's *Holy Ground: A Study of the American Camp Meeting* argues that the camp meetings have a more indigenous origin than this paper presents.

³These papers are published in *Cane Ridge in Context: Perspectives on Barton W. Stone and the Revival*, ed. Anthony L. Dunnavant.

⁴At least one doctoral dissertation, which I have not seen, also concentrates upon the Cane Ridge revival, Ellen T. Eslinger's *The Great Revival in Bourbon County, Kentucky*.

⁵One of the most important explorations of the development of African-American religion in the American South is Mechal Sobel's *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith*.

⁶The account of the Booth Bay Church is published by Thomas C. Pears, Jr., "Sessional Records of the Presbyterian Church....," *Journal of Presbyterian History* (1934-5), 203-240, 243-288, 308-336, 337-355.

⁷Joseph Smith's *Old Redstone* is a romanticized account of Presbyterian beginnings west of the Alleghenies, but it gives sufficient detail that the pattern and character of the sacramental seasons can be discerned.

⁸This Methodist intervention is described by Robert Davidson in his 1847 *History of the Presbyterian Church*. The Methodist preacher himself, John McGee, published his own statement of the event in a letter to the Rev. Thomas L. Douglass, published in *Methodist Magazine* 4 (1821), 189-191.

⁹The most important source concerning McGready is *Posthumous Works*. See also a summary statement about McGready in Paul K. Conkin's *Cane Ridge*, especially pp. 53-64. A sympathetic account of McGready's career and theology is offered by John Opie, Jr., in "James McGready: Theologian of Frontier Revivalism." Amazingly, Opie gives no attention to the eucharistic aspects of McGready's work.

¹⁰Information concerning Barton W. Stone can be found in *The Biography of Eld. Barton Warren Stone*; David Newell Williams, *The Theology of the Great Revival in the West as Seen through the Life and Thought of Barton Warren Stone*; David C. Roos, *The Social Thought of Barton Warren Stone*. See also several sections in Paul K. Conkin's *Cane Ridge*.

¹¹Stone's activities of that important summer are reported in *The Biography* (see above note), pp. 30-42.

¹²Here a word of caution must be raised concerning Schmidt's analysis, for he draws freely from Scottish and American materials to develop his interpretation. It cannot be assumed, however, that experiences and interpretations were the same on the two sides of the Atlantic. Patricia Caldwell's study of Puritan diaries in the old and new

worlds, for example, indicates that the religious experiences of people from these two closely related groups were quite different. See her *The Puritan Conversion Narrative: The Beginnings of American Expression*.

¹³Two sources for Miller's discussion are his biography, *Jonathan Edwards*, and his essay, "Jonathan Edwards on the Sense of the Heart."

¹⁴Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, 59-92. Also published in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London 1966), 47-84.

¹⁵For a discussion of Stoddard's ideas and activities, see C. C. Goen's "Introduction," *The Great Awakening*, by Jonathan Edwards, especially pp. 14ff.

¹⁶The discussion of the objectivity of baptism is by John Rogers, a close associate of Barton W. Stone and editor of *Stone's Biography*. At the close of the 400-page book which included much of Stone's autobiographical accounts and Roger's own discussion of related matters, Rogers devotes some 50 pages to a discussion of enthusiasm in religion. He concludes that this "error" relates to the doctrine of justification as held among the orthodox. They sought to ground salvation, and the assurance of salvation. Rogers asks: "Is the penitent left to mere feelings and frames to determine this most important of all questions, the forgiveness of his sins?" He answers "no." Instead, "to have gospel assurance of pardon then, the penitent must be baptized for the remission of his sins—calling on the name of the Lord" (pp. 395-398).

¹⁷For a description of the Topeka event, in 1901, see John Thomas Nichol, *Pentecostalism*, 25ff., and J. Hollenwager, *The Pentecostals*, 21ff.

¹⁸An extended series of technical studies of this baptismal tradition is published in *Baptism and the Remission of Sins: An Historical Perspective*, ed. David W. Fletcher.

Sondra Stalcup-Goodson Named Fund

A native of Dallas, Texas, Sondra is a graduate in journalism of the University of Texas. Following a career in advertising and public relations, she returned to school to earn her Master of Divinity degree and is currently a candidate for her Ph.D. degree from Southern Methodist University. A frequent speaker, preacher, and retreat leader, she is an ordained minister who uses her many talents as a teacher and scholar, but also as a lay and clergy woman in the Church. Sondra is currently writing a book with other Disciple women scholars which will be an introduction to feminist theology for lay persons and college students. It will be published in 1995 by Chalice Press. She currently serves as adjunct minister of Highlands

Grace Phillips Johnson Named Fund

Born in 1877 as the only daughter of Thomas W. and Pamphila Hardeman Phillips of Butler, Pennsylvania, Grace Phillips Johnson grew to full maturity as matriarch of the Johnson Clan of Western Pennsylvania and Central Florida. She was the principal influence in one significant division of the T. W. Phillips family. Mrs. Johnson was a strong mother and civic leader. Her character is in the very dreams and lives of her family and her friends. As a widow she raised her family endowing them with deep interest in the arts, books, the community, and with a commitment to the Church. She was indeed a woman of deep and abiding Christian faith. Mrs. Johnson was such a strong and powerful person that her relatives, generations removed, still feel the influence and strength of this remarkable lady. This Named Fund was established by her son, Thomas Phillips Johnson.

***The Power of Christ's Sacrifice:
Barton W. Stone's Doctrine of Atonement***

by D. Newell Williams*

Barton W. Stone taught distinctive views of the atonement—the significance of Christ's death on the cross. These views have received little attention.¹ This is unfortunate. Stone interpreted the significance of Christ's death in ways that are helpful even yet. Following a description of the development of Stone's doctrine of atonement, its relevance to three contemporary theological challenges will be considered:

- 1) the challenge to recognize the relationship between God's justice and God's grace,
- 2) the challenge to define the relationship of Christian faith to Judaism, and
- 3) the challenge to understand the significance of any doctrine of the atonement for Christian faith.

DESTRUCTION

Stone's doctrine of atonement grew out of his struggle with the doctrine of atonement taught by the Presbyterians with whom he united in 1791. At the foundation of Presbyterian theology was the doctrine of an original covenant of works between God and humanity. Presbyterians argued that in the beginning God made a covenant with humanity by which God promised spiritual and temporal life to humanity in return for humanity's perfect obedience to God's law, while threatening death—both spiritual and temporal—as the penalty for disobedience. Presbyterians taught that humanity disobeyed God's law and, as a consequence, was "bound over to the wrath of God" to suffer spiritual and temporal death.

The good news, according to Presbyterians, was that God has come to the rescue of the elect through the life and death of Jesus Christ. The elect were defined as those persons chosen by God before the foundation of the world to be united to Christ by faith. On their behalf, as a substitute or surety, Jesus lived a life of perfect obedience to God's law. Hence, the elect are declared righteous by God—Christ's righteousness having been "imputed" to them. On behalf of the elect, as a substitute of surety, Christ also died. Hence, the elect are forgiven for their sin—the penalty for their violation of the original covenant of works having been paid by Christ. This latter work of Christ (his death on the cross) was identified by Presbyterians as "the atonement."²

Stone's struggle with the Presbyterian doctrine of atonement began with his rejection of the Presbyterian doctrine of election. Stone, like many others of his generation, came to believe that Christ died not only for a portion of humanity (the elect), but for all sinners.³ In the fall of 1803, Stone and four other Presbyterian ministers who held theological views similar to his separated from the jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky rather than suffer censure for their refusal to teach the

Presbyterian doctrine of election. Following this action, members of the Synod were quick to note that the seceding ministers' affirmation that Christ died for all was tantamount to endorsing the doctrine of universal salvation. It followed, according to the Presbyterian doctrine of atonement, that if Christ died as a substitute for all sinners, all sinners will be saved; the penalty for the sins of all persons having been paid in full.⁴

The doctrine of universal salvation had been rejected by most Presbyterians.⁵ Stone rejected it, as well. Despite the implications of his affirmation that Christ had died for all, he was no universalist. He believed that the Scriptures clearly teach that persons who reject relationship with God in this life cannot expect to be offered relationship with God in some future life.⁶ Thus, early in 1804, Stone began a study of the Scriptures focused on the significance of Christ's death for all sinners and aimed at identifying errors in Presbyterian thought regarding the atonement.⁷ He published the results of his study in 1805 as *Atonement: The Substance of Two Letters Written to a Friend*.

What did Stone find in his study of the Scriptures? He found that the notion that Christ died as a substitute for sinners to pay the penalty for their violation of an original covenant of works could not be supported from the Scriptures! Stone researched the notion of an original covenant of works to which the penalty of death both spiritual and temporal had been affixed. He could find no evidence in Scripture that God had ever entered into such a covenant with humanity.⁸ Stone did not deny that humanity suffers spiritual and temporal death. Neither did he deny that the Scriptures teach a divine law. He affirmed that the Scriptures teach that "you shall love the Lord Your God with all of your heart, soul, mind and strength and your neighbor as yourself."⁹ However, he could find no evidence in Scripture that God had entered into a covenant of works with humanity threatening spiritual and temporal death as the penalty for disobedience of the divine law. Rather, Stone found that the Scriptures teach that God's relationship to humanity has from the beginning been one of unconditional love. "That God is love, and this love fixt on the race of Adam," Stone declared, "is evident from the express declarations of Scripture." Commenting on Psalm 84:11, "The Lord is a Sun," Stone explained that "The sun shines, not to shew himself, but to give light, life and happiness to creation. So the love of God flows in eternal, unchangeable streams upon all creation, to give light, life and happiness to all."¹⁰ For Stone, God's original relationship with humanity was not a covenant of works, but a covenant of grace.

Stone also concluded from his study of the Scriptures that there is no evidence in Scripture for the existence of "wrath" in God. Rather, the Scriptures teach that God is love. Stone defined love as that which binds the universe together, or that which unites. He reasoned that there can be nothing in God that is contrary to God. Wrath is the opposite of love, or that which "disunites." Thus, there can be no wrath in the God who has been revealed in Scripture. To be sure, the Scriptures speak of the wrath of God. However, they do so in the context of the Biblical teaching that God is love. Thus, we are to understand that Biblical statements of

God's wrath refer to "nothing else but his holy nature standing in opposition to sin." When sin is removed, so is God's opposition or wrath. Therefore, the notion that sinners have been bound over to "the wrath of God" to suffer for their sin is without foundation in Scripture. There is no wrath of God that must be satisfied once sin has been removed.¹¹

Finally, Stone's study of the Scriptures convinced him that Christ is not identified in the Scriptures as a substitute for sinners. Regarding Hebrews 7:22, the one text in which Christ is referred to as a surety, Stone offered the following interpretation. "Here he is declared to be a surety of a new and better testament, and not of the elect. By this must be understood that he gave assurance or certainty, that the promises of this covenant or testament are faithful and true, and that they shall be fulfilled to all believers." Stone concluded that since Jesus is not identified in Scripture as a substitute for sinners, there is no foundation in Scripture for the teaching that the benefits of his life and death are imputed to sinners.¹²

In addition to concluding that the notion that Christ died as a substitute for sinners to pay the penalty for their violation of an original covenant of works cannot be supported from Scripture, Stone became convinced that the notion that Christ lived and died as a substitute for sinners has a number of negative theological consequences. One of these negative consequences is the destruction of the idea of grace and forgiveness. According to the notion that Christ is a substitute for sinners, God forgives sinners because Christ, as their substitute or surety, has perfectly obeyed the law in their behalf and suffered the penalty for their disobedience. Stone asked, "Is there any grace in this act of forgiveness? Or, is it forgiveness at all? If I am in debt, and unable to pay, and my surety pays the debt, is it grace in my creditor to forgive me?" Stone noted that God is offered in Scripture as an example of how we are to forgive. What are we to make of this example if a doctrine of substitutionary atonement is accepted? Stone answered, "If God forgives not till our debts are paid by us or by our surety, and he is proposed as our example; then we must never forgive our debtors, till they or their surety, have paid us their debts."¹³

Stone believed that another negative consequence of the doctrine that Christ was a substitute for sinners is that it "draws a veil over the love, grace and mercy of God." He argued that a person and the person's surety are considered one in law. What the person's surety does is considered to have been done by the person. When Christ is said to be the surety of sinners, sinners appear to have saved themselves! How, he asked, does such a doctrine encourage believers to ascribe glory to the grace and love of God for their redemption? Stone allowed that believers may be inclined to extol the grace and love of Jesus, the surety. This, however, he asserted, has the negative effect of suggesting that the Son and the Father are two distinct, independent Gods!¹⁴

Another negative consequence of the doctrine that Christ was a substitute for sinners for Stone was a significant misunderstanding of God's justice. Christ is said to have died in the place of sinners to satisfy

justice. This suggests that divine justice is an inflexible principle. Stone argued that God's justice is not inflexible. The inflexible or unchangeable principle in God is love—that which unites. There is nothing in God contrary to love. Thus, God's justice does not stand against God's love, but is a "modification" or "emanation" of God's love. In other words, God's justice is the servant of God's love and may change to further the unchanging purposes of God. Stone sought to illustrate this point with an example from civil government. If the legislators of a state having many convicted murderers were to abolish the death penalty in favor of a law that would reform the convicted murderers and make them useful citizens, would anyone charge the legislators with injustice? Stone answered, "No"! The purpose of civil government is the social good. Just civil laws are those that advance the social good. In like manner, God's justice serves God's end—the reconciliation of humanity to God. Stone lamented that God's justice had been so long misunderstood that sinners were often hesitant to approach God for fear of God's justice. From his perspective, the notion that Christ was a substitute for sinners, rather than inviting sinners to return to God, had hindered sinners from returning to God!¹⁵

Yet another negative consequence for Stone of the doctrine that Christ was a substitute for sinners was a significant misunderstanding of justification. The doctrine that Christ was a substitute for sinners teaches that believers are "declared just" (that is, said to be just) because the righteousness or justice (love for God) of Christ is imputed to them. Stone argued, instead, that believers are declared just because they are just or righteous (that is, they are lovers of God)! Stone explained his position as follows. The nature of Christ is righteousness or justice (love for God). By union with Christ, sinners become partakers of Christ's nature. Sinners are united to Christ by faith. Thus, believers "become" or are "made" lovers of God. There is an actual change. According to Stone, this transformation is properly called "justification by faith" because the change (from alienation towards God to love for God) is brought about by faith in Jesus Christ, and not by works of the law.¹⁶ Stone charged that the misunderstanding of justification produced by the notion that Christ is a substitute for sinners leads to "supineness and slothfulness in religion." He asserted that persons who were not righteous or holy (that is, not lovers of God) gave relationship with God little thought, hoping that they would be justified (declared just) by the imputed righteousness of Christ. In other words, for Stone, the doctrine that Christ died as a substitute for sinners distracted sinners from seeking relationship with God which, for Stone (and other Christians of Presbyterian heritage), was the chief end or purpose of human life!¹⁷

CONSTRUCTION

Stone's study of the Scriptures regarding the atonement did not result in theological destruction alone. It also provided the materials for his new doctrine of atonement. Stone concluded from his study of the Scriptures that the ultimate purpose of Christ's death is to reveal or

“display” the glory or excellence of God’s love, grace, and mercy towards sinners. Stone argued that the Scriptures teach that when sinners catch a view of the love, grace and mercy of God towards sinners in the death of Christ, they are liberated from their captivity to sin and reconciled toward God.¹⁸ It is in light of this ultimate end of Christ’s death that Stone interpreted Romans 5:11 in which Christ is described as the one by whom “We have now received the atonement.” The word atonement, he argued, means “to make one” (at-one-ment).¹⁹ Stone asserted that all of Christ’s life reveals the love of God to sinners. “Every word and action was marked with love; by which he plainly showed the Father.” In Christ’s death this love to sinners was displayed “in the greatest and most astonishing degree.”²⁰ Thus, he concluded, Christ is the one through whom we receive atonement, for it is through the revelation of God’s love, displayed supremely through Christ’s death for sin, that persons alienated from God are enabled to see the glory of God’s love, grace and mercy toward them and are thus freed from their captivity to sin and are made one with God.

How does Christ’s death display God’s love for sinners? Stone answered that Jesus’s death was a sacrifice for human sin in accord with the Scriptures. This, of course, is the answer that any Presbyterian would have given! However, as a result of his study of the Scriptures, Stone’s understanding of the role of sacrifice in the Scriptures differed from that of the Presbyterians.

In *Atonement: The Substance of Two Letters Written to a Friend*, Stone argued that in Hebrew sacrifices the death of victims was meant to make sinners aware of the character and consequences of their sin and thus produce repentance, without which sinners could not accept God’s forgiveness. He asserted that in like manner, Jesus’ death was meant to make sinners aware of the character and consequences of their sin and thus enable them to repent and accept God’s forgiveness. The difference between Hebrew sacrifice and the death of Christ was the difference between shadow and substance; what was merely glimpsed in the institution of Hebrew sacrifice was fully disclosed in the death of Christ. Stone concluded that the institution of Hebrew sacrifice and the death of Christ—both understood as vehicles to bring persons to repentance so that they might accept God’s forgiveness—reveal the glory of God’s love towards sinners.

RENOVATION

Stone’s understanding of the **ultimate** role of Christ’s death in reconciling sinners to God (to reveal the glory of God’s love towards sinners) remained constant following the publication of *Atonement*. However, his understanding of the role of sacrifice in the Scriptures did not. Rather, it changed as he continued to engage in dialogue with Presbyterians regarding the significance of Christ’s death.²¹

In the revised edition of his *Address to the Christian Churches* published in 1821, Stone argued that Hebrew sacrifices were never meant to enable spiritual justification or reconciliation between Israel

and God. On the contrary, the “sacrifices of the law” pertained only to Israel’s temporal or political relationship to God. The death of victims was a means of purging or cleansing which restored the *political* union between Israel and God. Sacrifice had no effect on the conscience (it did not bring persons to repentance). Rather, Stone argued that in the spiritual realm, as distinguished from the temporal or political realm, Israel’s justification or reconciliation to God had always been enabled by faith in the gracious promise or covenant that God had made with Abraham prior to the giving of the law. Stone concluded in 1821 that it was faith in the promise of God, not sacrifice, that had led Israel to repentance and union with God.²²

What was the *penultimate* function of Christ’s sacrifice for Stone in 1821? Stone proposed that the Scriptures ascribe five “designs” to Christ’s sacrifice. He argued that these five designs of Christ’s sacrifice disclose the glory of God’s love toward sinners—the revelation that frees sinners from their captivity to sin and makes them one with God.

First, Christ’s death abolished the “curse” of the law. Stone distinguished between the moral law and the ceremonial laws. The moral law was the command to love God and neighbor. Stone believed that this law was eternally binding. The ceremonial laws, or Mosaic covenant, pertained to Israel’s political or temporal relation to God. As Stone read the Scriptures, the “sacrifices of the law” restored political union between Israel and God in cases of ignorance, error, and ceremonial uncleanness. However, there were transgressions of the Mosaic covenant, such as idolatry, Sabbath breaking, blasphemy, murder, and adultery, for which no pardon was to be granted. In those cases, the violator of the law was to be put to death. Indeed, if the violator was not put to death, the political union between Israel and God was broken. For Stone, this was the political “curse” of the law—the requirement of the death penalty in those cases that could not be remedied by the sacrifices of the law. Stone argued that the ceremonial laws which pertained to Israel’s political relation to God also had a prophetic function—they were designed by God to point to the work of God in Jesus Christ. Indeed, this was the ultimate function of the ceremonial laws. By his death on the cross, Christ fulfilled the prophecy disclosed in the ceremonial laws. Therefore, from Stone’s perspective, the ceremonial laws are no longer binding upon Israel; their ultimate purpose having been achieved through Christ’s death. Stone asserted that since the ceremonial laws are no longer binding upon Israel, the political curse of the law—condemnation to death in those cases for which the ceremonial law contained no remedy—has also been abolished. Stone suggested that Christ’s abolition of the curse of the law is the “prophetic” meaning of Jesus’ encounter with the woman who had been caught in adultery: According to the law, she was condemned to death; however, Christ preached to her mercy and forgiveness.²³

Second, Jesus’ death introduced the “everlasting gospel” to the Gentiles. Stone noted that the gospels teach that before Jesus’ death, Jesus forbade the apostles to preach to the Gentiles. However, the

gospels report that after his death and resurrection, he commissioned the apostles to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. Citing Hebrews 9:15, 17 as his text, Stone explained that the beneficiaries of a testament have no right to the testator's estate until the testator has died. Jesus was the testator of a testament bequeathing the blessings of the gospel to every human creature. For Stone, the term "blessings of the gospel" referred to justification by faith in the gracious promise or covenant of God. Stone asserted that justification "in every age" for both Jew and Gentile has been by faith in the gracious promise or covenant of God and never by deeds of the law. Stone argued that justification by faith had been enjoyed by Jews ever since the time of Abraham who had received the gracious promise or covenant from God. However, the gospel had not been preached to Gentiles (thus, they had not enjoyed justification by faith) until after the death of Jesus Christ, whose testament bequeathed to them the blessings of the gospel.²⁴

Third, Jesus' death destroyed death and both procured and confirmed the resurrection. Stone read Hosea 13:14 as referring to Christ. "I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death. O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction." Stone found New Testament confirmation of the notion that Jesus died to destroy death in 2 Timothy 1:10 where Christ is declared to have "abolished death." Stone did not elaborate on how the destruction of death was accomplished. He merely noted that the Scriptures teach that the deed has been done through the sacrifice of Christ.²⁵

Fourth, Christ's sacrifice brought immortality to light by tearing down the dark veil between earth and heaven. Drawing on the Letter to the Hebrews, Stone argued as follows. The "sanctuary" of the temple, where the people worshipped, represented this world. The "holiest of all," separated from the sanctuary by a veil, represented heaven. The high priest, alone, was permitted to enter the holiest of all, and only after having been purified by the blood of a victim. Jesus, the great high priest, entered into heaven itself, by his own blood, thus disclosing the way into heaven for believers (believers enter heaven by faith in the blood—or death—of Jesus Christ, which discloses the glory of God's love for sinners and, in turn, makes them spiritually at-one with God). Stone taught that as a result of Christ's passage from death into heaven, believers are assured of eternal life with God and thus liberated from the spiritual bondage produced by the fear of death.²⁶

Fifth, Christ's death displayed God's love for sinners in that his life was given for the sake of sinners. For Stone, this was the meaning of Romans 5:8 "But God commendeth his love towards us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." This was also the meaning of 1 John 4:10, "In this is love, not that we loved God but that he loved us and sent his son to be the expiation for our sin."²⁷

Stone did not argue that the sinner must understand all five of the designs of Christ's death in order to be reconciled to God. On the contrary, he argued that in the death of Christ some may discover only the love of God for sinners, and by this discovery alone be encouraged

to trust God. He illustrated his point by the example of a father who provides plentifully for a large family of children. Some of the children know the means by which the father got the provisions, others may not know so well, while the youngest may scarcely know anything more than that the father's love provided the provisions. Yet, all of the children eat and thrive.²⁸

CONTEMPORARY USES

Stone's doctrine of atonement can help contemporary Christians 1) to recognize the relationship of God's justice to God's grace, 2) to define the relationship of Christian faith to Judaism, and 3) to understand the significance of any *doctrine* of Christ's death for Christian faith.

For Stone, God's justice serves God's grace. The Presbyterian theology which Stone had been taught (as well as much subsequent popular theology) describes God's fundamental relationship to humanity as one of law. Grace is understood as having become necessary as a result of human violation of God's law. Thus, grace must serve justice by the death of Christ as a substitute for sinners. Stone challenges this understanding of Christ's death—which places law at the center of the universe—by boldly proclaiming that grace is at the center of the universe. This does not mean that there is no divine judgment. Persons who are alienated from God are condemned and stand under the wrath of God. Nevertheless, it is God's nature to give light, life and happiness to all. Once alienation is overcome, God's judgment is removed. For Stone, Jesus died not to satisfy God's wrath over human violation of God's law, but as the means of drawing sinful humanity away from sin by disclosing to humanity a gracious God.

Stone's understanding of the relationship of God's justice to God's grace has at least three important applications. First, Stone's understanding of the relationship of God's justice to God's grace, which does away with the notion that Christ's death was necessary to pay the penalty for human violation of God's law, allows the grace of God to shine forth more clearly through the gospel of Jesus Christ. By contrast, the notion that Christ died as a substitute to pay the penalty for sin can distract one from the gracious or unconditional quality of God's love. Indeed, it could lead one to believe that ultimately one's relationship with God depends on works, either one's own, or those of the substitute. This, according to Stone's reading of the Scriptures, is a fundamental misunderstanding of God's relation to humanity.

Second, Stone's understanding of the relationship of God's justice to God's grace, which does away with the notion that Christ died to pay the penalty for human violation of God's law, releases God from the charge of killing his/her Son to satisfy the divine wrath. For many individuals now, as in Stone's time, a God who would act in such a manner is not morally attractive. In defense of God's acting in such a manner, Stone's theological opponents argued that for the good of all God cannot pass over sin, but must manifest hatred of sin. Stone agreed that a just God must manifest hatred of sin. However, he argued that

defenders of the notion that Christ died to satisfy God's wrath have misunderstood how Christ's death manifests God's hatred of sin. God manifests hatred for sin in sparing not his only Son from death in order to deliver sinners from the power of sin. This understanding of God's hatred of sin Stone endorsed. "But," he asked, "must I see his hatred to sin in pouring out his wrath and heavy vengeance on the head of the innocent Jesus—punishing sin in him in the stead of sinners?"²⁹

Third, Stone's understanding of the relationship of God's justice to God's grace clarifies the moral implications of the gospel. The notion that it was necessary for Christ to die as a substitute to pay the penalty for sin before God could forgive sinners could lead one to believe that to be Godlike is to be strict and unbending in relationships. One who holds this view might believe that it is inappropriate for individuals or society to forgive until satisfaction for past offenses has been rendered in full. It may be no coincidence that some contemporary individuals who believe that Christ died to satisfy the claims of justice also support use of the death penalty on the grounds of justice. To be sure, Stone did not advocate doing away with laws and penalties. However, he asserted that the administration of laws and penalties must conform to the purpose of the law in order to be deemed just. He argued that if a judge *could* determine that a person convicted of a crime for which the death penalty was stipulated was truly penitent, it would be unjust to sentence that person to death. Stone argued that the injury done by the convict could not be repaired by the convict's death and, in such a case, the probability of the convict repeating the crime would be greatly diminished. (Apparently, Stone did not view the death penalty as a deterrent to crime.) For Stone, only the advancement of the social good, not a static principle of justice, could warrant use of the death penalty.³⁰

For Stone, the relationship of Christian faith to Judaism is much different than Christians have typically taught. According to Stone, Jesus' death fulfilled (that is, replaced) the ceremonial laws. As a consequence, Israel no longer *needs* to observe the ceremonial laws or practice the death penalty in cases not covered by the law. In this regard, Stone—like most Christians—was a supersessionist: Christ's death superseded the ceremonial law. At the same time, Stone argued that Judaism had never taught justification by the deeds of the law. On the contrary, Stone clearly stated that Jews "were justified by faith in the gospel preached to Abraham four hundred and thirty years before the law, and which was continued to be preached to the Israelites; and by which alone, without the deeds of the law, all the children of Abraham, whether Jew or Gentile, have been in every age justified."³¹ Stone defined the gospel as God's "gracious promise or covenant." For Stone, Christ's death did not establish a gracious promise or covenant with humanity, but rather *extended* the preaching of that gracious promise or covenant (which had already been delivered to the Jews), to the Gentiles. For Stone, Judaism is not a ritualistic religion of law and works while Christianity is a spiritual religion of grace and faith—a view that Christians have propagated for centuries. According to Stone,

there is no such disjuncture between Judaism and Christianity. On the contrary, Stone argued that Jews are justified by faith in the gracious promise or covenant of God that was delivered to them through Abraham, while Christians are justified by faith in the same promise or covenant of God delivered to them through Jesus Christ.³²

Finally, for Stone, the significance for Christian faith of any *doctrine* of Christ's death is its disclosure of God's loving relationship to humanity. Stone asserted that the Scriptures, alone, interpret Christ's death. Without the Scriptures, the sinner would have no knowledge of the "designs" of Christ's death. Hence, for Stone, without the Scriptures, Christ's death would have no power to reconcile sinners to God.³³ In other words, the power of a doctrine of atonement for Stone was the power of a religious symbol. Symbols point not to themselves, but beyond themselves. In the case of Christ's sacrifice as portrayed in the Scriptures, the symbol points to the glory of God's love towards sinners. Thus, in 1821, after having spent a decade and a half opposing the doctrine of substitutionary atonement, Stone could state in reference to the notion that Christ died as a substitute for sinners, "If the doctrine of imputation be not understood in the sense of the old divines, but in a *figurative* sense, I should be glad to know and understand it; for it is probable I should have no objection to it."³⁴ That is, Stone could accept the doctrine that Christ died as a substitute for sinners if it were explained so as not to obscure the glory of God's love for sinners. For Stone, it was that to which doctrines of the atonement point—the graciousness of God—and not any doctrine of atonement, itself, that is proposed to faith.

Since by 1821, Stone was willing to accept the notion that Christ died as a substitute for sinners if interpreted in a "figurative" sense, is there really much value in attending to Stone's doctrine of atonement? Indeed, there is. Stone's understanding of the atonement can help contemporary Christians in the three respects noted above: 1) to realize that God's justice is determined by God's grace, 2) to recognize a continuity of grace and faith in Judaism and Christianity, and 3) to understand that the significance for Christian faith of any doctrine of Christ's death is its faithfulness in disclosing the glory of God's love towards sinners. Of course, Stone would insist that it is not necessary to accept his doctrine of the atonement to be spiritually at-one with God. According to Stone, all one must believe to be spiritually at-one with God is much simpler: the Father's love has provided plentifully for disobedient and rebellious children.

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NOTES

¹An exception is William G. West's *Barton Warren Stone: Early American Advocate of Christian Unity* (Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1954).

²Barton W. Stone, *Atonement: The Substance of Two Letters Written to a Friend* (Lexington, KY: Joseph Charless, 1805) pp. 3-4; see also Leonard J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1948) pp. 169-173, and Holmes Rolston, III, *John Calvin Versus The Westminster Confession* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1972) pp. 11-22.

³Barton W. Stone, *A Reply to John P. Campbell's Strictures on Atonement* (Lexington, KY: Joseph Charless, 1805), pp. 3-6; see also Barton W. Stone, *Biography of Eld. Barton W. Stone, Written By Himself, with Additions and Reflections by Eld. John Rogers* (Cincinnati: Published for the author by J. S. and U. P. James, 1847: reprinted in *The Cane Ridge Reader*, ed. Hoke S. Dickinson, N.p.: n.p., 1972), pp. 29-35.

⁴Barton W. Stone, *History of the Christian Church in the West* (Lexington, KY: The College of the Bible, 1956; reprinted in Dickinson, p. 42. See also *Biography*, p. 56 and *Reply to J.P. Campbell*, p. 7.

⁵See David Caldwell, "The Doctrine of Universal Salvation Unscriptural," in E. W. Caruthers, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of the Rev. David Caldwell, D.D.* (Greensborough, NC: Swaim & Sherwood, 1842), pp. 285-302.

⁶Stone, *Reply to J. P. Campbell*, p. 5.

⁷Stone did not engage in this study by himself. The other ministers who had withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky in the fall of 1803 shared in the project. Richard McNemar (who later became a Shaker) is reported to have first suggested the main outline of what would become known as "Stone's" doctrine of atonement. See Robert Marshall and John Thompson, *A Brief Historical Account of Sundry Things in the Doctrines and State of the Christian, or as it is Commonly Called, The Newlight Church, Containing their Testimony Against Several Doctrines Held in that Church, and its Disorganized State: Together with Some Reasons Why those Two Brethren Purpose to Seek for a More Pure and Orderly Connection* (Cincinnati: J. Carpenter and Co., 1811), pp. 257-258; and David Purviance, "Memoirs" in Levi Purviance, *The Biography of Elder David Purviance, with His Memoirs: Containing his Views on Baptism, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement, Written by Himself: With an Appendix Giving Biographical Sketches of Elders John Hardy, Reuben Dooley, William Dye, Thomas Kyle, and Nathan Worley, Together with a Historical Sketch of the Great Revival* (Dayton: Published for the author by B. F. and G. Wells, 1848), pp. 150-151.

⁸Stone, *Atonement*, pp. 4-5.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, 18. Stone also notes that the absence of wrath in God is evident from Christian experience: "If wrath be in him, and believers be renewed after his image and partake of his nature, why is it that they feel wrath dying in them as they grow in grace?" *Ibid.*, p. 5. Stone's thinking about the character of God may have been influenced by Samuel Davies' sermon, "God is Love." *Ibid.*, p. 18. See Davies, *Sermons on Important Subjects*, 3 vols. (New York: R. Carter and Brothers, 1849), 1:315-322. When Davies applied the notion that God is love to the doctrine of atonement, the result was a moral government interpretation of the traditional doctrine. Christ did not die, Davies suggests, to appease a principle of wrath in God, but to maintain order in the universe. If God had chosen to forgive sinners without arranging for the payment of the penalty incurred through sin, it would have served to encourage license throughout the watching universe. Thus, in order for the mercy of God to function without causing disorder in the universe, the wisdom of God came up with a scheme by which sinners could be saved and yet the authority of God maintained. See Davies, 1:35-42, 49-51.

¹²Stone, *Atonement*, pp. 7-9.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 17-18, 24, 34.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁸Stone supports his position by showing how Biblical images associated with the death of Christ such as propitiation, purchase, blood, redemption, and deliverance can be understood as pointing to the power of God's revelation of love, grace and mercy to free sinners from their alienation towards God and unite them to God. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-28.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁰Ibid., p. 25.

²¹Stone addressed a significant portion of the following publications to the doctrine of atonement. *A Reply to John P. Campbell's Strictures on Atonement* (Lexington, KY: Joseph Charless, 1805), *An Address to the Christian Churches in Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio on Several Important Doctrines of Religion* (Nashville: M. and J. Norvell, 1814), *An Address to the Christian Churches in Kentucky, Tennessee & Ohio on Several Important Doctrines of Religion*. Second Edition—corrected and enlarged. (Lexington, KY: I. T. Cavins & Co., 1821), *Letters to James Blythe, D.D. Designed as a Reply to the Arguments of Thomas Cleland, D.D. Against My Address, 2nd Edition, on the Doctrines of Trinity, The Son of God, etc.* (Lexington, KY: W. Tanner, 1824).

²²Stone, *An Address*, Second edition, pp. 36-40. Stone may have been led to this position on Hebrew Sacrifice by Philip Doddridge's commentary on Hebrews. Ibid., p. 40.

²³Ibid., pp. 58-59; see also pp. 37-40.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 59-60; see also pp. 38-39.

²⁵Ibid., p. 60.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 60-61.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 61-62.

²⁹Ibid., p. 77.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 78-79.

³¹Ibid., p. 38.

³²It is noteworthy that in *Atonement*, where Stone argued that the sacrifices of the law had the same purpose as the sacrifice of Christ (to spiritually reconcile persons to God), but were not as clear or decisive as Christ's sacrifice, he refers to Judaism as being less spiritual than Christianity (p. 30) and refers to the Jews of Jesus' time as "wicked Jews of that day" (p. 32) and "his murderers" (p. 34). In his later treatments of the atonement, after he had determined that Jews were justified by faith in the gospel since the time of Abraham, negative comments regarding Judaism and Jews are not to be found.

³³Stone, *An Address*, Second edition, pp. 58-61.

³⁴Ibid., p. 49.

Opal Whitacre Larrick Named Fund

Mrs. Larrick, a native of Virginia, worked during the Second World War at the Pentagon. She and her husband, Harold S. Larrick, and their two daughters lived in Butler, Pennsylvania. Once a member of the Ebenezer Christian Church, she later served as elder at the Oak Hills Christian Church, and as deaconess at North Christian Church. Mrs. Larrick was a member of Oak Hills Garden Club and active in many civic organizations in Butler. In 1991 she was buried in the cemetery at Timber Ridge Christian Church near her home town of

Victor K. Phillips Named Fund

Victor Phillips was the son Benjamin D., Sr., and Undine Conant Phillips. He served as member, trustee, and a member of the Board of North Street Christian Church, Butler, Pennsylvania. He was an active worker for the Butler Y.M.C.A., the Morain Trails Council of Boy Scouts of America, and Butler Memorial Hospital. A grandson of T. W. Phillips, Sr., founder of T. W. Phillips Gas and Oil Company, Victor Phillips served as Vice President of that company until his retirement in 1972.

Just As I Lived It

by Lester G. McAllister

(Recalling events occurring during a 70-plus year fellowship in the Stone-Campbell Movement.)

Immediately following World War II a number of Disciples leaders considered the possibility of a centralized headquarters for our several agencies then divided between St. Louis and Indianapolis. Such a project would facilitate planning and cooperative action.

Studies in which I participated pointed to the city of St. Louis as the most inexpensive place for meetings of our people. Since it was obvious that air travel was to be the means of travel in the future, an option was offered for land near the St. Louis airport. There were those who remembered that at one time the United Christian Missionary Society had been headquartered in that city and the National Benevolent Association and the Christian Board of Publication were still located there.

The move to Indianapolis came about because in 1927 Butler University relocated its campus from Irvington on the east side of the city to the northwest side. At the same time the College of Missions moved to Hartford, Connecticut, leaving its building vacant. The U.C.M.S. was paying rent in St. Louis, while owning the Missions Building, so it was determined money would be saved by moving to Indianapolis.

When in 1947-48 a return to St. Louis was suggested, the move was opposed immediately and forcefully by several agencies and individuals. Monsanto Chemical Company purchased the optioned land and today units of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) are still located in both St. Louis and Indianapolis; while the Historical Society is located in Nashville, Tennessee.

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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Disciples of Christ Historical Society was established in 1941 "to maintain and further interest in 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 to \$249, Participating - \$25 to \$49, Regular - \$15, Students - \$7.50, Canadian and Overseas - \$20. Single payment Life Memberships are: Life - \$250, Life Link - \$500, Life Patron - \$1,000.

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—From the Editor's Desk

Ministerial preparation has been a topic of abiding concern in the Stone-Campbell movement. Closely related is the issue of the relation of ordained leadership to the whole "laos" or people of God. Examination of ministerial preparation in the Stone-Campbell movement underscores the relation of ministerial education to larger issues in the church and general culture.

Lester McAllister describes models of ministerial preparation as they developed in the early history of the Stone-Campbell movement and traces the changes in the ministerial preparation that have occurred in the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). A signal event in this history was the establishment of the College of the Bible (now Lexington Theological Seminary) in 1865. This was the first institution in the Stone-Campbell movement to offer a specialized or "differentiated" education for ministers. Admissions to the school did not require a college degree. The major figure in this development was John W. McGarvey. In the 1930s the Lexington school became the first institution related to the Stone-Campbell movement to establish a three-year graduate degree as its standard program of ministerial preparation.

William Richardson discusses ministerial preparation in the Churches of Christ and the Christian Churches/Churches of Christ. Early leaders of the Churches of Christ opposed specialized education for ministry (as represented by the College of the Bible), preferring Campbell's early dictum that all preachers be educated in general programs of study offered to all. However, in the twentieth century groups within the Churches of Christ have developed differentiated college programs of ministerial education and now have graduate theological schools, as well. In the Christian Churches/Churches of Christ opposition to the alleged liberalism of the post-McGarvey faculty of the College of the Bible led to the founding of numerous Bible colleges in the four decades after 1912. In more recent times, the Christian Churches/Churches of Christ have also established graduate theological institutions.

These articles were initially delivered at the 1994 Disciples of Christ Historical Society's Forrest H. Kirkpatrick Lectures. Dr. Kirkpatrick is an industrialist and educator long associated with Bethany College.

Lester McAllister's column, "Just As I Lived It" has been omitted to allow another page for his article! This popular feature will return in the Fall issue.

—From the President's Desk

More and more congregations of the Stone-Campbell Movement are celebrating their major historical anniversaries. There are many others who could but choose deliberately or indifferently not to do so. As I share concepts and ideas about celebrating these major anniversaries I hear, from time to time, persons say, "Well our Church does not live in the past, but in the present and the future." Good for you, I say, but you are missing one of your best keys to your future when you refuse to recognize the solid foundation of the past.

James P. Wind, of the Lily Endowment, Inc., speaks to this issue in an article in *Christian Century*, "Does the discovery of congregational culture commit us to conservative and nostalgic agendas? Does it rule out prophetic criticism of the evil and sin present in all human culture, does it foreclose the possibility of new discoveries or better ways? I don't believe so. But it does place a new burden on those who would teach or lead local congregations." ("Leading Congregations, Discovering Congregational Cultures," February 3-10, 1993, p. 107)

Every congregational celebration of its history worth its salt will point to the future. Here is where we have been, and here is where we are going. Thus Wind offers us sound advice: "A practical way for congregations to discover local culture is by pondering their own history. Almost every congregation has people interested in its story. Sadly most of these people's energies go into producing a scrapbook, membership roster, or simple chronicle, rather than creating a real history. We often reduce congregational life to the official religious things that the congregation does on Sunday morning or at church meetings. Congregational culture is much more than that, and we need to connect the congregation's gathered and dispersed lives into one story. We need to learn how to follow the congregation into the world through the lives of its members. A congregational culture is the full web of relations between the people, practices, institutions, and beliefs that exist within its gathered and scattered existence. Historical perspective makes it possible to see how a local culture grows and changes, lives and dies." (pp. 107-108)

A congregation must change as it moves into the future. Yet the change is not in response to the wishes and desires of people, but in obedience to the living will and word of God today and tomorrow. The Historical Society stands ready to help the leaders of a congregation to look to their past and then they can evaluate their history and their culture. The present and future are in the hands of God and the lives and faith of God's people in the congregation.

James M. Seale

MODELS OF MINISTERIAL PREPARATION IN THE STONE-CAMPBELL MOVEMENT

by Lester G. McAllister*

Most American colleges and universities founded before the Civil War were established to assure an educated ministry. The European tradition of a classical education for ministers was continued. From the earliest colonial days, however, it was assumed that additional preparation was also needed. After graduation from college the candidate gave himself over to a local minister for additional training. Theological schools were established shortly after the American Revolution to offer the training formerly provided by a resident minister.

At the same time, "log colleges," stressing classical studies usually held in the home of an experienced and especially effective preacher proliferated. Into such a tradition of ministerial preparation the Stone-Campbell movement came. Barton W. Stone attended Davidson's Academy near Greensboro, North Carolina. Thomas and Alexander Campbell were more familiar with the European tradition.

Ministerial Preparation in the Movement Before 1840

Very little has been discovered about the preparation or education of the evangelists and preachers of the Stone movement. As Stone had a high concept of the ministry and of ordination, it may be assumed that many of the men preaching in the Christian Churches had been ordained in one of the denominations and won over to Stone's views.

From the standpoint of the "Reformers" or "Disciples," we do know that Alexander Campbell was against what he chose to call "a hireling clergy." Further, he did not want to make a distinction between clergy and laity, having accepted Luther's understanding that the clergy were a part of the laity, as the "laos" were the people of God (Smith: pp.14-16). In the *Christian Baptist* Campbell wrote scathing articles deploring the pretensions and hypocrisies of the clergy he saw around him.

To find the beginnings of formal preparation of ministers, in the Campbell movement, we must review the story of Buffalo Seminary. Recognizing the importance of education, Alexander became concerned that there be a means of providing an education for young men who would then help in the propagation of his and his father's views.

He resolved to conduct what he called an "experiment" in education. To this end early in 1818 Alexander opened an academy in his home at Bethany. In designing the curriculum he sought to make the students literate and to prepare them for preaching.

While the school attracted a number of young men (and a few young women), Campbell was disappointed with the results. The students were difficult to discipline and only a few of them exhibited any interest in ministry. He closed the school in 1823 but through this experiment learned much that would help him later (McAllister: p.4f).

After the closing of Buffalo Seminary no formal program of ministerial preparation existed for over a decade. From time to time Campbell

gave private instruction at his home in Bethany. Beginning in 1819 or 1820 Adamson Bentley, a minister at Warren, Ohio, led several preachers in holding an annual meeting for Bible study and "practice" preaching in various parts of eastern Ohio (Stevenson: p.380). By 1831 Walter Scott was teaching a number of young preachers in his home at Carthage, near Cincinnati, Ohio (Stevenson: p.382).

After the dissolution of the Mahoning Association in 1830, one of the earliest meetings of Disciples in Ohio was held in early June, 1835 with Campbell present. An action was taken, perhaps at Campbell's suggestion, to create a "School for Preachers" (Campbell's term). Not really a school in the usual sense, younger recruits and older men met for about a week, usually in December, to check on the preaching of their peers. They took turns preaching on an assigned topic and, then, each in turn criticized the other.

Several such "Schools for Preachers" were held at various localities in eastern Ohio between 1835 and 1838. When the school met at Bedford, Ohio, in 1839 in connection with the annual meeting, a decision was made to incorporate such preaching into future meetings. In this way the "School for Preachers" passed into history (Shaw: p.95f).

The honor of being the first college in the Stone-Campbell movement went to Bacon College. Founded in 1836 in Georgetown, Kentucky, Walter Scott was chosen its first president. Bacon College was acknowledged in *The Millennial Harbinger* but not enthusiastically. Campbell had plans of his own for an educational institution and Scott and others had beaten him to it. In 1839 the school was moved to Harrodsburg and later became Kentucky University (McAllister and Tucker: p.162f).

After closing Buffalo Seminary in 1823, Alexander Campbell studied and reflected on the aims and object of education. By the fall of 1839, after his experience with Buffalo Seminary and the "Schools for Preachers" in Ohio, he was ready to announce plans for a four-year college, the primary purpose of which was to prepare leaders for his reformation.

Based on a carefully constructed educational philosophy, he believed the preparation of preachers and laity should be essentially the same. Considering the Bible as the great moral instructor, the noblest of all literature, he proposed making study of the Bible the center of the college's educational program and studied as any other textbook on a non-sectarian basis. In addition, he believed in the perfectability of individuals, the wholeness of the person and in learning as a lifelong experience (McAllister: pp.8-9).

During the winter of 1839-1840 plans were made to secure a charter from the Virginia Assembly for a "seminary of learning." From his experience at the University of Glasgow, Campbell planned five schools for a college to be named Bethany: a School of Sacred History and Moral Philosophy (Biblical literature, evidences and church history); a School of Ancient Languages (Latin and Greek); a School of Mathematics and Astronomy; a School of Natural, Intellectual and Political Philosophy (sciences); and a School of Chemistry and Belles Lettres (chemistry included mineralogy, botany, zoology and geology; Belles Lettres in-

cluded English literature and rhetoric).

It was arranged so that a student could graduate with a diploma from any one of the Schools without entering any other; each School stood by itself. By completing work in all the Schools the student could earn a "Bachelor of Arts of Bethany College" degree. A charter was granted on March 2, 1840, and classes at the college got underway on November 1, 1841 (McAllister: pp.25-38). With the founding of Bethany College the model for ministerial preparation in the Stone-Campbell movement was set for the next several generations.

Students for the ministry followed a prescribed course of instruction. Their study in the School of Sacred History occupied four years. In that time the student would take Evidences of Christianity, Sacred History, Biblical Literature, Ecclesiastical History and Moral Philosophy. Text books included the Bible, Paley's *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, Butler's *Analogy*, and Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*. Courses were also taken in Latin and Greek in the School of Ancient Languages (McAllister: p.89).

Seeking Better Ministerial Education

As the years passed change in the understanding of local leadership developed. There was a move from evangelists, elders and lay preachers toward a full-time ministry. As persons from outside the congregation were asked to stay for longer periods of time and to assume major leadership, the need for more preparation became apparent.

Alexander Campbell recognized the changing understanding of ministry and with it the students' need for additional preparation. Anticipating the 15th anniversary of the college in 1855 he reviewed with the board Bethany's program of ministerial education. Two of the college's trustees, J. P. Robison and Isaac Errett (1820-1888), then 35 years old, proposed creating a distinct "theological department," together with a separate building, expressly for the education of ministers. This idea had been proposed previously, but no action had been taken.

Every time the matter came up for review the board ran into the last article in the Bethany charter. Article 14 reads, "And be it further enacted, That nothing herein contained shall be so construed as at any time to authorize the establishment of a Theological Professorship in the said College."

Nothing in the history of the Stone-Campbell movement has been so misunderstood as this article. It has sometimes been used as evidence that Campbell was opposed to theology. Quite the opposite was true, Campbell urged the teaching of Christian doctrine. The truth is, neither Alexander Campbell nor anyone seeking the charter had proposed the article. Forced upon them by the Virginia Assembly, which consistently refused to grant charter rights to institutions organized to teach specific religious beliefs, the article was a legacy from Thomas Jefferson.

The trustees at their meeting, July 3, 1855 appointed a committee to send representatives to the state assembly to get the charter changed.

The board also took action "to take such means as they deem wise" to establish a department for the better education of candidates for the ministry. Apparently the request to change the charter was refused which resulted in dropping the idea of a separate ministerial department and building (McAllister: p.92f).

Within three years, by 1858, Bacon College at Harrodsburg, which had fallen on hard times, was being reorganized as Kentucky University. Robert Milligan (1814-1875) of Bethany College was elected president and professor of Biblical Literature. At the same time, Robert Richardson (1806-1876) resigned at Bethany and accepted a position on the Kentucky faculty (McAllister: p.103f).

Bethany College continued to be the model for ministerial preparation until 1865. Following the Bethany pattern other schools and colleges were established. Among them was Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio (1849); Northwestern Christian College (now Butler University), Indianapolis (1850); Missouri Christian College (now Culver-Stockton College), Canton, Missouri (1853); Eureka College, Eureka, Illinois (1855) and Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa (1861).

A New Concept in Ministerial Education

The Civil War was a watershed of American history not only because of slavery but also because it determined the nation would move toward industrialization and away from the small family farm so typical of the earlier frontier. Following the war, the United States looked forward to a glorious future as the frontier moved ever further west from the Upper Ohio Valley to Indiana, Illinois and Missouri.

Disciples were part and parcel of these developments. Their preachers and organizing evangelists, working through state missionary societies, sought to organize congregations everywhere. The center of social power and influence shifted decisively from the country to the city while Disciples remained predominantly a rural and small town people. There were inevitable tensions as the old gave way to the new (McAllister and Tucker: p.235f).

With the growth of an urban culture the need for a change in the form of ministerial education for Disciples became apparent. However, any change from the model set by Alexander Campbell at Bethany brought on controversy. William K. Pendleton, Campbell's son-in-law, and Isaac Errett, now an increasingly influential minister in Detroit, for some time had been insisting that preachers, as well as lawyers and physicians, ought to have professional preparation beyond the college level. On the other hand, Benjamin Franklin (1812-1878) and others were more conservative and vigorously opposed the concept of a "theological school" (McAllister and Tucker, p.231).

The curators of Kentucky University in the winter of 1864-1865 were discussing relocating and enlarging that institution's program. Among them was John W. McGarvey (1829-1911), minister of Main Street Christian Church, Lexington, who wanted to consider the possibility of a college within the university devoted to ministerial prepara-

tion. *Lard's Quarterly* for April, 1865 contained an article by McGarvey on the subject of "Ministerial Education." In the article he indicated his satisfaction with his general education at Bethany College but definitely believed that he was not adequately prepared for ministry there (*Lard's Quarterly*, II, pp.239-250).

When McGarvey began to outline a course of study for a proposed ministerial college, he put first his conviction that the two important elements of a ministerial education were a thorough knowledge of the Bible and an ability to preach (Stevenson: pp.17-18). The institution was to be for the making of preachers but was not to be a theological school in the usual sense.

A new era in ministerial preparation, and a new model in ministerial education, in the Stone-Campbell movement began with the founding of the College of the Bible (now Lexington Theological Seminary) in 1865. It was one of three colleges in a new institution formed through the merger of Kentucky University and Transylvania University (founded in 1780, originally Presbyterian and located in Lexington). The other two were liberal arts and agriculture colleges.

The move of the university from Harrodsburg to Lexington in the fall of 1865 aided in making that city for a full half century the intellectual center of the Stone-Campbell movement. As long as Alexander Campbell lived that distinction went to Bethany, but after his death the center of the movement moved west. Lexington was only a relatively short distance from the rapidly developing cities of Louisville, Cincinnati and Indianapolis (Morro: p.80).

From the beginning John W. McGarvey was the most influential figure of the College of the Bible. Even though Robert Milligan was president, McGarvey quickly became the leading personality of the institution and its most outstanding teacher. In changing the educational model, he and others were daring to bring a new understanding of ministerial preparation to the Disciples.

During the first years courses were divided into four groups: a School of Hebrew and New Testament Greek, a School of the Bible and its Evidences, a School of Pastoral and Evangelical Work, and a School of Sacred Rhetoric and Church History (Stevenson: p.81f). By 1870 more and more preachers and evangelists either "traveled in" or accepted a "call" for a one-year stay in a congregation; it was obvious the tendency was to create a "settled" ministry. There was still ambivalence in regard to ordination; in some instances ordination meant only something like installation. Some within the Stone-Campbell movement were questioning the establishment of congregations in the cities because they were places of wickedness. The debate on the exact nature of ministry continued for the next quarter of a century (Smith: p.42f).

All of these changes were unsettling to the "brotherhood," as the Stone-Campbell movement was beginning to be called. Leaders who had long looked to Bethany for leadership were confused by the developments in Kentucky. Bethany College responded to the founding of the College of the Bible with plans of its own.

After the abortive attempt in 1855 to change the charter of Bethany to permit the establishment of a theological school or department specifically for the education of ministers, nothing further was attempted until the reorganization of the college in the 1866-1867 school year. Pendleton, Bethany's new president, was feeling the competition with the College of the Bible keenly. Students and financial resources which formerly had come to Bethany were now going to Lexington.

Seeking to keep Bethany College as the model for Disciples in ministerial education, but still unable to get Bethany's charter changed, the faculty in the fall of 1866 announced a course of free lectures for ministers to be given in the spring of 1867. Popular in style, the lectures were designed to cover most of the practical needs of a minister. Called the "Biblical Institute of Bethany College," the program included over 200 lectures given over a two-month period. Lectures were on sacred history, Biblical literature, church history, missions, Christology and homiletics and contained four divisions: the New Testament, The Christ, The Church, and the Preacher: his work, duty and reward. Lecturers included Robert Richardson (who had returned from Kentucky in 1861), James T. Barclay, Charles L. Loos and W. K. Pendleton.

Certificates of attendance were given to students who completed the series in a satisfactory manner. Poorly attended, the Institute was continued for only a few years after which the lectures were returned to the School of Sacred History within the College (McAllister: p.124f).

Another educational approach for ministers was tried at Bethany beginning in 1871-1872 when the faculty introduced the "Minister's Course." Ministerial students, no longer under the necessity of satisfying requirements for the traditional "A.B." degree, received a Bachelor of Letters. Between 1871 and 1885 this proved to be a popular degree (McAllister: p.133f).

In Lexington, after an auspicious beginning, trouble developed between the College of the Bible and the administration of Kentucky University. Over the next decade the school seemed to be either about to lose its independence or absorbed into a general program and thus lose its distinct character. Disciples leaders in Kentucky met in July, 1877, and a new College of the Bible was organized to be financed by the Kentucky churches. In February, 1878 a charter was granted recognizing the institution as independent of Kentucky University (Morro: p.224).

The school opened with three professors and three "chairs": Professor Robert Graham (1822-1901) in English Literature and Homiletics; Professor McGarvey in Sacred History and Evidences of Christianity; and a newcomer to the faculty, Professor Isaiah B. Grubbs (1833-1911) in Sacred Literature and Doctrine (Stevenson: pp.62-72). These three men led in the development of a splendid course of instruction and in the remaining years of the 19th century attracted to the College of the Bible many students who became leaders of the Disciples.

Between 1878 and 1898 enrollments varied from a low of 100 to a high of 187 students (Stevenson: p.104). Two additional faculty mem-

bers were added as well as additional courses (Stevenson: p.120f). Instruction was now offered in eleven areas: 1) Sacred History, 2) Christian Doctrine and Church Polity, 3) Church History, 4) Hermeneutics and Exegesis, 5) Homiletics and Missions, 6) Hebrew, 7) Philosophy, 8) Biblical Criticism, 9) Greek, 10) Elocution, and 11) Historical and Exegetical Study of the Prophets (College of the Bible, brochure).

Meanwhile, the ministerial course at Bethany in the 1890s consisted of a study of Biblical history and doctrine, exegesis, church history, Hebrew and Greek, homiletics and hermeneutics, and a general introduction to the work of a minister. A number of students were discovering that four years of study was not sufficient preparation and were staying an extra year; others were seeking graduate work (McAllister: p.169). Future directions of the Disciples would be determined by these developments.

Expanding Horizons in Ministerial Preparation

Before the end of the 19th century ministerial students in increasing numbers were attending eastern theological seminaries and graduate schools as well as the University of Chicago (McAllister and Tucker: p.371). However, the beginning was slow as only eight Disciples were enrolled in Yale Divinity School in the decade of the 1880s and only 18 in the decade of the 1890s (Becker: p.59-60). After 1900 Disciples attended Yale in increasing number. At this time the University of Chicago was far more influential than Yale in raising the level of Disciples ministerial education. Bethany College alone in 1899 had eleven of its graduates studying at the University of Chicago (McAllister: p.183).

Disciple journals were divided over the question of whether Disciples should attend such schools. *The Christian-Evangelist* and James H. Garrison gave unqualified support of the idea. On the other hand, the *Christian Standard* and J. W. McGarvey, a major writer for the magazine, advised parents against sending their sons to a school staffed by critics and infidels (McAllister and Tucker: p. 371f).

An entirely new pattern of ministerial education came into being in 1894 with the opening of the Disciples Divinity House at the University of Chicago. For several decades this institution became a major factor in Disciples life and thought. Through the teaching and writing of Herbert L. Willett (1864-1944), Winfred E. Garrison (1874-1969) and Edward S. Ames (1870-1958) contemporary and liberal scholarship in theology, church history, Biblical literature and other fields was brought to the attention of Disciples (Ronald E. Osborn in Beazley, p.103f). At least some Disciples were rejoining the mainstream of American Protestantism.

In the meanwhile, the majority of ministerial students of the Disciples were preparing themselves in more traditional fashion. They attended either Bethany College or the College of the Bible in Kentucky. Students choosing neither of these schools attended similar programs in

colleges such as Hiram or Eureka, continuing Bethany's model of intensive Bible courses combined with liberal arts or universities, such as Butler, Texas Christian or Phillips with "colleges of the Bible," following the model of Lexington (Osborn: pp.86-87). Those churches withdrawing from the Stone-Campbell movement over such issues as missionary societies or instrumental music were organizing institutions of their own, David Lipscomb in 1891 and Abilene Christian College in 1906 to name two.

By the close of the McGarvey years at the College of the Bible, between 1909-1911, there were individuals who were raising questions about the teaching methods and the content of the curriculum. Long before his retirement, McGarvey's teaching methods were being criticized. He believed in what might be called indoctrination, that is, knowledge passed from one person to another by repetition and accepted without question. McGarvey discouraged the addition of studies other than those related to the Bible as not worth the cost in time and money (Richardson: p.54).

After McGarvey retired Burriss Jenkins (1869-1945), president of Kentucky University from 1901-1906, observed "a broadening of the ideas and the ideals and methods" at the College of the Bible. W. C. Morro, in 1911, indicated the faculty had discussed "the idea of the ideal Bible College curriculum" which would add to the usual Bible courses subjects such as pastoral theology and sociology (Goins: p.43).

Steady pressure was exerted by some of the faculty to raise entrance requirements and academic standards. A symbol of a new day came in 1910 in a small but significant name change. The school began capitalizing the article, making it The College of the Bible. To enroll, a student now must qualify as a junior at Transylvania University (Kentucky University reverted to the earlier name in 1908) or transfer from another college.

In 1914-1915, after much soul-searching, the Bachelor of Divinity degree was offered for the first time. A student entered upon B. D. studies only after receiving an A. B. degree from Transylvania or another college. The B. D. program required three years of graduate study and a thesis. Arrangements could be made, however, in the student's junior or senior year, to elect 30 semester hours of work in The College of the Bible while still a student at Transylvania (Stevenson: p.162).

As the Stone-Campbell idea of Christian unity was centered on restoring the early church, Bible study was at the heart of the movement's preaching and the education of its ministry. Inevitably the controversy over Biblical criticism was sure to bring trouble.

John W. McGarvey, ardently opposed to higher criticism, groomed Hall Laurie Calhoun (1863-1935) to be his successor as president of The College of the Bible. McGarvey, however, was succeeded by Richard H. Crossfield (1868-1951), a man of liberal tendency; Calhoun became dean instead. Even though Calhoun had degrees from Yale and Harvard, he was an ultraconservative and determined to keep The College of the

Bible a stronghold of traditional learning.

During the same period William Clayton Bower (1878-1981) and Alonzo W. Fortune (1873-1950) from the University of Chicago, and Elmer E. Snoddy (1863-1936) from Yale, came to the faculty. All three men were committed to higher educational standards for Disciples ministers. They accepted fully modern Biblical criticism and the new analytic approach to learning.

Soon charges were brought by a student that the newer faculty had "discarded the true faith," and the student's attacks were given wide dissemination by the *Christian Standard*. As a result, in May, 1917 the school's board of trustees convened to consider them. After a thorough investigation, the trustees exonerated the accused professors. With his cause lost, Calhoun resigned (McAllister and Tucker: p.369f).

Those churches and leaders who had supported Calhoun withdrew their support from The College of the Bible and established schools they considered truer to the ideals of McGarvey. This was the beginning of a second major division in the Stone-Campbell movement (McAllister and Tucker: p.383f).

The College of the Bible continued to improve and enlarge its program. To encourage students to greater endeavor, an honorary scholastic society, Aleph Theta Ze, was formed in 1922 (Goins: p.70). The new liberal faculty continued to modify the curriculum, adding courses in the practical field and in sociology together with the latest teaching methods such as seminars and guided studies (Stevenson: p.223f).

During the early 1920s three different programs were being offered by The College of the Bible for those going into the pastoral ministry: 1) a three-year course leading to the Bachelor of Divinity degree, open to students who had done two years' work in a standard college; 2) a two-year undergraduate course leading to the Bachelor of Practical Theology degree, open to those who had completed two years of college; and 3) a three-year course in the English Bible leading to a certificate, open to those who had not completed high school (Goins: p.70).

Several conclusions may be drawn in reviewing these years at Lexington. One can discern a desire for higher standards while at the same time there was an unwillingness to cut completely its ties to a simpler day and deny opportunity for ministry to those students less qualified.

In the meantime Bethany College, through the last decade of the 19th century declined through a lack of funds and mismanagement. A rebirth of the college was achieved by an aggressive president, Thomas E. Cramblet (1862-1919) who came to the presidency in 1901 from a pastorate in Pittsburgh. Cramblet recognized the need of ministerial students for additional preparation but feared that theological seminaries would misguide them. Cramblet had known of young men who, upon leaving Bethany for a seminary, returned home no longer "true to the faith" but corrupted by "modernism."

Cramblet and Bethany's trustees came up with the idea that students might be "saved" from "destructive criticism" if they could be

kept at Bethany for further study. Hearing of the defeat of the conservatives at The College of the Bible, Cramblet decided the time had come for Bethany to create a graduate program where students might be taught in a traditional and conservative manner.

At their meeting in May, 1917 the trustees unanimously voted to establish a graduate School of Religion. Cramblet was charged by the trustees to assemble "a faculty of the best trained minds available, who are known for their outstanding loyalty to the Bible as the infallible, revealed will of God" (McAllister: p.229).

To this end Cramblet invited Hall L. Calhoun to come to Bethany College and be part of the new graduate program, teaching Old Testament Literature. At this time the president chose a known conservative, Ralph L. Records (1883-1965), to teach Hermeneutics and J. Walter Carpenter (1872-1958) to teach New Testament; Carpenter was elected dean.

The School of Religion offered a graduate course leading to the Bachelor of Divinity degree and two courses leading to certificates. The school opened in September, 1917 but lasted only three years, closing at commencement in 1920. Its short life was due to the sudden death of President Cramblet in the summer of 1919 and the coming of a new president, one more liberal and unwilling to continue the program (McAllister: p.228-230).

Bethany College's new president, Cloyd Goodnight (1881-1932), was mindful of the fact that the education of ministers was one of the reasons for the college. Under Goodnight's leadership Bethany made one final effort to establish a satisfactory model of ministerial education.

A plan was developed to offer undergraduate courses that would lead to the degree Bachelor of Divinity. Students with an A. B. degree from Bethany or another institution were admitted to the program. First offered in 1924, it was anticipated that in two years Bethany would confer the degree upon those students satisfying the requirements.

At best the new program was a halfway measure. There was a shortage of faculty and a limited number of students who enrolled. The program was not successful and was discontinued in 1926. In the future Bethany limited its program to general undergraduate studies and encouraged its ministerial students to enroll in a graduate seminary (McAllister: p.262).

Over a number of years, for the sake of economy, one president served both Transylvania and The College of the Bible. Arthur W. Braden became president in the spring of 1930. A versatile and accomplished scholar with degrees from Hiram College, Auburn Theological Seminary and a Ph.D. from Syracuse University, Dr. Braden was well qualified to head the two institutions. For eight years before coming to Kentucky he was president of California Christian College (now Chapman University) in Los Angeles (Wright: p.365f).

Early in his presidency Dr. Braden consulted with the trustees regarding the future of The College of the Bible. He expressed the opinion that the institution had "the best opportunity of becoming a real

theological seminary and an adequate student body among our people." Braden further stated that one of the great needs of the school was to enlarge its curriculum so that the offerings for a standard B. D. degree would be available (Goins: p.80f).

In 1936, in anticipation of celebrating the 75th anniversary of the school, the faculty unanimously recommended, and the trustees accepted, a resolution that the institution adopt the standards of accreditation of the recently formed American Association of Theological Schools (now Association of Theological Schools). Accreditation came in 1938, the first Disciples school to be so designated (Goins: p.89).

President Braden realistically faced the difficulties this step would create. The main concern was the possible loss of student enrollment by requiring an additional 30 hours of work for the B. D. degree. The president and faculty recognized that many Disciple students would be unable or unwilling to invest the additional time and money required, while students with financial resources and ability were enrolling in Yale, Union and Chicago (Goins: P.85).

Upon Dr. Braden's resignation early in 1938, Dr. Richard H. Crossfield came from retirement to serve as acting president of Transylvania. As a further step in strengthening the program of The College of the Bible, in April, 1938 Dr. Stephen J. Corey (1873-1962) was called to be president of the institution, completely separating that school from Transylvania. Dr. Corey brought prestige to the school, having been a long-time "brotherhood" leader (Goins: p.89).

Beginning with the opening of school in September, 1938 The College of the Bible no longer received undergraduates into its student body (Stevenson: p.369). By the time of the 75th anniversary in June, 1940 The College of the Bible had become a new model of ministerial education for Disciples, a fully accredited theological seminary.

In response to a generally perceived need to improve the quality of Disciples ministerial preparation, one by one the other Disciples "Colleges of the Bible," Drake, Texas Christian and Phillips, sought and received accreditation, becoming essentially theological seminaries. In 1924 Butler University organized a College of Religion (later School of Religion); it, too, eventually sought accreditation. In general, the undergraduate colleges such as Hiram, Culver-Stockton, and Eureka, followed the example of Bethany and limited their program to preparation for seminary.

Into the Present

Along with these developments, or possibly as a result of them, by the mid-1930s there was widespread concern among Disciples over educational qualifications for ministry. At least part of the anxiety stemmed from unqualified ministers who, upon becoming minister of a congregation of Disciples, sought to lead that congregation away from support of the International Convention and its agencies. The International Convention of the Disciples of Christ in 1939 acted favorably on recommendations made by a special commission concerning standards

for ordination. The major recommendation was that ordination be authorized and conducted by an "ordination council" called by the home congregation and recognized by a state council (Williams: p.31f).

For the first time in the history of the Stone-Campbell movement local leaders were urged to involve persons from other congregations in the ordination of candidates. The "ordination council" was to consist of the minister and one or more elders from each of three or more Disciples congregations.

A further recommendation in 1939 was that candidates consider delaying ordination until completion of the Bachelor of Divinity degree in an accredited seminary. It was to be nearly 20 years before these recommendations were widely observed, but at least definite steps had been taken by Disciples to strengthen the qualifications for ordination.

Following the unification of the various state programs of the Disciples during the 1950s, the first regional "Commissions on the Ministry" were organized to set the educational standards for ordination and licensing (McAllister and Tucker: p.419). In 1957 the International Convention of the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) voted to establish the Bachelor of Divinity degree as a minimal educational standard for ordination (Osborn: p.90).

In general, most Disciples accepted the new model of ministerial education, the theological seminary. Those congregations who did not usually withdrew from cooperative endeavors and supported Bible colleges. However, because of the Disciples historical interest in Christian unity, some leaders desired a more ecumenical preparation for ministry. This was seen earlier in the creation of Disciples Divinity House at the University of Chicago.

Even with the nation at war, Disciples in Tennessee in 1942 established the Disciples Divinity House in association with Vanderbilt Divinity School at Nashville. Some years later Disciples in Southern California accepted an invitation from the Methodists to share the program at the School of Theology at Claremont. In 1960 the Disciples Seminary Foundation was created to serve Disciples attending that institution (McAllister and Tucker: p.432).

By the late 1950s all of the Disciples seminaries came to believe their name should describe more adequately the nature of the institution. The School of Religion in 1958 separated from Butler University, Indianapolis and became a new corporation known as Christian Theological Seminary. In 1963 Brite College of the Bible at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth became Brite Divinity School (McAllister and Tucker: p.432f).

That same year, the trustees of The College of the Bible in Kentucky, anticipating the centennial of the school in 1965, voted to change the name of the institution to Lexington Theological Seminary (Stevenson: p.370f). Within a few years the College of the Bible of Phillips University became Phillips Graduate Seminary. The seminaries of the Disciples had made the transition from "colleges of the Bible" and a "school of religion" to fully accredited theological seminaries.

Of the institutions now affiliated with the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) through the Division of Higher Education, there are four seminaries. One, Brite Divinity School, is affiliated with Texas Christian University, Fort Worth. The other three are free-standing institutions: Christian Theological Seminary, Indianapolis; Lexington Theological Seminary, Kentucky and Phillips Graduate Seminary, Enid and Tulsa, Oklahoma.

There are three Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) institutions related to universities or seminaries: Disciples Divinity House at the University of Chicago, Disciples Divinity House at Vanderbilt University, Nashville and Disciples Seminary Foundation serving students at the School of Theology, Claremont and at Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California.

In the forty years between 1945 and 1985 the church's seminaries greatly strengthened their faculties and curriculum offerings. Today most members of the faculty hold earned doctorates, which would not have been true before World War II. A new reality on seminary campuses recognizes the ecumenical climate in which we live. While Disciples scholars predominate, members of other denominations are present and add to the ecumenical spirit of ministerial preparation (Osborn: p.89-92).

Today ministerial education is mostly standardized within American Protestantism. The latest model in ministerial education and preparation is ecumenical. Except for courses in denominational history and polity, the preparation of ministers does not differ remarkably between denominations. Course requirements and degree programs for candidates for ministry in the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) are almost identical to those of other denominations.

Conclusion

When Tucker and I chose the title for the opening chapter of *Journey in Faith*, "From Camp Meeting to General Assembly," we were trying to say "You've come a long way, Baby!" Our branch of the Stone-Campbell movement, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), at the end of the 20th century, and on the verge of the 21st, finds itself light years removed from our beginnings.

Certainly, significant change is evident in the history of ministerial preparation. We are assured by Scripture, however, that whatever changes may come in society or whatever change may come to the form of the church, as long as there are sinful, spiritually needy individuals, there will be the need for dedicated women and men to proclaim the eternal truths revealed to us by Jesus Christ. At the same time, the church of Christ will need to provide a means for those persons to have the finest education for ministry that is possible.

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MODELS OF MINISTERIAL PREPARATION AMONG CHRISTIAN CHURCHES/CHURCHES OF CHRIST AND CHURCHES OF CHRIST

by William J. Richardson*

In July, 1943, Dean Frederick D. Kershner of Butler University School of Religion traced what he called "three distinct phases" of ministerial education among Disciples of Christ. He called them "phases" because he viewed them as stages of a development culminating in his time. The subsequent history of all three wings of the Stone-Campbell movement, however, suggests that they should be seen not so much as phases but as models of ministerial education that have often existed alongside each other.

As he described them, the three phases were as follows: (1) the "undifferentiated"—a "broad liberal arts background with a considerable amount of Biblical instruction thrown in;" (2) the "differentiated"—a divinity program devoted to ministerial preparation; (3) and the "standardized"—a three-year divinity course built upon four years of liberal arts studies, as embodied in the guidelines of the newly-formed American Association of Theological Schools now the Association of Theological Schools (Kershner: 1943, 139-144).¹ Churches of Christ and Christian Churches/Churches of Christ have had the undifferentiated type and still have the "differentiated" type. In recent years both have institutions developing along lines described as "standardized."

CHURCHES OF CHRIST²

The model of education most prevalent in the early history of the Churches of Christ was the "undifferentiated." Earl Irwin West describes this attitude toward education as follows: "give a general education and along with it teach the Bible." Its aim was not specifically to prepare ministers. Persons of all vocations should know Sacred History and Bible (West: I, 270). A number of factors were at work in this development. One was the impact of Bacon College and Bethany College, whose graduates were some of the most notable leaders of the second and third generation of the movement (Kershner: 1943, 139). The Bethany tradition—a "literary and scientific college" in which the Bible was "studied every day as a text" continued in all the early colleges of the Churches of Christ. Another factor was their commitment to a particular view of the minister. Ministers were not a "clergy class" set apart from other members of the body (Young: 27-31). In the words of Tolbert Fanning it was "unscriptural" to have "a preacher to study, teach, and worship for the congregation" (Lipscomb, in Scobey: 57). Hence it was inconsistent to form a curriculum for the express purpose of educating ministers. Such a school would be a "preacher factory" comparable to those of the denominations (Young: 27). Lipscomb was sharply critical of Alexander Campbell for his expressed desire to establish "a school to train and educate young preachers" (West: II, 122). S. R. Srygley, in an article in *The Gospel Advocate* (1899) probably

written with the College of the Bible in mind, summarized in eight arguments the case against having a school "where men are educated for the ministry as a profession" (West: II, 382-4).

A third factor was the conviction that what we today call spiritual formation should be a prime objective of an educational institution for all its students, regardless of their educational goals. Education, said Fanning, "will be divided into physical, intellectual, and moral," the goal being "full development of the whole man—body, mind, soul" (Lipscomb, in Scobey: 17). Every believer, whatever his choice of vocation, in addition to being taught "all the various branches of knowledge" should be taught the Bible on a daily basis. Such was Lipscomb's aim when he later founded Nashville Bible School, the school which now bears his name (I. W. Shepherd, in Scobey: 224-5).

It should be noted also that there were those who viewed any Christian college as contrary to Church Order as given in the New Testament. Early in the present century Daniel Sommers declared that establishing an institution to teach the Bible preempted the church's role as teacher (Young: 122). He denounced as "preacher factories" schools in which preachers were educated (West: III, 335-9).

Up to the time the College of the Bible was established in 1865 the Stone-Campbell movement had known only the "undifferentiated" type of education for preachers. This new educational phenomenon evoked heated controversy. Both of the groups that would later form the two wings of the movement I am considering were involved in controversy over this school, but for different reasons and at different times. Churches of Christ leaders, saw in the newly established College of the Bible a radical shift in the philosophy of ministerial training. To Joseph Franklin the College of the Bible was just a "sectarian...theological seminary" (West, II: 123). Additionally there were serious misgivings over what was viewed as ambiguity in the meaning of the term "non-sectarian" used to describe Kentucky University, of which the College of the Bible was part. In the twentieth century it was alleged liberalism at the College of the Bible that became the occasion for controversy among Disciples of Christ.

The "undifferentiated" program of preparing ministers found expression in Franklin College, founded by Fanning in 1842. Had not the Civil War and a destructive fire in 1865 ended that school's existence Nashville Bible School would not have come into being. Lipscomb, who had taught at Franklin College, shared Fanning's ideals and had articulated them some years before the actual founding of Nashville Bible School in 1891. He and James A. Harding were its co-founders. Its aim was to prepare persons going into any profession and not just "to make preachers." Lipscomb, however, was gratified that over half of Nashville Bible School students were preparing to preach and was convinced that the courses required of all students—in literature, classical languages, mathematics, logic, metaphysics, natural science, and Bible—provided them with adequate academic preparation for ministry (West: II, 378).

A great number of schools were born and died in the era prior to World War I. With few exceptions they reflected the ideal of ministerial education described above. The twentieth century has seen the establishment of several institutions that, along with David Lipscomb College, have achieved prominence and permanence. They are Abilene Christian College (1906), Harding College (1927), and Pepperdine College (1937), each now university. In their early years these schools had curricula reflecting the educational philosophy of Bethany, hence belonged to the category, "undifferentiated." The "Bible Reading and Training Course," of two months duration, designed for preachers and other workers in the church, and offered for a time by Abilene Christian College, is hardly an exception. Not for some years after their founding did these major universities offer programs that could be classified as "differentiated," a matter to be dealt with below. Of more recent origin Oklahoma Christian University (1950), also belongs in this group.

We have noted that a particular understanding of the role of the minister was the rationale for the "undifferentiated" model predominant in early Churches of Christ history. The minister in preparation should take a course of study not unlike that of persons pursuing any vocation, and both he and they should take courses in Bible. At times, however, still other factors encouraged the aspiring preacher to pursue, along with general studies, a major in some profession such as public school teaching, along with his study of the Bible. For example, during the Great Depression, when many congregations could ill-afford his full support, the preacher could supplement his salary by engaging in another profession.³

The "Differentiated" Model

A concept of education that offered a major specifically designed to prepare persons for ministry first appeared in what was becoming the Churches of Christ wing of the movement at Freed-Hardeman University, founded in 1908 by A. G. Freed and N. B. Hardeman in Henderson, Tennessee. Originally named the National Teachers Normal and Business College, its curriculum embodied classical, scientific, and English studies, but offered "practical studies...designed to meet modern needs," which included courses for those whose goal was career ministry. Over the years "hundreds of ministers" were educated at Freed-Hardeman. The school became known as "maker of preachers" (Young: 100; West: III, 258-262). Freed-Hardeman now offers a variety of majors along with a major in career ministry. It also has a masters program in Biblical studies. It is regionally accredited.

In recent years major Churches of Christ universities, which originally embodied the "undifferentiated" model of education, have brought ministerial programs into their curricula. In this respect they now belong to the "differentiated" category. I refer to such schools as David Lipscomb University, Abilene Christian University, Harding University, Pepperdine University, and Oklahoma Christian University. For example, the mission statement of David Lipscomb University states its

goal as being simply "to train students for service" and makes no specific reference to "ministerial" students; nevertheless it offers an undergraduate major that is so designated. Abilene Christian University, Harding University, Pepperdine University, and Oklahoma Christian University offer undergraduate preparation for ministry, with Bible majors and allied courses in practical ministries. In addition, these institutions offer one or two-year masters programs, ranging from M.A., M.A.R., M.Miss., M.R.E., M.F.T.(Marriage and Family Therapy). Three of them offer the Master of Divinity, another category to be treated below.

A rather distinctive program of ministerial education of the "differentiated" type is represented in the Institute for Christian Studies, originally a Bible Chair, at Austin, Texas. It offers a program of Biblical and practical ministries studies, then utilizes the facilities of nearby University of Texas for required general studies. It offers both B.A. and B.S. program and a M.A. degree, regionally accredited, in conjunction with Abilene Christian University.⁴

Another phenomenon that belongs to the category of "differentiated" is the formation of schools whose sole aim is ministerial preparation at the undergraduate level. They are sometimes characterized as "preacher training schools." There are at least two dozen such schools among the Churches of Christ. Their names indicate their mission: most frequently School of Preaching (or Evangelism), School of Ministry, Bible College or College of the Bible, School of Christian Ministries. In a few instances the college simply identifies itself by a place-name. While most are four-year schools there are several two-year schools. Most offer baccalaureate degrees or, where appropriate, the two-year diploma; a few offer only certificates.

The data on these schools, although limited, support the following characterizations: commitment to the development of a ministry knowledgeable of the Bible, skilled in exposition, devoted to evangelism (church planting) and to serving people, and possessed of personal qualities of integrity and spiritual maturity. They do not discourage further (seminary) studies by their graduates. Most have faculty with at least the M.A. degree, and several have faculty with earned doctorates.

These schools vary greatly in curricula. In some instances almost the entire curriculum consists of Biblical courses. Most, however, call for general studies along with the Biblical major. Two of these colleges, International Bible College, in Florence, Alabama, and Magnolia Bible College, in Kosciusko, Mississippi, are accredited by the American Association of Bible Colleges (AABC), an association comprising nearly one hundred institutions. AABC standards call for a minimum of forty semester hours of Biblical/theological studies and a minimum of thirty-six hours of studies in the humanities, social science, and physical science. Students are expected to extend two general studies disciplines to the second level and one such discipline to the third level, with attention given to integrating these studies with Biblical/theological

studies where appropriate. At least eighteen hours are to be given to practical studies. Member schools are required to affirm a doctrinal statement: "Tenets of Faith", which is Evangelical in orientation (American Association of Bible Colleges Manual: 33-36, 137). The Association, however, has shown latitude in permitting the interpreting of these tenets in keeping with the basic stance of the particular fellowship of each member school, so long as the interpretation is couched in terms reflecting acknowledgment of Biblical authority.⁵

A program uncommon among Churches of Christ schools, but embodying a principle not unknown to Churches of Christ, is a school sponsored by a single congregation and under the supervision of its elders. One such school is the Southern California School of Evangelism, Buena Park, California, whose three year program leads directly into "paid ministry."

Several factors are cited to account for the rise of these schools. One Churches of Christ observer sees the origin of some of these schools in the need to offer specialized education for preachers active in ministry who had been educated for other careers. A school of this kind could provide focused studies in Bible and related subjects to enhance their ministries. Problems arose later, however, when these schools admitted persons just out of high school, for whom the schools were not designed, with the result that less mature persons were brought into career ministry.⁶ Another factor is misgivings among some Churches of Christ about the liberal arts model that prevailed so long in the movement.⁷ Akin to this factor is another: these schools serve a particular constituency of concern in the realm of doctrine and/or church order. For example, one respondent to the question: "What trends do you see at work in ministerial preparation...among Churches of Christ?" gave this response, "Liberal-mindedness rules the day; strict adherence to God's Word is scarce." Another voiced a similar concern: the "minister should follow the Biblical pattern." Another saw a trend "away from an understanding, application and presentation of the Biblical text...toward meeting 'felt needs'." Of particular concern was the "move toward a pastoral model (emphasis on counseling)." A single generalization of all these schools may not be fair. However, one observer from a mid-continent Churches of Christ university states that their appeal is to "the more conservative, traditional churches [who] prefer the preacher-training schools which emphasize doctrine, memorization, and defense."

It may be appropriate at this juncture to call attention to a basic problem that exists for all who regard the Bible as authoritative. The problem has to do with the way the written New Testament functions as a norm for the church today. This problem is present within and between all wings of the Stone-Campbell movement. Schools will be created, educational goals defined, by the way this matter is viewed. Sincerely held differences in viewpoint may become distinctive marks of an institution and its program.

A further type of ministerial education that has been developing in

some Churches of Christ institutions is what Kershner called the "standardized." It consists of three years of theological education in Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical studies, built upon a baccalaureate program in humanities, social and physical sciences, and Bible. It leads to the Master of Divinity (formerly the Bachelor of Divinity). Kershner saw this type of ministerial education as the culmination of a century-long process begun at Harrodsville, Kentucky, and Bethany, Virginia. In actuality, it exists today alongside other models and is properly seen as a refinement of the "differentiated" model of ministerial education.

Dean Kershner would have been quick to admit that "standardized" merely describes a set of agreed upon criteria established by the institutions forming the Association of Theological Schools (ATS). The same is also true of the AABC and regional accrediting associations. Within the parameters of the basic guidelines all member schools are expected to observe, associations evaluate each institution's program by how well it fulfills its stated mission.

Three of the universities named above, Abilene Christian University, Harding University Graduate School of Religion, Pepperdine University, while not members of the ATS, have Master of Divinity programs that match or exceed ATS standards. In addition, David Lipscomb University has a cooperative arrangement with Harding University Graduate School of Religion, leading to a Master of Divinity at the latter, in which all but eighteen hours of work are taken at David Lipscomb University's graduate division. Both Abilene Christian University and Harding University Graduate School of Religion have initiated Doctor of Ministries program. Both anticipate future membership in the Association of Theological Schools. By far the greater proportion of Churches of Christ ministers today are coming out of the schools named above.

There is little disagreement among Churches of Christ institutions in understanding the church's mandate in fulfilling the Great Commission—preaching the Gospel (Evangelism), teaching and oversight (Edification). Moreover, they concur in acknowledging the propriety of career ministry, although they would not make one's means of earning a livelihood the criterion of whether that person is a minister. They concur also in the qualities the minister should possess: a comprehensive knowledge and acknowledgment of the authority of the Bible, spiritual maturity, moral integrity, a spirit of servanthood, skill in communication. They recognize also the need for close relation between school and church in the development of ministerial skills.

There are differences, however, involving questions concerning Church Order and the types of functions required in the church to meet today's challenges in carrying out the Great Commission. How these matters are understood will be reflected in programs of ministerial preparation.

One senses in the "standardized" programs of the schools named above a refinement of the conceptual frame of reference for understand-

ing Church Order and, accordingly, the role of the minister. When asked, "What concept of the role of the minister is reflected in your mission statement?" answers such as the following were given: Ministers are "servant leaders in a world-wide attempt to bring Christ to the nations and people into a close relationship with God through Christ." Although couched in somewhat different terms this statement recognizes the two tasks commonly acknowledged to be the biblical mandate—Evangelism and Edification (nurture). The response goes on to state that the orientation is "Christological rather than Ecclesiological,"⁸ which I take to mean that while Church Order is not unimportant it takes its bearing primarily from the person and office of Jesus Christ, as do other aspects of the Christian system. The same holds true for the minister: Christ is his model.

The basic approach is incarnational....The goal is to bring the message (through example and teaching) to individuals. A strong emphasis in the incarnational aspect is to model the love and acceptance of God through Christ.⁹

The curricula of these schools cover the four major areas of theological studies embodied in ATS standards—Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, Practical. "But scripture still is the center" and should be studied in the original languages.¹⁰ They are concerned that ministers also "know the world in which they will be working."¹¹ Also, ministers should develop administrative and personal competencies needed to address the challenges posed by modern urban life. These include such skills as exegetical preaching, various types of evangelism (urban and cross-cultural), youth ministries, educational psychology, counseling, family relations. These schools regard their commitment to the basic mission as unchanged. But they seek to develop curricular programs that aim at enlargement of the activities that carry out the mission.

Throughout their history Churches of Christ have had programs of ministerial preparation exhibiting all the types described by Kershner. Two of these, each a variation of the "differentiated" model, are still represented among them. Will these remain as types existing alongside each other? Or will the "standardized" type become so prevalent as to become the phase that culminates the process begun a century and a half ago? The answer to these questions depends upon factors whose dynamics are beyond the scope of this study.

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES/CHURCHES OF CHRIST¹²

In our consideration of models among Christian Churches/Churches of Christ and Churches of Christ we often confront the tendency toward retrojection in the classifying of institutions. On the basis of wings now present in the Stone-Campbell movement we place schools existing before the so-called "separation." For example, David Lipscomb College, Milligan College, Johnson Bible College, Eugene Bible University, all existed before the wings with which they came to be identified developed.

For the most part ministerial education offered by schools identified with the Christian Churches/Churches of Christ has been of the type Kershner designated "differentiated." An exception is Milligan College in its earliest days, when it basically followed the Bethany model, offering the B.A., Ph.B., and B.S. degrees. However, in 1910-11 Milligan College instituted a curriculum specifically aimed at ministerial preparation, which for many years carried the title, Robert Milligan Bible College (Milligan College Catalog, 1910-1911: 47-57; 1911-1912: 63-67; 1918-1919: 25-27). Johnson Bible College might appear also to be an exception. However, the name given to the school by its founder, "The School of the Evangelists," indicates its "differentiated" character. While invoking Alexander Campbell as his example Johnson stated his sole purpose as being to prepare preachers. (Weedman: 18-19; Leggett: 16). The earliest available "Course of Study" (1900-1901) lists requirements designed to cover studies of the whole Bible, Church History, Preaching, Personal Growth, along with the Arts and Sciences.

Another ministerial program that belongs to the same era as Johnson Bible College was Eugene Bible University, founded in 1895 by Eugene C. Sanderson. EBU's program was innovative. It made extensive use of the facilities of the adjacent University of Oregon for most required work in the Arts and Sciences, while granting its own degrees. It offered a program leading to the Bachelor of Divinity degree, consisting of three years of Bible and related studies built upon the AB or its equivalent. In this sense the BD was post-graduate, although Biblical studies were at the undergraduate level. The same Biblical course required for the BD, omitting only Greek and Hebrew, could be taken for the "English Ministerial Course" leading to the Bachelor of Sacred Literature degree. The BSL consisted of the three years of Biblical and related courses and one year of Liberal Arts. In this respect the BSL resembled what would later be characteristic of most Bible College curricula. EBU also had a "Classical Bible Course" with a greater proportion of Liberal Arts leading to the AB (EBU Catalog: 1908-1909, 9 ff). These programs continued until the coming of the Great Depression, when bankruptcy led to a restructuring of the school at Eugene. However, as late as 1942 the successor institution, Northwest Christian College, granted the BD to a husband and wife upon their completion of three years of Biblical studies. Both had come to the school with baccalaureate degrees from universities in nearby states.

In the twentieth century only institutions of the "differentiated" model have been founded among Christian Churches/Churches of Christ. These institutions have claimed the College of the Bible as their heritage. Kershner described the Lexington school as the "first College of the Bible ever to be organized" (Kershner: 141). Although related to Kentucky University it was a separate school. It was undergraduate, hence the claim for its uniqueness as a type of ministerial education in America. Out of the controversies over alleged liberalism that erupted in the era following McGarvey's death in 1911 schools were founded by persons who leaders viewed themselves as following the earlier pattern

of the College of the Bible (Gardner: 1989, 5-8; 1991, 52). Although they were reacting to what they saw as rationalism and to the "secular" emphasis in colleges formerly training ministers, they were also responding to what they saw as the need for more ministers necessitated by the growth of the churches (Pieratt: 1966, 7). In some instances they defined their purpose partly as opposition to certain agencies with whose policies they disagreed.¹³

In the early years Bible colleges were subject to a great deal of criticism. "Cooperative" spokespersons directed criticism at what they thought were the motives that prompted the establishment of these schools. Some questioned whether they were *bona fide* colleges, charging them with weaknesses such as the following: inadequately trained faculties or faculties that were inbred; low admission standards; sub-standard education; mission statements that included doctrinal affirmations; and theological fundamentalism (Garrison, De Groot: 417; DeGroot: 55-66; Leggett: 83-89). Two commonly voiced complaints were that Bible colleges represented a "short-cut" to preparation for the ministry and that their subject-matter really belonged to graduate level study.

In 1968, Tiffin summarized what were the problems of Bible colleges most commonly acknowledged by persons friendly to the movement. One was the limits placed on faculty and libraries by inadequate funds. Another lay in the fact that, while most Bible college education was terminal in orientation, many graduates were continuing on in graduate studies; hence to gear the curriculum to meet the needs of both terminal and transfer students posed great difficulties. A third was the "cloistered atmosphere" of the Bible college, with potential loss for the student of the connection between "subject-matter and the future environment." He called attention also to an educational psychology that stressed "memorization of facts, systems, verses, rather than the development of competencies, cultivation of attitudes, and internalization of processes." The most common complaint concerning Bible colleges was that there were "too many-too small" (Tiffin: 1968, 168-174; Leggett: 91; Weedman: 32).

While acknowledging many of these problems Bible college advocates defended the undergraduate Bible major, calling attention to the paucity of Bible requirements in most seminaries (Leggett: 47). They also cited studies showing that Bible college enrollees ranked high in comparison with students at most universities (Weedman: 29). Although holding conservative convictions they differed from fundamentalists in two very important respects: as a rule they were not pre-millennialists; nor did they share the ecclesiology of the dispensationalist view of the role of the church in the purpose of God (Leggett: 9-10).

Tiffin evaluates the early Bible College movement as embodying both conservative and positive elements. Faced with the alternative of either accommodating "to the new culture" or of maintaining the Biblical message at the risk of possible loss of "cultural relevance," they chose this means of saving "their traditional method and theology."

Positive elements included: 1) supplying ministers and reopening churches; 2) asserting convictions and values; 3) seeking to "modify general American culture" through evangelism; and 4) asserting in a positive way the "liberty to pursue self-stated and initiated goals." (Tifflin: 1968, 146-156). It is of interest that out of several of these schools, most notably Johnson Bible College, Northwest Christian College, Manhattan Bible College, and Alberta Bible College have come a host of ministers who served in "Disciple" churches.

The past twenty-five years represent a different era in the Bible college movement, although in no single aspect have developments been uniform. In 1968 Tiffin noted changes taking place in curricula. Bible and related subjects were still the main focus, but degree requirements were "divided equally between Biblical-theological, practical-professional, and general education courses." He attributed this "increased diversity" to "technological and social changes in American society...an accompanying redefinition of the training of ministers" and a "changing conception of the role of the church in the twentieth century" (Tiffin: 1968, 123).

This trend has continued. It is reflected in the number of schools to which I referred earlier that have received accreditation in the AABC, currently there are seventeen, nearly a half dozen of whom also enjoy regional accreditation.

Survey responses from eighteen schools indicate that most of them have requirements in Biblical-theological studies, liberal arts, and practical ministries comparable to the ministerial major of Milligan College, the most respected liberal arts college in this wing of the movement. The challenge to these schools is that, while humanities and science courses may be secondary in reference to the ministerial major, they not be relegated to secondary status as subjects of concern. One respondent, for example, used the phrase "pseudo-liberal arts" to describe the humanities and sciences requirements in the curriculum of his alma mater in an earlier day.¹⁴

Some have interpreted seeking accreditation as goal displacement, as yielding to a secularist concern (Wilson L. Thompson, cited in Gardner: 1991, 45). It does not necessarily follow that accreditation means the adoption of a secularist spirit. However, this danger has not gone unrecognized by educators in schools which enjoy regional accreditation.¹⁵

There has also been a move among Bible colleges toward offering other majors, such as elementary or secondary education in addition to the ministry major. Pacific Christian College offers eight majors in addition to five majors in career ministry; Northwest Christian College offers six other majors. Both these schools could be classified as Liberal Arts schools. A number of schools offer masters programs, in some instances as continuing education for settled ministers, in other instances in lieu of seminary. Alberta Bible College offers a five-year Bachelor of Theology program.

A few Bible colleges discourage graduates from going to seminary.

Most, however, indicate that their program is either terminal or pre-seminary. How to relate undergraduate and graduate programs both aimed at preparing for career ministry (Tiffin: 196, 170-171) has become less a problem with the increase in the number of accredited colleges.

Milligan College stands in a class by itself as the oldest Christian liberal arts school among Christian Churches/Churches of Christ. In addition to its six majors in career ministry, it offers majors in twenty-one other areas and an accredited Master of Education degree.

These schools share an understanding of the role of the minister that emphasizes conviction, commitment, Christian character, and the development of skills in Biblical interpretation, preaching and teaching, counseling and other appropriate means of impacting all areas of life with the Gospel. The minister's role in the congregation is that of servant/leader. All these schools welcome both men and women, but most do not encourage women to prepare for the preaching ministry, partly because of reluctance of churches to receive women in that capacity, but often out of a conviction against having women as either preachers or elders. A few schools do not differentiate at this point and are deeply sensitive about how Scripture, which they regard as authoritative, relates to this question today. This issue has evoked great controversy.

Responses to the question, "What trends do you see at work in ministerial preparation among Christian Churches/Churches of Christ today?" reflect awareness of changes in the culture that call for innovative response to make the church relevant. At the same time some respondents expressed the fear that the rush toward relevance may result in the attendant loss of rootage in our heritage as a movement—and in church history generally—and a depreciation of the importance of "doctrine, theology, and Biblical languages for understanding and applying the Scriptures in our time."¹⁶ One seminary dean framed his answer in these terms: "There is obviously a need...[in the area of counseling, family therapy, etc.] but there is a faddish confidence in the healing power of contemporary counseling and therapy techniques. Seminaries must address the perceived need judiciously without forgetting the primary commitment to educating pastoral, preaching ministers."¹⁷

There are now three institutions that represent what Kershner labelled "standardized"—three year graduate programs leading to the Master of Divinity degree. Two of these, Lincoln Christian Seminary and Cincinnati Bible Seminary, are graduate divisions of already existing Bible colleges. Emmanuel School of Religion, while adjacent to Milligan College, is a separate corporation. Lincoln Christian Seminary and Emmanuel School of Religion are accredited by the ATS; Cincinnati Bible Seminary has Associate status. They place heavy emphasis upon Biblical studies, including a Biblical languages requirement. In addition to the M.Div. each offers a one or two year masters degree. Cincinnati Bible Seminary and Emmanuel School of Religion are also regionally accredited. Emmanuel School of Religion's Doctor of Ministry

is accredited by the ATS. In the current year these three seminaries enroll a total of 706 students. Student bodies comprise graduates of Bible colleges, state and private colleges and universities.

Several observations I believe are applicable to institutions in both these wings of the movement. First, characterizations of these schools which may have been valid three decades ago probably do not apply today. As noted above there have been many changes in outlook, programs, and structures.

Second, they are marked by their commitment to Biblical faith, a commitment with value not alone for the career minister in preparation but for other students as well. Byron Lambert, long time Professor of Philosophy and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Fairleigh-Dickenson University, in lectures given at Kentucky Christian College (1979), declared that "*the Bible curriculum may be, ironically, the only true humanism left in American education*" (Lambert: 3). He was referring not only to Bible content courses but to the perspective Christian faith gives to all disciplines that belong to the humanities—languages, arts, literature, philosophy.

It scarcely requires mention that ministerial education should aim both at "technical scholarship"—discerning study of the history and literary forms of Scripture—and at showing its meaning. To neglect "technical scholarship" is to invite obscurantism. But to neglect concern for meaning is to rob the Bible of its relevance. An increasing number of the institutions involved in this study adopt a Christological model for understanding the Bible and employ the historical method in its study.

The fact that all these current programs are of the "differentiated" type revives a concern like that of Fanning and Lipscomb a century ago—the setting apart of the career minister to what amounts to a special order, which re-establishes the "clergy-laity" distinction (Weedman: 12). Many, recognizing this problem, have called for a concept which sees the career ministry as "a vehicle for implementing call." In this way career ministry may be viewed in a manner consistent with the "calling" of every believer (Tiffin, 1984: 3-9).

CONCLUSION

The most perplexing issue today for both career ministers and the churches with whom they serve is: what model of ministry best describes their role? Career ministers often find that their own ordering of ministerial expectations does not always coincide with that of their congregations. Conceptual differences on this matter affect not only how the minister is received by the congregation but also the way the congregation is structured to carry out its mission. David S. Shuller, Merton P. Stromffen, and Milo L. Brekke, in *Ministry in America*, (1980), speak of the "prevailing uncertainty among ministers" concerning "their purpose and their capability" in today's world. The result has been different and often conflicting conceptions of the ministers role. These authors cite three: 1) rediscovery of biblical fundamentals; 2) ministry "centered" in the public sphere, including societal struc-

tures; 3) ministry focused upon "the inner life of people" (Shuller, *et al.*: 4-8). More recently Ronald E. Osborn produced a study, *Creative Disarray: Models of Ministry in a Changing America*, (1991). The book covers three epochs of American history. It is not aimed at a particular constituency. Readers from every wing of the movement represented in these lectures will find his description of models today both accurate and helpful to their understanding. However, it is disquieting to reflect upon the conception of ministerial role implied in such current models as "manager" and "impresario."¹⁸

Implicit to every conception of the minister is a conception of the nature of the church—a matter of great importance to a movement committed to "New Testament Christianity." This connection is affirmed as well by sources outside the Stone-Campbell movement. For example, in *Freedom for Ministry* Richard John Neuhaus declares that "the very terms we use for ministry have built in assumptions, both historical and operative, about the way the church is conceived." He cites Avery Dulles, who in *Models of the Church* (1974) declared that "the various terms—such as minister, pastor, priest, and presbyter—are themselves biased toward one model or another."¹⁹ Neuhaus continues: "If what we do is not the church's business to do then we ought not be doing it." Neuhaus prefaced these remarks by reference to the Gospel as the ground of being for the church. "Our message is...Here is what is reported, here is the evidence for it, here are the reasons for acknowledging its truth, and here are the consequences for ourselves and the world of which we are part." He concludes: "We are related to...apostolic authority in our obedience to the New Testament canon which bears the apostolic witness" (Neuhaus: 197, 25-40).

Every curriculum signals some purpose. Those involved in education for career ministry must carefully consider what model of the role of the minister is being served by the programs they establish. But this matter, in turn, requires clarification of the nature of the church and its relation to society. The challenge for the educators considered in this study is that they address these concerns in the light of the heritage they claim as the *raison d'être* of their existence as a movement within the Body of Christ.

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NOTES

1. Gary Weedman, *Higher Education and the Restoration Movement*, uses two basic categories: "Integrated" and "Separatist" to describe the approaches to education in the movement. His "integrated approach" closely resembles Kershner's "undifferentiated." Although the difference between the two is of little consequence, Kershner's categories better serve my purpose here.

2. I have relied chiefly upon two sources for the history of education among Churches of Christ. M. Norvell Young has not been superseded in bringing the story to 1949. For

the same period Earl Irwin West's three volume comprehensive history provides many valuable references to primary sources. For information concerning models of ministerial education since 1950, I have utilized a survey of all known institutions. Responses, while limited, are sufficient to provide a picture of present modalities of ministerial preparation. I am indebted to Dr. Thomas H. Olbricht and Dr. Douglas Foster for their counsel and insights. They and others have also provided factual data.

3. Interview with Thomas H. Olbricht, Chair, Religion Division, Pepperdine University. November, 1993.

4. Another dimension of ministerial preparation in both Churches of Christ and Christian Churches/Churches of Christ has developed out of campus ministries. Churches of Christ have established over two hundred Student Centers. Thomas Olbricht states that two decades ago a high percentage of ministerial students at Abilene Christian University came out of campus ministry programs. The story of campus ministry among Churches of Christ is given in detail in Rick Rowland, *Campus Ministry: A Historical Study of Churches of Christ Campus Ministries from 1706-1990*, (1991).

Campus ministries among Christian Churches/Churches of Christ do not have as long a history, but do not vary greatly in function from those of Churches of Christ. In his upcoming full-length study, *Christ on Campus*, Douglas A. Dickey reminds his readers that campus ministry is "one of the best kept secrets on campus." While recruitment to career ministry is not a primary aim of Student Centers, Dickey reports that a surprising number of their members have made the decision to become career ministers and, upon graduation, entered seminary.

5. An example of this "latitude" is the AABC acceptance of a modification of Article 4 of the "Doctrinal Statement" in the application of Puget Sound Christian College, Edmonds, Washington (a Christian church/churches of Christ college). Article 4 reads as follows: "We believe that man was created in the image of God, that he was tempted by Satan and fell, and that, because of the exceeding sinfulness of human nature, regeneration by the Holy Spirit is absolutely necessary for salvation."

The PSCC application offered the following as its conviction regarding the substance of Article 4: "We believe that man was created in the image of God; that he was tempted by Satan and fell; that man, when he has sinned, is saved by grace through the blood of Christ in his submission to the will of God; and that the Holy Spirit works through the Word of God in the salvation of sinners." Letter from Dr. John Parrish, President, PSCC, to this author, January 14, 1980.

6. Interview with Dr. Lyndell Cheeves, minister, Church of Christ, Keizer, Oregon.

7. Interview with Thomas H. Olbricht, November, 1993.

8. Respondent, Abilene Christian University.

9. Respondent, Harding University.

10. Respondent, Pepperdine University.

11. Respondent, Harding University.

12. Educational developments among Christian Churches/Churches of Christ have stimulated many studies. Extended bibliographies will be found in the works of H. Lynn Gardner, Academic Dean, Ozark Christian College; Marshall J. Leggett, President, Milligan College; Phillip D. Robinette; Gary Clay Tiffin, Academic Dean, Pacific Christian College. My indebtedness to these and other writers is reflected by the frequency of my references to them.

13. For example, in 1948, two elements in the mission statement of a newly formed Bible college drew the attention of the editor of *The Christian Evangelist*. They were:

(1) indoctrination in the fundamentals of New Testament Christianity and (2) opposition to the U.C.M.S. and other such reporting agencies of the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ. "Editorial," *The Christian Evangelist*, (Aug. 25, 1948), 843.

14 Respondent, Johnson Bible College.

15. The views of Gerald C. Tiffin and Richard Phillips are representative of thoughtful educators in both these wings of the movement. Tiffin warns of the worldliness that develops "because Christian colleges tend to take their cues and sense of direction from secular and non-Christian models and ideas of education" (Tiffin: 1988, 1).

Phillips traces the evolution of the impact of the Enlightenment upon Protestants and, in particular, upon ministerial education. His elaboration of this process is too complex to replicate here; but the upshot of it, in his words, is that "many seminaries...conduct themselves far more according to academic rather than ecclesiastical standards. The values and standards of the church are replaced by those of academe. Excellence consists not so much in Christian service and sacrifice, but in the production of intellectual arguments, papers for publication, and the attainment of academic positions." The end result is that "the preparation of ministers has been turned over to institutions who often have different standards, goals, and agenda from those of the church these very ministers are being prepared to serve" (Phillips: 11-13).

16. Respondent, Milligan College.

17. Respondent, Emmanuel School of Religion.

18. Phillips gives a similar analysis of contemporary models of ministry (Phillips: 9).

19. The relation between conceptions of the church and the ministry is amply illustrated in H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams, editors, *The Ministry in Historical Perspective*, (Rev. ed., 1983).

CORRECTIONS

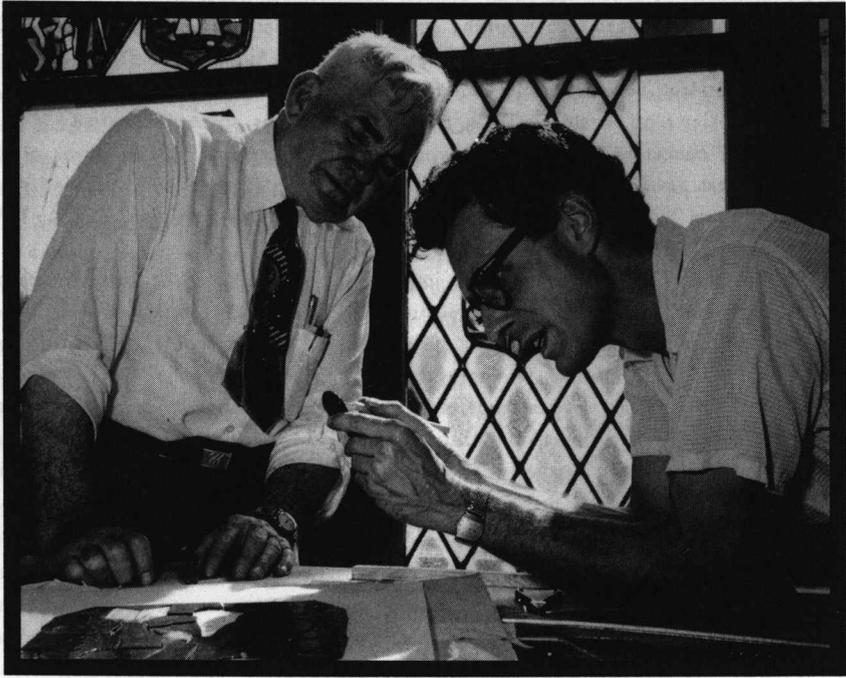
The Spring 1994 *Discipliana* mistakenly cut short three of the Named Fund articles. The additions are as follows:

Sondra Stalcup-Goodson currently serves as adjunct minister of Highlands Christian Church of Dallas, Texas. This Named Fund was established by her parents, Joe and Nancy Stalcup.

Opal Whitacre Larrick was buried in the cemetery of Timber Ridge Christian Church near her home town of Gore, Virginia. This Named Fund was established by her husband, Harold S. Larrick.

Victor K. Phillips continued to serve on the Board of Directors of the T. W. Phillips Gas and Oil Company until 1990. This Named Fund was established by his widow, Janice Kimbell Phillips.

Grace Phillips Johnson's parents lived in New Castle, Pennsylvania rather than in Butler, Pennsylvania.



A Tribute to Gus Baker

The beautiful and meaningful stained glass medallions in the Thomas W. Phillips Memorial of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society were designed by Gus Baker, artist and teacher, who died on May 16, 1994. A memorial service was held at the Phillips Memorial building on Sunday, May 29, 1994.

Baker was widely admired and won numerous honors for his painting, prints, photographs, and pencil drawings. His most memorable work is perhaps the stained glass medallions in the Phillips Memorial. He is shown at the right of this picture working on a medallion.

Baker was graduated *Magna Cum Laude* and *Phi Beta Kappa* from the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee. He later earned bachelor and master of fine arts degrees at the Art Institute of Atlanta and studied in Dallas, Chicago and Colorado Springs. He came to Nashville in 1955 to teach at Watkins Institute, joining the University of Tennessee-Nashville faculty two years later.

Gus Baker was thrilled with the publication of the book *History in Stone and Stained Glass* which was the story of the development and the significance of the stonework and stained glass windows in the Phillips Memorial. This book highlighted, both with pictures and descriptions, the windows found in the Memorial building. At the request of his family a Named Fund has been established at the Disciples of Christ Historical Society for Mr. Baker.

DISCIPLIANA

The Quarterly Historical Journal of the
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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JUST AS I LIVED IT

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THE SECOND ANNUAL FORREST H. KIRKPATRICK SEMINAR FOR STONE-CAMPBELL HISTORIANS WILL BE HELD IN NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, AT THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 5-6, 1995. REGISTRATION INFORMATION CAN BE OBTAINED BY WRITING TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. LECTURERS ARE BRENDA BASHER, BYRON LAMBERT, AND MICHAEL WEED. THE THEME IS: "A NINETEENTH CENTURY RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT FACES THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: FROM RURAL CHURCHES TO AN URBAN WORLD."



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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Disciples of Christ Historical Society was established in 1941 "to maintain and further interest in 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 to \$249, Participating - \$25 to \$49, Regular - \$15, Students - \$7.50, Canadian and Overseas - \$20. Single payment Life Memberships are: Life - \$250, Life Link - \$500, Life Patron - \$1,000.

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—From the Editor's Desk

Two hundred years ago on August 4, 1794, at a conference of former Methodist preachers who had recently taken the name Republican Methodists (commonly referred to as the O'Kelly Secession), Rice Haggard stood up with a New Testament in his hand and made the following statement: "Brethren, this is a sufficient rule of faith and practice, and by it we are told that the disciples were called Christians, and I move that henceforth and forever the followers of Christ be known as Christians simply." The motion was unanimously adopted. Later, Haggard influenced former Presbyterians led by Barton W. Stone to similarly adopt the name "Christian" and led in a union of the two groups.

Haggard has become remembered in the churches of the Stone-Campbell movement and in the Christian Churches that are now a part of the United Church of Christ. R. L. Roberts is familiar with the work of twentieth century historians who have studied Haggard. Through examination of sources not used by those historians, he has unearthed new information regarding the life and influence of Haggard. On the basis of his research, he suggests that if the contemporary followers of Stone, the Campbells and Walter Scott were to add a fifth founder, Rice Haggard would be a candidate worthy of consideration.

The not so heartening story of the twentieth century fate of the Bible "only" and Christians "simply" tradition, advocated by Haggard and other nineteenth century leaders has been told by a participant in that story, Richard Phillips. Focusing on the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ (sometimes referred to as the Independent Christian Churches), Phillips argues that the concern for baptism, the Lord's Supper and the offices of the New Testament church which was characteristic of this branch of the Stone-Campbell movement in the first part of the twentieth century, has given way in the later part of the century to an uncritical adoption of church growth techniques and a comfortable identification with popular culture. Phillips asks, "Can churches which avoid the hard demands of the Gospel in order not to offend; which place great emphasis on experience, entertainment, and excitement, find a means of motivating their participants to acts of significant Christian service and dedication?"

Phillips article was one of three papers delivered at the first annual Forrest H. Kirkpatrick Seminar for Stone-Campbell Historians, conducted at the Society's Thomas W. Phillips Library and Archives in Nashville, April 29-30, 1994. The general theme of the 1994-1996 series of seminars is "How Does A Nineteenth Century North American Religious Movement Face the Twenty-First Century?" The specific theme of the 1994 session was "From Modern Theology to a Post-Modern World." Future issues of *Discipliana* will feature the other two papers addressing this theme, one by Clark Williamson, dealing with the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the other by Kathy Pulley focusing on the Churches of Christ.

—From the President's Desk

During a time of recuperation from surgery, I had the pleasant and very stimulating task of proofreading the first six chapters of the soon to be published *Alexander Campbell: Adventurer in Freedom* by Miss Eva Jean Wrather. The first half of this biography will be published in 1995 by Bethany College and will be ready for distribution by October 1995. It is indeed a fascinating and thought-provoking book. In these first six chapters Miss Wrather outlines in carefully noted sources what led Alexander Campbell to become the giant of a personality in the Campbell-Stone Movement and in the growth of religious fervor in the developing country of the United States of America.

I point to this publication because it will be the most definitive biography of Alexander Campbell since Robert Richardson wrote his biography, and will move out beyond the personal knowledge Richardson had of Campbell. The entire Campbell-Stone Movement will profit by this publication and many other historians and persons of religious concern will learn of this man of God and religious leader. Dr. D. Duane Cummins, President of Bethany College, is the primary editor.

This kind of biography is needed by the church in such a time as this. More and more the church of tomorrow is being built on the foundations of history. We learn from it, we borrow from it, we make corrections and changes in our pathway because the roots are there to give strength and meaning to the people of God as we move forward in seeking to build God's kingdom on earth.

In the Historians Seminar held at the Historical Society the last of April this year, Clark Williamson addressed the question of what kind of church we will be in the twenty-first century and in his conclusion he stated that the church needs to understand that good works and "inclusivism" will not provide people with a sense of Christian identity. "What is the one thing necessary that the church can do that no other institution can do? That one thing is to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, to make Christian witness, to spread abroad in the world the love of God and the love of neighbor."

This is what the Campbell-Stone Movement has been about for two hundred years. We have a history which fastens us solidly to the New Testament roots of the gospel. It is a pathway based on faith and reason.

The Historical Society is pleased to be a part of sharing that history in a meaningful way that the church at large might learn from it. If anyone questions the place of the Historical Society and its treasure of archives, she or he needs but look to the future with the realization that the future is indeed built firmly on the past.

Rice Haggard (1769-1819) "A Name Rever'd"

by R. L. Roberts*

Two hundred years ago on August 4, 1794 at Old Lebanon Church, near Surry, Virginia about thirty Republican Methodists preachers searched for direction. The final separation from the Methodist Episcopal Church had come in December 1793 and the group had adopted the Republican name. Finally Rice Haggard stood up in the meeting with a copy of the New Testament in his hand and said: "Brethren, this is a sufficient rule of faith and practice, and by it we are told that the disciples were called Christians, and I move that henceforth and forever the followers of Christ be known as Christians simply." The motion was unanimously adopted.¹ Later, Haggard led the followers of Barton W. Stone to accept the Christian name as given by divine authority, and was the leader in the union between the two groups known as "Christians" in the East (the O'Kelly Movement) and in the West (the Stone Movement).

Today the Lebanon site (on State Highway 10), one and one-half miles West of Surry has a monument and a state historical marker. The bronze tablet on the monument reads:

This monument marks the site of Lebanon Church, where the founders of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH, who had declared for religious liberty and accepted the Bible as their only creed on August 4, 1794, adopted the name CHRISTIAN to the exclusion of all party or sectarian names.

The state marker identifies James O'Kelly as the leading founder. Rice Haggard, second only to O'Kelly among the founders and the man most responsible for the name, is not mentioned on either the monument or the marker.

A combination of factors caused the story of Haggard's role in the early movements to be obscured. Early published works by William Guirey, James O'Kelly and "The White Pilgrim" Joseph Thomas have been almost unknown by historians of the movement. Few historians consulted the early Methodist Conferences *Minutes* which mention Haggard. His anonymous tract remained unidentified for many decades. His early death added to his obscurity. Joseph Thomas, a close friend and admirer who lived near the area in Ohio where Haggard died, never learned where he died or who buried him.

So, Rice Haggard's name was never inscribed on a monument or historical marker. Professor P. J. Kernodle thought that Haggard needed no monument, he would be remembered by what he did. "His name will be long remembered by those who wear the name 'Christian' only." Now, two hundred years after that memorable August day at Old Lebanon we need to be reminded of our heritage from Rice Haggard. Most people today were they to hear his name would ask, Who was Rice Haggard?

I. A Brief Poetic Biography

Joseph Thomas described Rice Haggard in an introductory note to "An Elegy" as "an eminent preacher of the gospel-well known, and highly esteemed, in the South and West by the Christian brethren."² The elegy, written after Haggard's death, has the only known reference to his childhood and youth. The poetic lines of Thomas give us a few personal glimpses of Haggard, his early life, his call to ministry, his clear voice and warm preaching style.

The first and only glimpse of Haggard's childhood:

Thy parents poor, had never taught thee then,
To read the Bible, nor to use the pen;
But in the smooth sand thou didst learn to write.
And taught thyself to read by faggot light!

Haggard's "strong intellect and profound piety" impressed Thomas, who also provided a glimpse at the young preacher's education, his religious experiences and his call to preach:

Not long till science shone upon thy mind.
Thy sins forsaken and thy soul refin'd,
The Saviour's call to sound the Jubilee.
Was loudly heard and then obey'd by thee.

Two poetic lines describe Haggard's early success when admitted to trial by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1789:

In melting strains thy youthful voice was heard,
And weeping eyes among the crowds appear'd;

The mature Haggard developed into an impressive and a powerful preacher with a warm convicting message of salvation, all of which was described by Thomas in these words:

Thy son'rous voice, like silver trumpet's sound,
Awak'd the sinner from his sleep profound;
Convinc'd him he was in the downward way,
Constrain'd him to repent, to weep and pray.

II. The Methodist Episcopal Church

Rice Haggard had an older brother, David, who was also a Methodist preacher. Annual *Minutes* of the Methodist Episcopal Conferences are the best sources for tracing the Haggards brothers' early years as preachers among the Methodists. David Haggard was admitted on trial in 1787 and remained on trial in 1788. He was appointed to the Anson circuit, admitted to full connection and listed as "Deacon" i.e. preacher, in 1789, the same year Rice Haggard was admitted to trial. Both served under Elder James O'Kelly, David on the Halifax and Rice on the Camden circuit. Rice Haggard was admitted to full connection in 1790 and listed with the "Deacons" along with David, under "Elders James Haw and James Kelly [sic]." In 1790 Joseph Birchett and David Haggard were assigned to the Lexington, Kentucky, circuit for two years. Rice

Haggard's appointments for 1790-1792 were in Virginia, first to Bedford in 1790, to Cumberland in 1791, then to Mecklenburg in 1792.³

J. Beckley Green probably confused Rice with David and mistakenly noted that Rice Haggard was "appointed to a work in Kentucky and served for about two years then returned to Virginia, severed his connection with the M. E. Church and attended the Republican Methodist Conference at Lebanon, Va." i. e. the August 4, 1794 conference.⁴ Professor Colby D. Hall, although he recognized the difficulty followed Green and placed the two year Kentucky "excursions." of Rice in 1792-1793 before returning in time for the conference. Hall erroneously concluded, "So, Rice preceded his brother David into Kentucky by six years."⁵ These conclusions are contradicted by the Methodist *Minutes* and other sources.⁶ David rode the Lexington, Kentucky circuit in 1791 and 1793 while Rice preached in Virginia. David settled in Kentucky the first time by about 1798 but left by 1805. Rice's move to Kentucky came several years later.⁷

Rice Haggard was ordained by Bishop Francis Asbury in 1791. At the Baltimore conference on November 1, 1792 he watched as O'Kelly arose and stood before the assembly with the New Testament in his hand and heard him plead, "Brethren hearken unto me, put away all other books, and forms and let this be the only criterion and that will satisfy me." At issue was Bishop Asbury's rejection of the right of a minister to appeal an appointment. Several urged that the bishop appointed well, to which O'Kelly "prayed them not to arrogate infallibility to the bishop." An elder then arose and asked "where is the man that will say, the bishop ever injured a preacher?" He repeated the question. Finally, "a young man whose name was Rice, assured the conference that he had known two preachers who were injured by the Bishop as he thought." Later Haggard said, "I am the man he has injured." Hope Hull, later a teacher with B. W. Stone in Washington, Georgia, cried out, "O heavens! Are we not Americans? Did not our fathers bleed to free their sons from the British yoke? And shall we be slaves to ecclesiastical oppression? ... What, no appeal for an injured brother? Are these things so? Am I in my senses?"⁸

James O'Kelly and Rice Haggard walked out of the Baltimore Conference in 1792 when the right of appeal was lost in the Council. The next day they sent letters of resignation to Asbury. The O'Kelly group met a year later at Piney Grove on August 2, 1793 and dispatched a final request to Bishop Francis Asbury to call a meeting for redress on their lost appeal. "According to appointment Mr. O'Kelly and his friends met at the Manakin Town on December 25th, 1793. The persons appointed to carry the petition to Mr. Asbury reported his answer." Asbury replied, "I have no power to call such a meeting as you wish, therefore if 500 preachers would come on their knees before me I would not do it." "The conference then resolved to separate entirely from the methodists and formed themselves into a religious body. Thus in a few days about 1000 persons departed from the errors of Episcopacy and are known by the name of the Christian Church."⁹

Little is known of Haggard's ministry from 1794-1804. MacClenny said that after 1794 conference minutes were burned before adjournment so that no precedent would be set. Mrs. O'Kelly, tired of all the years of troubles, burned all of her husband's papers after his death. James O'Kelly's autobiography in manuscript was burned when the Union Army destroyed the house of a relative. Haggard rode the mountain circuit in Western Virginia in 1801 about the time that he wrote some testimonial letters against Bishop Asbury to James O'Kelly for the latter's use in his exchange with Nicholas Snethen over the claims of the Methodists in defense of Asbury. In his rebuttal to Snethen's *Reply*, O'Kelly quotes Haggard's testimony about travel with Asbury and hearing him propose a college in Virginia for which he wanted to send printed subscriptions to every one from the mountains to the sea over O'Kelly's opposition to raising money to build a college. At another conference Haggard also witnessed Asbury's refusal to ordain John McGee for reasons "secret" to Asbury. He was also at the conference when Asbury declared all of the Virginia preachers under O'Kelly "out of union."¹⁰

III. Rice Haggard At The "Great Meeting"

At Bethel, Kentucky, April 1804

Christian Church historians Peter J. Kernodle, J. J. Summerbell, and J. Beckley Green contributed greatly to our knowledge of Haggard.¹¹ Professor Kernodle's brief account is accurate in detail. Summerbell evaluated Haggard's contribution to the early history. J. B. Green travelled and searched extensively for material about Haggard's life and left a brief account of his findings. Unfortunately, some of Green's conclusions cannot be documented and supported by later research. The correct sequence of the Kentucky developments in 1804 (as nearly as this can be established) is necessary to set the record straight.

Mr. Green mistakenly placed Rice Haggard at the Cane Ridge meeting when *The Last Will and Testament* was signed.¹² Joseph Thomas gave a different account of Haggard's visit to Kentucky which would have prevented the mistake. Green's assumption seems to be based solely on Stone's *Biography* statement about dating the beginning of the Reformation "from this period" in 1804. Stone does not mention the Bethel or the Cane Ridge conferences *per se* but reported the results of both meetings. In his two references to Haggard, Stone gave two details: the union occurred in the Fall and Haggard's pamphlet was published afterward. He did not place Haggard at Cane Ridge. No one did until Green made the assumption one hundred years after the meeting. Green has been followed uncritically by historians of the movement.

Similar to the Republican Methodists from December 25, 1793 to August 4, 1794 the Springfield Presbytery wore it's name less than one year (September 1803 to June 28, 1804) and both groups acted unanimously upon proposals by Rice Haggard to accept the name Christian.

Stone's *Biography* tells briefly of Springfield Presbytery activities and the results of their study and deliberations during the whole year, 1804:

We had not worn our name more than one year, before we saw it savored of a party spirit. With the man-made creeds we threw it overboard, and took the name Christian—the name given to the disciples by divine appointment first at Antioch. We published a pamphlet on this name, written by Elder Rice Haggard, who had lately united with us.¹³

Stone's earlier brief account written in 1826 contains similar information placed in a more definite historical setting of about two and one-half months, after the Danville Conference of the Kentucky Synod and General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in October 1804.

Three valuable Elders, who had a few years before separated with James O'Kelly from the Methodist connexion, about this time united with us. Their names were Clement Nance, James Read and Rice Haggard, the latter of whom soon after published a pamphlet on the name Christian, proving that by this name alone every member of Christs body should be called.¹⁴

We are left with several unanswered questions about 1804. When did Rice Haggard actually write the tract? How did the manuscript get to the printer in Lexington? Did Haggard travel back to the Lexington area with his manuscript before leaving Kentucky? Did the union occur at a meeting when the three elders met with the Kentucky representatives in the Fall?

Joseph Thomas is the single best source on the lives of Rice and David Haggard. His first observation about the results of Haggard's visit was written while Thomas preached near the Bethel Church seven miles Northwest of Lexington, Kentucky on Saturday, January 26, 1811. "Here, I believe, is where they first renounced all names for the name of Christ, and threw away all confessions, catechisms, articles, &c. and took the word of God for their rule of faith, and practice, and government, of any where in this western country."¹⁵ Thomas preached at Bethel meeting house on Sunday, February 24. He and Reuben Dooley returned on Sunday, March 10. Thomas, called "the beardless boy" at Cane Ridge, was with Stone and preached at Cane Ridge on Sunday March 24 before leaving Central Kentucky in April. So, Thomas had every opportunity to learn how the unity between Haggard and Stone came about while he recorded the historical details of the movement in the West, that being one of the purposes for his visit in the West.

After a few weeks in Ohio where he preached at several locations before leaving for Philadelphia on May 5, 1811 he wrote an account of "the state of the Christian Church in the western country (as correct as I can)...." He sketched the revival period from 1800 with some events leading to the Springfield Presbytery and the situation early in the year 1804, then gave his account of Haggard's visit. Because of its significance we give the complete text of Thomas' unique story, probably the only record of this epoch making event a few months after the Springfield Presbytery was formed.¹⁶ The *Apology* claimed "total abandon-

ment” of all authoritative creeds but the Bible. Stone said that the *Apology* was quickly republished by the Methodists in Virginia. Did he mean the Republican Methodists? Anyhow, Rice Haggard wanted to check out what he had heard or read about the Springfield Presbytery.

About this time R. Haggard, a minister of the christian church in Virginia, heard of them, and took a journey to see them. At that time he found them a wise, candid people, enquiring after the plain simple truth as it was laid down in the scriptures. And at a great meeting held by them at Bethel he proposed to them publicly the name by which they should distinguish themselves as the followers of Christ.—“And the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch.”—“And that the scriptures were all sufficient to govern the church of Christ, and any other written rules or laws were spurious and only calculated to separate and keep apart the lambs of Christ.” They then saw that the day of the redeemed had come, and that the day star, with all the shining beams of truth had shined into their hearts. With great joy and thankfulness they received this name, as being sent down from heaven for them to be called by. I will observe that in the time of the interview of R. Haggard with these people, I am induced to think that he received a greater and more perfect understanding of some of the doctrine of the gospel than he ever before received.

I think he was with them convinced of the inconsistency of what is called the Trinity—a satisfaction to divine justice by the death of Christ, and the methodistical view of original sin. Thus they became fellow helpers and were all willing “as new born babes desire the sincere milk of the word” to receive the truth. From this time many began to run to and fro, and knowledge was increased.

Not long after this, at a memorable meeting, held at Cane Ridge, in 1804. the Springfield presbytery dissolved their body by a mutual and unanimous consent.

The dissolution of the Springfield presbytery has been published to the world bearing the title of “the last will and testament of SPRINGFIELD PRESBYTERY.”¹⁷

Joseph Thomas indicated that Haggard’s visit at Bethel meeting house in April 1804 contributed to the dissolution of the Springfield Presbytery a few weeks later. Haggard found the Presbytery “enquiring after the plain simple truth as...laid down in the scriptures,” made his proposals on the Christian name and the Scriptures. McNemar saw the presbytery as an antichristian body, separate from the people and having ministerial authority over the churches. Haggard’s proposals impressed Richard McNemar more than the other four men. McNemar had advanced theologically more than his associates. He realized the implications of Haggard’s proposals. McNemar had written one of the most popular revival songs in 1801, “A Pure Church Anticipated.”¹⁸ The song speaks of “The floods of strife away are driv’n—The church becomes but one.” McNemar, preacher at Cabin Creek (now in Lewis County, Kentucky) where the 1801 revivals began, clearly envisioned one church probably before any other New Light preacher. Unity, a lesson taught by the revival, the camp meeting and sacramental experiences had impressed Richard McNemar.

McNemar’s Turtle Creek Church in Ohio on April 20, 1804 had already acted on the second proposal by Haggard at Bethel (“that scriptures were all sufficient to govern the church of Christ”), possibly

before his visit to Bethel.¹⁹ This action suggests that Haggard's vision was shared by McNemar more than by the four other Springfield presbyters. McNemar also wrote a poem, *John the Baptist*, regarding *The Last Will and Testament* and the year 1804 during which "The word of God came unto them" revealing that "in your present order, you're standing in my way." This word conceivably came by Rice Haggard to Bethel and led to the decrease and death of the presbytery but the increase of Christ.

These preachers took the warning, and all with one accord,
Agreed such institutions must fall before the Lord;
And wisely they consented to take their righteous doom,
To die and be dissolved, to make the Saviour room.

In their LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT they publish'd a decree,
For Christians in Ohio, Kentuck and Tennessee,
To meet the next October, and swell the solemn prayer-
"Thy kingdom come, Lord Jesus, thy kingdom enter here!"²⁰

After joining the Shakers, McNemar quoted and identified Haggard's tract by name in 1807 in his polemic on the Shakers. He described Haggard's plan as the ground work of a universal kingdom including the whole earth and seized upon the sacred name, Christian, exclusive of all other names; and to draw into union, and one grand communion all who wished to be called by that worthy name. The plan of this great kingdom was drawn up by Rice Haggard, and published in the year 1804.²¹

IV. The Last Will And Testament Of Springfield Presbytery.

After Haggard's visit McNemar went to the Cane Ridge meeting in June 1804 with a copy of the "Last Will and Testament" which he had written. Robert Marshall and John Thompson said that McNemar

took it into his head, that our existence in a formal body, as a Presbytery, was contrary to scripture—that our bond of union was a carnal bond—that we ought to be united by no bond but Christian love—and that this delegated body stood full in the way of Christ, and the progress of the revival; which revival would run like fire in dry stubble, if our Presbytery was out of the way. With these enchanting views, and others as visionary and vain, he prepared a piece at home, and brought it to the last meeting of our Presbytery, held at Caneridge, Bourbon county, Kentucky, June 1804, entitled, *The Last Will &c. Testament of Springfield Presbytery*. None of us had the least thought of such a thing when we came to that meeting; and when it was proposed, we had many objections against dissolving our Presbytery.²²

The business of approving ministers for ordination was given to the local churches. "The Bible was now the only Confession of our Faith." Marshall and Thompson were soon displeased, as their document shows, and defected to the Presbyterian creed to keep the church pure and to guard against corruption in the ministry.

McNemar wrote *The Last Will and Testament*. All the others were surprised by the document. None of them had thought of such a thing. Stone, who agreed with the subject of the document, said, "The manner

in which this piece was written, we confess, did not then meet with our entire approbation, but the matter of it we see no good reason yet to reject."²³ Stone was the only signer who later held to the principles. This document formalized the freedom of the congregations and of all the members. However curious the manner, its basic ideas are unmistakably anti-sectarian and congregational. Lest some might forget, McNemar later explained that the body of Christ "at large" meant "the churches *at liberty*" or "the people *at liberty*." "To be set at large, and at liberty, means one and the same thing."²⁴

Haggard's proposals at Bethel and the restoration or primitive plan of union in his pamphlet indicate an extensive study on his part plus many experiences with the ecclesiastical councils and disputes among the Methodists in which repeated appeals for Biblical authority were made by John Wesley, James O'Kelly, William Guirey and others. While the proposals may not have impressed all, at least McNemar caught the vision. Haggard's ideas were planted before the Cane Ridge meeting and were found in the form of a last Will and Testament of a sectarian body signed on June 28, 1804. Haggard must have been pleased. The death of the Springfield Presbytery was the sequel to Haggard's visit according to Thomas, who wrote: "Not long after this [i.e. Haggard's visit], at a memorable meeting, held at Cane Ridge, in 1804, the *Springfield presbytery* dissolved their body by a mutual and unanimous consent." "They made their *will* and the *body* died in ease, without a groan or struggle, and no one was seen to cry or shed a tear at the loss of this respected friend."

The chief resolve of "The Last Will and Testament," according to Thomas, dealt with congregationalism and liberty and "should be recorded in church history, and be kept in memory by all who love religious liberty, to the latest generation:

We will that each particular church, as a body, actuated by the same spirit, chose her own preacher, and support him by a free will offering, without written call or subscription—admit members—remove offences, and never henceforth delegate her right of government to any man, or set of men.

The young Virginian was impressed that this item was "expressive of every thing necessary to constitute a free church; such a church as Christ once established on the earth when he said, 'ye have one master, and all ye are brethren.'" Clearly, Thomas accepted June 24, 1804 as the beginning of the free church concept among the fifteen formerly under the Springfield Presbytery order. Equally clear was the fact that Rice Haggard led these men to adopt the Christian plan "as first laid down by Christ." "Thus," he added, the assembly at Cane Ridge "came to the christian plan...from that day were made perfectly free from priestly power and from all them that would usurp authority over them." The Bible as the criterion in religion was not new to the Stoneites nor original with Rice Haggard. To unite on this principle was a new step accomplished when "Bible government" displaced Episcopal and Presbyterian orders.

V. Sacred Import Of The Christian Name

Haggard's debt to Samuel Davies' sermon on "The Sacred Import of the Christian Name" and Davies' dependence on Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor's essay on the Christian Name have been recognized. Although Haggard obviously borrowed Davies' ideas and title we cannot know when he first discovered Davies. Henry Patillo's sermon on division printed in 1788 could have planted the idea of the Christian name, but Haggard used the New Testament for the proposal at Lebanon in 1794. The first part of the Christian name address followed Davies' theoretical argument but the pamphlet went much further. Haggard's wish to be known simply as a Christian might account for the anonymity of the *Address*. Concerning the author, his name and denomination, Haggard wrote on the verso of the first page: "Let it suffice to say, that he considers himself connected with no party, nor wishes to be known by the name of any—he feels himself united to that one *body* of which *Christ is the head*, and all his people fellow members." C. C. Ware compared Haggard's terminology with Davies and found several parallels. Colby Hall pointed out similarities of thought and phrases in Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address* published five years later, 1809. Haggard pled for agreement in essentials, for tolerance in opinions or non-essentials and for universal love. Like Thomas Campbell's noted document, these ideas could easily have been derived from Rupertus Meldinius' famous maxim, "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity." T. Campbell's "Union in Truth" parallels Haggard's idea of the oneness of the church based on New Testament truth and the simple gospel. The pamphlet contains four parts: (1) the divine origin of the Christian name, (2) reasons why the name should be used, (3) a section on partyism and (4) a plan of union.²⁵

VII. Cumberland County, Kentucky, 1812-1819.

J. Berkley Green traveled many miles in 1905 to search for information on Rice Haggard. His article on Rice Haggard mentioned some little known facts, including the location of his home on Kettle Creek and that he received his mother's family name, Rice, and that he preached "as far West as Simpson County, Kentucky, as far South as Alabama and as far North as Champaign, Ohio." No documentation or dates are given but this itinerary fits well into the late period after Rice moved to Kentucky. Church members from Cumberland County had moved to Alabama by these dates. A preacher from the O'Kelly movement (Abel Olive) and an ex-Presbyterian preacher (David McGaha) were living and preaching in Western Kentucky by 1807. We know that Haggard made trips to Ohio where he had land holdings. His tract was reprinted in Dayton, Ohio in 1815 and the trip in 1819 ended with his untimely death.

Green claimed that Rice settled on Haggard's Branch near Burkesville, Kentucky in 1803 or 1804. He also found "him at the meeting of Springfield Presbytery June 1804." Both claims are unfounded. Rather, Rice Haggard visited his brother David in Burkesville, performed a marriage, arranged the purchase of land, and executed a

power of attorney to Nathaniel Haggard in September 1804. The land deed, dated December 1804 does not place Haggard in the County, since he evidently made the purchase through a power of attorney. The records of these activities indicate that Rice's visit to Cumberland County was from May to September 1804.²⁶

Rice returned to Virginia and David went with Reuben Dooley to preach among the Indians.²⁷ No records show that either of the brothers were in Cumberland County from 1805 until January 1811. In 1810 Rice and Joseph Thomas planned a preaching tour among the churches in the West but had to cancel due to Thomas' sickness. Thomas went alone in November 1810.

P. J. Kernodle found that Rice moved to Cumberland County, Kentucky in 1812 and resided a few years. Then he sold out and moved to the forks of Kettle Creek (same county, rlr). His Virginia home was sold in 1816. Sometime during these years Rice Haggard traveled and preached, going into Alabama and Western Kentucky, according to Kernodle.²⁸

Why did Rice Haggard move to Kentucky? Haggard probably married in 1806 and lived below Norfolk, Virginia at Great Bridge where Joseph Thomas visited him first in 1807 and again in 1809.²⁹ The churches seemed to be at peace and union with the group known as "Christians" in New England (the Smith-Jones Movement) was imminent. But, the Eastern movement divided in 1811 over immersion. Elias Smith (of the New England Movement), William Guirey and other immersionists met in Caroline County, Virginia to formalize a union. James O'Kelly tried to prevent it. He and Guirey exchanged opposing views. At one meeting O'Kelly asked Guirey, "Who rules this body, you or I?" To which Guirey replied, "Neither of us, brother; Christ rules here." Soon Virginia was in an uproar. A correspondent reported to Elias Smith that

Mr. O'Kelly endeavoured to prevent an union between the brethren in the North and South. The brother says, "The church near me is in peace; Mr. O'Kelly has written them a letter, but they pay no attention to it. Wherever the Christian name is professed, the Churches prosper; but where Mr. O'Kelly's prevails, they are cold as ice, and hard as stone."³⁰

O'Kelly's unyielding stand on sprinkling or affusion and his refusal to fellowship immersionists strained his relationship with Joseph Thomas and could very well have done the same with Rice Haggard. Haggard agreed with Stone and the Western preachers as shown in the statement on baptism in his *Address*. Elias Smith published Rice Haggard's tract on the Christian name in the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, but deleted the complete reference to baptism including: "let not brother contend with, or condemn brother for practising, or omitting the rite of infant baptism, or the mode in which it shall be administred, or received."³¹ Haggard reprinted his *Address* uncut and unchanged in 1815. The question of baptism had been settled temporarily at least in 1808 during a meeting in Lexington, Kentucky with forty seven preach-

ers present. Some feared division, but the subject was "calmly investigated and on no occasion was ever greater love and harmony manifested, notwithstanding they did not view the subject precisely alike, but all acknowledged it a gospel ordinance and therefore left every one to be fully persuaded in his own mind, and determined that nothing could or should separate them but SIN."³²

Haggard's accommodationist attitude on baptism, unchanged in 1815, allied him more with the churches and preachers in the West. The division and debate in Virginia compared to the non-contentious Kentucky brethren in 1811 could very well have prompted Haggard's move to Kentucky by 1812. The Virginia uproar was not to Haggard's liking. His move may have been an escape from the turmoil in Virginia. In Kentucky he found agreement with those who refused to divide over the issue. The Kentuckians had other theological fish to fry. The theological paper war continued into the 1820s over Calvinistic doctrines, especially the atonement. These issues and the creedal controversy with Marshall and Thompson in 1810-1811 were more important. During the Mount Tabor Conference near Lexington, Kentucky on August 11-13, 1811, when Robert Marshall, John Thompson, Hugh Andrews and a preacher named Chesterfield bolted the movement, James Reed (the same preacher who joined the Stone movement with Haggard in 1804) was one of the speakers. He and fellow preacher J. Elmore

observed that the christian brethren in general had thrown off the system and tyrannical yokes of men, and have tasted the sweets of christian liberty, and are so well acquainted with their privileges that were all this conference to join in combination to form one rule or law, in addition to the scriptures, they [Reed and J. Elmore] would not submit to it, but stand as they were.³³

Joseph Thomas, who was present, said that "Brother Stone spake to the same effect." As the meeting concluded "Marshal, Thomson, Chesterfield and Andrew [sic] were all that were not fully contented to take the scripture alone for the book of church government." "Brother [Lewis] Byram, [of Union Christian Church in Barren County] sang a parting song, and the flame of love seemed to run through the brethren." Thomas said that above forty preachers were "united together, and more than ever determined to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and to preach liberty to the captives wherever we went." In Kentucky Rice Haggard found what his young friend, Joseph Thomas, felt in 1811 when he said, "in these days, in this country, we feel the blessing of religious liberty" and Haggard decided to spend the rest of his ministry in union with a people at liberty.

No one knows where Haggard was buried. Joseph Thomas wrote, "Where lie the bones of Rice Haggard, or who buried him, we do not know."³⁴ If anyone would have reason to learn the place of burial, Joseph Thomas would have. He lived in the area of Ohio where Haggard died and must have searched in vain for this information. The Haggards received almost 10,000 acres on Darby and Mill Creeks near Urbana, Ohio in 1813 in consideration of military service by Nancy Haggard's

father, William Grimes.³⁵ Haggard's will was "written in Champaign County, Ohio May 31, 1819, presented to the Court of Common Pleas of said Co on 10 September 1819, proven by two witness, Haggard having died in the interim but exact date, place are unknown" and filed in *Champaign Will Book A*.³⁶

The newspapers in Ohio and Kentucky published by the printers of his books do not mention Haggard's death. One clue regarding the place of death is written in a book which formerly belonged to a Cumberland County resident: "Haggard lived on Kettle creek Cumberland co Ky where Billy Blythe now lives Mar 1922 had three boys and one girl Mat [? rlr] Dave & Jim Rice died at Lebanon O."³⁷

Some Observations

Rice Haggard left a rich heritage, according to Thomas' *Elegy*:

Thou hast behind thee, left a name rever'd,
That once counsel'd the saints, & sinners fear'd.

John W. Neth, Jr. suggested that Rice Haggard's name should be added to those of Stone, the Campbells and Walter Scott to make five "founding fathers" of the Restoration Movement. If a fifth were ever selected Rice Haggard would be an excellent choice. However, that Haggard's contribution should be re-evaluated due to Presbyterian historian Davidson's mention of Haggard as a leader in 1804 without reference to Stone in the same context is not a proper reason. Davidson did call Stone the leading spirit until the merger with Campbell. When he mentioned Haggard, Davidson simply followed McNemar, who was not assigning prominence to anyone especially.³⁸ Professor Colby Hall thought that the idea of Haggard attaining stature along with the "four great men of the Movement" quite astonishing, since he wrote less and gave only "fifteen years" to the movement. But we ask, Why should the ten years of Haggard history in Virginia and the experiences of those years which he brought to Kentucky during 1804 be forgotten? From 1792 to 1819 Rice Haggard gave twenty-seven years to the primitive Christian cause and the cause of religious liberty.

After reading the pamphlet we must ask, How could Haggard have written such a message in 1804? His restoration concept began almost from the time he began to preach in 1791. A small part of his booklet came from Davies' sermon to be sure but he found even more for his simple plan in the primitive Christian emphasis of John Wesley, James O'Kelly and William Guirey among others and in his New Testament. His pamphlet is monumental, his influence behind the Last Will and Testament is definite, reprints of his pamphlet in the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* and in Dayton, Ohio, 1815, means that it had a wider circulation than previously thought, his hymn book of 440+ pages is one of the earliest in the West, ten years before Stone's.³⁹

No one can know how Rice Haggard would have responded to the Stone-Campbell union in 1832. J. Summerbell said that the Reformer tricked Stone into the union and implies that Haggard would not have

followed. But, Nancy Haggard did. She held membership briefly in the 1820s in a Baptist Church of Christ near her home, so she accepted immersion.⁴⁰ Nancy and the Haggard families of Rice and David were active in the Stone movement church in Burkesville which merged with the Campbells.

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¹W. E. MacClermey, *The Life of Rev. James O'Kelly*. reprint, (Indianapolis, IN, Religious Book Service, 1950), p. 115-116.

²Joseph Thomas, *The Life, Travels, and Gospel Labors of Eld. Joseph Thomas, More Widely Known As the "White Pilgrim" to Which Is Added His Poems: Religious, Moral and Satirical*. (1826). 282. See also, reprint: (New York, M. Cummings, Christian Messenger Office, 1861). The "Elegy" is also found in: J. Pressley Barrett, *The Centennial of Religious Journalism*. (Dayton, OH, Christian Publication Association, 1908), pp. 280-281.

³A. H. Bedford, *The History of Methodism in Kentucky*. Vol. 1, 1754-1808. (Nashville, TN, Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1868), p. 73.

⁴Joe Beckley Green, in Barrett, *The Centennial...*, pp. 269-270 adapted from *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, June 29, 1905.

⁵Colby D. Hall, Rice Haggard, *The American Frontier Evangelist Who Revived the Name Christian*. (Ft. Worth, TX, T. C. U. Press, 1957), p. 34.

⁶See footnote #3.

⁷For a list of early land and marriage records which document the Haggard brothers in Cumberland County, see: J. W. Wells, *History of Cumberland County*. (Louisville, KY, Standard Publishing Company, 1947), pp. 15-16, 21: David Haggard, Land Grants, 200 acres on Little Renox Creek, 1798; 100 acres on Little Renox Creek, 1799; 200 acres on Little Renox Creek, 1799.

See pp. 41-47: Marriages performed: David Haggard, 1798, 1801, 1803, 1804, 1811. Rice Haggard, May 16, 1804; August 11, 1811; February and July 1816.

See also p. 61: The court record of David Haggard's license to perform marriages.

See also William Guirey, *History of the Episcopacy*, [Raleigh, N.C., 1799], p. 374.

⁸MacClenney, pp. 92-94.

⁹Guirey, p. 380.

¹⁰James O'Kelly, *A Vindication of the Author's Apology*. (Raleigh, NC. Joseph Gales, 1801). pp. 17-27. See: "Witness, Richard Haggard," p. 17; "the testimony of Elder Rice Haggard," pp. 21-22; "Witness, Rice Haggard," p. 24; "Rice Haggard, his testimony," pp. 26-27. Haggard called Sneathen's misrepresentations of his appeal in the Baltimore "abominable" and "wretchedly distorted." Haggard denied that he impeached the Bishop. He rose to rectify the charge of impeachment. "The Almighty knows I would have been stationed with joy, if I could have had an appeal in the case of injury." See: p. 26.

¹¹Peter J. Kernodle, *Lives of Christian Ministers*. (Richmond, VA, The Central Publishing Company, 1909); J. J. Summerbell, "Rice Haggard," in Barrett, *The Centennial...*, pp. 269-283; Green, *ibid.*; The O'Kelly movement experienced several divisions, beginning even in 1795 some were afterward healed. In 1922 the Christian Church adopted the official name "The General Convention of the Christian Church." After merging with the Congregational Church in 1931 the name became "Congregational Christian Churches." These churches, with some dissension, along with three other groups created the United Church of Christ in 1957. Cf. *Yearbook of American & Canadian Churches, 1992*. (Nashville, TN, Abingdon Press, 1991), pp. 124-125.

¹²Green in Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

¹³B. W. Stone, *The Biography of Eld. Barton Warren Stone*. (Cincinnati, OH. 1847), p. 50.

¹⁴Barton W. Stone, *History of the Church in the West*. (Lexington, KY, The College of the Bible. 1956), pp. 38-42. Clement Nance, a neighbor of Stone in Pittsylvania County, Virginia lived in Kentucky from 1803 to 1805. Haggard included a song by Nance, a

restoration poem, Hymn 323: "Come, my christian friends and brethren." In 1811 when Joseph Thomas visited him, James Reed lived South of Lexington on Kentucky River.

[Rice Haggard], *An Address to the Different Religious Societies on the Sacred Import of the Christian Name*. (Lexington, [KY], Joseph Charless, 1804). The first edition. Reprint: *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, 1 (August 18, 1809 - February 2, 1810); Second edition: (Dayton, OH, Burnet and Lodge, 1815); Reprint: (Nashville, TN, The Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1954).

John W. Neth, Jr., by using Robert Davidson, identified Haggard's pamphlet after finding the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* issues which published the anonymous tract with the correct title. Davidson identified the pamphlet by author, title and content using McNemar's *The Kentucky Revival*, first issued in 1807 with frequent reprints from 1808 to 1846, the last issued a year before Davidson's history. Davidson's statement does not indicate that he saw the booklet or was aware of any of the contents beyond McNemar's description. Without McNemar's reference no definite proof of Haggard's authorship would be possible. How would Davidson (1808-1876) have identified the anonymous tract (written before he was born) in 1847 without using McNemar? Claude Spencer, DCHS Curator, accidentally discovered an original copy in a Cincinnati library while studying a checklist of Kentucky imprints. The library actually had two defective copies which were combined into one and given on exchange to the DCHS by the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County.

¹⁵Joseph Thomas, *The Travels and Gospel Labors of Joseph Thomas*. (Winchester, VA, J. Foster, 1812), p. 26.

¹⁶Springfield Presbytery. *An Apology for Renouncing the Jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky*. (Lexington, KY, 1804). No bibliographic record of the Virginia reprint was located.

¹⁷Thomas, *Travels...*, pp. 80-81. Thomas wrote seven years after the Bethel and Cane Ridge meetings while preaching in Central Kentucky. The Bethel Meeting House was seven miles Northwest of Lexington. The site today on Bethel Road has a brick meeting house (built in 1848) still in use. Robert Marshall was minister here before defecting and after returning to the Presbyterian Church. His grave is probably near his wife's although covered with poison oak vines or badly broken and unreadable.

¹⁸Hazel S. Phillips, *Richard the Shaker*. (Lebanon, OH, The Author, 1972), p. 32.

¹⁹Richard McNemar, *The Kentucky Revival*. (reprint of 1808 edition: Joplin, MO, College Press, 1974), p. 43.

²⁰*ibid.*, p. 72.

²¹McNemar, *The Kentucky Revival*. (Cincinnati, OH, John W. Browne, 1807), p. 88.

²²Robert Marshall and John Thompson, *A Brief Historical Account of Sundry Things in the Doctrines and State of the Christian; or... the New Light Church* (Cincinnati, OH, J. Carpenter, 1811), p. 4.

²³B. W. Stone, "History of the Christian Church in the West." *CM*, 1 (December 1826), 39.

²⁴McNemar, *The Kentucky Revival*. 1808, p. 45.

²⁵Haggard, *Address*, passim; Samuel Davies, *Sermons on Important Subjects*. 6th. ed. (Philadelphia, PA, R. Campbell, 1794); Benjamin Grosvenor (1676-1758), *An Essay on the Christian Name: Its Origin, Import, Obligation, and Preference to All Party-denominations*. (London, John Clark & Richard Hett, 1728); Charles C. Ware, "Critical Notes on the Newly Discovered Rice Haggard Pamphlet," *The Harbinger and Disciplina*, 14 (November, 1954), 157; Colby D. Hall, *Rice Haggard...*, pp. 47-54.

²⁶Wells, cf. footnote #7.

²⁷J. Thomas, *Travels...*, p. 86-87: said that David Haggard "was among the Indians for months, and I believe years, teaching them the holy scriptures. In which time he had the pleasure of seeing not only a reformation from their heathen traditions to pure and undefiled religion, but an unexpected improvement in English reading among his pupils" and in 1810 was preaching in Virginia.

²⁸Kernodle, *ibid.*, Thomas, *Travels...*, See entries for December 14-29, 1810.

²⁹Joseph Thomas, *Life of the Pilgrim, Joseph Thomas, Containing an Accurate Account of His Trials, Travels and Gospel Labors, Up to the Present Date*. (Winchester, VA, J. Foster, 1817), p. 25.

³⁰No author, "Virginia in an Uproar!" *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, 4 (January 1812), 355. Cf. MacClenney, pp. 154-168.

³¹Haggard, *Address...*, reprint (Nashville, TN, DCHS, 1954), 27. Compare: *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, 1 (August 18, 1809 - February 2, 1810), especially, January 5, 1810, p. 142.

³²No author, "Letter from Va.," *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, 1 (May 12, 1809), 74.

³³Thomas, *Travels...*, p. 41-43.

³⁴Thomas, *Life of the White Pilgrim*, (1826), p. 282.

³⁵Cf. "Virginia Military Land Grants In Ohio," in *Records and Pioneer Families in Ohio*. Vol. 2: 1961, pp. 50-51.

³⁶His estate was appraised at \$3342.56, included six slaves (value \$2650); livestock (value \$426); 56 Hymn Books (value \$28); and Sundry other books (value \$20). Two extant copies of the hymn book are known *Champaign Will Book A*, p. 89 cited in *Ohio Wills and Estates to 1850: An Index*, p. 143. *Cumberland County Will Book B*, p. 118; Haggard conceivably contemplated a move to Ohio at the time of his death. He evidently made more than one preaching journey to Ohio. His land holdings there possibly an attraction. A move to Ohio would have made possible the freeing of his slaves.

³⁷Billy Blythe lived in the log house on Kettle Creek when J. Beckley Green visited there in 1905. An aged daughter of Blythe still lived there in 1965 when I drove to Kettle and to the Wells and Logan Forks of Kettle Creek and found the old house at the location given by Green. The kitchen fireplace was gone, but one end of the double log cabin was still liveable. Randolph Smith, historian and pharmacist of Burkesville, in 1973 purchased the large cabin which is now beautifully restored and furnished in Burkesville, Kentucky.

³⁸See Robert Davidson, *The History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky*. (New York & Pittsburgh, R. Carter, 1847), p. 198.

³⁹Rice Haggard, *A Selection of Christian Hymns*. (Lexington, KY, John Novell, 1818).

⁴⁰Salem Baptist Church of Jesus Christ. Records, November 13, 1824; The entry for April 9, 1825 reads: "A letter of dismissal granted to Sister Nancy Haggard to Join a sister Church more convenat."

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**From Modern Theology to a Post-Modern World:
Christian Churches and Churches of Christ**
by Dr. Richard Phillips*

My research, in addition to a general following of the course of modern theology and my own personal involvement with the issues described herein for the past 45 years, has involved three specific projects: 1) A survey requesting the views of about 135 of the outstanding thought leaders of the Christian Churches/Churches of Christ (hereinafter, to conserve space, CC/CC); 2) a reading of the *Christian Standard* for every year ending in -7 or -2, beginning with 1927, plus 1993, and 3) a review of particularly significant speeches from the North American Christian Convention from the last 25 or so years, selected in part by Leonard Wymore, retired and first convention secretary.

I take it that "Modern Theology" refers to rationalistic thought, heavily indebted to the "scientific principles" approach of Enlightenment natural law, with specific debt to Cartesianism as modified by John Locke.¹ Campbell's "Principles for the Interpretation of Scripture" and the rational analysis of Scripture teaching, especially about conversions, so emphasized in our heritage, were characteristic of this thought. The success of our preaching and the dramatic growth of our people 1830-1910 was ample evidence that this emphasis fitted the spirit of that time. "Post-Modern," I understand to refer to a theology which rejects Enlightenment plain knowledge and emphasis on scientific principles, and instead concentrates on the experiential; on subjectivism and relativism.² Our general area of investigation, then, has to do with whether the Campbell-Stone movement can, or should grow, or has grown beyond its Enlightenment base, and whether it can or should find an alternate base in this post-Enlightenment era.

**I. 20th Century Development of the Christian Churches/
Churches of Christ**

The Christian Churches/Churches of Christ were born in the 1920s over a liberal/conservative dispute. A conservative resolution was passed by the International Convention in Memphis in 1926; when mission agency heads "reinterpreted" the resolution to deny its intent, conservatives felt betrayed, and a small group called for a gathering which would feature only preaching (no business or resolutions) and would be a means of expression for those who otherwise felt stifled. There was no intention to "split" the "brotherhood" on the part of those who called for the gathering. They were conservatives who were tired of bickering, and wanted to provide a safety valve where a conservative viewpoint could be expressed without tensions.

The story of the CC/CC prior to the mid-40s is the story of a gradually developing group consciousness; an identity. But along with this main stream conservative group there was also an extremely conservative group which took its ethos from the negative, anti-liberal, anti-Biblical-critical movement views of J. W. McGarvey. This group developed The

Cincinnati Bible Seminary and The Christian Restoration Association as its chief organs. It was this group which was largely instrumental in a major change of direction for Standard Publishing Company in the early 40s. By the late 1940s the *Christian Standard* was leading a crusade to split the fellowship.³ There were calls for individuals to support the "Missouri Committee of One Thousand" to reject all "Disciple" influence, and for congregations to join an "Honor Roll" of the faithful who would withdraw from all Disciples involvement.

And as part of the reaction to the "liberals," there was generally an emphasis on doctrine (baptism, the Lord's Supper, the name of the church, functions of elders and deacons, evangelists [the role of the professional minister was problematic, since it was not explicitly mentioned in the New Testament]). This very conflict provided impetus for an extreme Biblical emphasis on "restoration," which emphasis was harder and narrower than McGarvey's. Gradually, the CC/CC became more conformed to this model. Preaching was "hard-core" doctrine, often reminiscent of A. Campbell's debates.

If the period prior to 1947 could be regarded as the infancy and adolescence of the CC/CC, the next generation could be regarded as the period when the fully formed separate group came to maturity, with expanding mission agencies, Christian service camps, benevolence projects, campus ministries, a maturing of colleges, and the development of the North American Christian Convention. The NACC was transformed from its original intent to provide an opportunity to hear concentrated conservative preaching into a gathering with interest groups, workshops, various forums, guest speakers and experts on all sorts of topics: something for every level and every member of every family in the church.

One attitude, Enlightenment-derived, deserves mention: we were non-creedal and scientific; we took Scripture for "just what it said." Theology was rejected; the plain meaning was there for any honest person. To disagree was to be intellectually dishonest and stubbornly sinful. This was Enlightenment pragmatism with a sting in it.⁴ The attitude was characteristic of the narrower portion of the CC/CC from the late 40s into the 60s. But then several factors created a major shift. Just which was dominant could be argued, but all were present, and had some effect. These factors included:

- 1) As a new generation of leaders began to mature, some received advanced degrees in mainline or evangelical circles. Others worked with counterparts in other religious groups. Predictably, as a result of the contacts, some of the old narrowness dropped off; there were obviously "Christians among the sects."⁵ Furthermore, we found we couldn't even agree among ourselves on all issues as to what the early church was. "Restoration" was more elusive than we had thought. We were not totally and exclusively right; perhaps others had a handle on some truth as well.

2) World War II has been given credit for many upheavals in our society; I believe there was an impact in this area as well. Those who have served in the closeness of military life form relationships which cross traditional denominational lines. And many who served came back changed; chaplains and others. By the 60s, these people were rising to positions of influence, and making their voices heard; they were impatient with the narrowness of some of the old ways. Such men as Dr. Russell F. Blowers, Dr. Douglas A. Dickey, Dr. Robert O. Fife, Billy E. Junkins, and Dr. Ralph Small helped the CC/CC break out of its narrowness.

3) The malaise of the 60s, when the nation was divided over Vietnam, and horrified by political assassinations, was a period of general disillusionment with former dearly-held patriotism, and disillusionment with all structures of society, including the churches. Old slogans, including "Restorationism," no longer held their former power.

4) The 60s was also the decade of the "Death of God" movement. During and just after WW II, liberalism had given way to Niebuhr, who was overshadowed after the war by Barth and Bonhoeffer. By the late 1950s, Paul Tillich had become the dominant theologian. But mainline theology collapsed about that time, and has not recovered. That collapse was expressed in many ways; one of them was the "Death of God" movement. I do not believe the "Death of God" movement had much of an impact on the CC/CC; it was too far from them except as something to preach against. These people were hardly aware of mainline theology in general.⁶ But I do think the same general malaise which produced the Death of God movement was responsible in part for some altered attitudes among the CC/CC.

The above factors combined to produce an awareness of, and an openness to, other groups which would have been unthinkable among the superorthodox in the 40s. The result: if truth is not so one-sided as we thought, and if others have something we can learn, and if our former slogans will not guarantee success, then let us 1) learn from whoever is capable of teaching us, and 2) do what works. Enlightenment pragmatism, implicit in our "scientific," non-creedal stance, got a healthy boost.

And then, in the late 60s and early 70s, the "church growth" movement arrived.⁷ By 1972, the *Standard* was publishing a constant stream of articles on the topic. A special box carried the number of new congregations organized during the year; 54 were reported at the end of 1972.⁸ From that time to the present the church growth movement has become increasingly dominant among the CC/CC.

But in the early 70s as the CC/CC moved toward maturity and responsibility in convention and missions structures; in the attempt to bring "all of life" under the Gospel, there were also other signs of an increasing borrowing from others in other areas. Not all were so positively received as was "church growth." The experientialism of the time was being felt (no pun intended). Rodger N. Elliott explained difficulties with use of the term "spirit-led," and in a later article ("Of Signs and Wonders") warned that "God told me to..." may only be a cheap

substitute for knowing Scripture teaching.¹⁰ Michael Allen in an article entitled "Will Experience be Normative?" spoke of the growing influence of the "tongues" movement and the current rebellion against Biblical authority and emphasis on experience.¹¹ Henry E. Hill wrote that the "spiritual church" stresses "character and not charisma," and Dr. Harold Ford contributed an article on "Faith as a Cognitive Process," upholding the classical rational emphasis of the Campbell-Stone movement against sentimentalism and emotionalism.¹² Doyle Cook and Dr. John Mills both questioned the growing practice of rededication as unscriptural and adopted from outside the movement.¹³

I have suggested that this reorientation was due to the broadened experience of WW II "GIs"; to the pragmatism of "Restoration evangelism" which had lost much of its fervor, and to the experimentalism of the 60s. Perhaps the "greener grass" of the televangelists' "success" had its impact also. Church growth and experientialism were two separate movements. But it was not long before ministers of many of the growing megachurches of the CC/CC had combined the two. The new emphasis came in for its share of criticism¹⁴, which seems to have fallen on deaf ears. Nothing succeeds in a pragmatic movement like success.

Why this change of thrust at this particular time? On a broad cultural level, I can only suggest it was an idea "whose time had come." Ever since the time of Kant, the "Copernican revolution" from an external objective world of science (early Enlightenment) to a focusing on the self, the subjective, and inwardness had been growing. During the heyday of Hegel's "objective idealism", and confidence in the evolution of human society of the late 19th and early 20th century, the Divine could be seen as "welling up from within the individual spirit."¹⁵ The cultural malaise of the 60s killed much of this optimism. But instead of questioning the basic approach, the result was a greater retreat into subjectivism; the relativism and pluralism which characterize our own time resulted. To summarize and paraphrase an important concept of Lundin, the history of modern thought shows that the Enlightenment search for absolute truth, being unfulfilled, leads first to modern romantic relativism and secondly to an exclusive emphasis on the "residue of the expressive self."¹⁶ I do not think the CC/CC has been generally consciously aware of this situation. But they have felt its result, and shared the disillusionment with society in general and rational thought in particular; thus the openness to the experientialism of a "New Age."¹⁷ As John William Wade put it, "I suspect that if we were able to survey the values and beliefs of our church members they would not differ greatly from those held by people of the world."¹⁸

II. Identifiable Groups and Major Concerns within the Present Christian Churches/Churches of Christ

I find at least the following five groups and concerns within the CC/CC at present; these are not exclusive; that is, in some cases, an individual might embody two or more of the concerns.

A. Restorationism. The "classic Restorationists" are a diminishing minority. Not more than four of the 42 responses I received to my survey letter could be classified in this category. Of the four, three are retired, and none is under 50. People in this category would be basically comfortable with the positions of McGarvey, Isaac Errett, W. R. Walker, and the preaching contained in the *Christian Standard* and prevailingly heard at the NACC up until about 1960. As Byron Black writes, "our people have lost their excitement for the plea."¹⁹ And Calvin Phillips, retiring president of Emmanuel School of Religion, commented: "Except in isolated cases, people have lost interest in the 'Restoration Movement.'... I think one reason is that the Restoration Movement is perceived as being the narrow, legalistic, judgmental, even sectarian movement of the '40s and 50's, and we just don't want to hear about it."²⁰ Perhaps the high point of restorationism was reached when Dr. Marshall Leggett almost made it into a creed:

"Is not the plea to restore the New Testament Church valid?" is not the right question. To be a part of the Restoration movement demands its affirmation without asking. The desirability of undenominational Christianity on a Scriptural basis, the putting of New Testament meaning into New Testament doctrines and practices, and the restoration of the essential marks of the New Testament church are presuppositions which we hold to be true. To deny these presuppositions is to cease to be a part of the Restoration movement."²¹

But few have wished to create any furor by an open rejection of restorationism; many have redefined the idea of restoration: For Dr. Dean E. Walker, restorationism meant bringing mankind back to the original relationship with God which Adam enjoyed; Dr. Robert O. Fife similarly has written that restoration has to do with relationships, and bringing all of life under the judgment of the Gospel.²² "Restoration" has in recent years been applied to "caring and sharing," or the emotional fervor of the early church. It is my belief that the present imprecision of the concept is one of the factors which has made possible recent talks between the CC/CC and the Church of God, Anderson, which considers itself also a "restoration movement," but understands restoration to relate to the original holiness of the church; a more Wesleyan than Campbellian emphasis.

B. Evangelicalism. Increasingly, "undenominational" as used by those of the CC/CC is indistinguishable from the term as applied to generic evangelicalism; several leaders have termed this the "Baptistization" of the movement. Young people, including many of those preparing for ministry, espouse an evangelical "faith-only" non-sacramental view of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Dr. Russell F. Blowers of the E. 91st Christian Church in Indianapolis has expressed his opinion that we can not be a part of American Evangelicalism and still remain "Loyal to the Plea."²³ Nevertheless, following such leaders as Dr. Jack Cottrell of The Cincinnati Bible Seminary, the late Dr. Roger Chambers of Florida Christian College, and Dr. Joe Carson Smith, minister in the Phoenix area, an increasing number have adopted

evangelical concerns for "infallibility," or "inerrancy."²⁴ Some have adopted typical evangelical anti-sacramental views. The withdrawal from former associations, and identification with new "partners" has been so complete that Dr. James Price could observe: "Most of our people do not even know who the 'Disciples of Christ' are, nor care."²⁵

C. Church growth pragmatists. This is perhaps the largest single concern, at least for ministers.²⁶ Pragmatists are interested in growth, in building buildings, attendance, and budgets. Positively, church growth advocates find our lack of creedalism, denominational names, and lack of specific belief requirements a real "plus" in a time when many are disillusioned with the mainline churches. Several respondents, especially those from the West, have noted the attractiveness of "just being Christian," and the relative ease of reaching people with such an approach. Techniques of "soft-sell," entertainment, and excitement have often been used;²⁷ "praise" worship services with "contemporary Christian" music, and preaching based more on personal concerns, feeling and emotion rather than the rationalistic doctrinal approach of the past are typical. The service is largely beamed to the non-Christian; there is little sense of need for worship by the Christian community per se.

D. "High Church" Sacramentalists. There is a group I believe rather small—many of us former students and disciples of William Robinson, who see our Campbellian heritage as more a "high church sacramental one" than one characterized by American revivalism. I believe it fair to include here at least Dr. Russell F. Blowers, Dr. Charles Boatman, Dr. Robert O. Fife, Dr. Byron Lambert, Dr. John Mills, Dr. Myron Taylor, and Dr. Robert Wetzel (president-elect of Emmanuel School of Religion), and myself. Dr. Bob Ray informs me that the entire Lincoln Christian Seminary faculty in Bible and Theology should be included in this position. There are no doubt others of whom I am unaware. This group would have an opposite emphasis from the non- (and sometimes anti-) sacramentalism of the evangelicals. Closely related to this view, although not identical is an emphasis on patristic Christianity and classical forms of Christian devotional life emanating from Emmanuel School of Religion.

E. Finally, I believe there is a group influenced by the charismatic movement in various degrees. This group overlaps often with the church growth persuasion in the style of music and "praise" services preferred.²⁸ There were a few who experimented with "tongues" in the 1960s, but I think those so committed have generally moved away from us. For the most part, the CC/CC were willing to allow these people to remain as long as their "tongues" did not become a disruptive factor. Most could not so contain their enthusiasm for "tongues."

III. Current Issues

Six current issues dominate the present for the CC/CC. They are:

A. Whether a vital ministry can be sustained. Dr. Jess Johnson has shown that in the years 1965-1990, the CC/CC has gained 1003 churches [many of them by withdrawal from The Christian Church (Disciples of

Christ)], 75,086 members, and a whopping 9,375 staff people (he notes ministers have grown from 5,519 to 14,622).²⁹ Walter Birney in the *Standard* notes an even more dramatic increase in missionaries, claiming over 2,500, including at least 1,200 outside the USA. He asserts that over 500,000 have been won by the efforts of CC/CC missionaries, and only the Assemblies of God and Southern Baptists have more overseas missionaries.³⁰

But Harvey Bream has noted that with a cumulative Bible College enrollment of 4,000 plus, 250 ministers are graduated each year³¹; Dr. Joe Dampier used to claim that we were producing enough ministers to replace each one every 6-8 years. Jim McKowen claims we have 7,000 ministers prepared but not preaching; stories abound of churches searching for ministers receiving 100 or more unsolicited applications. And Dr. Paul Benjamin is increasingly moving from a church growth ministry into one concentrating on ministers who have professional crises. Many existing churches with little increase in membership have doubled ministerial staff in the past generation.³²

What reasons can be assigned? I have no firm conclusions: only possibilities to suggest.

1) Perhaps the multiplication of staff members indicates a surplus who need to find positions.

2) Perhaps the switch to a more experiential [therapeutic?] type of faith requires more individual attention; thus the proliferation of youth ministers, children's ministers, ministers to the elderly, music ministers, etc.

3) Perhaps the turnover indicates too many becoming disillusioned with pay scales or other conditions of employment. Or perhaps it indicates a flaw in the methods of recruitment and screening, which attract the wrong people. If any of the latter, is the problem due to a basic flaw in the structure, or to lack of dedication of the minister, or lack of ethical consideration by the employing church? I have no quantitative answers, but think all of the above have some relevance.

Obviously the mission effort of the CC/CC has enjoyed tremendous growth. One correspondent notes that as present missionaries age and retire, it is becoming increasingly difficult to find replacements. Is this a problem inherent in the experiential (self-centered) mood of the age? Will the church growth "soft-sell" approach be able to command a level of dedication comparable to that of missionaries of an older generation? The movement is not old enough to provide a definitive answer yet.

B. Ability to create Christian community and dedication among the "laity." Dr. Leroy Lawson writes of the need to "offer the fellowship of a Christ-centered, people accepting, truth-discerning church which concentrates on the big issues."³³ Can churches which avoid the hard demands of the Gospel in order not to offend; which place great emphasis on experience, entertainment, and excitement, find a means of motivating their participants to acts of significant Christian service and dedication? Perhaps so. But such a result would be a reversal of the present direction.

As an example, under the leadership of Leonard Wymore, the NACC was transformed from a predominantly preaching convention to one with sessions for people of all ages and interests which has served as a focal point for the religious loyalty of increasing tens of thousands. Such appears to be a strength. Or is it what Mr. Campbell often referred to as a "mobocracy," where the fickle and uninformed will of the majority dominates, negating responsible and informed leadership? Can the community thus created respond to the will of God, and distinguish that will from the merely cultural mores of the time? If so, how?

C. Adaptability. The CC/CC have demonstrated a remarkable ability to create agencies, institutions, and parachurch organizations. Ministries to the deaf and otherwise handicapped, retirement and children's homes, specialized missions, area fellowship and evangelistic groups, the NACC and state conventions, conferences of various sorts, and a strong Christian service camp movement are all evidences of this ability. More recently, there has been a surge of interest in establishing missions for former Soviet bloc countries, including at least three groups taking periodic tours of American Christians into these countries. Short term missions programs, some for as little as a week or two, have been developed, which do much to motivate missions concern on the part of the visitors.

But is some or most of the "adaptability" a mere pragmatism of the moment? For example, Dr. Boatman has suggested that many of the "praise" worship services lack purpose and reflective thought; Dr. Larry Hostetler has quoted a young person who characterized a service aimed at non-Christians as "comfortable and fun, but lacking in a sense of worship."³⁴ Dr. Hostetler comments, "our identity has been more based on what our culture deems attractive and not on what Christ demands...we have ceased to be the called-out people and have become the conformed people."

And can responsibility accompany adaptability? Many of us have seen that the best promoter, not the best program, in the CC/CC is the one who "gets the buck." How can there be developed a system which recognizes merit? Or is any other system any better on the whole?

D. Preaching Content. How will a preaching heavily influenced by church growth principles of "don't attempt a hard sell" be able to maintain the centrality of other than a success-oriented, psychological-help-for-you Gospel? At what point does the technique become the "power of God" rather than the Gospel itself? Can a church service designed to entertain also reflect the God of Isaiah 6? If preaching is to "meet people's needs" is it those needs as people feel them, or as those needs are transformed by the Gospel? Dr. Douglas Dickey has written that there often seems a willingness to accommodate not only at the expense of the principles of our movement, but of the Gospel itself.

E. Several issues reminiscent of "single-issue" politics create considerable heat. Two congregations in East Tennessee (and possibly many others) have women elders. A CC/CC journal undertook a crusade against the practice; as a result, an Ohio church wrote, disfellowshipping

one of the Tennessee congregations (whatever that may mean!). Ministerial titles continue to be a problem for some ("minister" is acceptable; "senior minister" (or "youth minister," etc.) is acceptable, but "Reverend" is forbidden, and "pastor," although increasingly frequent, is "used by the Baptists."

Divorce and remarriage for ministers and elders generally remains unacceptable, with a few notable exceptions. Inerrancy, the relation of the church to homosexuals, and abortion are other issues on which some feel compelled not only to take stands, but to question the integrity of any who do not feel compelled to take the same stand. How can the room for difference of opinion ("non-essentials?") which is a part of our heritage be maintained?

F. Unity efforts. Classic restorationists generally held that if restoration were accomplished, the only unity desired would automatically follow. So there was not much concern for unity talks between various bodies. More recently, "Unity Forum" meetings between CC/CC and noninstrumental brethren have received considerable attention, as have what one respondent from the Northwest has called a "blurring" of the lines of distinction between the two in various geographical areas. And in the last few years, there have been several meetings between officials of the General Headquarters of the Church of God (Anderson) and an ad hoc committee of the CC/CC, resulting in some joint publications, and several local area ministerial interfellowships and interchanges. Dr. Charles Boatman has sounded a note of optimism: "Perhaps we are seeing the beginning of such a development ["uniting the Christians in all the sects"] in our conversations with the Churches of Christ and the Church of God (Anderson). If we could really return to our primitive emphasis, we would be in a better position than any other denomination to capitalize on the current trend...toward disregarding denominational loyalty."

Conclusion

Dr. James North has written that he sees two major issues ahead; the inerrancy issue and the issue of the role of women in church vocations and church life. I also see two issues, but for me Dr. North's two issues are one: how Scripture is conceived.

I see this first issue as whether Scripture is conceived as "inerrant," unrelated to the space-time continuum of relative human cultures, and so capable of providing an "absolute authority"—or, on the other hand, whether Scripture in a much less legalistic way reflects and carries the authority of the Lord of Scripture, but applies that authority in ways that are influenced by various cultures, and which allows the basic principles of that authority to be applied in differing ways in differing cultures. The "women's issue" is thus subsumed in the view of Scripture held.

The second major issue is closely related: shall the Christian's values and standards be taken from an intelligent appropriation of the revelation of God, or from contemporary culture? Shall the faith be able

to assert itself against "conformity to this world" in some instances, and say "We live by a different standard?" Or shall it be dominated by the prevailing culture to where the purpose of the Christian faith is simply to make people happy and secure as they pursue ends dictated by the prevailing *zeitgeist*?

And a final suggestion regarding the central issues posed by the general and specific themes of this seminar:

1. The CC/CC have not consciously faced the coming of a "post-modern world." Indeed, two persuasions within the fellowship remain locked into a "modern" or "pre-modern" approach: a) the "classic Restorationists," who hold to rational analysis and the scientific approach to Scripture advocated by A. Campbell, and b) the fundamentalist-inerrantists, who have adopted a variety of 17th century creedal Protestant Scholasticism as a defense. This latter group has been so busy defending the faith as to preclude recognition of the post-modern world (and maybe even of the modern one).

2. The main stream of the CC/CC, however, has unconsciously "backed" into the post-modern world via pragmatism; what "works" is a "culture of interpretation" and an approach based on emotion and entertainment ("praise" worship services) and preaching based on psychology, sociology, and "success thinking." In this respect, the majority of the CC/CC have adopted a "post-modern" approach and in so doing have inadvertently abandoned the 19th century aims and methodology of our heritage.

And so to the final point: the CC/CC will enter the 21st century with both real strengths and problems. But they will not do so, generally, as a 19th century North American religious movement. Sometime in the past 30 years, they have left that base, and reoriented themselves. Reinhold Niebuhr observed in the early 30s that institutions created to further ends tend to become ends in themselves, and ensure their own survival at all costs. That observation is validated in the path taken by the preaching, church planting and management methods, publishing ventures, colleges, and conventions of the CC/CC. They will survive, at least until the next cultural revolution (whatever it may be), and probably through it. But NOT as the heirs of a Campbellian formulation of 19th century Enlightenment rational thought.

However, the final answer rests in the power of God Who has always worked in and through human weakness and cultural prejudices of one kind or another. The sense of rhetorical inadequacy of a Moses or the legalistic self-righteousness of a Saul are no more apropos than the weakness of a Henry VIII, the political ambitions of Frederick the Elector of Saxony, or even the pride of an Alexander Campbell. In each of these, and in our own day, God purges, refines, and reshapes to work out God's ends in ways we can not anticipate. And we witness, serve, and try to understand that grace which God brings in its own good time and way. "It doth not yet appear what we shall be."

*Dr. Richard Phillips is former Professor, Milligan College.
He now resides at Unicoi, Tennessee.

Notes

¹The debt of Campbellian thought to John Locke was definitively set out by W. E. Garrison in his University of Chicago doctoral dissertation, later published as *Alexander Campbell's Theology: Its Sources and Historical Setting* (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Co., 1900).

²Post-modern thought, as Diogenes Allen has pointed out, is more concerned with pragmatic therapeutic value than truth. *Christian Belief in a Postmodern World: The Full Wealth of Conviction* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1989), p. 9. See also Richard Rorty, "Nineteenth Century Idealism and Twentieth Century Textualism," in *Consequences of Pragmatism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), and Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1976).

³The preceding decade had seen gradually increasing vitriol, and rejection of many of the aspects of "brotherhood" life. Generations of Cincinnati students will recall the labeling of those of more liberal persuasion within the "brotherhood" as "infidels" and the rejection of all meaningful interchange as "palavering with the infidels [or 'liberals']."

Accompanying this bitterness was an increasing sectarianism and legalism; more and more, established agencies and institutions were left behind, and the wing which later became the CC/CC took on more aspects of H. Richard Niebuhr's "Christ against culture" formulation; anti-cultural, anti-intellectual, concentrating on redemption to the exclusion of creation, and rejecting human learning. But it was not so in the beginning.

⁴The sting? An irony. Confidence that no alternative position was viable was such that there was no need to study our own background and historical heritage. There was no historical conditioning; we were simply right. The Bible Colleges were generally notably lacking in offering any such courses in our history or heritage. And (here is the irony) it was the very ignorance caused by this lack which in part paved the way for a later mistaken identification with evangelical causes.

⁵To use Alexander Campbell's well-known phrase from the Lunenburg letters. I remember what a shock it was to some of my Bible College classmates when with inexorable and devastating logic, Dr. Harold Ford demanded, "If there are NO Christians among the sects, then TO WHOM was our historic plea for Christian unity addressed?"

⁶Few reviews of mainline theology or even references to it were found in the *Christian Standard*; I do recall one brief notice of H. Richard Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture* by the editor; the main statement was that he could not recommend it because of its "loose" view of Scripture. An article of mine was rejected (months after being accepted) because those in charge had second thoughts about allowing my incidental use of Tillich's concept of a "leap of faith."

⁷While there has from the beginning been a major emphasis on evangelism among the CC/CC, the "church growth" movement had some unique emphases. Dr. Donald MacGavran was a former UCMS missionary (an accountant by undergraduate training, and a sociologist by graduate study, I understand) who founded the "Institute of Church Growth" while a professor at Northwest Christian College. The Weyerhaeuser Foundation provided considerable funding, and the Institute was later moved to Fuller Theological Seminary. As Dr. MacGavran's views were developed by CC/CC leaders, basic principles included: 1) Principles of church growth, based on psychology and sociology, are independent of any theology. 2) Secular marketing techniques are helpful in promoting the Gospel. 3) Worship services of the church should be primarily beamed to outsiders. 4) "Marketing" involves creating homogenous groups which attract others of like kind. 5) Successful marketing involves a "soft-sell"; give people the kind of music and entertainment gauged to attract the masses. 6) Preaching should encourage, and affirm people; one must not offend them.

⁸The editor commended Dr. Paul Benjamin's adaptation of the "faith-promise" approach to missions giving to "care-promise" campaigns for church growth. (May 21, 1972, p. 3) Congregations in an area joined together for "Church Growth Conferences." (May 7, 1972, p. 7) Here and hereinafter, where dates alone are given, the reference is to the *Christian Standard*.

⁹January 2, 1972, p. 17.

¹⁰February 6, 1972, p. 13.

¹¹September 24, 1972, p. 8.

¹²May 28, 1972, p. 13, and June 4, 1972, p. 13, respectively.

¹³March 19, 1972, p. 11, and July 23, 1972, p. 7, respectively. Dr. Mills pointed out that the growing practice debased the meaning of both baptism and the Lord's Supper as channels of God's forgiving grace, and that such emphasis was a theology based on feeling, not Scripture.

¹⁴C. J. Dull protested, "to many brethren [church growth] consists only of filling a church building with spectators at specified times... As a result, preachers have become, not proclaimers of the good news of the gospel, but salesmen of the benefits of church membership...they pursue any sociological technique which contributes to that end." "Preachers and Professors," January 16, 1977, p. 9. John Greenlee agreed, observing that "those of us of the Restoration Movement have reversed the growth process of our movement from that which was evident at its source... In the beginning...growth came as a result of the firmly Biblical theology which had been carefully and often painfully worked out... Our current model works in the opposite direction. We seek to establish numerical growth. Later we teach the mass of new converts." April 3, 1977, p. 15. Curtis Dickinson observed, "Excitement has become the keynote of modern evangelism and church growth. Bulletins and newsletters are filled with previews of coming attractions, each heralded as more exciting than the most recent 'fantastic' gathering. Congregations become so jaded with artificially stimulating programs that the preachers exhaust themselves promoting ever new and more exciting programs." "Excitement vs. Insight," October 30, 1977, p. 7.

¹⁵Such detractors of the prevailing view as Ludwig Feuerbach, Frederick Nietzsche, and Sigmund Freud notwithstanding. The "Death of God" is in major part the death of this optimism.

¹⁶I have found no finer treatment of the progress of this movement than Roger Lundin's *The Culture of Interpretation: Christian Faith and the Postmodern World* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993), p. 247; see also pp. 236-237. Lundin refers to our culture as a "therapeutic" culture, in which issues of truth no longer are of concern; speech is designed to soothe, comfort, and reinforce the individual. Thus is "interpretation" [subjectivity] more important than objectivity, which is given up.

¹⁷Treatment of the way in which modern media, specifically including musical forms, have shaped theology of the younger generations of the CC/CC in ways various and complex could provide material for a whole bevy of dissertations. Our young people are part of that world, and respond to it at various levels in ways we are only beginning to perceive.

¹⁸Letter, August 18, 1993. I shall not give a respondent's background, or refer to the date of a letter after the first reference.

¹⁹Minister, First Christian Church, Washington, Indiana; Letter September 24, 1993. Jim McKowen agrees: "...on the most part, we've abandoned any hopes of efforts at Restoration." Retired minister, Lafayette, Indiana, Letter Sept. 16, 1993.

²⁰Letter, August 20, 1993.

²¹September 29, 1962, p. 4. At least a change of emphasis if not a substantive change is observable in Dr. Leggett's *Introduction to the Restoration Ideal* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Co., 1986), p. 11: "It may be impossible to restore the church perfectly as Christ conceived it and as the apostles guided it... But virtue will be found in striving for that goal..."

²²See his "The Restoration of Secularity," a 1978 NACC Theological Forum presentation.

²³January 19, 1992, p. 4.

²⁴Both of course are non-biblical terms, and violate the basic precept, "Bible names for Bible things." One congregation (I believe led by a prominent advocate of

inerrancy) took the initiative of surveying Bible professors, and demanding responses to 25 questions based on literal acceptance of various characters and stories in the Bible (creation, Adam, Jonah, Job, etc). My colleague Dr. W. C. Gwaltney has noted that a Muslim could answer 21 affirmatively; professors in several institutions simply refused to answer.

But the connection with evangelicalism and confusion about the background of our own movement has gone so far that one Bible college professor mistakenly noted that the original major concern of our movement was for "the authority of the Bible;" a half-truth at best.

²⁵Minister, Rowland Heights, Calif., Letter August 25, 1993. Evidences of the reorientation are legion: The senior minister of one CC/CC megachurch resigned last year to become minister of First Baptist Church of Sacramento. Dr. James North has commented, "We have become main-stream evangelical." (Letter, October 16, 1993). Several others have agreed in various phrases.

²⁶"Church growth" has become a shibboleth, with seminary curricula being evaluated in terms of emphasis on church growth; a Bible college faculty member reported to me an issue being passed in a faculty meeting when it was tied to "church growth," although the same faculty had rejected the same issue previously.

The depth of church growth concern (which includes the "entertainment" approach to reaching people) is indicated in that in Standard Publishing Co.'s invitation to visit its convention booth at the 1992 NACC, the chief attractions were "Gary Richmond, who works with Chuck Swindoll," and Dale Evans Rogers and Roy "Dusty" Rogers, Jr.

Perhaps the outstanding example of "success" in church growth is the Southeast Christian Church in Louisville, which is about 20 years old. Last year it started a 5th worship service in a sanctuary seating 2,400. Weekend attendance averaged 2,000 in 1986, but 7,800 through the first 10 months of so of 1993. A campaign resulted in building pledges of \$30.0 million for the next three years; the proposed sanctuary will seat 9,300.

²⁷Not all the evaluations are positive: Dr. Ken Meade has noted bluntly, "The Church Growth thinking has been misused by some congregations. It has led them into a thought process of using everything except the Gospel to reach people... Some have done this at the expense of "watering down" doctrine and Biblical teaching" (Minister, Church of Christ at Manor Woods, Rockville, Maryland; Letter July 21, 1993). And Dr. Douglas Dickey similarly summarized, "I have had preacher after preacher over the years say, in effect, 'I don't care a thing about the Restoration Movement; happiness for me is a full church building on Sunday'" (Former Campus Minister, Purdue University, and Professor, Pacific Christian College, Letter, September 2, 1993).

Some church growth advocates have begun Saturday evening worship services in lieu of Sunday worship; interestingly, the issue of whether this fitted a Biblical pattern does not seem to have been considered worth raising.

²⁸Dr. Charles Boatman has recalled a discussion at a recent NACC about the "frothy" quality of the main session music, and reports, "One member of the group said, 'Take a look at whatever the charismatics are doing today, and in two years we'll be doing it in the North American.'" Letter, Sept. 19, 1993.

²⁹Former President and Chancellor, Milligan College, in a study included in Letter, October 14, 1993.

³⁰July 11, 1993, p. 9. An incomplete estimate by the "Task Force on Missions" of the Open Forum identified at least 778 overseas missionaries in 83 countries under 189 missions/agencies with 6,597 churches, 2,497 added preaching points, 552,000 members and 8,619 national preachers.

³¹April 12, 1987, p. 11.

³²Nevertheless, one of my respondents believed there was a ministerial shortage; that in many cases women were taking positions only because qualified men could not be found.

³³President, Pacific Christian College, and Senior Minister, Central Christian Church, Mesa, Arizona. Letter September 22, 1993.

³⁴Minister, Chaparral Christian Church, Scottsdale, Arizona; Letter, September 29, 1993.

Just As I Lived It

by Lester G. McAllister

(Recalling events occurring during a 70-plus year fellowship in the Stone-Campbell Movement.)

Each year the first Sunday in October becomes an inspiration to thousands as Christians of all denominations in hundreds of countries around the world share in the Lord's Supper. As morning breaks in Fiji and New Zealand the bread and the cup are first blessed. The celebrations move steadily westward until the last service is held in Hawaii that evening.

Many people do not know that a Disciple leader, Jesse M. Bader (1886-1963), serving as director of evangelism on the staff of the Federal Council of Churches (now the National Council of Churches) first proposed World Communion Sunday. Observed by most churches in every country of the world, it is one of our greatest symbols of the unity we have in Christ.

Dr. Bader became interested in such an observance as he and his wife, Golda, travelled and worshipped in many parts of the world in the 1930s. Their sense of the global reach of the gospel and their keen interest in the centrality of the Lord's Supper in Christian worship led them in 1938 to propose that all the churches around the world celebrate Communion on a designated Sunday. The day has been observed each year since.

Editorial Note: In the 1930's, Jesse M. Bader was also General Secretary of the World Convention of Churches of Christ. This global position and his global view was clearly another factor in his establishment of World Communion Sunday. The World Convention, since 1992, has had its offices in the Disciples of Christ Historical Society's Thomas W. Phillip's Memorial Building in Nashville.

Gershon Samuel Benett Named Fund

An Australian by birth, Dr. Bennett came to the United States at the age of twenty-four. He graduated from Hiram College and received his B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary in New York City. As a minister Dr. Bennett served pastorates in Minneapolis, MN, Cleveland, OH, and New Castle, PA, where he was recognized by the entire community for his pastoral work and community involvement. Dr. Bennett served both Hiram and Bethany Colleges as a teacher of the Bible. This Named Fund is established in his memory by his children, Diane Bennett Witlin, Lawrence L. Bennett, and Raymond G. Bennett.

DISCIPLIANA

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Members of the Society receive *DISCIPLIANA* quarterly, along with other benefits. Annual membership categories are as follows: Sustaining - \$50 to \$249, Participating - \$25 to \$49, Regular - \$15, Students - \$7.50, Canadian and Overseas - \$20. Single payment Life Memberships are: Life - \$250, Life Link - \$500, Life Patron - \$1,000.

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—From the Editor's Desk

150 years ago many North American Christians were disappointed that the world had not ended. William Miller, a New York farmer, had predicted that Christ would return to establish a one thousand year reign of peace and justice on March 21, 1843. When the anticipated advent did not occur, Miller revised his calculations and set the date for October 22, 1844. Among the disappointed were some members of the Stone-Campbell movement, even though Alexander Campbell had opposed Miller's views as distracting Christians from restoring New Testament Christianity, which he had taught would usher in the millennium. "A Chronological Delineation of Alexander Campbell's Eschatological Theory From 1823 to 1851," by Tim Crowley, traces the development of Campbell's restorationism and millennialism from 1823-1851, showing their relation to each other and to larger issues in the nineteenth century social and religious culture.

"The Churches of Christ: Accommodation to Modernity and the Challenges of Post-Modernity," by Kathy J. Pulley, was presented at the Historians Seminar, held in Nashville, April 29-30, 1994. The theme of the seminar was "From Modern Theology to a Post-Modern World." Dr. Pulley discusses twentieth century changes in attitudes and practices among Churches of Christ in relation to the cultural and structural pluralism of contemporary society. Professor Pulley also raises the question of whether the Stone-Campbell vision of restoring New Testament Christianity, with its eschatological dimension, though initially offered in response to the denominationalism of the 19th century, might not be transferred to the distinctive needs of the 21st century.

Visitors to the Historical Society's Library and Archives often ask about the remarkable model of Solomon's Temple displayed in the lecture hall. Who built it? How? When? Why? Answers to these questions are provided in Raymond L. Alber's "The Golden Temple of King Solomon And the Christian Institution." Alber, whose father built the model, tells of the model's creation, the purpose it served in a popular lecture delivered by his father to hundreds of audiences, and provides, through his interpretation of the temple, an echo of his father's lecture. Both the model and its interpretation are part of a heritage that has proclaimed that God works through history.

We live in a time of pessimism regarding society. It is also a time when many people look for miraculous interventions to solve personal and social ills. The articles in this issue call to mind the theme of hope in the Stone-Campbell tradition. Are pessimism regarding society and hope for a miracle the only options in the contemporary world? Or, is it yet possible, as it was for Alexander Campbell in the 1830s and 1840s, to have hope for the world rooted in God and expressed through obedience to the gospel?

—From the President's Desk

Recently I had the opportunity to visit John and Shirley Lambert in Montgomery, AL. The purpose of my visit was to deliver a small gift to the Lamberts for being members of the Order of Stone-Campbell Fellowship by virtue of their having named the Historical Society in their will. In the course of conversation John mentioned he had in his files copies of all the newsletters and worship bulletins for the periods of time he and Shirley had served congregations. He was willing to let them come to the Society to be microfilmed as a part of the records of each of those congregations. It was possible for me to pick up those materials and bring them to the Society. They have now been micro-filmed and John has added to the ever-growing archives of the Society. We are very grateful to John and Shirley for sharing these materials.

Hardly a day passes that Society staff are not confronted with questions about a congregation's history. I have had the privilege this year of being with Hillside Christian Church in Kansas City, Missouri, celebrating their fortieth anniversary and with the First Christian Church of Savannah, Georgia, as they celebrated their one hundred fiftieth anniversary, and others in between. Historical celebrations and written histories are important to any institution and especially congregations.

So much of the historical information is found in the week to week life of congregations and this is best told in the newsletters and worship bulletins. The minutes of congregational meetings, board meetings and other group meetings in the life of the Church are important. They highlight the movement of groups through history with legal decisions, program decisions, building decisions. Yet the day to day life blood of the congregation is found in the little but significant things which make a congregation who it is. For instance, the official board of Woodmont Christian Church, Nashville, TN may make the decision to have the congregation sponsor their annual Walk Through Bethlehem. That cannot begin to tell the true story of the week to week activities throughout the year that enable Woodmont to involve over 350 people in a production that draws some 5,000 people through miniature Bethlehem on a Sunday afternoon in December. The flavor and magnitude of that undertaking can only be learned as the program develops throughout the year. This is true of the ongoing program activities of any congregation making it a significant part of the larger body of Christ, the Church Universal.

Is your congregation sending its newsletters and worship bulletins to the Historical Society on an ANNUAL BASIS? Hopefully it is. One of these days someone in your congregation will be asked to write your congregational history. Will the Historical Society be able to help providing historical material? It is up to you. Ministers, do you have worship bulletins and newsletters in your file that could help fill some of the gaps in the history of the congregations you have served or to which you have belonged? Thanks to John Lambert we have his.

A Chronological Delineation of Alexander Campbell's Eschatological Theory From 1823 to 1851

by Tim Crowley*

Alexander Campbell was a product of his age. During the Antebellum period of American history, millennialism and restorationism were major religious trends. It was the intertwining of these two trends which formed the foundation upon which the Campbellite movement was constructed.

The focus and direction of this article is a chronological delineation of Alexander Campbell's eschatological theory from 1823 to 1851. The *Christian Baptist* and the *Millennial Harbinger*, which Campbell produced and edited, provide significant insight into Campbell's views during this period.

After 1851, Campbell's millennial considerations dealt more with socio-political reform, and less with ecclesial reform. Millennialism is often defined broadly, and rightly so, to include its impact not only within ecclesia, but also society. Campbell himself wrote of the millennium of a new political and religious order.¹ Within this paper millennialism as expressed within the ecclesial sphere—specifically its engagement with restorationism—will be explored. For this reason, this examination is limited to those years which Campbell most clearly addressed this relationship.

Because of the interconnectedness of Campbell's eschatological theory and his restorationist impulse, this delineation of Campbell's view of the end times is an examination of the dialectic between the two. The evolution of his eschatology emerges from the interplay of Campbell's millennialism and restorationism each affecting and effecting the other.

The *Christian Baptist* (1823-1830)

Within the pages of the *Christian Baptist*, Campbell's restorationist considerations become evident, whereas his earliest millennial thought begins to emerge. For Campbell, the early Church represents the archetypal foundation of Christianity. He writes, "The societies called churches, constituted and set in order by those ministers of the New Testament, were of such as received and acknowledged Jesus as Lord Messiah, the Saviour of the World, and had put themselves under his guidance."² Campbell insists that these earliest churches were not divided over sectarian issues such as creeds and confessions, nor were they broken into innumerable societies advancing the separate causes of Scripture or missions or education.

Repristination was the only basis upon which any successful reformation of Christianity could occur. In the fourth volume of the *Christian Baptist*, Campbell asserts, "Let the spirit, then, of the ancient Christians be restored, and we shall soon see their order of things clearly and fully exhibited."³ Campbell was aware that this restoration of Christianity was not proceeding very well within most churches of his day. He prints, and concurs with, an extract from the Kentucky Baptist Missionary

Association minutes of September, 11, 1824: "very much is wanting to bring Christianity and the church of the present day up to the New Testament Standard."⁴

While chastising Protestant churches for lacking true reform, Campbell believes that within his movement restoration is occurring. Of previous reformations he writes, "all the famous reformations in history have rather been reformations of creeds and of clergy, than of religion. Since the New Testament was finished, it is fairly to be presumed that there cannot be any reformation of religion, properly so called."⁵

The rationale behind this rather broad assertion is that other reformations were not interested in restoring the ancient order of things as found in the New Testament. Reform movements which do not recognize the archetypal nature of the New Testament Church cannot succeed. Nonetheless, Campbell does concede that these earlier reformers and their reformations did at least partially benefit humanity by making religion less corrupt.⁶

Enemies of the restoration were not only pagans and atheists, but also sectarians who made adherence to creed equal to profession of Christian faith. Throughout the *Christian Baptist*, Campbell continually attacks the creeds, confessions, and clergy of the "sectarian" Protestant communions.

In October of 1823, Campbell began writing a series of articles entitled "The Clergy" in which he criticizes the "hireling priests" who corrupt the ancient gospel with their human systematizations. On July 4th, 1825, he wrote his famous—or infamous, depending upon one's point of view—"Third Epistle of Peter," which instructs clergy on how to obtain all the property, power, and prestige possible from their humanly elevated station.

Regarding creeds, Campbell asserted that the only creed Christians need heed was the essential teaching of the New Testament. Ironically, Campbell could not see that the creeds and confessions of the so called "sects" were attempts to interpret the essentials of biblical lore.

Campbell himself interpreted the essentials of the New Testament as including two institutions, adult immersion baptism and the Lord's Supper. He writes, "immersion, I mean christian immersion, is the gospel in water, and...the Lord's Supper is the gospel in bread and wine. These two ordinances of the glorious and mighty Lord fully exhibit the gospel in most appropriate symbols."⁷

In latter years, Campbell spent less ink attacking the sectarian "mainline" and more promoting his own religious restoration agenda. Central to this positive program of restoration was the unity of all true Christians. Campbell writes, "Disunion among christians is their disgrace and perpetual reproach and dishonor to the Lord Jesus Christ."⁸ Unity will occur when Christians take only the New Testament as their guide for faith.

Within Campbell's restoration plan lies an inherent theological tension. Campbell's restorationist agenda when juxtaposed to unity results in a theological tension. Perhaps had Campbell not elevated the

essential content of the New Testament to include the two ordinances of immersion and the Lord's supper his plan for restoration might have been more consistent with his unity emphasis. But even so, the "belief that Jesus is the Messiah" must be interpreted. Whether Campbell recognized the theological problems of his restoration/unity agenda is difficult to say.

Campbell did believe that sectarianism within antebellum Protestantism was impeding the coming of the Millennium. In 1825, he writes, "Sectarianism...robs the saint of the name of his Saviour; and of his authority too, by giving him the name of a sect and its book of laws...I know it is said that all these things will be brought right when the millennium shall come. I reply that it will be the correction of these errors that the millennial day will be ushered in."⁹

In his first seven years of public writing, Campbell makes very few allusions to the millennium. Though he sometimes employed apocalyptic language, he does not directly address the millennial ramifications of his restorationist program in the *Christian Baptist*. While the millennial undertones and implications of his restorationist agenda are incipiently present in his 1823-1830 writings, his millennial thought does not become apparent and developed until after 1830.

Campbell's use of millennial language begins to emerge in the final year or so of the *Christian Baptist*. The question is "Why?" Though millennial enthusiasm was on the upswing, Campbell previously appeared to have intentionally distanced himself from this religious trend. Some evidence suggests that Walter Scott was responsible for much of the millennial enthusiasm within the Campbellite restorationist movement and the growing millennial interest of Campbell himself.

From *Christian Baptist* to *The Millennial Harbinger*

It is quite striking that Campbell ended his first journal the *Christian Baptist* after seven years and began a new journal entitled *The Millennial Harbinger*. Several writers suggest that Campbell became disenchanted with a journal title which could be construed as sectarian. Campbell writes himself, "I have commenced a new work, and taken a new name for it on various accounts. Hating sects and sectarian names, I resolved to prevent the name of Christian Baptist from being fixed upon us..."¹⁰

Yet, while it is understandable that Campbell changed the name of his periodical because of its denominational overtones and desired a journal with a different emphasis, the new name, *The Millennial Harbinger*, would seem an unlikely title for a magazine edited by an individual who seemed less inclined than others toward the millennial enthusiasm of the day.

Campbell had, in fact, employed both terms, millennial and harbinger, in the latter editions of the *Christian Baptist*. When delineating the dispensational character of human history in "Essays on Man in his Primitive State, and under the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian dispensations, No. 14." Campbell writes of John the Baptist as "John the

Harbinger” being the one who foreshadows and causes to come into being a new age.¹¹

With respect to the millennium, Campbell comments upon the value of the passing *Christian Baptist*: “The prospects of emancipating myriads from the dominion of prejudice and tradition—of restoring a pure speech to the people of God—of expediting their progress from Babylon to Jerusalem—of contributing efficiently to the arrival of the millennium—have brightened with every volume of this work.”¹²

Based upon the available evidence, it seems inappropriate to argue that Campbell entertained such grandiose notions that his movement would be the primary agent for ushering in the millennium. But, Campbell certainly believed his restorationist movement was one of the harbingers which would foreshadow and cause to come into being a new era.

The Millennial Harbinger (1830-1836)

Campbell opened his new periodical with a quote from the “apocalypse of John”: “I saw another messenger flying through the midst of heaven...saying with a loud voice, ‘Fear God and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgement is come’” (Rev. 14:6-7).¹³ This apocalyptic Scripture quotation is followed by Campbell’s own words concerning the purpose of *The Millennial Harbinger*. Given that Campbell rarely wrote about millennial themes in the *Christian Baptist*, his first words in *The Millennial Harbinger* are striking.

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 (Campbell’s emphasis), which will be the consummation of that ultimate amelioration of society proposed in the Christian Scriptures.¹⁴

It is apparent from this first page of *The Millennial Harbinger* that Campbell is carrying over the central tenets of his earlier restorationist thought as expressed in the *Christian Baptist*. While Campbell continues to emphasize restorationism and unity, he now adds a millennial undergirding. Sectarianism is now viewed as “incompatible” with the “glorious age to come” and that “order of society called THE MILLENNIUM” which will be the consummation of the Christian Scriptures. This new order of society is the very restoration of the “ancient gospel” which Campbell has advocated from the beginning.

The best of all possible worlds which humans can expect while on earth, maintains Campbell, can be none other than that which the first Christian converts experienced. Christians will probably never establish better or more intimate relationships with God and one another than those experienced by the first believers. “Greater temporal felicity might be enjoyed, but the spiritual attainments of many of the congregations cannot, in the aggregate mass of religious communities, be much, if at all surpassed.”¹⁵ Thus by restoring the “ancient gospel” the desirable and necessary revolution of the present order ushers in a new

age. This "ancient gospel" alone is the only possible agent of restoration "long enough, broad enough, (and) strong enough for the whole superstructure called the Millennial Church."¹⁶

Within these first few pages of his new periodical, Campbell has tied together his restorationist thought which focuses upon the reemergence of the New Testament Church, with the millennial enthusiasm of the early and middle nineteenth century. This joining of restorationism and millennialism in Campbell's thought seems inevitable given his context, his logical mind, and the inherent presuppositions of restorationism and millennialism. Richard Hughes insightfully remarks upon this interconnectedness of the two. He posits that millennialism and restorationism are "opposite and congruent ends of the same historical continuum."¹⁷ Both are perfectionistic in nature. Whereas restorationism looks to a perfect past, millennialism looks to a perfect future.

Central in Campbell's thought is the concept of the "millennial church." Harold Lunger suggests that Campbell believed this "millennial church" to be his own movement. At the commencement of *The Millennial Harbinger*, Campbell became quite zealous in his efforts to establish the "millennial church." Until 1830, Campbell had been satisfied with the Baptist communion, maintains Lunger, but eventually he came to the realization that a new religious body was necessary in order to have a pure church based upon the New Testament pattern.¹⁸

During the first seven years of *The Millennial Harbinger*, Campbell published several articles and series of articles dealing specifically with millennial themes. In 1830, three articles written by Campbell appear, entitled simply "Millennium-No. I, II, III." The explicit intention of these articles was to provide scriptural evidence for the eventual triumph of Christianity over the present system, and to demonstrate that the "millennial church" could only be the restored New Testament Church.

While Campbell used his journal as the vehicle for expounding his restorationist/millennial thought, he also allows those with differing eschatological theories to present their views. Beginning in August of 1830 and continuing for ten months, a series of pre-millennial articles written to the editor from someone calling himself "Daniel"—obviously based on the apocalyptic book of Daniel—were published. Daniel, an eighteenth century Hal Lindsey, predicts from his interpretations of Scripture that (1) the Jews would return to Palestine, (2) all the nations of the world would assemble and attempt to destroy these gathered Jews in Palestine, (3) Christ would descend at this gathering, the Jews would be converted, and the cities of the nations would be destroyed by a tremendous earthquake, and (4) Christ would reign on earth for 1,000 years.

That Campbell allowed this series of articles to run for a year illustrates an exceptional degree of fairness and tolerance. Then again, with millennial enthusiasm running high, a cynic might wonder whether such fodder helped sell a new journal.

Clearly an imminent return of Christ negated any reason for ecclesial reform and an emphasis upon the restoration of the ancient order. Campbell does at times gently critique those with pre-millennial views. After commending another pre-millennial writer for good thoughts and pure motives, Campbell comments that he relies "too much upon common sense and Scott's Family Bible. These two are not competent to unfold the secrets of the prophecies."¹⁹

Shortly after Daniel's pre-millennial series had ended, Campbell responds with his own post-millennial series entitled "Historic Prophecy." Campbell's post-millennial views are consistent with his restoration/millennial plea for Christians to usher in the new age through unity and the return to the New Testament Church.

Pre-millennialists questioned such a view of history and the future. One warned that worse, not better, times were ahead and those who pleaded for the reformation simply were not connected to reality.²⁰ Many saw no hope in reformation. One writer laments, "No people in christendom (are) more selfish, greater lovers of money, more haughty and intolerant, greater slanderers, than the members of the church, and those who are teaching them."²¹

The Millennial Harbinger (1837-1843)

In early 1837, Campbell began printing a long series of essays from an anonymous writer which complemented his earlier "Historic Prophecy" series. Interestingly, this series cautiously avoids any comment about millennial themes. In fact, from May 1836 until January 1841, only three articles of any significance concerning the millennium appear in the *Millennial Harbinger*. It is odd that Campbell would print articles on both sides of the pre-millennial/post-millennial debate for four years (1833-1836) and then suddenly stop writing or printing articles with millennial themes. Surely the millennial enthusiasm of the day was not waning.

The millennial question remains relatively muted until the December issue of the 1840 *Millennial Harbinger*. Campbell answers the criticism of many that his *Millennial Harbinger* is not very millennial. Apparently after years of silence about the coming millennium, Campbell's readers were becoming impatient with the non-millennial *Millennial Harbinger*. Campbell responds to his critics.

We have often rather jeeringly been asked, "Wherein consists the millennial characteristics of the Harbinger?—the querists imagining that a millennial harbinger must be always discussing or preaching millennial affairs. When we put to sea under this banner we had the port of Primitive Christianity, in letter and spirit, in profession and practice, in our eye; reasoning that all the Millennium we could scripturally expect was not merely the restoration of the Jerusalem church in all its moral and religious characters, but the extension of it through all nations and languages for one thousand years."²²

Having answered his critics, Campbell then announces that beginning in the next issue (1841) he will, in editorial fashion, write a series of articles expressing his own views of eschatology. "The Coming of the

Lord” series becomes one of the longest editorials Campbell writes on one theme. This new series ran from January 1841 to October 1843 and included twenty-six essays outlining Campbell’s eschatological theory.

Campbell makes it clear in his opening essay that the pre-millennial/post-millennial debate regarding the return of Christ must be settled in order to understand the prophecy correctly. “Will the Lord return before the Millennium, settles the chief points in the yet accomplished portions of Jewish and Christian prophecy.”²³ Campbell chooses to address this question by outlining three prominent eschatological theories of his day: Mr. Beggs’, Mr. Miller’s, and the Protestant view.

Both Beggs and Miller are ardent pre-millennialists, differing primarily with regards to the nature and length of the millennium. Beggs contends, according to Campbell, that during the millennium the earth and the atmosphere will remain essentially the same—but improved with a milder climate and more abundant harvests. A significant aspect of Beggs’s theory, and one with which Campbell takes issue, is that humanity is allowed to continue upon earth residing with the resurrected saints and martyrs who will reign with Christ in the new Jerusalem.²⁴

In Miller’s scheme, heaven and earth are completely transformed. Unlike Beggs, Miller asserts that wicked humanity will be destroyed at Christ’s coming and only the resurrected saints will abide on the new earth with Jesus. This destruction of the world at Christ’s advent might occur as early as the year 1843.²⁵

The Protestant theory is post-millennial. The millennium will be ushered in by the triumph of Christianity over the world. The millennial age will be of a utopian nature: society will be vastly improved, Christianity will exist in all the world, and the earth’s climate will become milder and harvests will be increasingly plentiful with less labor required.²⁶

While conceding that William Miller’s theory is the most popular at the time of his writing, Campbell suggests that it, of all the theories, offers the least because it negates restorationism.²⁷ For Campbell, Beggs’s theory offers more than Miller’s because it addresses the generally improving state of the world prior to the millennial reign. Beggs’s view is something of a compromise between Miller’s extreme pre-millennialism and Campbell’s post-millennial agenda.

Recognizing that Miller’s eschatology was uppermost in the minds of religious Americans—and even many non-religious Americans—Campbell focuses his writing upon the Millerite school. For three years Campbell generally opposes the views of William Miller and the dating of Christ’s return in 1843. Campbell continued to allow both sides to be heard, but now he strongly criticizes the pre-millennialists. Yet his opposition to Miller and the others seems to be tempered by a genuine sense of compassion and concern. At one point, he commends William Miller as a “pious and excellent Baptist brother (who) makes no pretensions to be either a great or learned man.” On another occasion he expressed regret that many are mocking a good man.²⁹

The Millennial Harbinger (1844-1851)

As 1843 passes and it becomes apparent to many that Christ will not return by March 1844—the latest date Miller predicted for the Lord's coming, Campbell seeks to turn the emerging disillusionment with the Millerite hope into an opportunity to press for his own prophetic interpretation. "When the excitement of the present year shall have passed away, it will be more profitable to analyze the whole premises from which we anticipate great changes in the world: for I am one of those that look for a thorough cleansing of the sanctuary as an event not only most devoutly to be wished, but most certainly soon to be commenced in a way which perchance but few of us either expect or are at all prepared for."³⁰

Campbell alludes to his own restorationist, post-millennial eschatology. The pre-millennial/post-millennial debate ends with the evaporation of imminent pre-millennial hopes after 1844. Even by the end of 1843 Campbell announces to his readers his intention to stop addressing such issues. He writes, "Time, the great teacher, that infallible expositor of prophecy, will soon decide between us and our brethren of the school of Mr. Miller."³¹

Alexander Campbell remained true to his word, for little of significance—only a few letters and two or three essays which mention the millennium—were printed in the *Millennial Harbinger* concerning millennial themes for thirteen years. From October 1843 until the year 1856, Campbell remained silent on the millennial issue.

A number of reasons might be cited for this silence. Perhaps in the wake of the Millerite debacle millennial considerations were unpopular due to the great embarrassment of many. Yet, it would seem that Campbell who had proclaimed himself a post-millennialist in the height of pre-millennial enthusiasm would have every right to point to his own eschatological thought. He may have been the noble gentleman not pressing the issue upon those already embarrassed by the failure of their prophecies. Then again, Campbell may have recognized that many of his readers had embraced this 1840's pre-millennialism. He wisely chooses not to chastise his own followers. Walter Jennings reports that the Millerite debacle brought to an end the most serious pre-millennial rumblings within the Disciple's movement and that many of the movement's adherents who had hoped for Christ's 1843-1844 return were quite wounded.³²

Conclusion

The few commentators who have considered Campbell's millennial thought have tended to focus on his shift in the 1850's and 1860's from the restored primitive church ushering in the millennium to civil religion, epitomized by the role of the protestantized American state, as the millennial agent. This article has been an attempt to address Campbell's early eschatological theory. Hopefully, it has been demonstrated that Campbell's early views evolved out of the interplay of restoration and millennial themes.

One must admire an individual who was not afraid to be a voice of positive opposition when the religious culture surrounding him embraced a subtle fatalism. He believed in a new age, the Millennium. But this new age would not arrive without the church seeking God anew, return to its early innocence. The underlying religious philosophy of Alexander Campbell's early eschatological thought was that a restored church is to be the agent of God for the improvement of the world.

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Endnotes

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- ²Alexander Campbell, *Christian Baptist*, Vol. I, 3 August, 1823, p. 6.
- ³CB IV, 4 December, 1826, p. 295.
- ⁴CB II, 7 February, 1825, p. 127.
- ⁵Ibid., pp. 127-128.
- ⁶Ibid., p. 127.
- ⁷CB V, 4 February, 1828, p. 415.
- ⁸CB II, 4 July, 1825, pp. 162-163.
- ⁹CB III, 1 August, 1825, p. 174.
- ¹⁰CB VII, 5 July, 1830, p. 665.
- ¹¹Ibid., 3 May, 1830, p. 646.
- ¹²Ibid., 3 August, 1829, p. 570.
- ¹³MH, Vol. 1 (1830), p. 1.
- ¹⁴Ibid.
- ¹⁵Ibid., p. 5.
- ¹⁶Ibid., p. 58.
- ¹⁷Richard Hughes, "From Primitive Church to Civil Religion: The Millennial Odyssey of Alexander Campbell," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 44 (March 1976): 92.
- ¹⁸Harold L. Lunger, *The Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell* (St. Louis, MO: The Bethany Press, 1954), pp. 56-57.
- ¹⁹MH, Vol. 2 (1831), p. 167.
- ²⁰MH, Vol. 5 (1834), p. 98.
- ²¹Ibid.
- ²²MH, New Series Vol. 4 (1840), p. 561.
- ²³Ibid., N. S. Vol. 5 (1841), p. 7.
- ²⁴Ibid., p. 8.
- ²⁵Ibid., pp. 8-9.
- ²⁶Ibid., p. 9.
- ²⁷Ibid., p. 10.
- ²⁸Ibid., N. S. Vol. 6 (1842), pp. 97-98.
- ²⁹Ibid., N. S. Vol. 7 (1843), p. 55.
- ³⁰Ibid., p. 444.
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- ³²Walter W. Jennings, *Origin and Early History of the Disciples of Christ* (Cincinnati, OH: The Standard Publishing Company, 1919), p. 43.

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The Churches of Christ: Accommodation to Modernity and the Challenges of Post-Modernity

by Kathy J. Pulley*

When I hear "Church of Christ," two images are evoked. One is of the Agnes Church of Christ in Agnes, Arkansas...the small rural, rock building at the side of a dirt road, surrounded by a cemetery—the church of my grandparents and numerous other relatives. The other is the church in the city in which I grew up...large, without much distinctiveness either architecturally or in decor, surrounded by concrete parking lots. The Agnes Church has preached the same kinds of sermons and displayed the same kinds of tracts for at least the last forty years. The messages stress that those in the Church of Christ are representatives of the true and only church, that the Bible is the infallible word of God, and there is one true plan of salvation.

I don't recall seeing any tract racks in the city church for at least 20 years now. There the pulpiteers no longer speak of the hell that awaits all those who are not members of the true church. Nor do they speak much about any doctrinal matters. The themes today are compatible with those in the pulpits of at least a dozen North American Evangelical groups. They emphasize such topics as the importance of the family, inner faith, and living in right relationship with Jesus. Depending upon the current cultural events there could be a smattering of socio-political rhetoric. In the early 1960s the city church discussed how much of the budget to commit to the television program Herald of Truth while Agnes, too poor to even consider giving to something so far removed, debated the doctrinal correctness of giving to or even watching a nationally-sponsored program.

Perhaps it is too simple to say that Agnes symbolizes the rural Church of Christ while the city church symbolizes the urban experience. Although it is true that many congregations retaining the traditions of the Church of Christ from the early years of the twentieth century are in rural areas, not all of them are. Also, it must be said that not all urban churches have abandoned the traditions of earlier years.¹ However, I would say that these two different types of churches point to the dichotomy in the Churches of Christ today. Some hold firmly to their sectarian identity of the earlier part of the century while others have just as firmly moved into the church or denominational realm.

But how does one assess the Church of Christ when the continuum contains such diversity? When Agnes reads its tract *Introducing the Church of Christ* they know who they are. One of the emphatic points is that the Church of Christ is not a denomination:

Our goal is to go beyond all the sects and denominations which have evolved, to the original Christianity preached and practiced by the apostles of Christ. The church which Jesus established was exactly what God wanted it to be....Every attempt by uninspired men to improve upon, or modernize Christianity has only succeeded in corrupting it.²

And what is the cure for denominationalism? The text goes on to say "We must be committed to being nothing, calling ourselves nothing, obeying nothing, and saying nothing except that which is authorized by the word of God. Only then will we have 'the unity of the spirit' of Eph. 4:1-6."³ As long as north central Arkansas remains somewhat isolated, rural and unchallenged by social forces, Agnes will go on as it is.

But what is to become of the city church—the one that recognizes that it is in the midst of an identity crisis? With neither a tract rack nor a cemetery to remind it of its origins, who is it, and who is it to be in the twenty-first century? It is this church on which I wish to focus. The city church has moved from a sect to a modern church in the second half of the twentieth century, and like other Evangelical groups it has accommodated to modernity to a certain extent. The investigation of the ways in which the Churches of Christ are accommodating to modernity helps to define the modern-day Church of Christ. As one tradition among many in the religious marketplace of America, the Churches of Christ in a post-modern world will face complex challenges.

From its very beginning the Restoration Movement has been rooted in Enlightenment thinking. To a certain extent the ongoing reliance in the Church of Christ upon reason and rational thinking would have to be acknowledged as "modern" characteristics. However, the turn-of-the-century break between the Disciples and the Churches of Christ set the Churches of Christ upon a more sectarian course, characterized by a determination to reject selective aspects of modernity. Theologically, the Churches of Christ came down on the ultra-conservative side of the extensive Protestant debates over biblical criticism and liberal theology. From their southern, rural locations they emphasized such otherworldly themes as apocalypticism and millennialism.⁴ Like other conservative, sectarian groups of the early twentieth century, the Churches of Christ existed in high tension with the world.

Before moving on let me define how I am using "sect" and "church." Sociologist B. Johnson finds the multiple characteristics of sects, as developed in the church-sect typologies of Troeltsch, Niebuhr, Yinger, and others to be confusing, because not all the characteristics apply to any given sect.⁵ Therefore, he suggests that the only meaningful way to discuss the differences between the sect and the church is to recognize that the sect will maintain a high degree of tension with the world, whereas the church will maintain a low degree of tension. The distinction, he says, involves a single variable the values of which range along a continuum from complete rejection to complete acceptance of the environment.⁶ It is important to point out two things about this definition. First, the place at which the line is drawn between low and high tension is somewhat arbitrary. It has much to do with how the members perceive the tension and the social environment in which a particular congregation finds itself. Second, when the Church of Christ, acting as a sect, manifests high tension with the world, there is an inferred tension with other religious groups because of the sect's strong emphasis on exclusivism. The Church of Christ as "church" not a "sect"

not only has a higher degree of tolerance for the world, but it also has a higher degree of tolerance toward other religious bodies.

Based upon this understanding, the urban Churches of Christ, in the second half of this century, are much more church-like than sect-like. Richard Hughes comments in his forthcoming volume on the Churches of Christ that

...World War II proved to be the single, most decisive factor prompting Churches of Christ toward greater modernization and efficiency and toward the expansive program of institution-building that dominated churches of Christ in the decades of the 1940s and 1950s. In the process, Churches of Christ identified ever more closely with the values of the dominant culture, practically completing by 1960, their long, tortured journey toward full-fledged denominational status.⁷

Hughes makes a convincing case, using both theological and social factors, for the evolution of the Church of Christ from sect to church.

But of what consequence is it that the Church of Christ may now be described as a modern church? For one, it may give us insight into why we are groping for an identity and a theology. Things have changed. We are no longer who we were when we were a sect. Beyond this and more importantly, being a modern church means that the Church of Christ has accommodated, to a certain extent, with at least some of the assumptions of the modern world view. This is not unique to the Churches of Christ—it is simply one aspect of what characterizes a modern church. The degree of accommodation varies; however, there is growing evidence that in matters of accommodation to modernity, the Churches of Christ share much in common with Evangelicals. Now, I'd like to move on and investigate the relationship between modern Evangelicals and the Churches of Christ from a sociological perspective, in order to shed more light on the Churches of Christ today.⁸

Regardless of the discipline, there is no standard definition of Evangelicals; however, sociologist J. Hunter's operational definition of the term and his examination of how Evangelicals accommodate to modern trends point to interesting parallels with the Churches of Christ.⁹ In the broadest sense of the word, Hunter describes an Evangelical as a Protestant with "personal adherence to the core doctrines of biblical inerrancy, the divinity of Christ, and eternal salvation through the redemptive act of God through Christ (all measured attitudinally)..."¹⁰ However, the specific beliefs that one adheres to are determined by the denomination of which one is a part. Hunter goes on to categorize the four most prominent traditions from which Evangelical denominations originate: the Baptist, the Holiness-Pentecostal, the Reformed-Confessional, and the Anabaptist. Interestingly, both the Churches of Christ and the Disciples of Christ are included in his classification.¹¹ Despite the fact that some (especially among the clergy and scholars in particular denominations) might disagree about the core doctrines, his operational framework is geared toward the beliefs of the person in the pew. Therefore, any individual who would agree with these core doctrines and the particular beliefs of his/her denomination would qualify as an

Evangelical. Before turning to specific patterns of relationship between Evangelicals and Churches of Christ, let me make a final comment about the use of "modern." At the very least "modern" means that there are multiple choices about all aspects of life, that people from multiple cultures exist side by side, and that religious beliefs are largely consigned to the private realm.¹²

Although one could analyze many consequences of modernity, one indisputable consequence is pluralization. The most obvious pressure that pluralization exerts on a society is the pressure to be tolerant. Hunter's analysis of the impact of pluralization upon the Evangelical churches is helpful for understanding where the Church of Christ stands today. Two elements of modernity that have affected religious world views are cultural pluralism and structural pluralism.¹³ Cultural pluralism simply refers to the division of societies into subsocieties.

Through such things as the media and urban life one is exposed to a variety of world views. Is the Evangelical world view susceptible to being influenced by competing world views or has it been able to maintain its own exclusive truth claims? The answer is mixed. To investigate this question one would need to assess both the moral and theological beliefs of Evangelicals. If there is evidence that the believer is either ambiguous or inclusivist about his/her truth claims, then this would indicate at least some degree of cultural pluralism. There has not been an extensive amount of research done in this area, but what has been done is worthy of attention. In 1987 W. Roof and W. McKinney published *American Mainline Religion*. These authors have provided us with an empirical analysis of the changing social profile of American church life. The following table reflects some of their findings.

Table 1
Religious Group Members View Of Moral and Sexual Issues*

	National Total %	Conservative Protestants %	Churches of Christ %	Christian (Disciples of Christ) %
Favor Abortion For Any Reason	37	21	24	31
Extramarital Sex Not Always Wrong	28	14	17	16
Premarital Sex Not Wrong	35	19	20	23
Homosexuality Not Always Wrong	27	11	8	18
Divorce Should Be Easier to obtain	29	21	13	19
Marijuana Use Should be Legalized	24	12	15	16

There is much that could be said about how the random church member in these various groups responded to the questions asked. However, if one raises only one question—"What does this information tell us about the relationship of these groups to modernity?"—then the answer is that they have all accommodated to a certain extent.

Specifically looking at the Church of Christ, although many congregations would preach against and perhaps even protest against a woman's right to an abortion, when asked privately, twenty-four percent believed that abortion is acceptable for any reason. The public rhetoric and the literature of Churches of Christ are consistently against both extramarital sex and premarital sex, yet seventeen percent believed that extramarital sex was not always wrong and twenty percent thought premarital sex was not wrong. The least acceptance shown was for homosexuality, with only eight percent answering that it was not always wrong. Thirteen percent thought that divorces should be easier to obtain, and fifteen percent thought that the use of marijuana should be legalized.

Based on this data the Churches of Christ have accommodated to a plurality of views on social issues, although not in high percentages; however, another important factor is how similar the members of the Church of Christ are to the conservative Protestants and Christian, Disciples of Christ members in their acceptance of these moral trends. Only on the questions regarding abortion and homosexuality did one group vary from another as much as ten percentage points. When looking at the national total, although the percentages of differences are greater, there is still a consistent amount of conformity between the Churches of Christ and the national figures, leading one to conclude that the tension with the world may not be as great as the rhetoric has implied or as great as it may have been in the past. There is a small but significant number of Church of Christ members who believe that abortion, extramarital and premarital sex, homosexuality, divorce, and the use of marijuana are viable options. Thus, some cultural pluralism regarding moral issues is evident.

*The survey results reflected in the table above are taken from Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney, *American Mainline Religion: Its Changing Shape and Future* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987): 211-212. The data reported by Roof and McKinney was collected from eleven independent surveys from the General Social Surveys (GSS), conducted from 1972-1978, 1980, 1982-1984 and are representative samples of 17,052 individuals. (See pp. 253-256 of Roof and McKinney for further explanation of the GSS, and Roof's and McKinney's use of the data.) Roof and McKinney also report that by "National" they are referring to the entire 17,052 individual surveys. The grouping "Conservative Protestants" represents Southern Baptists, Churches of Christ, Evangelicals and/or Fundamentalists, Nazarenes, Pentecostals/Holiness, Assemblies of God, and Adventists, which account for 15.8% of the total sample. Those who listed their denominational membership as Church of Christ equaled 1.2% of the sample. The Christian, Disciples of Christ included all individuals who listed themselves as Christian Disciples, Christian, Central Christian, Disciples of Christ, and First Christian. This group collectively totaled 1.5% of the sample and they were listed under the category of "Moderate Protestants" by Roof and McKinney.

There is not a lot of hard data available about the consequences of cultural pluralism in regard to doctrinal beliefs among Evangelicals. The Evangelicals, by definition, believe in the divinity of the historical Jesus, the inerrancy of the Bible, and the salvation of one's soul only through faith in Jesus. Is there evidence that they have accommodated to cultural pluralism on these matters, or have they maintained their own exclusive beliefs and rejected all others as unsatisfactory?

Hunter makes the case that although Evangelicals would still make these exclusive truth claims, there is evidence of a major shift in how they have gone about presenting their exclusive message. He states that there has been a "softening and polishing of the more hardline and barbed elements of the orthodox Protestant world view," from how it often presented itself in the history of Christianity.¹⁴ In the past, the rhetoric sharply condemned sinners and presented a wrath-filled and judgmental God. Evangelicals would not dismiss these aspects of their faith now; however, they are not emphasized or as central to their teaching as they once were. This "civilizing" of the Evangelical doctrinal message also would seem to be true of Churches of Christ. Whereas the tract rack at Agnes would still stress that hell was a horrible place "where worms die not and the fire is never quenched" (Mk. 9:48), and that each person will receive his/her just reward in heaven or eternal damnation, the city church does not seem to speak so graphically of hell. Theirs is a "kinder, gentler" message. Instead of trying to evangelize in order to free others from their fear of the fires of hell, evangelistic efforts tend to be framed much more positively. Sectarian sermons have diminished as well. Hughes notes in his research that even in the early 1960s, the well-known minister Batsell Barrett Baxter began to interject sermons about achieving peace of mind and spiritual growth into the "Herald of Truth" television program.¹⁵ Today, there is an insistency upon preaching the "good news." And the "good news" today concentrates much more on the positive aspects of the gospel message for one's inner life, than on how good or bad the afterlife will be. I would also suggest that members of the Churches of Christ, like Evangelicals, tend to present an upbeat and positive image about their lives—a characteristic that Peter Berger has referred to as the "Protestant smile."

Hunter believes that Evangelicals have accommodated to cultural pluralism in regard to their exclusive doctrinal truth claims. They no longer attempt to prove empirically the absolute scriptural truth of one doctrinal belief over another; rather, they advocate a superiority of results in the individual's life.¹⁶ To be an "Evangelical Christian" is to be happier and healthier, and more at peace during crises. Although I have no quantifiable data to confirm this, I believe that the same could be said of how the average person in the Church of Christ pew feels about his/her doctrinal truth claims. If the message of old was that "we are the one true church" (consequently, the only ones going to heaven), is still spoken in the city church, it is only in whispers.

The second kind of pluralism that characterizes modernity is structural pluralism, which is most simply defined as the uniquely

modern concept of the separation of life into public and private spheres. The public sphere includes such things as the modern state, and the educational, technological, medical, and military bureaucracies; the areas left over such as the family, primary social relationships, and personal meaning constitute the private sphere.¹⁷ Historically, with the rise of modernity, religious beliefs were relegated to the private sphere. Among other things this meant that religious beliefs were a matter of individual choice, and such beliefs were relevant only in the private sphere of one's life.¹⁸

How has Evangelicalism accommodated to the pressures toward privatization? Hunter's research shows that the nature of the theodicy issue has shifted. Historically, theodicy has centered on the nature of human suffering and death, whereas in the modern private sphere of religious belief, a religious theodicy must also deal with the complexities of the individual self, his or her meaning, and all the accompanying mental health issues.¹⁹ This shift is manifested among Evangelicals in at least two ways, and again I would agree with Hunter that what applies to the "Evangelical" grouping generally, also applies to those specific traditions he lists—one of which is the Churches of Christ. First, many churches have established counseling services or what some in Churches of Christ call "Family Life Centers." These centers are intended to help individuals resolve matters pertaining to their emotional and mental well-being. The directors of Family Life Centers are usually professionally trained; that is, they have received a certain amount of education outside of strictly ministerial education. Some, in fact, may have no pastoral training. Their educational backgrounds may be exclusively based in psychology and counseling.

Second, Evangelical publishing houses produce a significant amount of literature that deals directly with individuals' emotional and psychological needs from the Evangelical perspective. In the early 1980s Hunter collected data from eight of the largest Evangelical publishers.²⁰ His survey concluded that 12.3% of their publications dealt with emotional and psychological issues and 14.9% dealt with lifestyle issues. Perhaps the parallels between Evangelicalism generally and the Churches of Christ specifically can be seen in this area too. The library of the Family Life Center run by the city church of Christ is filled with literature primarily from Evangelical presses, and some from traditions outside Evangelicalism. Often Sunday school classes deal with mental health issues. Good marriages are emphasized, and it is likely that one will find more weekly bulletins advertising marriage enrichment seminars than evangelistic gospel meetings. Whatever else may be said about the reading and teaching materials, the acceptance of religious literature from "outside" religious traditions would seem to be one indication that the walls of exclusivism between the "true church of Christ" versus all others are crumbling.

Returning now to the question raised earlier, how has Evangelicalism accommodated to the pressures toward privatization? The most significant way accommodation may be seen is by the focus on psycho-

logical issues and the needs of everyday life. Such an approach arises in a culture in which much personal and social ambiguity exists. To place so much importance upon emotional and self identity issues necessitates that less attention is given to all other aspects of theology. Most of the concessions that Evangelicalism have made so far have been cultural, not doctrinal. So truth claims, technically, are still in place—but accommodation may not have run its full course. It still may have consequences for theology. The more Evangelical churches are involved in the mainstream of American culture, the more likely this is to continue. However, there have been resistances to modernity along the way. The increased political involvement by the Evangelicals is the most visible evidence of the resistance, so, a case can be made for cycles of accommodation and resistance within modern cultures. Regardless, it seems fair to say that as the Church of Christ has moved into being a church, its tension with the world has lessened considerably. In light of the increased comfort with the dominant culture, what are the challenges ahead? Is this tradition relevant or viable for a post-modern world?

I am not a historian of the Restoration Movement, nor am I an expert in crystal ball reading. For the most part the comments that follow are my own observations, which I suspect are a blending of my sociological and theological background, as well as my own personal background as a life-long member of the Church of Christ.

Some aspects of our heritage may need to be de-emphasized or abandoned entirely, whereas others may help us to be relevant to our culture. Today, our emphasis on the Enlightenment is not serving us well because it has increasingly given us no place for subjective and mystical truth claims. Churches of Christ have not taken the call for unity as strongly as it should have been taken. The tradition would benefit from giving greater attention to the teachings of Campbell and Stone in this area.

However, it might be the Restoration Principle itself that could be of most relevance to the future. Campbell's and Stone's visions of restoring the New Testament church specifically countered the rapidly growing numbers of denominations in nineteenth-century America. Consequently, it has never been possible to separate that vision from the culture in which it was born, as visions seldom are. As we are all well aware, "how" the Restoration Principle came to be interpreted and practiced has been less than satisfying. But perhaps it is possible to transfer visions. How might that Restoration vision be reinterpreted in a post-modern world?

Like "modernism," "post-modernism" is not easily defined. At the very least it is characterized by rampant pluralism, the loss of a center, and fragmentation. These characteristics are very similar to those found in the early centuries of the Christian movement. Perhaps the key to reinterpreting the Restoration Principle in a post-modern world rests in rediscovering the premodern world from which it originated and flourished. If we specifically look at how early Christians interfaced

with pluralism, the lack of a center, and the fragmentation of the Roman world, perhaps we could discern direction for the post-modern era.

Pluralism will continue to characterize our Western world. If the global community is to be successful, both the cultural and religious truth claims of others must be respected. It is likely that the Churches of Christ will continue to be challenged to separate themselves from their exclusivist claims of the earlier part of the century. Rather than fear that shift, the Church needs to stand confidently. Our heritage is a strong one and I believe, given the appropriate theological direction, it is up to the challenge of competing in the open marketplace of multiple truth claims—just as the early Christians were.

The Church is also challenged by the loss of a center, or as some would say, the loss of a metanarrative. It seems that the Church could respond to this in a variety of ways. Despite the fact that post-modernism is about the lack of order, contemporary philosophers and others are well aware of the human need for order and a center. Philosopher Albert Borgmann states this well: "People feel a deep desire for comprehensive and comprehending orientation. To be human is to have a capacity for the beginning and end of all things and for assuming a position among them."²¹ A responsible church in the twenty-first century must assume at least some responsibility for providing this foundation because a great majority seek their orientation through religion.

A system of doctrinal beliefs is needed, and the ongoing conversations about a new hermeneutic within the Churches of Christ may be the means to establishing a framework. I also believe Tom Olbricht's longstanding interest in making biblical theology the foundation is on target.²²

A variety of emphases are needed. We need to be responsive to the importance of justice and service to all the world. The post-modern world needs eschatology. We need to spend time looking forward to recover a vision for the future, to discern both the spirit of the age and the spirit in our lives. There needs to be a renewed emphasis on the mysteries of God. We are no longer living in Newton's mechanistic universe. We're now living in Einstein's mystery-filled cosmos. This scientific paradigm shift has implications for the Church, because there is a genuine quest going on for the divine. Westerners are seeking a religion that allows room for the supernatural. One needs only to browse through any trade bookstore and its growing number of New Age volumes to see the evidence of this trend. Worship must include more of the mystery, more participation by the members and more celebration. Teaching should also include the teaching about the mystical dimension.²³ The Restoration Movement has one of the richer traditions regarding the mystery in the sacraments of communion and baptism. Perhaps a greater emphasis upon these two aspects of mystery would be a beginning point.

The third characteristic of post-modernism mentioned above is fragmentation. The best counter to fragmentation is community. When

human lives are as diverse and as individualistic as they are, often individuals seek identity through a religious community.²⁴ While some Churches of Christ have provided authentic community for their members, a lot have failed to do so. There has been a strong effort to baptize as many as possible; however, the efforts to incorporate and retain new members are often poor if they exist at all. There is no strong commitment to being highly relational, which one might expect to be a given in a community experience. Another detriment to community is focusing most of the worship service on sitting in straight pews and listening to a somewhat lengthy sermon from a speaker a great distance away. A final detriment to community is the inability of the institution to define its identity to its members. Thus, regardless of the particular challenge ahead, it is critical that the Church define itself if it is to survive and to be relevant to the post-modern lives of its members.

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Notes

¹For an overview of a variety of social factors that have led to divisions among Southern Baptists, see Nancy Tatom Ammerman, *Baptist Battles: Social Change and Religious Conflict in the Southern Baptist Convention* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991): 126-167.

²Alvin Jennings, ed., *Introducing the Church of Christ* (Fort Worth: Star Publications, 1981): 146.

³Jennings, *Introducing the Church of Christ*, 26.

⁴Richard T. Hughes has a book forthcoming from Greenwood Press in which he details specific theological developments throughout the history of the Churches of Christ.

⁵Benton Johnson, "On Church and Sect," *American Sociological Review* 28 (1963): 539-549. See Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, trans. Olive Wyon, (New York: Macmillan, 1932): 328-349; H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929); and J. Milton Yinger, *The Scientific Study of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1970): 251-281, for their descriptions of church-sect typologies.

⁶Johnson, "On Church and Sect," 543.

⁷Hughes, forthcoming volume, chapter 10.

⁸The sociological approach I am using is from the sociology of knowledge. See Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (New York: Doubleday, 1966), for a theoretical overview of the sociology of knowledge. In its most basic form it understands human reality as socially constructed, and a human being's most intense reality is his/her everyday life. To put this understanding into question form is to ask, "what is it that ordinary people think they know?" Or, the question as it pertains to this discussion, "what does the ordinary religious person (not the clergy or the academicians) believe?" The sociology of knowledge approach assumes that if one knows what the ordinary beliefs are, then one knows much about the "real" identity of the group.

⁹See Richard T. Hughes, "Are Restorationists Evangelicals?" *The Variety of American Evangelicalism* (ed. D. Dayton and R. Johnson; Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), for a thorough discussion of the historical and theological aspects of this question.

¹⁰James D. Hunter, "Operationalizing Evangelicalism: A Review, Critic, and Proposal," *Sociological Analysis* 42(1981): 371.

¹¹Hunter, "Operationalizing Evangelicalism," 370-371.

¹²See P. Berger et al., *The Homeless Mind* (New York: Doubleday, 1974), and R. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart* (Berkeley: University of CA Press, 1985) for a discussion of modern religion.

¹³James D. Hunter, *American Evangelicalism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Press, 1983): 11-14, 84-101.

¹⁴Hunter, *American Evangelicalism*, 87.

¹⁵Hughes, forthcoming volume, chapter 10.

¹⁶Hunter, *American Evangelicalism*, 91.

¹⁷Hunter, *American Evangelicalism*, 13.

¹⁸See P. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy* (New York: Doubleday, 1969), for a discussion of religion being relegated to the private sphere. He characterizes this as a part of the secularization process.

¹⁹Hunter, *American Evangelicalism*, 93.

²⁰Hunter, *American Evangelicalism*, 142-143. The data was collected from the following publishers: Bethany, Gospel Light, Moody, Revell/Spire, Scripture, Tyndale, Word, and Zondervan.

²¹Albert Borgmann, *Crossing the Postmodern Divide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992): 144.

²²See Thomas Olbricht, "The Bible as Revelation," *Restoration Quarterly* 8 (1965): 211-230, and "The Rationalism of the Restoration," *Restoration Quarterly* 11 (1968): 77-88, for a discussion of hermeneutical issues and his emphasis on biblical theology as the foundational point from which to construct hermeneutics.

²³Robert Wuthnow, *Christianity in the Twenty-first Century*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), provides an overview of a number of challenges to be faced by institutional Christianity in the future.

²⁴R. Wuthnow, *Christianity in the Twenty-first Century*, 7.

Geraldine R. Huckman
Johnny Miles
Renee Gaston Hoke
Recent Wilson Award Winners

Adding to the list of the four previous winners, Timothy Aho, Jean B. Turner, Dennis J. Wendling, and Karen Leigh Stroup, Geraldine Huckman, Johnny Miles, and Renee Hoke have been more recent winners in the Wilson Award Contest. This contest is for Seminary students who have written significant historical papers concerning the Stone-Campbell Movement. The Award is a Life Membership in the Disciples of Christ Historical Society and is given in memory of Lockridge Ward Wilson through the Lockridge Ward and Fern Brown Wilson Named Fund. Both of the Wilsons were active members of the First Christian Church, Oceanside, California for many years. Mr. Wilson is deceased. Fern Brown Wilson lives in Salem, Oregon.

Geraldine Huckman and Renee Hoke were both students studying under Dr. Mark G. Toulouse at Brite Divinity School at Texas Christian University. Johnny Miles was a student of Dr. Douglas A. Foster of Abilene Christian University. Their themes were "First Christian Church, Beeville, Texas: An Interpretive History" by Huckman in 1992; "The Origins of Alexander Campbell's Eclectic Theology of Worship" by Miles in 1993; "The Ministry of Lyrel Grace Teegarden: Missionary to China 1920-1951" by Hoke in 1994.

The Golden Temple of King Solomon And the Christian Institution By Raymond L. Alber*

It was on January, 10, 1971, that Dorothy Hamill first saw the models of the Temple of King Solomon and the Tabernacle of Moses. At that time she was a reporter from the *Johnson City Press-Chronicle* in Johnson City, Tennessee. She had come, in search of a resident of the Appalachian Christian Village who had on display in his room models of both the Temple of King Solomon and the Tabernacle of Moses.

The resident she found was John G. Alber. There in his room were the models for which she had been searching. Of these models she wrote in the *Press-Chronicle*, "The ancient grandeur of Biblical times can be glimpsed with genuine wonder in the reconstruction models of two famous edifices: the Temple of King Solomon and the Tabernacle of Moses."

Of the Temple of King Solomon she wrote, "Using descriptions from the Bible as blueprints, John Alber...had built in marvelous detail King Solomon's Temple. Alber spent years of research and study on his hobby as temple-builder, and he has scaled them down accurately to three-sixteenths of an inch to the foot. The precision of his work in wood and bronze is outstanding."

Writing further this reporter says, "King Solomon's Temple was, according to Alber, a building of glory and beauty, never excelled through the ages, and the model makes this evident. Though the temple itself was destroyed 2,500 years ago, it lives again in this gorgeous duplication." This model of the famous temple is now on display at the Disciples of Christ Historical Society in Nashville, Tennessee.

A very good question often asked is, "Why was the Temple of King Solomon ever built?" Though that question will be answered throughout this article, the builder of this model has said many times, "King Solomon's Temple was the most perfect revelation of God before Christ." The model builder also states, "The outward purpose of the Temple was to house the most precious item in the history of Israel, the Ark of the Covenant of Sinai. Furthermore, the Temple was to be the center of worship in Israel under the Mosaic Law which was 'added because of transgression till the seed should come,' hence it was a temporary institution."

Speaking of the *ultimate purpose* of the Temple of King Solomon John Alber asserts, it was "to set forth prophetically the *glory, beauty, honor, and dignity* of King David's greater son, Jesus Christ our Lord."

When asked about the source for the measurements and materials Mr. Alber wrote, "Even though I have searched many libraries for information about the Temple, *the Bible itself was the chief source of materials for this study.* The Good Book is the trestle board where the designs and measurements are given."

Let us go back to the late 1920s or early 1930s. This man, John G. Alber, was reading his Bible. The passages he was reading were in I and

II Chronicles and I and II Kings. Many other passages were to follow in both the Old and New Testaments. For days he had been searching for the necessary measurements from which to build a model of the Temple of King Solomon. The materials and machinery for building the model were in his workshop.

The man of whom I speak is my father, John G. Alber. At that time he was Executive Secretary of the Nebraska Christian Missionary Society in Lincoln, Nebraska. He was also an architect and skilled artisan. He had a faith in the Scriptures which never wavered. Hundreds of audiences across the nation have thrilled to his lectures on "The Christian Interpretation of the Temple of Solomon."

There are many reasons why laymen and scholars have a keen interest in this temple built hundreds of years ago:

Its Antiquity: A temple built to Jehovah thirty centuries ago compels our interest.

Its Beauty: Our aesthetic nature responds to the sheen of pure gold, polished marble, and shining jewels.

Its Typology: Do we not see meaning in the past which can lead us today? As I write these words I must admit that my faith has been undergirded and established by these "types and shadows."

God's plan of salvation goes back to the Garden of Eden. It was not something that God thought up as the centuries passed. From the very beginning of time these types and antitypes undergird the inspiration of the Sacred Book. "God's age-long plan of redemption" was in existence centuries before man was created (John 17:5). As I have heard my father say many times, "the church existed in the mind of God before the type was set. The type proves the reality." Note John 1:29; 1 Peter 3:20,21; 1 Cor. 10:11; Heb. 8:4,5. Who among those who believe the Good Book can deny the authenticity and inspiration of typology? The above passages settle it once and for all!

Though built by human hands, the Temple was not a human institution. In his book on the temple Mr. Alber writes, "every appointment and article of furniture and sacred ceremony had a double meaning, one serving the people of that time and another 'hidden meaning' setting forth the cardinal facts in 'God's age-long plan of redemption' which culminates in Heaven." Again quoting Mr. Alber, "the hidden meaning, like precious jewels in the dark, is not seen at first, but when it catches the rays of light from the New Institution it shines forth with great brilliancy and splendor." Doubt turns to faith!

The Temple was erected about one thousand years before Christ. One hundred and fifty thousand laborers were engaged, with 3,600 overseers. Hiram of Tyre, whose mother was an Israelite, was the chief architect. Over seven years of time was required for erecting the temple. The cost is estimated to be above five billion dollars. For glory and beauty it has never been excelled.

Again comes the question, How did it come about that King Solomon's temple was ever built in the first place? As the Hebrew scriptures tell us, it was the dream of King David, the Warrior King of Israel, to build a

house of worship unto his God. Because his hands were stained with the blood of war (I Kings 5:3; I Chron. 22:8) he was not allowed by Jehovah God to realize his dream. It was in his illustrious son, Solomon, that his dream was realized. It was during the reign of King Solomon that Israel reached the height of its glory, for Solomon excelled in the arts of peace and civilization.

It must be emphasized that the Temple was more than a Hebrew shrine. It was built at the command of Jehovah God. Everything from the Great Altar of Burnt Offerings to the Holy of Holies was to bring to our attention the wonder of Jesus Christ.

Having served its purpose, the Temple perished from the earth some 2,500 years ago, destroyed by the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. But as the builder of this model has said, "Its glory remains to this day and the meaning of it shines forth with great brilliancy in the Christian Institution, His Church."

It is this writer's hope that this article and model will leave the individual with a greater appreciation of Him, whom it portrays and that the divine symbolism of this magnificent institution of "types and shadows" may help us to more firmly grasp the reality for which it stands.

The Journey Through the Temple

Now let us begin the symbolic journey through the temple. This is a limited journey; the far more complete journey will be found in John G. Alber's book entitled *The Golden Temple of King Solomon and the Christian Institution*.¹

In Solomon's Temple everything was built on the square. The Great Court was made up of two squares of 100 cubits each. The center of the first square was the center of the Great Bronze Altar of burnt offerings. The center of the second square was the center of the Holy of Holies.

The Great Bronze Altar

The first object to catch our attention as we enter the Great Court is the Great Bronze Altar. This Altar is typical of the Cross. On this altar the sacrificial lamb was slain, prophetic of "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." (John 1:29) This great altar was a spectacular affair, built of bronze, thirty feet square and fifteen feet high. It stood in its rightful place, the center of the first square of the Great Court.

The Molten Sea

The next object to catch our attention is the "Molten Sea". The molten sea was prophetic of Christian Baptism. (I Peter 3: 20,21) In this sea, under penalty of death, the priest had to bathe before entering the sanctuary to perform his priestly duties. The Molten Sea was a great bowl of bronze about ten feet high and forty-five feet in circumference. It rested on the backs of twelve great oxen of bronze.

The Temple Structure

The exterior of the temple was built of plain white marble. At this point in the lecture, Mr. Alber would quote James A. Garfield, one-time President of the United States: "It [The Temple] was plain without but rich within, just as any Christian ought to be." As Mr. Alber said that he would remove one side of the model. Suddenly the overhead light would reflect off the gold and silver surfaces as well as the beautiful blue and red decorations. People would gasp and react with wonder at the contrasting interior beauty.

The Temple was built of polished white marble, cedar, gold, silver, brass, and iron. The walls were approximately nine feet thick. The building was about 150 feet long, seventy-five feet wide, and sixty feet high.

The Foundation Stones

The foundation stones were "great and costly stones." (I Kings 5:17) They went down eighty feet to the bedrock. One of the stones weighed over one hundred tons. There were twenty-three courses of these "great stones," cut like stair steps in the sloping bedrock.

The Porch

You enter the porch between the two mighty pillars of bronze: Boaz and Jachin. Boaz, meaning beauty, is at your right; Jachin, meaning strength, at your left. They were cast hollow out of bronze with walls four inches thick. It is a significant fact that these pillars were cast out of the bronze shields of the vanquished foes of Israel.

The Door

There is but one Door into the holy place, or sanctuary. It was decorated with cherubim, palm trees, and open flowers. Just as there was only one door into the Holy Place, prophetic of the church, so there is only one doorway into the church and that is Jesus Christ our Lord. "I am the door," said Christ, "By me if any man enter in he shall be saved." (John 10:9)

The Holy Place

The Holy Place, which represents the Church, was a place of dazzling beauty. The floor was covered with blocks of pure gold. It was set with precious stones and shining jewels "of divers colors." (I Kings 6:30) The figures used in the decorations were: the Rose, the Lily, the Cherub, the Palm Tree, and the Lion. Each of these speaks eloquently and prophetically of Christ who is the Rose of Sharon, the Lily of the Valley, etc. (I Kings 6:29-32, 7:36)

The furniture of "the house" is typical of the furniture of the church. There are the *golden candle sticks*, prophetic of the Word of God which is a "lamp unto my feet and light unto my pathway." (Psalms 119:105) In the light of these candlesticks the priests performed the services of the temple. It is significant that this was the only light in the Holy Place.

In like manner God's ministers should perform their service in the light of his precious word, the Bible. Each candlestick was overlaid with a talent of pure gold. The value of the gold in the ten candlesticks was approximately 300,000 dollars. This is a type that should help us to appreciate the inestimable value of God's Word.

Beneath each Candlestick was a table of "the presence." These were symbolic of *the Lord's Table* in the church. Every week they were replenished with "bread and wine" as required by the law. (Lev. 24:5-8) This custom was carried out by the early church in the weekly observance of the Communion. (Acts 20:7)

The third and last object to catch our attention in "the House" is the *Golden Altar of Incense*. Here sweet-smelling fragrance arose continually from the golden censer. This is "typical" of our prayers, rising to our God as a "sweet smell" unto Him. This Altar of Prayer was positioned in the Holy Place, just as close as possible to the Veil and the Ark of the Covenant, which was in the Holy of Holies.

Hanging between the Golden Altar of Incense and the Ark of the Covenant was a magnificent *veil*. It was a thing of beauty. Its colors were blue and purple and scarlet with cherubim of gold. You will remember that it was this Veil that was "rent in twain" when Jesus was crucified (Matt. 27:51). This veil was seven inches thick and was "the type" of death. In His death upon the cross Jesus destroyed death for the Christian. The passageway into the Holy of Holies (heaven) is now open. Since entering the Great Court our journey has been westward toward the "evening star" and the "setting of the sun". We have arrived at the Holy of Holies, prophetic of Heaven.

The Holy of Holies

The Holy of Holies has but one measurement. It's length and breadth and height are the same. The Holy of Holies is the type of heaven. We enter "going west" through the Veil. The door going into the Holy of Holies was never closed.

The floor and the walls, with majestic pilasters, were overlaid with six hundred talents of pure gold. Being a perfect cube with its abundance of Gold it fits perfectly the New Testament description of Heaven of which it was the type. (Rev. 21:16,21)

Here in this room of dazzling beauty we find the Ark of the Covenant of Sinai. The Ark was under the protecting wings of the heroic Cherubim. In Solomon's Temple the Cherubim stood on golden chariot platforms with their faces toward the Veil, "that is, His Flesh." (Heb. 10:19,20)

Here in the Holy of Holies was the Mercy Seat from which God spoke to the High Priest on the Great Day of Atonement. Here the blood of sacrifices was sprinkled. Here too was the Holy Shekinah, the symbol of God's presence.

What more can we say? Only God knows what lies ahead. Mystery after Mystery!

We close with the words of Paul: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him. But God hath revealed them unto us by His Spirit: For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God." (I Cor. 2:9) We have seen the Christian Institution in the Temple of King Solomon, built hundreds of years before Christ. Who can fathom it?

*Raymond L. Alber, the son of John Alber, was assisted by his brother Harold L. Alber in preparing this article.

Note

Published and original copyright by The Reporter Publishing Company in Lincoln, Nebraska. Copies of John G. Alber's book may be purchased from the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1101 19th Ave. S., Nashville, TN 37212-2196, fax: (615) 327-1445, or from Raymond L. Alber, 607 Swadley Rd. Johnson City, TN 37601-9069.

Ira P. and Carrie E. Harbaugh Named Fund

For nineteen years Ira and Carrie Harbaugh served the Wilson Boulevard Christian Church in Arlington, Virginia. Their ministry was much appreciated not only at Wilson Boulevard but throughout the Capital Area. Mrs. Harbaugh served as Sunday School teacher, was active in the womens' program, and was a constant companion to her husband in ministry. Prior to serving the church in Arlington, Reverend Harbaugh had held pastorates in Pittsburgh and Lemoyne, Pennsylvania; Carthage, Indiana and Cincinnati, Ohio. He was educated at Bethany College, Bethany, West Virginia. The Reverend Harbaugh was a trustee of the Capital Area Christian Missionary Society at the time of his death. This Named Fund is established by their two children Mildred E. Harbaugh and Earle E. Harbaugh.

Endowment And Capital Campaign Report November 30, 1994

Goal \$1,000,000 Received to Date \$981,353

Balance To Be Raised by December 31, 1994 \$18,647

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Your Help Will Be Greatly Appreciated

Book Review by Dr. Howard E. Short

Conveying the Incarnation: Reflections Concerning the Church and the World. By Robert Oldham Fife. Los Angeles: Westwood Christian Foundation, 1993. 374pp.

Robert Oldham Fife has done something which is difficult to do. He has taken eleven lectures, sermons and articles, three chapters from a previous book, added three new chapters and published them all under a single title. When I first looked at the book, casually, I thought perhaps the book title was the title of the first chapter. This is a device that is often used. After reading the text I realized that the Incarnation is really the theme of all the chapters.

The sub-title is the clue to what this book is about--the church and the world. While he uses an abundance of references to the nature and teaching of the church, including citations from Alexander Campbell, a father of his own tradition, he always comes around to the belief that the church's reason for existence is to present Christ to the world and in the world. One can almost open the book at random and find a sentence that says this. For example, in the chapter on "What Does It Mean to be Human?" one paragraph begins: "The Christian view is that our most authentic humanity has revealed in the Person of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Man, who lived in fellowship with the Father."

Dr. Fife was a chaplain with the 42nd. Division, the "Rainbow Division," in Europe during World War II. Another excellent example of the title and of the book is told in the chapter called "The Restoration of Biblical Secularity." The colonel of his regiment had said to him one day, "Chaplain, the only time you need to wear your helmet is when you are on duty conducting services." Fife knew what was meant: "My 'duty' was to represent the 'sacred' among the troops...otherwise the 'sacred' has no place in the 'secular' activities of the regiment."

Here was another opportunity to reiterate the central theme of the book: "This dichotomy between the 'sacred' and the 'secular' has been a major source of confusion among modern Christians." One final quote on the subject: "The true enemy of the Christian life is not secularity. Rather, secularism is the enemy."

The book is replete with references from theological and "secular" writers, if the latter term is proper to use. The story of the great meeting of church and state in the time of Constantine is fascinating. The meditation on the Holocaust is heart-rending. When you read Dr. Fife you can easily understand what he says and where he stands. His language is simple, clear and succinct. What more could be asked of a writer?



**Elizabeth A. Hartsfield
Named Unsung Leader
in Disciples Church**

Elizabeth Hartsfeild has literally given her life to the Church. After completing her work at Lexington Theological Seminary, or College of the Bible as it was then, she soon became treasurer of that institution, having had a background in business. Serving in that capacity until 1961, she then became an associate minister with the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Kentucky. This ministry lead her into almost every Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in the State of Kentucky and into many outside the state. Elizabeth retired from that position in 1979 but has done a number of interims as pastor of congregations since then. Active in ecumenical work, Elizabeth Hartsfield was and continues to be deeply involved in Church Women United, having held many State and Regional offices in that body. This Life Patron Membership was given to Hartsfield at the 1994 Assembly of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Kentucky through the generosity of an anonymous couple deeply concerned for the ministry of the Historical Society.

