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DISCIPLIANA

The Quarterly Historical Journal of the
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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— From the Editor's Desk

How does one get published in *Discipliana*? Articles that appear in *Discipliana* arrive by one of two routes. They are commissioned by the Editorial Committee, or they are submitted by the author for consideration. This number of the journal contains an example of each.

Edward Robinson was invited by the Editorial Committee of *Discipliana* to prepare an article on the early history of Black Churches of Christ for publication in the journal. The result is his "Two Old Heroes' Samuel W. Womack, Alexander Campbell, and the Origins of the Black Churches of Christ in the United States." Other examples of articles that were commissioned by the Editorial Committee are the published papers of the Kirkpatrick Seminar for Historians of the Stone-Campbell Movement. This annual seminar produces from two to three papers that are commissioned by the Editorial Committee with the clearly stated intention of ultimate publication in *Discipliana*. Topics for the seminar are determined by the Editorial Committee with feedback from participants in the seminar.

Mark Martin's, "The Churches of Christ Evangelize Germany: The First Years After World War Two" is an example of an article submitted by the author to *Discipliana*. Copies of Mr. Martin's paper were distributed to three reviewers. Reviewers are asked to recommend that a submission be published as submitted, published with recommended changes, or not published. Papers that reviewers recommend not to be published are deemed as not being in accord with the current publication program of the journal. That program calls for the publication of well-written scholarly papers that present new research or a distinctively new perspective on a previously researched topic in the history of the Stone-Campbell Movement. Directions for submitting a manuscript for consideration by *Discipliana* are included on the inside cover of the journal. Graduate students and professional and lay Historians who have studied any aspect of the Movement are encouraged to submit manuscripts for consideration.

D. Newell Williams

— From the President's Desk

In keeping with the Historical Society's ministry serving all three branches of the Stone-Campbell Movement, this issue of *Discipliana* contains two articles authored by academic scholars who hold membership in the Churches of Christ. The first, authored by Dr. Edward Robinson professor at Abilene Christian College, traces the biographical journeys and ministry of two African-American clergymen in the Churches of Christ – Samuel Womack (1851-1920) and Alexander Campbell (1862-1930). After detailing the ministry and writing of these leaders during the era of Reconstruction, Dr. Robinson explains their break from the Disciples of Christ near the turn of the twentieth century. Womack and Campbell believed the Disciples were allowing “innovations” and they were moved to withdraw from what they labeled “digressives.” Robinson concludes his article by lifting up the life of Marshall Keeble – the most effective and influential preacher in the African American Churches of Christ from 1931 until his death in 1968 – as the greatest legacy of Womack and Campbell. Keeble's second wife, now more than 100 years of age, resides in Nashville, Tennessee.

The second article, authored by Mark Martin, focuses upon the work of missionaries from the Churches of Christ in Germany following World War II. During the four decades between 1906 and 1945 the missionary effort of the Churches of Christ had been modest with approximately twelve missionaries serving overseas at any given time. But the move into Germany in the aftermath of World War II resulted in an explosion of missionary activity and by 1950 there were thirty evangelists and teachers in Germany alone, ten new German congregations, between two and three thousand Germans in weekly classes and a score of Germans studying for ministry. This dramatic growth brought profound change to the Churches of Christ and led to results described by Martin as “inconclusive.”

Together these articles offer helpful insight into two areas of ministry of the Churches of Christ in the twentieth century, both on the overseas mission field in Germany and within their African-American community at home.

D. Duane Cummins

**“THE TWO OLD HEROES”
SAMUEL W. WOMACK, ALEXANDER CAMPBELL
AND THE ORIGINS OF
BLACK CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE UNITED STATES**

Edward Robinson*

Samuel W. Womack (1851-1920) and Alexander Campbell (1862-1930) were two principal African-American pioneer evangelists who laid the theological foundation for the emergence of black Churches of Christ in the United States. Both men were former slaves. Both were natives of Tennessee. Both leaders, after pulling away from Preston Taylor (1849-1931) and the Gay Street and Lea Avenue Christian churches in Nashville, Tennessee, planted the Jackson Street Church of Christ, which became the “mother church”¹ for African-American Churches of Christ throughout the United States. This congregation nurtured and inspired Marshall Keeble, who became the premier black evangelist in Churches of Christ from 1931 to 1968. But Keeble owed much of his evangelistic success to the encouragement and tutelage of Womack and Campbell. Keeble referred to these pioneer preachers as the “two old heroes,”² who set black members of Churches of Christ on a path to restore what they understood to be New Testament Christianity.

**“Contending for the old Book”
The Work of Samuel W. Womack**

The events of the 1850s—the Compromise of 1850, the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the birth of the Republican party, the brutal attack of Preston Brooks against Charles Sumner, the infamous Dred Scott Decision, and John Brown’s raid of the federal arsenal in Harper’s Ferry, Virginia—all made this decade one of the most eventful and controversial in American history. From this chaotic milieu emerged Samuel W. Womack. Born in 1851 in Lynchburg (Moore County), Tennessee, young Samuel grew up amid the crucible of sectionalism and the Civil War.³

Womack marked his transition from the old world of slavery to the new world of freedom with his conversion to the Stone-Campbell Movement. In 1865, Womack heard the Gospel preached by white preachers, and the next year, he received baptism and converted from

* Edward Robinson, Ph.D. is Assistant Professor of Bible and History at Abilene Christian University. His 2003 Mississippi State University dissertation focused on the career of Stone-Campbell Movement preacher and racial reformer Samuel Robert Cassius.

Methodism to the Churches of Christ. When recalling his conversion experience, Womack stated:

I will never forget the grand privilege that the white church of Christ at Lynchburg, Tenn., gave the colored people during their first protracted meeting just after the Civil War, in 1865, held by Brethren Brents, Lee, and Trimble. We were invited to attend and seats were found for us. In this meeting I heard my first gospel sermon and a lasting impression was made on my heart. A short time after that, in the fall of 1866, I was baptized by a white preacher, old Brother T. J. Shaw—"the man with the old Book in his head," the people called him.⁴

White leaders of Churches of Christ, Dr. Thomas W. Brents, "old Father Lee," Robert Trimble, and T. J. Shaw, left an indelible imprint on Womack's mind and character. "These men," Womack confessed, "made impressions on my mind that the waves of time will never be able to wash out."⁵ From white evangelists in the Stone-Campbell fellowship, Womack developed a high view of Scripture, especially the New Testament, which remained with him throughout his life.

In the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras, Womack regularly read and contributed to the *Christian Standard*. In 1879, Womack announced, "The STANDARD has found its way to my house, and it is all one could hope for."⁶ More than a staunch supporter of and consistent writer for this paper, Womack emerged as a leader among black Disciples of Christ. In 1880, he informed fellow black believers of his plans to preach in west Tennessee, urging, "I am now preparing to make a few visits through the Western part of the State, preaching, and to see what can be done for a State meeting this year. Therefore, allow me to say to the brethren in Tennessee, wake up, and let us rally together once more."⁷ Indeed, *Christian Standard* accounts portray a Womack who was busily active building a fledgling congregation in Little Rock, Tennessee, arranging a consultation meeting for the Christian Church in the same community, and aggressively working up interest for a general convention for black Disciples of Christ in Memphis.⁸ While working in Memphis, Womack in 1884 expressed his desire to enroll in the recently established LeMoyné College, lamenting, "I regret very much that I cannot make this city my home, in order to attend this school; but Nashville is supplied with fine schools."⁹ In the 1880s, then, Womack was active as a preacher, educator, and organizer among African American Disciples throughout the Volunteer State.

Details of Womack's family are sketchy. National census records for 1900 for the state of Tennessee, however, reveal that

Womack was a family man. His wife was Sallie Womack, likely a former slave. This union produced two daughters: Minnie, born in 1878, and Hattie, born in 1886. In the late 1890s, Minnie married Marshall Keeble, the premier evangelist in black Churches of Christ in the twentieth century. Census records further show that Womack, his wife, and younger daughter boarded with the Keeble family. Womack's writings in the *Gospel Advocate* also indicate that he had a brother, F. D. Womack, who preached for a Church of Christ in Arkansas.¹⁰

Around 1900, Samuel broke from the Disciples of Christ and sided with Churches of Christ. When Preston Taylor (1849-1931), preacher for the Gay Street and Lea churches in Nashville, Tennessee, allowed "innovations," Alexander Campbell persuaded Womack and his family to withdraw from the "digressives." Womack vehemently opposed doing evangelism through missionary societies, which he believed violated the teachings of Scripture. "The Gay Street brethren," assailed Womack, "it seems to me, are wanting to do like other folks. Brother Smith, of Kansas City, Mo., is with them and is promoting all of the society fads. I love the old way and am trying to get nearer every day."¹¹ When raising funds for the Jackson Street Church of Christ in Nashville in 1902, Womack affirmed, "We have no entertainments, no clubs, no ladies' aid societies; but we believe in meeting these obligations through the church, the God-given institution provided for all his work."¹² Womack, like many of his white comrades in Churches of Christ, viewed evangelism through missionary societies as a direct violation of God's will because there were no precedents in the New Testament.

Womack was not only a co-founder of the Jackson Street Church of Christ in Nashville, but he was also the chief fundraiser for this congregation. Womack worked tirelessly to wipe out the church's debt of \$1,090.00 in accordance with his perception of biblical teaching. In the spring of 1902, Womack stated, "We are financially weak and few in number and are laboring very earnestly to build up in the New Testament way."¹³ In the summer of 1902, he noted that \$262.93 had been received and paid on the Jackson Street property, leaving a balance of \$727.07. "Of the foregoing amount," Womack proudly reported, "eighty-two dollars and ninety-three cents was given by the white congregation, and the balance we have raised among ourselves, without the aid of any kind of innovation."¹⁴ Black self-help went hand in hand with white philanthropy. More importantly, Womack, determined to adhere strictly to what he perceived to be scriptural teachings, asserted, "I know of no way taught in the Book to succeed in the work, but to work, talk, and trust God by doing what he says, just as he says it."¹⁵

The next year, Womack reported that the Jackson Street congregation was current in meeting its financial obligations. The

contract on the Jackson Street property consisted of thirty notes of \$30.00 and sixteen notes of \$5.00. The saints there wiped out the latter notes. "We are not behind on any of the notes," Womack attested, "but there are twenty-two of the thirty-dollar notes yet to be paid." Womack indicated that the facility could be "used for a schoolhouse as well as for a meetinghouse," and he planned "to take all the notes outstanding within two years." More significantly, Womack refused to resort to what he saw as unscriptural practices of collecting funds. "We have given no entertainments of any sort to raise money to meet our notes."¹⁶ Rigid adherence to what Womack embraced as New Testament principles was as important to him as paying off the church's monetary debt.

By the winter of 1906, Womack announced to *Gospel Advocate* readers that the debt on the Jackson Street church property had dwindled to \$360.00. "The \$1,090 debt we have reduced to \$360, and we are not behind with any of the notes." Three years later, Womack boasted that the church's indebtedness had been reduced to \$30.69, but he added that "we are struggling to raise the balance." Womack was more elated, knowing that the proceeds had been "raised without the aid of any kind of innovation, and that most of it by our own efforts...."¹⁷ Strict compliance with "the old Book" and the financial gifts of African Americans inspired and encouraged Womack.

Womack was more than a fundraiser for the Jackson Street congregation. He was an itinerant preacher who crisscrossed the Volunteer State, urging black people to worship according to the Bible. In 1900, Womack reported preaching in Winchester and baptizing five "into the one body."¹⁸ Near the end of the same year, Womack preached in the Rockhill Schoolhouse in Putnam County, baptized one, and restored one.¹⁹ The following year, he revisited the Rockhill community, preaching day and night, baptizing six, and reclaiming two.²⁰ In the spring of 1903, Womack preached two times in the school at Rockhill, noting that the "disciples at that place are taking on new life."²¹ When returning to this congregation on August 3, 1903, Womack noted, "Seven persons made the good confession, six of them being baptized."²² Four years later, Womack reported that his Rockhill Schoolhouse meeting engendered four confessions and two baptisms.²³

Womack was also active in Lebanon, Tennessee, where he immersed one person and encouraged the congregation in 1901.²⁴ Three years later, he reported "one addition" and good interest, and he added that a "balance of fifty dollars was raised to make payment on a lot on which to build a meetinghouse." White Christians contributed funds to erect a house of worship. "It is very encouraging to see the interest that the white congregation is taking in this work."²⁵ In 1905, Womack returned to Lebanon, preached the Word of the Lord, and converted three

people. "The little band," he boasted, "is moving on slowly."²⁶

In addition, the old hero preached several times in Cookeville, Tennessee. In 1902, he spent a week in this city and gathered a group of eight black Disciples, "who agreed to keep house for the Lord." Keeping house for the Lord meant, among other things, partaking of the Lord's Supper every Sunday. Womack especially thanked white believers in Cookeville "for their fellowship."²⁷ In 1905, Womack stated that five people confessed Christ, four received baptism, and one took membership in Cookeville. He also said, "We are thankful to the white congregation for the use of their pool and for other favors."²⁸ A year later, Womack observed, "With the aid of the white congregation in Cookeville, the brethren there are ready to build them a house of worship."²⁹ This display of benevolence doubtlessly expressed white Christians' desire to maintain separate congregations from black believers.

The Paradox of White Philanthropy and White Racism in Churches of Christ

Samuel W. Womack, Alexander Campbell, and other African-American leaders in Churches of Christ clearly understood that they needed the financial support of white Christians in order to reach black people with the Gospel. Alexander Campbell, therefore, stated aptly in 1909, "Dear white brethren, some of the loyal colored brethren have the zeal, the whole truth, and the courage to do the right thing, and you white brethren who are loyal have the zeal, the whole truth, the courage, and the money."³⁰ Half a decade later, Campbell attributed the religious revival among black Christians in Nashville to the interest of white believers. "I have met and talked and prayed with many of the white brethren with tears on the great religious awakening that is now stirring the pure minds of the white brethren."³¹ Here, Campbell had in mind the city-wide campaign which A. M. Burton helped launch at the Jackson Street congregation in Nashville in 1914. The three-week meeting, which Burton called "one of the greatest and most beneficial movements ever started by the brotherhood in Nashville,"³² yielded twenty-seven baptisms.

In 1915, Campbell expressed gratitude to Caucasian Christians who enabled him to buy a tent, which he used to evangelize African Americans. "I most humbly thank all the white Christians who helped me in purchasing my tent and have been helping me go among my people with the gospel of Christ."³³ Six years later, Campbell reported baptizing fifty people in Wetumpka, Alabama. "The white Christians," he asserted, "supported the meeting. They are doing a great work for the Lord." Campbell's evangelistic campaign in Chattanooga, generated two baptisms and two restorations. "This meeting was supported by the white

Christians of Chattanooga. I am truly thankful to them for their help.” Campbell concluded, “The white church at Chattanooga and Wetumpka, Ala., are the strongest workers I have seen.”³⁴ Campbell’s testimony attests that many whites in Churches of Christ were concerned about the spiritual plight of their black neighbors.

Racism accompanied the philanthropy of white believers, however. While many white Christians demonstrated genuine interest in the souls of black folk, their anti-black sentiment vitiated their benevolence. A vivid example is John Moody McCaleb (1861-1953), a contemporary of both Womack and Campbell, a native Tennessean, and a missionary to Japan, who devoted his life to evangelizing both wayward Japanese abroad and to instructing unschooled blacks at home. In 1904, when C. P. Russell established a “Night School for Rudimentary Instructions for Adult Negroes” in Lexington, Kentucky, McCaleb applauded his interest in the black man. “No better work,” affirmed McCaleb, “could be engaged in than to establish schools for this class, not only to teach them how to read and write, but along with it give them regular instruction in the Scriptures. A grand and glorious missionary work could be done at your own doors by having such schools in every town and city throughout the South.”³⁵

Three years later, McCaleb proffered a more specific plan for the elevation and education of African Americans, but he cautioned that white racism was a massive obstacle to white-on-black philanthropy. “Race prejudice, however, stands as a great barrier to such work. If the white man makes it a custom to preach to them and mingle with them, he is severely criticised [sic] by his own people, and imposes upon himself a burden few are willing to bear.”³⁶ Entangled in the vortex of “The White Man’s Burden”³⁷ and God’s mandate of proclaiming the Gospel to all peoples, white leaders in Churches of Christ found themselves subject to both human excoriation and divine wrath. If white evangelists preached to blacks, they received criticism from fellow white Christians; if they failed to reach out to African Americans, they felt condemned by God. This was indeed a difficult burden to bear.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of shouldering “The White Man’s Burden,” McCaleb believed that it was possible to interact with the black man in a way “that would be acceptable to all.” Convinced that black Americans were as intelligent and moral as whites, McCaleb devised a plan to train the African-American preacher. McCaleb argued, “We accept the Turk, the Armenian, the Greek, the Japanese, the Korean, or Chinese, but not the American African [sic].” He proposed that Christian schools partner with colleges like Fisk University and Tuskegee Institute to teach Bible classes. McCaleb, while contending that “trained and converted Africans would make the best workers for the African

people,” stressed the importance of white teachers’ compliance with Jim Crow statutes. “A white brother or brethren might do such work with safety by doing it ‘professionally,’ and not socially.”³⁸

Even though he encouraged collaboration between white Christian teachers and black students, McCaleb was a staunch segregationist. He rigidly opposed racial and social mixing. “But what might be better would be to have a colored department in our own colleges, where the boys can have the benefit in the classes of our greatest and best men. But this must be done professionally, with no attempt to compromise the white people into a miscellaneous mixing with the blacks.” On the one hand, McCaleb emphasized that the African American should be “in every way treated as a man.” McCaleb stressed, “We are under the same obligation to be fair, courteous, and kind to the black man that we are to any one else. When in his home, his shop, his church we should be there as a guest, not as a boss.” On the other hand, McCaleb insisted that there existed vast differences between blacks and whites, and that African Americans hated themselves. “The black skin, the flattened nose, and kinky hair are hated by the blacks themselves, and every one of them would change to white people if they could. I do not blame them for this, but let us remember that this difference in race is the work of God and not of man.”³⁹

Like many segregationists, McCaleb demanded that blacks stay in their “place.” To illustrate his argument about “place,” McCaleb recalled a young undisciplined black coachman, who called a daughter of a white Christian man “‘Bessie’ in the familiar style of her own white brother.” McCaleb protested, “I believe I voice the sentiment of the brotherhood generally when I say that he was out of his place. That upstartish disposition, especially among the younger negroes in which they vainly try to be white people with white people, has done much harm.”⁴⁰ By “younger negroes,” McCaleb meant so-called “New Negroes,” who, because they were untrained by the institution of slavery, frequently and freely disregarded the social order of the New South. Historian Leon Litwack correctly notes that “the New Negro violated white expectations of black people, confounded their feelings of superiority, and violated stereotypes long assimilated into the white people.”⁴¹ This was especially true of racial conservatives⁴² in white Churches of Christ such as McCaleb.

McCaleb, consequently, strongly admonished the young black student to “remember his place and race, ask necessary questions, and speak courteously when he is spoken to, but carefully avoid intruding on the feelings of others. Let him seek familiar companionship with his own race.” Black “intrusions” into the space and “place” of whites, McCaleb stated, would lead to racial and social mixing, a neurotic fear of many white southerners. Expressing a deep concern of countless southern

whites, McCaleb articulated, “Give him the privilege of attending our schools, they say, and next he will be making love to our daughters and will seek a place in the social circle.”⁴³ Imbedded in white southerners’ insistence on “place” was the issue of interracial sex.

McCaleb’s remarks on race suggest that some whites in Churches of Christ imbibed what journalist Wilbur J. Cash has called, the “Southern rape complex.” Cash wrote, “What Southerners felt, therefore, was that any assertion of any kind on the part of the Negro constituted in a perfectly real manner an attack on the Southern woman.” The southern rape complex “justified,” Cash explained, “violence toward the Negro as demanded in defense of woman.” This neurotic disposition derived from black assertion and black aggression. The abolition of slavery engendered political advancement, social elevation, and educational opportunities for African Americans during the Reconstruction era. Such protrusions, most white southerners feared, entitled blacks to the “ever crucial right of marriage.” The intermarrying of blacks (the so-called inferior race) with whites (the supposedly superior race) threatened the perpetuation of white supremacy and white superiority, “the great heritage of white men.”⁴⁴ This was most certainly a concern of McCaleb and other white Christians.

In 1911, McCaleb preached at the Jackson Street Church of Christ in Nashville and praised Womack and his work. “This church is mostly indebted to Brother S. W. Womack for its existence.” A friend of McCaleb further observed that Womack was “to the colored people what Brother Lipscomb is to the white people.” Because of Womack’s “good name,” McCaleb urged fellow white Christians to support him. “The colored churches are usually poor. If some white congregation would make him their evangelist and see that he receives at least a modest support, it would be a good work.”⁴⁵ Even though Caucasian leaders such as McCaleb urged their white followers to assist black evangelists, both preachers and parishioners in white Churches of Christ tended to view their black counterparts with disdain and suspicion. This was the racial and social environment in which Womack and Campbell labored and moved.

Standing on Apostolic Ground: The Work of Alexander Campbell

Like Womack, Alexander Campbell survived the turbulent epochs of black slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, and he emerged as an influential leader among the Disciples of Christ until his abrupt departure from the group around 1900. From this time until his death in 1930, Campbell worked as an ardent church planter in Middle Tennessee

and as a passionate preacher and debater for black Churches of Christ in the New South. Like his co-worker Womack, Campbell firmly believed that twentieth-century Christians should adhere rigidly to the New Testament and it alone.

Details about Campbell's childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood are nebulous. Census records, however, suggest that he was born a slave in 1862 in Tennessee. The 1880 U. S. census data reveals that Campbell lived with his mother, Lettie, a housekeeper, and his three sisters, Carrie, Annie, and Lilley, and three brothers, Robert, Lewis, and Willie.⁴⁶ Conspicuously absent from the 1880 census count is Alexander's father, who had probably died. Two decades later, Campbell had a family of his own, which consisted of his wife, Mattie, a daughter, Alexine (born in 1891), a son, Robert (born in 1895), and a daughter, Lois (born in 1900).⁴⁷ Campbell occasionally mentioned his family in his writings. In 1908, for instance, Campbell stated, "I have a large family to support, and must work with my own hands to help."⁴⁸ Campbell's desire to devote himself wholly to evangelism conflicted with his responsibility to meet his family's needs. Therefore, he constantly relied on the generosity of white believers to help him support his growing family. James A. Allen, a white leader among Churches of Christ in Nashville, knew about Campbell's monetary struggles; thus, he suggested that "several congregations make a small contribution regularly each month to sustain Brother Campbell in giving his whole time to preaching among the colored people."⁴⁹

In 1915, Campbell again requested financial support for his family from white Christians, pleading, "I would like to have a little something to make my wife and children feel a little better once a year."⁵⁰ Two years later, he made reference to his eighty-four year old mother, who was "with me in five of the tent meetings, and it was a pleasure to our white and colored friends to hear her voice above the younger people in the singing." Campbell also commended a teenage son, Louis, who "led the prayer services in most of these tent meetings."⁵¹ Apart from these references, very little is known about the Campbell family.

Around 1900, Alexander Campbell left the Disciples of Christ, severing ties with the Gay Street and Lea Avenue Christian churches in Nashville. Writing nine years later, Campbell recalled, "My leaving the 'digressives' about nine years ago and beginning the pure worship in my own rented house in the city, on Hardee Street caused Brother S. W. Womack, who was with the 'digressives' at Gay Street, to come with me and my family; and we continued together, and finally purchased this property, and, with the help of the white brethren and the colored brethren, we have succeeded in paying about eleven hundred dollars, without raising a dollar of the money in an unscriptural way."⁵² In 1914, Campbell indicated that what he perceived to be erroneous practices in

worship influenced his break with Preston Taylor and the Gay Street and Lea Avenue churches in Nashville. “I withdrew from the stronger colored churches in Nashville—namely, Gay Street and Lea Avenue—fourteen years ago, because of the introduction of innovations into the churches, and began the pure worship in my own hired house on Hardee Street—myself, wife, daughter, mother, and sister.”⁵³ Within a few months, Samuel W. Womack also “withdrew from Gay Street Church and took his stand with us on apostolic grounds.”⁵⁴ Standing on “apostolic grounds,” in Campbell’s opinion, essentially meant evangelizing without the aid of missionary societies and worshiping without the accompaniment of instrumental music.

After his withdrawal from black Disciples of Christ, Campbell quickly became a vibrant and energetic leader of African-American Churches of Christ in Middle Tennessee. In addition to establishing and developing the Jackson Street congregation in Nashville, Campbell planted a Church of Christ on Kayne Avenue in the same city. “In 1906,” reported Campbell, “Brother C. A. Moore gave me a tent. I put it up on Kayne Avenue and conducted a meeting from September 28 to December 14, and baptized twenty-eight persons.”⁵⁵ Immediately after the establishment of this congregation, Campbell began making plans to erect a church building. “The thirty-dollar donation by the church of Christ at the New Shops (sent up by Brother Rye) to the Kayne Avenue Mission to help buy and build a house in which to worship was very thankfully received and appreciated. We hope that other white congregations will remember us financially.”⁵⁶ Campbell clearly understood that the success of black evangelists depended largely on the donations of white Christians.

But white philanthropy was contingent on black credibility. Thus, Campbell gave frequent reports of evangelistic work, and he kept meticulous financial records to gain and maintain the confidence of white supporters. In 1906, for example, Campbell preached 271 sermons, eighty-two of those in Nashville, established three congregations, and baptized ninety-four persons.⁵⁷ In 1908, Campbell conducted seven tent meetings: five in Nashville, one in Smyrna, Tennessee, and one in Columbus, Mississippi. These meetings engendered forty-two baptisms and six restorations. During the same year, Campbell received \$327.82 in contributions, and he spent \$93.61, which left him with a surplus of \$234.21, a monthly income of \$11.81. Campbell gave 268 discourses, which led to seventy-three additions in 1914. The next year, he preached 275 sermons, won sixty-five seekers to Christ, conducted five funerals, and performed three weddings. Two years later, he baptized eighty-eight people, restored thirty-eight souls, issued 317 sermons, performed three marriages, and supervised six funerals.⁵⁸

In addition to being an itinerant and passionate preacher, Alexander Campbell was also a fierce and staunch debater. In 1920, Campbell for three nights debated J. B. Booth, presiding Elder of the A.M.E. Church in Marshall County, Tennessee. Campbell affirmed, “The church of Christ, with which I (Alexander Campbell) stand identified, is apostolic in origin, doctrine, and practice.” Booth denied the proposition. On the first night, Campbell argued that the Church of Christ originated “in Jerusalem in the days of the apostles, on the first Pentecost after the ascension of Christ.” According to T. G. M’Lean, a white member of the Church of Christ who witnessed the debate, Campbell “quoted passage after passage in proof, giving book, chapter, and verse.” Booth, to the contrary, insisted that the church began in the lifetime of Abraham. Campbell replied that “if there was a church then, it was not the church of Christ, for Christ’s blood had not been shed; therefore, it was a bloodless church, a church without a head, and as the Spirit had not come, and as ‘the body without the spirit is dead,’ so it was a dead church.”⁵⁹ Campbell’s argument reflects the belligerent and exclusive disposition that developed in African-American Churches of Christ in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

On the second night of the Campbell-Booth debate, the two men discussed the doctrine of the church. Booth, according to M’Lean, failed to make a sensible argument because he read from the Methodist Discipline that “we are saved by faith only.” Campbell, however, “called on him for book, chapter, and verse, and he [Booth] consumed most of the time hunting for the passage in the Bible, but finally gave it up and said he was mistaken.” On the last night, the preachers debated the practice of the church. On the one hand, Campbell “gave quotation after quotation showing the practice of the church of Christ to be apostolic.” On the other hand, Booth, unable to refute Campbell’s contention, told “the story of his childhood and early struggles and ridiculed Campbell and his argument.” M’Lean observed that throughout the entire debate, “Booth would not stay on the proposition.” When the debate ended, Campbell challenged Booth to another public discussion on the subject of water baptism, but the latter refused, “saying he never expected to debate again.” M’Lean, after having observed the debate, concluded: “Brother Campbell is an able preacher of the word, and the truth in no wise suffered, but was victorious in his hands.”⁶⁰

The Campbell-Booth debate is instructive for two reasons. First, it illustrates that after Campbell and other black evangelists broke from the Disciples of Christ, they, like many of their white counterparts, espoused an exclusive posture and contended that they constituted “the one true church.” This position of exclusivism, which appears to have developed within the first two decades of the twentieth century, continues to be a cardinal tenet of most African American Churches of Christ

today. Second, a combative mentality accompanied their position of exclusivism. Instead of seeing black Baptists and Methodists as fellow Christians, African American preachers in Churches of Christ viewed them as enemies of God, who needed to be converted, corrected, or restored. Campbell, then, embodies the “hard style” of black preachers, who denounced religious groups who deviated from what Churches of Christ perceived to be the “pure Gospel.” But Campbell, Womack, and other pioneer black evangelists in the Stone-Campbell Movement inherited this “hard style” mindset from their white counterparts in that fellowship.⁶¹

The Legacy of Womack and Campbell

Nothing thrilled Womack more than to see a congregation working and worshipping according to “the old Book.” After preaching and baptizing a black person in Manchester (Coffee County), Tennessee, Womack reported in 1905, “They are keeping house for the Lord and they have their new meetinghouse almost completed. They are content with the old Book to direct them in the worship.”⁶² Three years later, Womack visited Pea Ridge, Arkansas, where his father had established a congregation in 1884. While there, Womack stopped by his father’s grave and rejoiced that the “church kindly remembers him for his loyalty to the old Book.”⁶³ In 1909, however, Womack lamented that even though his father worked to develop the Pea Ridge church, “innovations have worked their way into the congregation and many of them are now very much troubled over the state of affairs.”⁶⁴ By “innovations,” Womack clearly meant things such as instrumental music in worship and missionary societies as substitutes for personal and congregational evangelism, activities he deemed unauthorized in New Testament.

Womack doubtlessly inherited his father’s reverence for the holy Bible. But, more significantly, Womack also owed his respect for Scripture to the tutelage of white leaders in Churches of Christ. For example, in 1866, Womack received baptism from T. J. Shaw, “the man with the old Book in his head.”⁶⁵ When David Lipscomb died in 1917, Womack eulogized him as a helpful man. “So many times I have met him at the office, and any part of the Book that I did not understand, he was ready to help me out on it. Our loss is his gain.”⁶⁶ Two years later, Womack, after a preachers meeting at the Jackson Street Church of Christ, called it a “grand success. Many good things out of the old Book were presented.”⁶⁷ Two months before his own death, Womack wrote in his last known article in the *Gospel Advocate*, “As I have labored over forty years, I feel like I am able to give some advice to my preaching brethren and to the members in general. Never fail to contend for the apostolic doctrine everywhere you go, and let your life be just what the

old Book calls for, and your influence will be great among men.”⁶⁸ Womack went to his grave convinced that by worshiping without instrumental music and evangelizing a lost world without missionary societies, he had embraced the “pure gospel.”

“Contending for the old Book,” then, was a theme that permeated the ministerial career of Samuel W. Womack. Like his white mentors in Churches of Christ, Womack was immersed in what historian Richard T. Hughes has called, “Campbellian rationalism.” The rationalistic method of reading Scripture influenced Womack, Campbell, and other African-American preachers who tended to be “literalistic in their reading of the biblical text and exclusivistic in their attitudes toward other Christian traditions.”⁶⁹ Womack thoroughly imbibed “the old Book,” and he firmly believed that the New Testament should govern every aspect of a Christian’s life: works, words, and especially worship. Womack transmitted this conviction to his son-in-law, Marshall Keeble, who in turn passed it on to the many Churches of Christ he established throughout the New South.

The greatest legacy of Womack and Campbell was doubtlessly the emergence of Marshall Keeble, the most renowned black evangelist in Churches of Christ. Keeble commended both Womack and Campbell for planting the Jackson Street Church of Christ in Nashville, Tennessee, from which other black congregations sprang. In 1920, Keeble wrote, “This is the congregation old Brother Womack and Brother Alexander Campbell labored so hard and earnestly to establish some years ago.”⁷⁰ After Womack died in July of the same year, Keeble acknowledged, “He has been a great help to me. He first got me to see that I was wrong while working with the ‘digressives,’ and I came out from them over twenty years ago, and from that day on I tried to make my life like his; and though he is gone, I shall continue to try and imitate the Christian life he has left behind.”⁷¹ A decade later, Keeble eulogized Campbell, who died in an insane asylum in St. Louis, Missouri. While praising Campbell, Keeble also noted the contributions of Womack to the origins and growth of black Churches of Christ in the United States. Keeble affirmed:

Brother Campbell was known and appreciated for his boldness and knowledge of the Scriptures. He traveled as an evangelist for over twenty years and was a gospel preacher for over thirty years. There are hundreds of people today who are members of the church of Christ that were converted under Brother Campbell’s preaching. He and Brother S. W. Womack began the Jackson Street congregation, in Nashville, Tenn., twenty-seven years ago, and this congregation has sent out some of the greatest workers in the brotherhood today.

As age came on, Brother Campbell’s mind became weak and he

had to be sent to the asylum, and there he spent his last days.⁷²

By observing the life of Womack, Keeble acquired a meek and unassuming disposition, which white members of Churches of Christ admired during an era of segregation. By perusing Campbell's frequent financial and evangelism reports in the *Gospel Advocate*, Keeble learned how to inform white supporters of his evangelistic activities and how to garner support from white Christians. Such generosity enabled Keeble to travel extensively and establish numerous black Churches of Christ in America. By studying both Womack's fervent sermons and Campbell's debating techniques, Keeble polished his own homiletical and polemical skills, which made him the foremost black evangelist in Churches of Christ. Hence, Keeble's statement, "some of the greatest workers in the brotherhood today" came from the Jackson Street Church of Christ in Nashville, Tennessee, was a modest and indirect reference to himself, since from 1931 to his death in 1968, he was doubtlessly the most effective and influential preacher in African-American Churches of Christ. Marshall Keeble, then, was the greatest legacy of Womack and Campbell.

(See pp. 37 -- 39 for **Marshall Keeble**
Evangelist among Black Churches of Christ)

NOTES

¹In 1941, Marshall Keeble considered the Jackson Street Church of Christ, Nashville, Tennessee, to be "the mother church among the colored people." See "Keeble to be Here" *Gospel Advocate* 83 (December 25, 1941): 1242.

²Keeble, "Among the Colored Folks" *Gospel Advocate* 61 (March 13, 1919): 261.

³The Twelfth Census of the United States for Davidson County, Tennessee (1900), lists Samuel W. Womack as a boarder with his son-in-law Marshall Keeble and indicates that his birth year was 1851.

⁴Samuel W. Womack, "Among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 57 (December 30, 1915): 1326.

⁵Womack, "Among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 58 (October 5, 1916): 1006-1007. ⁶Womack, "Our Colored Brethren" *Christian Standard* (December 27, 1879): 413. ⁷Womack, "Our Colored Brethren" *Christian Standard* (June 5, 1880): 181.

⁸Ibid. See also, M. F. Womack, "Our Colored Brethren" *Christian Standard* (June 19, 1880): 197. M. F. Womack, an evangelist in Tennessee, was probably Samuel W. Womack's brother.

⁹Samuel W. Womack, "Notes from Our Correspondents" *Gospel*

Advocate 25 (December 10, 1884): 794.

¹⁰*United States Census (1900), Davidson County, for Tennessee.* Samuel W. Womack's reference to his brother F. D. Womack, see Womack, "Work among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 50 (October 22, 1908): 687.

¹¹Samuel W. Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 42 (October 25, 1900): 685.

¹²Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 44 (April 10, 1902): 237.

¹³Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 44 (May 15, 1902): 317.

¹⁴Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 44 (July 10, 1902): 445.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶Womack, "Jackson Street Church Property" *Gospel Advocate* 45 (August 27, 1903): 560. See also, Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 45 (December 10, 1903): 796.

¹⁷Womack, "Brother Womack's Report" *Gospel Advocate* 48 (February 8, 1906): 93.

¹⁸Womack, "Work among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 42 (December 6, 1900): 781.

¹⁹Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 42 (December 20, 1900): 813.

²⁰Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 42 (August 22, 1901): 541.

²¹Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 45 (April 9, 1903): 240.

²²Womack, "Jackson Street Mission, Nashville, Tenn." *Gospel Advocate* 45 (August 20, 1903): 541.

²³Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 49 (September 5, 1907): 557.

²⁴Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 43 (September 19, 1901): 604.

²⁵Womack, "Work among the Colored Brethren in Tennessee" *Gospel Advocate* 46 (June 2, 1904): 350.

²⁶Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 47 (April 27, 1905): 269.

²⁷Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 44 (November 20, 1902): 749.

²⁸Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 47 (October 12, 1905): 652.

²⁹Womack, "Brother Womack's Report" *Gospel Advocate* 48 (February 8, 1906): 93. Interestingly, in the same article, Womack noted:

“The brethren in Centerville, with the aid of the white congregation, have about finished their house and are putting in new seats.” This statement suggests that Jim Crow attitudes and practices infiltrated white Churches of Christ in Tennessee.

³⁰Campbell, “Work among the Colored People” *Gospel Advocate* 51 (December 2, 1909): 1523.

³¹Campbell, “Among the Colored People” *Gospel Advocate* 56 (April 9, 1914): 414.

³²Alexander Campbell, “Among the Colored People” *Gospel Advocate* 56 (April 9, 1914): 414; A. M. Burton, “The Jackson Street Meeting” *Gospel Advocate* 56 (May 21, 1914): 556.

³³Campbell, “Among the Colored People” *Gospel Advocate* 57 (December 16, 1915): 1277.

³⁴Campbell, “Among the Colored Folks” *Gospel Advocate* 63 (December 29, 1921): 1283.

³⁵John M. McCaleb, “A Commendable Interest in the Education of the Negro” *Gospel Advocate* 43 (January 24, 1901): 63.

³⁶McCaleb, “Japan Letter: A Plea for the Colored Man” *Christian Leader and the Way* 21 (January 1, 1907): 2.

³⁷Poet and author, Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936), captured the essence of “The White Man’s Burden.” Writing in 1899 about the responsibility of so-called superior Anglo-Saxons to supposedly inferior Philippines during the Spanish-American War, Kipling stated in the first stanza:

Take up the White Man’s burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives’ need
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

The foregoing excerpt from Kipling’s poem applies to many whites in the Stone-Campbell Movement, who felt a divine obligation to provide spiritual uplift to so-called inferior African Americans. See, *Rudyard Kipling’s Verse* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1945), 321-323.

³⁸McCaleb, “A Plea for the Colored Man,” 2.

³⁹McCaleb, “Japan Letter: How to Reach the Colored Man” *Christian Leader and the Way* 21 (September 3, 1907): 3.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹Leon Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 198.

⁴²Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), has brilliantly shown that three racial mentalities pervaded the post-Civil War South. Racial conservatives demanded that African Americans stay in their “place” of submission and subservience. Racial liberals worked to keep churches and schools integrated so that so-called inferior blacks could remain in contact with supposedly superior whites. Racial radicals advocated lynching blacks whom they considered bestial. The writer contends elsewhere that all three racial mentalities existed in white Churches of Christ. See Edward J. Robinson, “Like Rats in a Trap”: Samuel Robert Cassius and the ‘Race Problem’ in Churches of Christ” (Ph. D. dissertation, Mississippi State University, 2003).

⁴³McCaleb, “How to Reach the Colored Man,” 3.

⁴⁴Wilbur J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), 114-117. Booker T. Washington’s 1901 dining in the White House with President Theodore Roosevelt offers an instructive example of how pervasive the “Southern rape complex” was in the post-emancipation South. White southerners interpreted the Washington-Roosevelt meeting as black advancement against southern white womanhood, the “perpetuator” of white supremacy. “The President,” *The Richmond Times* decried, “is willing that negroes shall mingle freely with whites in the social circle—that white women may receive attentions from negro men; it means that there is no racial reason in his opinion why whites and blacks may not marry and intermarry, why the Anglo-Saxon may not mix negro blood with his blood.” See *Richmond Times* (1901); cited in H. W. Brands, *T. R.: The Last Romantic* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 423; “Niggers in the White House” *Greenwood Commonwealth* (January 31, 1903): 2. See also, Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *Theodore Roosevelt and the Art of Controversy: Episodes of the White House Years* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), 32-61.

⁴⁵McCaleb, “Brother S. W. Womack and His Work” *Gospel Advocate* 53 (January 19, 1911): 75.

⁴⁶United States Census for Davidson County, Tennessee (1880).

⁴⁷United States Census for Davidson County, Tennessee (1900).

⁴⁸Campbell, “Among the Colored People” *Gospel Advocate* 50 (January 2, 1908): 11.

⁴⁹James A. Allen, “Work among the Colored People” *Gospel Advocate* 51 (February 4, 1909): 157.

⁵⁰Campbell, “Among the Colored People” *Gospel Advocate* 57 (December 16, 1915): 1277.

⁵¹Campbell, "Among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 59 (February 22, 1917): 186.

⁵²Campbell, "Work among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 51 (December 2, 1909): 1523.

⁵³Campbell, "Among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 56 (April 9, 1914): 414.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Campbell, "Work among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 49 (March 14, 1907): 173.

⁵⁶Campbell, "Among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 56 (April 9, 1914): 414.

⁵⁷Campbell, "Work among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 50 (January 2, 1908): 11.

⁵⁸Campbell, "Among the Colored Folks" *Gospel Advocate* 62 (February 19, 1920): 183.

⁵⁹T. G. M'Lean, "Among the Colored Folks" *Gospel Advocate* 62 (April 15, 1920): 389.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹For an excellent discussion of the "hard style" program of Churches of Christ, see Richard T. Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1996), 47-91.

⁶²Womack, "Church News" *Gospel Advocate* 47 (May 11, 1905): 301.

⁶³Womack, "Work among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 50 (October 22, 1908): 687.

⁶⁴Womack, "Work among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 51 (October 28, 1909): 1371.

⁶⁵Womack, "Among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 57 (December 30, 1915): 1326.

⁶⁶Womack, "Work among the Colored People" *Gospel Advocate* 60 (January 3, 1918): 18.

⁶⁷Womack, "Among the Colored Folks" *Gospel Advocate* 61 (March 20, 1919): 285.

⁶⁸Womack, "Among the Colored Folks" *Gospel Advocate* 61 (May 27, 1920): 532.

⁶⁹Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith*, 287.

⁷⁰Keeble, "Among the Colored Folks" *Gospel Advocate* 62 (May 27, 1920): 745.

⁷¹Keeble, "Great Man Gone" *Gospel Advocate* 62 (July 29, 1920): 745.

⁷²Keeble, "Obituaries" *Gospel Advocate* 72 (August 28, 1930): 839. The details of Alexander Campbell's mental illness in his declining years are unclear.

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THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST EVANGELIZE GERMANY: THE FIRST YEARS AFTER WORLD WAR TWO

Mark Martin*

At the conclusion of World War II the United States of America experienced a great sigh of relief. The world had been saved from totalitarian dictatorships, and the American dream was well on its way to world dominance. The political, psychological, and economic victory created a watershed that affected the identity and mission of Churches of Christ as well. Many members of this branch of the Stone-Campbell Movement came back from military service in World War II with eyewitness accounts of the desperate situation in Europe, realizing that only America was in a position to do something about this on a broad scale. As a result, the Yankees began taking the initiative economically, politically, and religiously with the goal of nursing war-torn Europe back to health.

Churches of Christ joined this initiative and began sending missionaries to Germany in the first year after the Nazi surrender to the Allies. This new awareness of Germany and the rest of Europe led Churches of Christ to send large amounts of funding and many missionaries to the German-speaking world over the course of the post-war years, resulting in a flurry of mission work that changed this branch of the Stone-Campbell Movement in numerous ways. As the years progressed, though, this explosion of missionary activity in Germany led to results that were at best inconclusive. The critical observer who compares the success of the Stone-Campbell Movement on American soil with the results of the German work can easily come to negative conclusions concerning the European efforts. After a brief summary of mission work in Churches of Christ up to the end of World War II, I will describe the theological and ecclesiological character of the work of Churches of Christ missionaries in Germany after 1945. Finally, I will discuss American reactions to the reception of the Restoration message on German soil.

Development of Mission Work up to World War II

Although the mission work itself may often have seemed poorly organized, the conception and execution of mission within Churches of Christ has never been an ancillary affair; this enterprise emerges out of

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its very *raison d'être*, as a glance at the dynamics of the split creating Churches of Christ shows. Throughout the decades of the nineteenth century, protest concerning the missionary society and the underlying concept of congregational autonomy plagued the Stone-Campbell Movement. During this contention mission work in other countries grew and became the stage on which many of the battles about cooperation in mission work, as well as other issues such as theological liberalism, found their time in the limelight. The struggle concerning these societies pointed to the underlying plea of the Movement to do away with creeds and human inventions in the church; was not a missionary society, many asked, a human invention, the very thing the Movement was formed to oppose? Since so many were convinced that this issue touched the very essence of the Movement, lines of distinction quickly emerged, leading to the "official" recognition of division in the Movement with the census of 1906.¹

With this parting of ways most missionary work became associated with more progressive branches of the Stone-Campbell Movement, leaving Churches of Christ with almost no workers in other countries. According to the 1906 census, Churches of Christ had only twelve missionaries in other countries. This situation did not improve substantially until after 1947.² The lack of increase in mission work during this forty-one year period should not mislead anyone to conclude that mission work was not important for Churches of Christ; various public forums highlighted calls to increase awareness for missions. The annual lectureship at Abilene Christian College provided a yearly forum that many prominent speakers used to raise the evangelistic temperature of the fellowship. Beginning in 1919 influential leaders repeatedly introduced topics from the apostolic example of missions to the qualifications of missionaries and financing of such projects.³ This yearly event provided a recurring reminder to this branch of the Stone-Campbell Movement that its primary mission in the world was evangelistic.⁴

While the Abilene lectures indicated a high level of awareness concerning mission work, one could also contend that the frequent repetition of this topic pointed to deficiencies in the fellowship that most were not admitting or attempting to solve. In any case, figures reveal no substantial change for decades, in spite of the Abilene efforts.⁵ Some would suggest that this neglect came from the small size of the majority of congregations and their accompanying financial limitation to support mission work. The rural isolated nature of the early Churches of Christ made it difficult for them to work together with other congregations to begin mission work. In addition, having just come out of a split, many congregations saw their task in a

continuation of the call to restore pure Christianity on American soil.⁶ As a result of this theological emphasis, Churches of Christ seemed to see only as far as the borders of the United States.

Mission Work in Germany Begins and Grows

The extended involvement of the United States in World War II brought America out of an attitude of isolation that also changed the way churches thought about evangelism in foreign countries. The end of the war brought new opportunities for America, and since many members of Churches of Christ had been in Germany during the war as members of the American military, they were also eyewitnesses to the destruction of life in central Europe. Among those proclaiming the imperative to take the gospel to this war-torn country, Otis Gatewood was perhaps the best known. Churches of Christ mission work to Germany began in 1946, when Roy Palmer and Gatewood became two of the first three missionaries from any church to enter post-war Germany.⁷ During their seminal work in the Frankfurt area they realized that the first need at hand was feeding and clothing the Germans. Through this attention to the suffering masses Germans would see the love of Christians. Many of the strongest members of the Churches of Christ in Germany were converted in those days of helping the helpless.⁸

Any summary of the first years of the mission work in Germany must take into account the continued economic and political instability of central Europe. For the Germans of the late 1940s, the world had just come out of one devastating war and now stood on the brink of another; the Berlin airlift and the uneven economic conditions between the western and Soviet occupation zones underscored this instability. Uprisings all over Eastern Europe and the Soviet discovery of the atom bomb convinced many that another war was coming soon.⁹ This precarious state made the first mission efforts very risky; the missionaries could have become part of the casualties of the next world war any day. Although the Germans were glad to have the Americans in their country, they considered the conflict now to exist between America and the Soviet Union. As a result, a fear of retaliation from the invading side in the event of a new armed conflict made the Germans reticent to cooperate with the Americans too much for fear of suffering under invading Russians in a new war.¹⁰ The sobering reality of this fact must not escape the consideration of anyone evaluating the mission work in Germany. We must commend not only the American Christians who went into such a risk but also the Germans who stepped forward to respond positively to the message of American missionaries in this risky situation.

In spite of these obstacles, the German work in Frankfurt began in November 1947 and experienced rapid growth. By February 21, 1948, there were twenty-six German members of the church in Frankfurt. The number of full-time workers in Frankfurt increased, and baptisms skyrocketed. By the end of July 1949 there were five hundred six members of the church in Frankfurt.¹¹

The Glory Days of the German Mission Work

This pattern repeated itself in numerous other German cities. By 1950 Jack Meyer reported that there were thirty evangelists and teachers in Germany; ten congregations were established with two to three thousand Germans in weekly classes. Over one thousand had been baptized, and twenty-five to thirty prospective German preachers were studying the word. Jack Meyer concluded that American mission work in Germany had made great accomplishments.¹² These figures reflect the corresponding dramatic increase in the number of missionaries from Churches of Christ after World War II. In the period between 1947 and 1953 the number of missionaries grew at twice the rate of the membership growth in the United States. During the period between 1953 and 1959 the number of missionaries grew at four times the rate of this membership growth.¹³ In this atmosphere of growth it was not uncommon to have an attendance of several hundred at a gospel meeting. Dieter Alten reported on a meeting in Mannheim spanning twelve evenings, in which there were 150 to 200 present each evening.¹⁴ Such figures form the foundation on which many elderships and missionaries built their case for the renaissance of mission work in Churches of Christ. After so many decades of doing virtually nothing, the time had come to flourish, and Germany was the first proving ground for this new life.

Occasion and Purpose of American Mission Work in Germany

In this new missions identity of Churches of Christ, a consideration of the concepts driving individuals and congregations to go or send others to foreign countries can provide clues to the future outcome of such efforts. To begin with, one must ask who was considered to be a missionary. The Restoration plea involved the concept that every Christian is a missionary. Thus, any American member of the Churches of Christ who moved overseas with the primary intent of being a missionary was considered a missionary, regardless of their source of financing.¹⁵

The motivation for mission work reaches back to the genesis of the Stone-Campbell Movement. The founders of the Movement had seen the United States as the place in modern times where the faith and practice of the original church would be restored. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the more conservative branches of the Stone-Campbell Movement began to view the restoration of the original church as a finished process; their churches were examples of the restoration of simple New Testament Christianity. From this perspective came the view that America was the new Israel of God, his “home base” from which the restored church would go into the world to announce the plea for the New Testament church. Hence, the motivation for American mission work in Germany. As Otis Gatewood recently formulated it, American Christians went to Germany with the gospel so that some day Germany would help the United States evangelize the world.¹⁶ As paternalistic as such a motivation might seem, for the ardent restorationist it was rooted in the drive to help others everywhere free themselves from the shackles of human creeds and traditions so that they could understand and embrace the pure and simple message of the New Testament.

From this initiative came a unique perspective on the message of missions. Fifty years after the beginning of the mission work in Frankfurt, Otis Gatewood summarized the perspective of Churches of Christ on the message of missions. They did not go to Germany to Christianize it; that had been done many centuries before. They went to Germany because it had fallen into a state of apostasy. As a result, theirs was not the message of John the Baptist, who preached the coming Messiah; theirs was the message of the Messiah, who proclaimed the coming Kingdom of God, which is the church. And so they went to Germany to preach the gospel of the Kingdom, the news about Christ’s church.¹⁷ This pattern of preaching shows itself in reports on the various topics of gospel meetings in Germany. Hundreds came to hear sermons on the history of the digression of the original plan of church government, the proper division of the Bible, or the first principles of becoming a child of God.¹⁸ In the midst of this intense attention to first principles and church government, many topics addressing other aspects of the Christian walk were left out of the agenda.

The new missionaries going to Germany were unschooled in any form of a theology of missions or missionary methods; their theory consisted in repeating popular phrases about not “Americanizing” the other nations.¹⁹ However, most missionaries did not understand the difference between “Americanizing” and “Christianizing” the other nations, which resulted in a blending of the two concepts. It was commonly believed that when Germans would let go of human creeds and traditions, their churches would then look quite a bit like American churches, since both groups had rid themselves of the teachings of

humans. Although this idea was rarely articulated, it was an important assumption that guided the efforts in Germany, as the organization of the mission churches showed.

Inconsistencies Between Theory and Praxis

Churches of Christ views of the mission of the church accompanied the praxis of the missionaries, creating a duo that sometimes seemed to contradict itself. The most obvious inconsistency with Churches of Christ views of the mission of the church appeared in the rigorous involvement of missionaries with humanitarian aid. As workers pointed out, post-war Germany was suffering; the need for food and clothing could mean life or death for families. Otis Gatewood sanctioned the humanitarian aid activity of the churches when he remarked that the Germans would believe in Christianity if they see Christians feeding their starving children.²⁰ As mission efforts expanded, so did the aid to Germany. Churches of Christ opened schools and began a home for orphaned boys. Such efforts complemented the distribution of food and clothing in a desire to open people's hearts to the gospel.²¹ People of all faiths received food and clothing without obligation as they were clearly told that submission to baptism should not happen in an attempt to gain more aid.²² And so the Churches of Christ were creating operations that looked quite a bit like human institutions, the very things they had abhorred less than one hundred years earlier. Yet for many interested Christians the mass of people coming into the churches through these efforts was enough to silence discussion of the ecclesiological issues.

The Growth and Decline of the German Mission Work

In 1956 Otis Gatewood estimated that it would take five to ten more years for the churches in Europe to become self-supporting.²³ Although 1400 persons had converted to the Churches of Christ, the work in Europe was far from being finished. American missionaries were learning the German language and culture; to send them back to America would be a waste of the investment of time and money in their tenure in Europe.²⁴ Ever increasing numbers of new German members prompted the call for more missionaries.

The ensuing years of the mid 1950s to the mid to late 1960s saw the involvement of American missionaries in Germany peak and begin to decline. During this time churches in the United States began opening up to missions education. This reflected a revived concern in evangelical circles over the training and preparation of missionaries for foreign

countries. Articles appeared in journals, and schools and colleges began offering missions programs. Colleges also began offering undergraduate and graduate degrees in missions, and some elderships became involved in strategizing for mission efforts.²⁵

In the course of these developments stateside, missionaries in Germany were getting older and moving back to the United States for a number of reasons. By 1968 one periodical noted that fervor for the work in Germany was weaker than in any time since the post-war period. The autonomy principle made it difficult for missionaries to find support, and they experienced an added discouragement when they saw the support for missions in other regions of the world greatly increasing. The church had “done” Germany; now other regions were getting attention.²⁶ This was not just a neglect of the missionaries; it constituted a neglect of the churches in Germany, with which the missionaries felt a bond like a family tie.

Autonomy Issues Affect Accountability

The increasing complexity and diversity of the involvement of American congregations in the German mission work led to cooperative work with relief efforts and with missionaries through the sponsoring church arrangement. Out of this situation arose the anti-cooperation controversy. According to those protesting cooperation, the local autonomous congregation provided the only divinely sanctioned instrument through which God would accomplish mission work or any form of aid. The sponsoring church arrangement represented a human invention that was no different than a missionary society.²⁷ Those who supported the sponsoring church arrangement and the underlying cooperation idea maintained that each congregation retained its autonomy since it always had the option of discontinuing support for the effort. About ten percent of the churches withdrew from the cooperative churches, which increased defense of the sponsoring arrangement. While all generally agreed that the sponsoring church should support its own missionary completely, in reality this seldom happened; missionaries received support often from a large number of congregations and individuals. This created significant handicaps to mission work, as it became difficult to screen workers not suited for missions, and the diffuse nature of the stateside involvement made it extremely difficult to establish any program of motivating and training missionaries or churches for missions.²⁸ While the autonomy principle that coalesced out of battles with missionary societies in the 1800s kept Churches of Christ from establishing any formal organization, the sponsoring arrangement allowed them to organize above and beyond the local congregation without violating the autonomy principle in the

minds of many. Perhaps a more formal organization would have helped them screen and train missionaries and churches more effectively. In any case, the effort to maintain autonomy in authority combined with the sponsoring arrangement to create a watered down sense of accountability that left all parties involved in mission work less effective than they could have been.

Similarities Between Post-War Germany in the 1940s and the United States in the 1800s

This account of the early mission work in Germany clearly shows that after Victory Day Churches of Christ rose out of a long slumber from mission work to start a new era of activity. Members of this fellowship might have considered it as marking the beginning of a new dispensation, so dramatic were the developments. And so Otis Gatewood remarked that the first attempts by Churches of Christ in modern times to preach the gospel anywhere in Europe came in 1946.²⁹ The focus on the war had distracted all of America; suddenly the “Macedonian Call” came to the church, and time was of the essence, since another global war could begin at any moment. This new conflict would surely cost many lives in Germany, so Churches of Christ had no time for screening and planning; in a sense this was a spiritual replay of World War II, calling all available resources into the spiritual conflict. The motivation of individuals to go may have had even unconscious parallels to the successful American war effort. The German nation was destroyed; there was no government, no currency, no courts, and no constitution. Some saw connections between the state and religion, noting that a nation capable of such atrocious deeds could not have a blameless religion.³⁰ This thought could find confirmation in observations in German cities; Germans were dissatisfied with their religious affiliation and belief. They were searching for something better and were open to things new and foreign.³¹ In this situation old ways of thinking and living had either been destroyed or stood in the balance.

Such a situation surely reminded many in Churches of Christ of the origins of the restoration plea on the American frontier. With this parallel Germany provided an ideal setting to reenact the Restoration Movement in new territory. German society had experienced deterioration and a lack of progress in many fields because of the domination of life by Catholicism and secularism.³² While we do not know how many Americans actually held these views of German life and society, we do know that these observations found wide circulation. The freedom of democracy and the exposure to the gospel would provide Germans with the chance to have their own Restoration Movement.

The Stone-Campbell Movement and the Post-World-War II Germans View Humans and Society: A Comparison

Amidst all of these developments many in Churches of Christ had long ago changed one essential element of the Restoration Movement: the idea of process. For Churches of Christ the church of the New Testament had been restored in the Churches of Christ.³³ God had used the special situation in America to bring about the restored New Testament church. This had resulted in a very humanistic movement that trusted in the ability of humans to be self-sufficient and get things right.³⁴ These were the axioms the first missionaries took along to Germany.

As missionaries communicated with Germans they encountered a different view of reality. While the nineteenth century led to confidence in harmony, order, and human progress, the wars and depressions of the twentieth century tore through the collective and individual fabric of European society. Where there had been earlier hopes for a progressive realization of a world of justice and plenty, the problem of understanding human misery, tragedy, and bestiality drove out hope. The whole fabric of society seemed to be rotting away. It would be easy to look at a bombed out city with homeless, diseased, and starving citizens and respond with doubt; does Christian insight warrant a supreme confidence in humans' response to reason and ideals?³⁵ This disillusionment was not limited to society and technology; the full revelation of Hitler's plans brought many to the realization that they had been deceived. This acknowledgement only underscored the awareness that all human knowing is colored by the individual's point of view and location in time and space. The reigning monarchs or governments embodied understandings of the nation colored by the understanding of the leadership; in a similar fashion, the religious institutions of nineteenth and twentieth century Christians could not be taken as complete and finally valid interpretations of Christian truth. They were the views of humans whose understanding was determined in part by the outlook of their contemporary Western civilization.³⁶ For the German standing in the middle of the twentieth century, the state and the church had amalgamated long ago to represent a unified political and social program. As a result, the credibility of Christianity manifested itself in the effective political engagement of religion to serve the good of the nation.³⁷ When the credibility of the one failed, the other's credibility followed suit. This is the point of entry for a restored Christianity. In such a situation of destroyed credibility, where there is no faith in humans, the government, or the organized religion, what is it that the church of the New Testament has to preach that is not simply bound to a specific historical and social perspective?³⁸ If one could not identify

the gospel with creeds or religious experience, then what was it?

The European identity crisis of society and religion became more acute through the influence of trends in philosophy, psychology, and biblical criticism. Just as twentieth century humans and institutions are products of their environments, so is the text of the Bible and the Jesus of the Bible. Efforts to find the historical Jesus led to further doubts of Christianity's credibility.³⁹ A pervasive existential angst rounded out this atmosphere of distress. According to existentialism, the nature of personal existence was the prime philosophical question. The question of truth is the question of the meaning of life.⁴⁰ In the midst of the dissolution, despair, disillusionment, and depression, how could the gospel be communicated from the American context?

Churches of Christ Unknowingly Confront a Post-Christian Nation

In earlier times in America evangelists could rely on a certain acquaintance with the Christian faith and recognition of Christian obligations. In Germany this was no longer the case. Evangelism there could not simply present a defense of the church; such effort would only help retain the territory the church already possessed.⁴¹ But surprisingly, such a defense of the church was the deliberately selected topic of evangelism for Germany. Those first Churches of Christ missionaries to Germany did not go to Germany to answer the arguments of theologians; they went to preach the word of God, as they would state it. They did not move to Germany to bring Christianity to the land; that had already happened over a thousand years ago. Germany was supposed to be similar to an earlier condition of America; Germany had fallen into a state of apostasy through the emergence of the state churches. This reasoning provided the mission of the first missionaries: to preach the gospel of the Kingdom - Christ's church - to all in apostasy in Germany.⁴² Accordingly, the attraction of the early preaching in Frankfurt was the simplicity of the message in comparison with philosophy, theology, and politics coming from German pulpits.⁴³ Missionaries dethroned human creeds and institutions, so that the same message that had such success in America could shine through in Germany.

Changes in Church and Society in America and Germany: Waning Interest in German Mission Work

Many were disappointed with the German returns in comparison with other mission work. In addition, a changing (or developing) philosophy of missions combined with a widespread questioning of the nature and mission of the church to remove the sense of urgency from the German

work.⁴⁴ It was clear that while Americans preached the simple gospel in Germany, changes in the churches in America were occurring that affected their view of missions in relation to the simple Gospel. Although much was happening in America in the late 1950s and the 1960s to educate and prepare churches and missionaries for missions, the concept of local autonomy made it difficult to uniformly disseminate information and training throughout the system.⁴⁵ As a result, efforts of Churches of Christ to gain lost ground in mission work remained inadequate due to the inability to effectively and equally spread information and access to training throughout the churches.

Missionaries who moved to Germany in the early days had changes in German society to deal with that only added to the burden from the changes in America. Affluence and stability were returning to Germany, and with them came a preoccupation with the world, leaving many with little time for religious concerns. The crowds of thousands that came for food and clothing during the immediate post-war years disappeared. By 1971 there were twenty-five congregations in Germany with a total membership of nine hundred.⁴⁶ This represented a decrease of several hundred from the figures of the early 1950s. This downward trend continued through the years as missionaries continued to return to America for retirement, leaving no replacements for them in Germany.

As I reflect on reasons for this steady waning, I integrate information gleaned from conversations with experienced missionaries in Germany with general research and my own experience as a missionary in Germany. Unfortunately, there has been little critical analysis of the waning of mission work in Germany. Those who have lived there agree that the initial work in Germany provided sorely needed humanitarian aid, for which the Germans were most thankful. This relief made a big difference in Germany, and officials on the state and local level acknowledged this fact publicly.⁴⁷ However, the lack of any theologically based missions training put the American missionaries at a great disadvantage. They were not aware of fundamental differences in the conceptualization of church and society on the continent. Most did not realize that Europe did not simply fall into apostasy; it had lost most remnants of faith and had become a non-Christian continent with a thin Christian veneer. There was no aggressive hostility to religion, since it was no longer of sufficient importance for most citizens. This pointed to a chasm between religion and the prevailing culture.⁴⁸ As a result, the gospel of the Kingdom - instruction about the church - would not help them; they needed the gospel of the Messiah. In other words, they needed missionaries equipped to explain to them through Christian living and loving teaching that the God who sent his son to earth to die on a cross was not a myth. Charting a course through these spiritual waters requires skill, for philosophy, psychology, and even theology had made

it difficult for Germans to trust in the message of scripture.

The post-World-War II worldview of Germans was far removed from the ante-bellum worldview of the Stone-Campbell Movement in the United States. Germans needed to process the disorder and conflict in their society. This chaos increased in a context that questioned the validity of both Jesus' teaching and the Bible. This rising confusion fed a growing sense of tragedy and estrangement in life that often expressed itself in varieties of existentialism, which focused on the meaning of life as the primary question of every person.⁴⁹ The exemplary energy and determination of the first missionaries to Europe allowed Churches of Christ to gain a foothold in Germany. After this beginning a reinforcement of trained missionaries could have changed the course of history. There were opportunities to teach in schools and universities, and the humanitarian aid from Churches of Christ had established their credibility on a broad public scale. At this point Churches of Christ needed trained missionaries who could move onto the scene of growing affluence to begin addressing the burning questions from philosophy and theology that were waiting for answers in this erudite culture. But at this point the principle of autonomy and dislike of theology sabotaged Churches of Christ efforts. Since Churches of Christ missionaries did not study theology, they could not address the questions Germans were asking, and many Germans simply went looking for answers elsewhere. The result of these dynamics was an emerging independent church on the fringes of German Christianity with a membership of less than a thousand members.

Nevertheless, there is a Churches of Christ presence in Germany. Will Churches of Christ learn from the past and combine the compassion of humanitarian aid with responsible theologically based training in missions, so that Churches of Christ can answer the questions of the German people? Will Churches of Christ use congregational autonomy to empower rather than restrain? As Churches of Christ praise God for the bravery and tenacity of the early missionaries to Germany, may God empower Churches of Christ to participate in a global restoration in Germany and throughout the world.

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³⁸Dillenberger and Welch, 263-264.

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⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 266.

⁴¹Stephen Neill, *The Unfinished Task* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957), 103.

⁴²*Broadway Church of Christ*, Tape 2, video.

⁴³Gatewood, *Germany for Christ*, 46.

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⁴⁵Henderson, 216.

⁴⁶Reuel Lemmons. "Brighter Prospects in Europe," *Firm Foundation* 88 (August 17, 1971): 514.

⁴⁷See Gatewood, *Germany for Christ*, 20-23, 27, 37, for a description, including letters of thanks, of the impact of the relief effort.

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⁴⁹Dillenberger and Welch, 259, 262, 265-266.

Marshall Keeble (1878-1968)

Evangelist among Black Churches of Christ

Born to former slaves near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, Keeble became in time the most successful evangelist among Churches of Christ, baptizing as many as 30,000. As a youth with a seventh-grade education, Keeble labored in a soap factory until he married Minnie Womack, a daughter of minister S.W. Womack (d. 1920). The newly married couple opened a grocery store in Nashville. Under the tutelage of his wife and his father-in-law, Keeble began preaching in Nashville churches by 1897, and by 1914 was traveling on his own as an itinerant evangelist while his wife minded the store.

In 1918 Keeble planted a church at Oak Grove, near Henderson, Tennessee, baptizing eighty-four persons and coming to the attention of N.B. Hardeman (1874-1965), influential president of nearby Freed-Hardeman College. From 1920 until his death, Keeble traveled throughout the American South and, ultimately, worldwide at the expense of Nashville millionaire A.M. Burton (1879-1966). In 1931 Keeble brought 1,071 blacks and an untold number of whites to decisions that resulted in baptism. That year Keeble preached in fourteen campaigns, establishing six new churches. In Bradenton, Florida, Keeble and his helpers baptized 115 persons in one day and a total of 286 during that campaign. Keeble's 1931 sermons in Valdosta, Georgia – where 166 were baptized – were recorded by stenographers, and the transcripts became the basis of a small volume edited by another influential patron, Benton Cordell Goodpasture (1895-1977).

After 1942 Keeble was nominally president of Nashville Christian Institute (NCI), a private academy designed to educate young blacks for ministry and evangelism. He traveled extensively in the company of young “preacher boys,” evangelizing and raising money for the school. His fees for preaching were paid directly to NCI, since A.M. Burton provided Keeble's salary and expenses. From 1939 to 1950 Keeble was also the nominal editor of *Christian Counselor*, a monthly journal for blacks published by the Gospel Advocate Company. Both the school and the journal were projected, at least in part, by the Nashville white establishment to offset the independent efforts of George Philip Bowser (1874-1950), who unlike Keeble, spoke out against racial segregation in the churches. The journal failed in its mission, but did not cease publication until Bowser's death. NCI continued until desegregation and the civil rights movement had made it an anachronism; it closed in 1967, less than a year before Keeble's death.

From the beginning of his career Keeble proved a master of the English Bible and human psychology, by his own account finding in Booker T. Washington a primary role model. Keeble's relations with his white patrons, who plainly sought to use him as an instrument of social control, were inevitably laden with ambiguity. He did not simply tell whites what they wanted to hear. Keeble was, rather, the first evangelist among Churches of Christ to transcend the "color line," and very nearly the last. He spoke often in homespun parables that communicated to blacks quite differently than to whites, but ultimately Keeble communicated "good news" to blacks and whites alike.

White contemporaries often eulogized Keeble's "humility," but few have understood it for what it was. Keeble's humility was genuine, but was founded on the bravado of Brer Rabbit, who in countless slave tales outwits the Fox and the Bear by pitting his weakness against their strength. No one in his time and place possessed more formidable psychological and rhetorical weapons than Keeble or wielded them more effectively.

Keeble enjoyed the patronage of the powerful and radiated joy in his life and work, but he did not escape the suffering imposed on every American of African descent in his time and place. He was often threatened and physically assaulted by white supremacists in towns where he preached to mixed audiences.

His doctrine reflected the prevailing conservative understandings of white Churches of Christ concerning the boundaries of the church and baptism. As one white contemporary remarked, "Keeble preached it *hard*." Keeble never missed an opportunity to champion the value of immersion over what he called "dry cleaning." "The devil wants you dry," he told his audiences, "so you'll burn better." Keeble believed fervently and proved repeatedly that there was no argument that he and the Bible could not win. "The Bible is right!" he declared, and he left no room for doubt that he was on the Bible's side. Yet Keeble delivered his hard, uncompromising message with elegant wit and unalloyed love; his parables, carefully couched in the images and idioms of his audiences, conveyed his practical guidance for everyday life and his truly evangelical call to share in the hope of heaven.

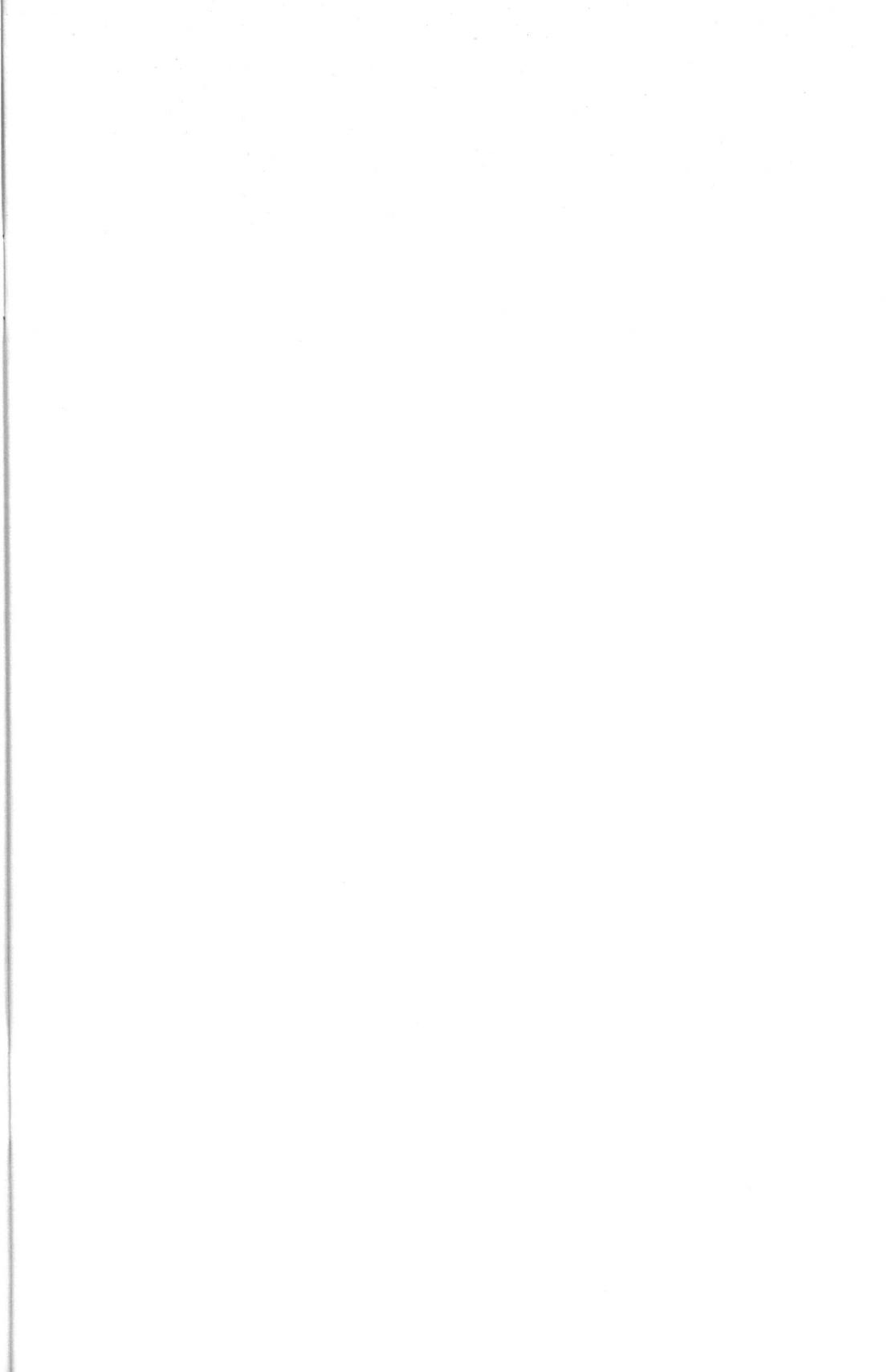
Keeble's life had been hard in many ways. His first wife and all five of his children preceded him in death. He suffered indignity, insult, and injury from racists in and out of the church. Such assaults did not deter him, but neither did he resist them directly. When Keeble died two weeks after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., many of his white eulogists offered invidious comparisons between Keeble and King. Yet one of his "preacher boys," Fred D. Gray (b. 1930), inspired by Keeble's preaching and example, had by then become the attorney who helped overturn *de jure* segregation and discrimination in the American South,

representing Rosa Parks, King, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and many other activists and causes in the civil rights struggle.

— Don Haymes
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— From the Editor's Desk

Who determines the content of *Discipliana*? In November of 1991 the Board of Trustees of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society adopted a resolution from the Publications Committee recommending that an editor and associate editors be appointed to establish themes for the journal, solicit articles and review submissions. The editor serves a term of six years; associate editors serve terms of three years. Appointment to the Editorial Committee (editor and assistant editors) is by the Trustees of the Society, upon the recommendation of the Publications Committee.

Initial terms were staggered to insure continuity, while allowing for representation of a wide range of perspectives among the editors. The first editor was Richard L. Harrison. Associate editors were Kenneth Henry, Richard Hughes, Henry Webb, Newell Williams and Eva Jean Wrather. Dr. Harrison resigned as editor after assuming the presidency of Lexington Theological Seminary in 1993. I was elected to complete Dr. Harrison's term and have been re-elected to this office twice. The names of the current members of the Editorial Committee appear on the inside cover of the journal. Editorial Consultants, who assist the editor and associate editors in reviewing submissions, are also identified on the inside cover of the journal.

The editor and associate editors meet once a year and correspond frequently throughout the year. In addition to determining the content of the journal, the Editorial Committee identifies the themes and presenters for the Society's annual Kirkpatrick Seminar for Historians of the Stone-Campbell Movement.

In its thirteen years of operation, the Editorial Committee has enjoyed the support and encouragement of the Society's presidents, beginning with James M. Seale, whose vision for the journal led to the creation of the Editorial Committee. Dr. Seale also envisioned and secured the funding for the Kirkpatrick Seminar. For nine years (1995-2004) the committee benefited from the faithful oversight of President Peter Morgan, and also the contributions of Lynne Morgan, who served as managing editor of the journal, a task now assumed by Marlene L. Patterson. For the past year, historian D. Duane Cummins has served the Society as Interim President. With this issue, we thank President Cummins for his significant contributions to the work of the Editorial Committee and the larger mission of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society.

D. Newell Williams

— From the President's Desk

As an undergraduate at Phillips University during the early 1950's I recall meeting William G. West, author of the newly released *Barton Warren Stone: Early American Advocate of Christian Unity*. He was on campus as a guest scholar and his lecture on Stone opened new understanding for our generation. I asked him to autograph my copy of his new book. He readily agreed and it still stands on my personal library shelf today. It has been superseded of course by the fine biography of Stone authored by D. Newell Williams some forty years later which informed a new generation of scholars. And so it is with the article in this issue of *Discipliana* entitled, "Barton Warren Stone: his Distinctive Contribution." Each generation offers new insights into the life and ministry of Stone and this article suggests that the contributions of Barton Stone, long thought distinctive, are not so distinctive after all. According to this research he was not really distinctive in advocating the name "Christian," not as distinctive in his vision for Christian Unity as we may have imagined, not an advocate of local autonomy, not unusual in his support of revivalism, not the author of the Last Will and Testament, not as influential a figure in the merger with Campbell Christians as we may have believed – but rather a person of humility, service, godly sincerity, loving Christian spirit and deference through which he made his contribution and then retired early. Is it really correct to refer to our movement as the Stone-Campbell Movement – citing his name first, if at all?

A decade and one-half following Stone's death a little prairie congregation was founded in northeastern Kansas. Nebraska and Kansas presented a Great Plains geography where the beliefs of Stone and Campbell blended particularly well as contrasted with the old northwest and the ante-bellum south. As was the case with town-founding across the frontier, recorded especially well in the writings of Richard Wade, "Boosterism" was a key influence in developing frontier institutions. First came the town, then the Masonic lodge, then the churches, then the schools, then the railroad and then to add respectability they often attempted to found a college. So it was in Olathe, Kansas. And both the internal governance of the congregation and its role in community life reflected the values of the boosters. The moral fiber of Olathe had to be protected and therefore "membership discipline" in the congregation had to be strong. Withdrawing membership from tainted persons became an acceptable practice. The mayor and other town leaders were members of this Disciples congregation and the church stood in their minds as a symbol of the Christian character of the community, an idea promoted by these town fathers. As social evolution continued in the 19th century a split in the congregation became inevitable. This case study of a small, Great Plains, Disciples congregation in a commercial setting is instructive for those studying the county-seat pattern of founding Disciples congregations in the trans-Missouri west.

D. Duane Cummins

Barton Warren Stone: His Distinctive Contribution

G. Richard Phillips*

Introduction

Someone has written that history is written by the victors. It is so with Stone's story. He died some twenty-odd years before Campbell, and a decade before his death he effectively left the "field of battle," following his children in moving from Kentucky to Illinois.¹ Stone retired from the settled world only two years after the "merger" with the Campbellian forces, which was in many ways not so much a merger as a "hostile take-over." And he was, after his own generation passed, largely forgotten until C. C. Ware,² and A. W. Fortune³ "resurrected" him. That resurrection was accomplished largely because Stone's emphasis on love and tolerance was more amenable to 20th century Disciples' attitudes than was Campbell's doctrinal rigidity. Stone's "fortunes" increased until his zenith of repatriation in William G. West's *Barton Warren Stone: Early American Advocate of Christian Unity*⁴—a work which extends Stone's unity efforts in a possible direction he might have gone, but at the price of replacing Stone's emphasis on unity of spirit with modern structural ecumenicity.⁵

What was Stone's distinctive contribution to the Stone-Campbell Movement? That question can be answered only after looking at Stone in his historical/theological context. In many respects he was not distinctive, but a representative man of his times and religious tradition.

I

General Background

The Puritans envisioned a theocratic society, composed of individuals who, like those of the original Mayflower Compact, were uniformly and deeply religious. Within two generations, that vision proved unworkable. By 1662, so many descendants of the original settlers had so "cooled" from the original faith that they were no longer "members in good standing" of the

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religious community, and thus their children could not be baptized. But baptism was a prerequisite for civil office. So the “Half-way Covenant” was adopted, which allowed the children of baptized but fallen-away members to be baptized, and thus be formally eligible for church membership and civil office.⁶ This compromise set the stage for the next three centuries of revivalistic preaching, which stressed the need to “rekindle the fire” of the original faith, the emptiness of formal church membership, evangelical de-emphasis on sacramental life in the church, and the all-important revival emphasis of deep individual conversion by the Holy Spirit.

By the early 18th century, formal Calvinism was losing its strength. Through the preparatory work of Jonathan Edwards and others, in 1734, the Great Awakening broke out in Massachusetts. In the Middle Colonies, Theodore Freylinghausen and the Tennants had already begun preaching revival. By mid-century, Wesley associates George Whitefield and John Davenport were tearing up New England churches with their anti-church emotional messages heavily influenced by Wesley’s pietism and their own rejection of the need of a learned and settled clergy.

Although many have hailed the accomplishments of Davenport and Whitefield, such tactics also bred division. A group of clergy in New Haven in 1745 characterized the effects of the “Great Awakening” as follows:

Antinomian principles are advanc’d, preach’d up and printed;—Christian Brethren have their Affections widely alienated;—Unchristian Censoriousness and hard judging abounds; Love stands afar of [sic], and Charity cannot enter;—many Churches and Societies are broken and divided;—Pernicious and unjustifiable Separations are set up and continued. . . Numbers of illiterate Exhorters swarm about as Locusts from the Bottomless Pit:—We think upon the whole, that Religion is now in a far worse State than it was in 1740.⁷

The Puritan synthesis of faith and reason thus had begun to disintegrate in two ways: secular commerce and Enlightenment science became the “cutting edge of Reason,” and revivalism inherited the force of Puritan faith. Thus “Faith” and “Reason” were no longer synthesized, but often in opposition. Anti-establishment revivalistic elements intensified on the frontier, where formal education did not further pragmatic needs for survival. Classic Calvinism with its eternal decrees was being modified by the concept of “means”—one could not alter God’s eternal decrees, but by emotional pleading with God (at the mourner’s bench) one could perhaps convince God to grant a soul-shattering conversion experience earlier than God originally decreed, so sinners could know they were of the elect.⁸ And in general, the further west one went, the more pietistic revivalism prevailed;

churches were often “grass-roots,” organized from the bottom up. Members had to make do with only their Bibles and no expert instruction much of the time.

Into this situation came B. W. Stone. Calvinism had been eroding for a century. Formal church membership was regarded among the revivalists as less related to ultimate salvation than was intensity of emotional experience. Thus formal creeds and structure were downgraded. Conversion experiences were individual and characterized by great emotional intensity. The Christian life consisted of intense Bible study and prayer after immediate conversion by the Holy Spirit. Sacramental life was a mere keeping of divine ordinances, but was not essentially related to the communication of divine forgiveness and continuing grace. (Even though the revivals, including Cane Ridge, were nominally set at quarterly observances of the Lord’s Supper, I believe the real force of revival emotion was not essentially related to the sacramental occasion which called the gathering together.)⁹ The Bible was a divinely given absolute; a sort of “paper Pope”. Stone typically reports that after being given a guilty conscience by a “hellfire and damnation” (my term) revivalist (McGready) he agonized for a year over his salvation before being told of God’s love for all by a preacher who had departed far from traditional Calvinism¹⁰

II

Areas Where Stone’s Contributions Were Not Distinctive

A. *The name “Christian.”* While scholars have long known better, it has been popularly believed that one of Stone’s contributions was the “restoration” of the original name “Christian.”¹¹ Stone did prefer that name. But he stood at the end of a long line of similar advocates. The Disciples of Christ Historical Society has a manuscript from 1761 advocating the name.¹² John Neth, retired Milligan College librarian, has conclusively demonstrated that Rice Haggard’s “Address on the Sacred Import of the Christian Name” was a reprint of a publication by Presbyterian Samuel Davies of Princeton from the mid-18th century.¹³ The New England Christians as well as the Republican Methodists made use of the same emphasis on the non-sectarian character of the name “Christian.” Both of them were before Stone—ten years earlier in the case of the Republican Methodists, who adopted the name at the suggestion of the same Rice Haggard who promoted the idea in Stoneite circles.

Stone was directly in this line of thought. He attended a “college” run by David Caldwell, pioneer Presbyterian preacher. Caldwell had

graduated from Princeton under Samuel Davies in 1761, and married the daughter of Alexander Craighead of Hanover Presbytery in Virginia. Both Caldwell and Craighead had sons who were revivalists rather than traditional Calvinists; Thomas B. Craighead even going so far into Lockian epistemology (and away from traditional Calvinism) as to deny a pre-conversion agency of the Holy Spirit.¹⁴

B. Rejection of Sectarianism. Stone's emphasis followed logically from the presuppositions he shared with Methodists, Baptists, and other Presbyterians on the frontier. If God gives the same conversion experiences under the ministrations of leaders from the above denominations, then creeds, confessions, and church structure, as well as formal ministerial training, are secondary and irrelevant. The conversion experience was a confirmation of one's election; a primary evidence of Christian character, not to be outranked by any secondary authority. Stone was somewhat unique in that his concern was less for religious liberty paralleling post-Revolutionary political liberty than the others. Stone had some of this anti-organizational emphasis, but less than either of the other groups; O'Kelly had rebelled at the autocracy of Francis Asbury, who refused to give American Methodist clergy the same right of appeal from assignments as British Methodists had from their leaders. And Smith had been expelled from a Baptist association for views basically non-Calvinist. By contrast, Stone's early emphasis was simply a rejection of sectarian bickering, and the warmth of a loving Christian spirit.

However, it is a mistake to read back into Stone's early thought a greater concept of Christian union than was there. There is no evidence that in his early thought, prior to the influence of McNemar and Campbell, there was any vision of Christian union extending beyond the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians of his revivalistic associates. There is no vision of a "world Christianity," nor is there any attempt to include any but low-church Protestant groups of the frontier. To read a modern ecumenism back into Stone's early thought is to read him through Campbellian or 20th century Disciples' glasses.¹⁵ His unity emphasis only gradually developed, and was in its mature expression considerably shaped by Campbellian influence.

C. Pattern of Revivalism. The Cane Ridge Revival was a quarterly "sacramental" occasion that mixed traditional Presbyterian celebration of the Lord's Supper with frontier revivalism. Stone took his pattern from earlier "revivals" in North Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee. All over the south and west (of that time) the "moving of the spirit" in

revivalism blurred traditional denominational lines, and eroded traditional educational requirements for ministry. The reasoning was, “If God is content to work through this individual to produce conversions, who are we to deny the authenticity of his ministry?” Such reasoning was used by the Hanover Presbytery to grant Presbyterian ordination to an uneducated Methodist minister named William Moore. Revivalistic Presbyterians increasingly ignored the requirements of a formal classical education to ordain those whose “fruits” confirmed the validity of their ministry.¹⁶

The pattern of this revivalism? Emotional and experiential in the extreme. The “exercises” of the Cane Ridge Revival were common in the revivalism of the time. Later Stone indicated he approved the exercises because of the change of character they brought about. John Rogers¹⁷ remembered that at a meeting about 1819, he was the “exhorter” when “The first thing I knew David Purviance and David Wallace were dancing behind me in the stand, shouting at the top of their voices. And in a few minutes the entire area before the stand was filled with men and women dancing and shouting. The result was I was silenced and gave place to the preachers and people to carry on the meeting as seemed good to them.” There was little difference between the kind of revival favored by Stone and his early associates and that advocated by Peter Cartwright. Cartwright approved the revival, but decried the lack of steady ministers and discipline as the cause of the downfall of the movement.¹⁸

D. Biblical and Theological Views. A complete statement is beyond this paper.¹⁹ Suffice it to say that for Stone the Bible was absolute; an end in itself. He had never seen a theological book other than the Bible upon entering “college,” and he never grew greatly beyond that. He was not ahead of his time in having any real grasp of the gradual development of the canon — nor could he be expected to be.²⁰ He could perhaps, like many people today, be called a naïve Biblical literalist.²¹ There seems no awareness in Stone of the development of Biblical thought (Cf. Campbell’s “starlight,” “moonlight” and “sunlight” ages in *The Christian System*).

Stone did not have the philosophical background to understand the classic development of Trinitarian thought, and was justifiably accused of being an Arian. He rejected the concept of an “eternal Son” to refer to the Christ as “the firstborn of all creation.”²² As such, he was definitely “subordinationist.”

Much has been made of Stone’s qualified acceptance of the Westminster Confession (“insofar as I find it consistent with the Word of God”) at his ordination. But this qualification was not unique; indeed, it was

so commonplace at that time that Presbytery minutes do not even list the qualification.²³

E. Methodist Orientation and Polity. Some of the Stone-Campbell tradition have viewed the phrase from the “Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery” which talks of the “death of all delegated bodies” to sound the death knell for all supra-congregational entities. They have thought it to provide as much a charter for radical “local autonomy” as Campbell’s *Christian Baptist* series on the “Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things.” Both views are in error.²⁴ It is true that the “Witnesses Address” attached to the “Last Will and Testament” inveighs against “modern Church sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, etc.” But another indication of the impact of Methodism upon these early “New Lights” may be found in that there is no similar rejection of “conferences.” In 1819, John Rogers received a license to “exercise his talents in such a way as God may direct” -FROM THE CONFERENCE! (In effect, a ministerial license).²⁵ Similarly, ministers of the group in the 1820s met in quarterly conference to determine which ministers would go to which congregations on which dates to celebrate the Lord’s Supper. Evidently the laity was not permitted so to do. As late as 1846, David Purviance attended his last “Miami Conference.”²⁶

Traditionally Stone has been viewed as the author of the “Last Will and Testament.”²⁷ According to Marshall and Thompson, McNemar showed up at the June 1804 meeting of the Springfield Presbytery with the document as *a fait accompli*; they commented, “None of us had the least thought of such a thing when we came to the meeting.”²⁸ But it is in keeping with Stone’s sensitivity to the feelings of others that he apparently went along with the statement, which was not followed in actual practice.

F. The Stone-Campbell “merger.” We have generally assumed that in the 1832 “merger” the forces of Campbell and Stone united. Such is true of the Campbellian side. But the “Stone forces” did not unanimously follow through: many rejected the “merger.” Several qualifications need to be made.

1) There was a tenuous connection with the former “Republican Methodists” through Rice Haggard, David Haggard, and perhaps other individuals.²⁹ But to treat the “Christians” who were former Republican Methodists as one of the major sources (“confluence of six streams of Christian action”) may well be too strong an assessment. That Virginia/North Carolina movement seems to have had a very checkered history. It

divided in 1810, with William Guirey leading an immersionist faction, and O'Kelly strongly resisting and withdrawing. The division persisted until 1854, although O'Kelly died in 1826.³⁰

Were the Guirey Christians and Stoneite Christians one? The strongest evidence is from William Guirey who wrote in Vol. I., p. 43 (1809) of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* [New England Christians periodical] that "I suppose there are about twenty thousand people in the Southern and Western States who call themselves by the Christian name."³¹ Guirey went on to say, "Our sentiments on doctrinal points have been sufficiently explained in a pamphlet [from the dying Springfield Presbytery] An Apology for Renouncing the jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky...." and says the authors "have since united with us." But there was neither any formal agreement to unite nor any specific action; only a position similar in many respects that led to informal sharing. Guirey also claims³² that some of the Southern Christians united with the New England Christians in October of 1811.³³ The tenuousness of Guirey's "union" with New England Christians raises significant doubts about whether there was really any substantial "union" with Stone forces, or only considerable sympathetic feelings.

2) The New England Christians, with whom Stone had formed a tenuous connection in 1826, formed no source for the 1832 merger. Indeed, Joseph Baxter, publisher of the New England Christian magazine parallel to Stone's *Christian Messenger*, and with whose encouragement Stone's magazine was started, objected vigorously. Baxter claimed Stone's people had no power to merge with Campbell's forces, since Stone had previously joined them. But just as with the Southern Christians/Stoneites and Southern Christians/New England Christians, there seems little evidence of any merger beyond a sympathetic sharing of views on some subjects among the groups.

3) Prior to 1832, whole congregations of "Stoneites" were joining the Campbells in Ohio, and perhaps in Kentucky. Having no positive program, the Stone movement was running out of steam, and being taken over to a considerable extent by the dynamic program of the Campbells. Stone himself (see *infra*) was moving closer to the Campbellian position. And the 1832 "merger" was a formal enactment of what was already occurring *de facto*. John Smith and John Rogers in November 1831 had decided to travel among the two groups and promote their union.³⁴ The Georgetown/Lexington meetings at the end of the year were to formalize and raise support for this previously determined plan. In the preceding few years Stone's forces, moving away from their Methodist connections, had already "united with three Baptist groups".³⁵

4) There was a strong portion of the Stoneite movement that simply maintained its own identity. As late as the 1850s, Levi Purviance (son of David Purviance) was writing materials denying that Stone had “merged” with the Campbells.³⁶ This remnant, composed of some former Southern Christians and some former Stoneites, joined with the Congregationalists in 1937 to form the Congregational Christian Church, which in turn became a part of the United Church of Christ in 1957.

G. So, in all the above ways Stone’s contribution was hardly distinctive. Nor was his anti-slavery stance distinctive. David Purviance lost his seat in the Kentucky Senate for a similar stand. Alexander Campbell fought a losing battle against slavery in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829. Since before the War of Independence, the issue had been debated, and many had set their slaves free either during their lifetimes or in testamentary disposition.

To summarize, Stone was a child of his time, caught up in the religious currents of his day. We could hardly expect him to be otherwise.³⁷

III

The Distinctive Contribution of Barton W. Stone

A. Stone’s spirit of humility, service, and deference.³⁸ The early 19th century was an age which prized gentility, and it was customary to speak kindly of others. But the content of words complimentary to Stone has a distinctiveness of its own, as well as his own statements about others.

J.M. Mathes speaks of Stone’s “childlike simplicity and godly sincerity.”³⁹ Stone’s career provides ample evidences of these characteristics. His ministry at Cane Ridge and Concord is one such example. His predecessor, Robert Finley, was reportedly censured for “public drunkenness.” But there was more to the story. Finley, a Princeton product, had tutored John Thompson, Richard McNemar and John Dunlavy⁴⁰ for ministry. Finley was a revivalist who had split the two congregations over revivalism, and taken some 300 people out of them to Ohio. Stone, himself a revivalist, was called in to “pick up the pieces” and minister to the conservative anti-revival element. What kind of a man would be capable of doing such? And further, what kind of a man could convince congregations composed of mainly an anti-revival remnant to sponsor the “Cane Ridge Revival” within only a few years?

Stone’s breadth of spirit is further evidenced in the way he spoke of Marshall and Thompson in 1843, not long before his death: “The two brothers were great and good men. Their memory is dear to me, and their

fellowship I hope to enjoy in a better world.” He speaks of having “several friendly interviews” with Thompson “not long since.”⁴¹ Similarly, he maintained good relations with David Purviance. And with similar charity, Stone wrote of Campbell: “I will not say, there are no faults in Brother Campbell: but that there are fewer, perhaps, in him than any man I know on earth; and over those few my love would throw a veil and hide them from view forever. I am constrained, and willingly constrained to acknowledge him as the greatest promoter of this reformation of any man living. The Lord will reward him.”⁴²

It may even have been that a desire to avoid further controversy with Campbell was a contributing factor in Stone’s removal to Illinois in 1834.⁴³

B. Stone’s willingness to adapt with the times. Although he previously had disagreed with Campbell’s doctrinal emphasis and rejection of revivalism, views on the Godhead, and baptism as promising “remission of sins,” the benefits of joining with Campbell were greater than those of remaining separate.⁴⁴ While he maintained the primacy of a warm Christian spirit, he was moving toward Campbellian doctrinal immersion for the remission of sins before Walter Scott’s famous “Five Finger” analogy emerged. Williams recounts⁴⁵ how Benjamin Franklin Hall read Campbell’s 1823 MacCalla debate, and saw the practical value of immersion for the remission of sins in 1825. Hall convinced Stone by January of 1827. Such a move may have been prompted by what Williams terms Stone’s “Presbyterian [more rational rather than emotional] spirituality” and this may also explain why in the late 1820s Stone’s movement began to move toward the Baptists (immersion) and away from the “noise and fuss” of the Methodists.⁴⁶ By 1830, Stone had also moved to advocating weekly communion.⁴⁷ And in January of 1833, Stone announced⁴⁸ that he now believed in admitting no unimmersed persons into the church.

In short, Stone, who had been such a pietistic revivalist that doctrine was completely secondary to emotion, seemed almost completely to adopt a Campbellian position on one level while maintaining his previous emphasis on another. Was it a strength or weakness to so modify his mind-set in his mature years? In any case, such an openness to change was distinctive.

Conclusion

Stone’s distinctiveness was not in his adoption of the name Christian, his rejection of sectarianism, his pattern of revivalism, his biblical and theological views, or his polity. Neither did he bring all who had adopted

the name Christian into union with the followers of Campbell. Rather, his distinctiveness was found in personal qualities: his spirit of humility, service and deference and his willingness to adapt with the times.

Are Stone's distinctive personal qualities ones to be valued in our time? Certainly, congregations and individuals in all three streams of the Stone-Campbell Movement struggle today with questions of identity, unity, and faithfulness to God's mission. It would be nice to be perfectly agreed. But is such humanly possible? Is it better to be perfectly agreed with a small group, or maintain the fellowship in a larger group even through disagreements?⁴⁹ Perhaps we have much to learn from Barton Stone, who would teach us of the primary importance of a loving and forgiving spirit. Perhaps we can seek to discern and follow the truth rigorously (a la Campbell) while maintaining a spirit of tolerance and love for those who disagree with us (a la Stone).

NOTES

¹ D. Newell Williams, *Barton Stone: A Spiritual Biography* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000), p. 1, states that Stone moved to Illinois in 1834 to allow the liberation of slaves willed in trust to his wife and children. Because of the trust arrangement, he was not legally able to emancipate them while living in a slave state.

² Charles Crossfield Ware, *Barton Warren Stone, Pathfinder of Christian Union; a Story of his Life and Times* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1932).

³ A. W. Fortune, *Adventuring with Disciple Pioneers* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1942).

⁴ Nashville: The Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1954.

⁵ Tony Dunnivant has done a magnificent job of tracing the treatment of Stone from Robert Richardson's *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* through modern authors, as well as the increasing mention of Stone in the *Christian-Evangelist*. Anthony L. Dunnivant, "From Precursor of the Movement to Icon of Christian Unity: Barton Warren Stone in the Memory of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)" in *Cane Ridge in Context: Perspectives on Barton W. Stone and the Revival* (Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1992), pp. 2-15. (Hereinafter *Perspectives*). See also notes in Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 5, note 120. Dunnivant comments (p. 12) that what A. W. Fortune et al. needed was "a usable past. . . a founder whose views had not been codified into a 'Disciples scholasticism' . . . as they perceived Campbell's had. They needed a different founder, a liberal founder, an *ecumenical* founder. . ." Richard L. Harrison Jr. in "Is Barton Our Cornerstone?" *Perspectives*, p. 68, comments that Stone was for a union of Christians, not a union of churches, and that Stone's "unity is unrelated to modern ecumenicity" (p. 64).

⁶For a more complete discussion, see my dissertation, pp. 249-250. G. R. Phillips, "Differences in the Theological and Philosophical Backgrounds of Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone and Resulting Differences of Thrust in Their Theological Formulations" (Nashville: Vanderbilt University unpublished Ph. D.

dissertation, 1968). Hereinafter referred to as "Dissertation."

⁷ As quoted in Edwin Scott Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1957), p. 103.

⁸ Bernard Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and their Impact Upon Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1958). Another excellent work on the same general topic is William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) which treats the development of American religion in terms of four great periods of awakening.

⁹ Thus in spite of the careful chronicling of a Scottish Presbyterian precedent in Newton B. Fowler, Jr., "Cambuslang: The Scottish Predecessor to Cane Ridge" in *Perspectives*, pp. 111-116, one must distinguish between remote historical precedents and the actual attitudes and emphases of participants.

¹⁰ James M. Mathes, ed., *Works of Elder B. W. Stone To Which is Added a Few Discourses and Sermons (Original and Selected)* Vol. I, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: Moore, Wiltach, Keys, & Co., Printers, 1859), p. 14. Reprinted by The Old Paths Book Club, Box V, Rosemead, CA, 1953.

¹¹ Perhaps this fallacy is originally attributable to James M. Mathes as ed. of the volume cited in fn. 10. In the Preface, Mathes stated "The writings of FATHER STONE, constituted, so far as we know, the first public documents written since the commencement of the Protestant Reformation, in favor of the name 'Christian,' as the Scriptural designation for all the disciples of Christ, and the union of all Christians upon the Bible *alone* to the exclusion of all party names, human creeds and confessions of faith." pp. v-vi.

Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 102, more accurately observes that in taking the name "Christian" the signers of the Last Will and Testament were associating themselves with an ongoing movement. We should note that it was a movement, and not a structured church body at the time.

¹² East Apthorp. "The Constitution of a Christian Church Illustrated in a Sermon at the Opening of Christ-Church Cambridge on Thursday, 15 October MCDLXI." (Boston: Printed by Green and Russell at their Office in Queen-Street, 1761).

¹³ John Neth, *An Address to the Different Religious Societies on the Sacred Import of the Christian Name, Footnotes to Disciple History, No. 4* (Nashville: The Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1954). For a full discussion, see Dissertation, p. 321, fns. 1 and 2.

¹⁴ See Dissertation, pp. 272-273. A complete discussion of the whole line of development may be found in Robert William Gates, "Samuel Davies to Barton W. Stone: A Study of Antecedents" (Unpublished B. D. dissertation, College of the Bible, Lexington, KY, 1964). See also Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55, who notes that Craighead was more Lockian and like Campbell than Stone, in that for Stone sinners were enabled to believe the Gospel not exclusively by the evidence of apostles' testimony but rather by the immediate power of the Holy Spirit, which opened the sinner's heart to receive the evidence of testimony.

¹⁵ To be sure, in his later thought, Stone emphasized Christian union. But the first hint of this seems to be in McNemar's "Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery." I have been unable to find any significant reference to

groups at the Cane Ridge revival other than Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists. Levi Purviance, in his biography of his father says “Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists &c., & c., were there. . .” But he was ten at the time, and gives no specific groups. 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 Dooly, William Dye, Thos. Kyle, George Shidler, William Kincade, Thomas Adams, Samuel Kyle, and Nathan Worley. Together with a Historical Sketch of the Great Kentucky Revival* (Dayton: B. F. and G. W. Ells, 1848), p. 244. (Hereinafter Purviance, *Biography*.) Purviance makes no mention of any sacramental observance. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 1, refers to the Cane Ridge Revival as an “ecumenical camp meeting,” but I suspect such a term (ecumenical) reads later terms and concepts back into the phenomenon. See the well-documented account of the revival in *Ibid.* pp. 59-63.

¹⁶ At the time of the formation of the Springfield Presbytery David Purviance had been ruling elder at Cane Ridge, and had been “under the care of the Transylvania Presbytery.” That body had postponed his ordination. Purviance also withdrew, applied to the Springfield Presbytery, was “taken under care,” and shortly afterward was “set forward to the work of ministry.” See Purviance *Biography*, p. 40 and fn. 9, p. 100. While he had served in both the Kentucky House and Senate, and had done some study under David Caldwell, apparently he was not required to complete the studies normally required of Presbyterian candidates for ministry.

One of the fascinating aspects of the whole early Stone movement was the extent to which the history of the Cumberland Presbytery paralleled that of Stone’s associates. Revivalist elements in that presbytery thought it proper to ordain some 30 clergy who had not met the classical educational requirements. The move resulted in the withdrawal of conservatives into the Transylvania Presbytery. The pro-revivalists had organized themselves into a council in 1805, and when appeal of their issue to the General Assembly failed, formed themselves into a new denomination in 1810: The Cumberland Presbyterian Church. They were in effect Presbyterians who were heavily influenced by Arminian Methodism. It is little short of amazing to me how little attention is given by historians of the Stone-Campbell Movement to this group that so closely mirrors their own concerns.

A confirmation of how much we have forgotten in mythologizing our own history is found in the work of Colby D. Hall *The “New Light” Christians* (Ft. Worth: Colby D. Hall, 1959). Hall (foreword, pp. 7-9) notes his own surprise at discovering the whole “New Light” movement among Presbyterians, and how close it was to Stone’s movement and contiguous with general American revivalism of the time. His surprise is perhaps an evidence of how saturated with the myth of our own uniqueness we had become. He further notes (p. 14) a work published by a Prof. John Vant Stephens of Lane Seminary in 1942 which attempted to distinguish between the Stone movement and the C. P. church; Stephens thought some had confused the two. How is it that many of us in the Stone-Campbell tradition never heard of the similarities?

¹⁷ In “Recollections of John Rogers” found in Purviance *Biography*, p. 240.

¹⁸ After noting that most of Stone’s associates either became Shakers or returned to Presbyterianism, Cartwright comments: “B. W. Stone stuck to his New Lightism, and fought many bloodless battles, till he grew old and feeble, and the

mighty Alexander Campbell, the great, arose and poured such floods of regenerating water about the old man's cranium that he formed a union with this giant errorist, and finally died, not much lamented out of the circle of a few friends. And this is the way with all the New Lights, in the government, morals, and discipline of the Church.

"This Christian, or New Light Church, is a feeble and scattered people, though there are some good Christians among them. I suppose since the day of Pentecost, there was hardly ever a greater revival of religion than at Cane Ridge; and if there had been steady, Christian ministers, settled in Gospel doctrine and Church discipline, thousands might have been saved to the Church . . ." Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright With an Introduction Bibliography, and Index by Charles L. Wallis*. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956) (originally published 1856).

Stoneite sympathy with the exercises long after Stone became disenchanted in the early 1830's is indicated by the fact that John Rogers in his concluding chapter of the work that includes the unabridged biography of Stone gives 50 pages (pp. 348-398) to a defense of the "exercises. Elder John Rogers, *The Biography of Eld. Barton Warren Stone, Written by Himself, with Additions and Reflections* (Cincinnati: Published for the Author by J. A. and U. P. James, 1847. Reprinted as part of the "Restoration Reprint Library" but with no data available. Hereinafter Rogers Biography of Stone.

¹⁹ A rather complete analysis is to be found in W. G. West, *op. cit.* I have also attempted something of such an analysis in my Dissertation, pp. 343-350.

²⁰ Stone betrayed a complete ignorance of the development of creeds and the canon in early Christianity in stating, "For three hundred years after Christ the church had but one authoritative creed, which was the Bible." *Christian Messenger*, II 1828, p. 41. In his later years Stone gave evidence of some acquaintance with church historians, but does not seem to have been aware of developments in theological concepts or the status of the canon.

²¹ I find in Stone only one hint of awareness comparable to Campbell's repeated mention of "the celebrated Moses Stuart," who although conservative, did much to introduce early German higher criticism to American thought. Campbell was a bit of a higher critic himself, at times.

²² So did Campbell, but Campbell proposed an "eternal Word" which became the "Son" at the incarnation; Stone's view of the Christ was "lower" than Trinitarian theory; Campbell's view was "higher."

²³ Ronald P. Byars, "Cane Ridge from a Presbyterian Point of View," in *Perspectives*, p. 106, note 4 notes that W. G. West cites specific instances of other candidates for ordination in Transylvania Presbytery making the same qualification.

²⁴ Campbell did not hold this view much beyond the 1820s. He quietly opposed the dissolution of the Mahoning Association, but decided not to speak against a view being championed by Walter Scott. He repeatedly urged the need for co-operation after 1830, and his 1844 *Millennial Harbinger* "Isle of Guernsey" illustration which set forth a modified Presbyterianism, and his support of national organizations in his later years are ample illustration.

²⁵ Purivance biography, *op. cit.*, p. 240. Williams (*op. cit.*, p. 100) observes that although McNemar's *Last Will and Testament* has been interpreted as making congregations responsible for licensing and ordaining candidates for ministry, Stone's movement never followed that idea until Campbellian influence dominated.

As late as 1828, Stone argued for a sort of “apostolic succession,” holding that only ministers (not congregations) as successors of the apostles were qualified to ordain ministers. *Ibid.* p. 171, quoting Stone’s *Christian Messenger* for April, 1828.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94. The “Methodist slant” of Stone, at least, may be further confirmed in that Stone’s mother, on hearing of his conversion experience, herself joined a Methodist church. Stone, *Autobiography*, in Rogers, *The Cane Ridge Meeting House*, pp. 121, 123-124. Perhaps the solution in the apparent contradiction is to be found in Stone’s statement (*Christian Messenger*, I, 1827, pp. 51-53) that conferences did not meddle with the government of the churches, “leaving each church to act according to the New Testament,” nor did they attempt to unite the churches in one associated body. See Dissertation, p. 361 for a fuller discussion.

Both the Southern Christians and New England Christians, as well as the “Stoneites,” held “conferences.” Whether these were highly structured is problematic. Certainly for David Purviance and Matthew Gardner, “conferences” played a much more important role in church life than for Stone’s later thought. “Conferences” did ordain ministers, feel competent to engage in “unions” with other groups, and constitute themselves (at least as to the clergy involved) as official or semi-official bodies. Obviously they were “church” in some sense.

According to Matthew Gardner, the Kentucky Conference, of which B. W. Stone was a part, refused him (Gardner) a ministerial license in both 1816 and 1817, and then after a committee of ministers was appointed to investigate the situation, ordained him March 2, 1818. Matthew Gardner, *The Autobiography of Elder Matthew Gardner, A Minister in the Christian Church Sixty Three Years*, ed. by N. Summerbell, D. D. (Dayton, Ohio: Christian Publishing Association, 1874), pp. 37-38. In 1832 or 1833, the Kentucky Conference was still in operation. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

²⁷ So Colby Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Dissertation, p. 314. Robert Marshall wrote the “Apology”, B. W. Stone the “Compendious View,” and the “Remarks” were by John Thompson.

²⁸ R. Marshall and J. Thomson (sic), “A Brief Historical Account of Sundry Things in the Doctrines and State of the Christian, or as It is Commonly Called THE NEWLIGHT CHURCH” found in Purviance, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-274 at p. 256.

²⁹ See Dissertation, p. 322, n. 1, in which I have noted that John Neth in his previously cited work “shows that Haggard and O’Kelly were the only two traveling preachers who continued with this group.” Neth also quotes Davidson’s *1847 History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky*, p. 198, as attributing not only the name “Christian,” but the plan of organization and worship adopted by the “Stoneites” to Rice Haggard. There was some sort of informal cooperation, but Cartwright, *op. cit.* p. 35, says only a remnant of the former “Republican Methodists” united with the Stoneites.

³⁰ W. E. MacClenny, Ph.D. *The Life of Rev. James O’Kelly and the Early History of the Christian Church in the South* (Indianapolis: Religious Book Service, 1950; first published 1910), pp. 157-158.

³¹ Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 148.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³³ Whether there was in fact a union may be disputed; the facts are so dubious as to also question Guirey’s statement that there was a similar union with the Stoneites. The facts are these: 1) there was an exchange of fraternal letters

between some in New England and some in the South in 1809. 2) Elias Smith attended a “General Meeting” in Caroline County, Virginia in October 1811. Nine ministers from the South were present, along with Smith. 3) O’Kelly and Guirey had split the previous year. 4) Smith preached seven times over the weekend; said he was free and wanted to unite with all who were free to accept him as a brother. 5) All agreed to preach Christ and obey his commands as far as they understood those commands. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-162. Is this union? Perhaps “union” at this time meant simply recognition of similar goals and a fraternal feeling, with no doctrinal unanimity or organizational structure.

To cast further doubt, Smith in his account of this meeting says he preached eight times (about half the total sermons preached). Smith says this was a “heavenly place in Christ Jesus” but makes no mention of any union at all, or even any agreement to co-operate further. Elias Smith, *The Life, Conversion, Preaching, Travels and Sufferings of Elias Smith* (New York: Arno Press, 1980). First published 1816 by Beck and Foster, Portsmouth, N. H. p. 394.

³⁴ Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

³⁶ Matthew Gardner left no doubt that in his mind there was no merger of Stone’s group with Campbell’s; for him, Stone simply defected, with many others. Gardner says that since Stone has “gone over” to Campbell’s system, the “Christians” had no paper in the west (Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 91). Gardner stated that eastern Christians wanted those in the west not to start another paper, but to read their *Christian Palladium*. His thinking was “there has never been a so-called union of Disciples and Christians, except where the Christians adopted the Disciples’ ‘peculiar’ doctrines and practices; that is uniting with the Disciples to exclude all other Christians.” (*Ibid.*, p. 144) Further (p. 175), “From and after Elder Stone’s adoption of Mr. Campbell’s system he never belonged to or had any standing in, any Christian conference to the time of his death.” Obviously, Stone used “conference” in a different and less official sense.

What a pity we have no real statistical data on how many Christians “merged” and how many remained as “Christians” in the “conferences!”

³⁷ I would offer a similar judgment on the work of the Campbells. It was not so much that they offered an absolutely unique approach so much as that they offered an approach based on a wider perspective. I have maintained elsewhere that the sources of their thought were Enlightenment universal rationalism as interpreted through attitudes more typical of the “broad church” Anglicanism in which Thomas Campbell spent his first 29 years. And that source was sharpened by Thomas Campbell’s reaction to the narrowness of Seceder Presbyterian thought in which he found himself, and his sectarian rejection by various American church bodies.

³⁸ See the extensive tribute to Stone’s spirit in Rogers’ *Biography of Stone*, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-305.

³⁹ In *Works of Elder B. W. Stone (Mathes)*, p. vi.

⁴⁰ See Dissertation, pp. 279-280.

⁴¹ Rogers, *Biography of Stone*, pp. 66-67.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

⁴³ That removal put an effective end to the controversy between the two after the “merger.” Such was only renewed when Campbell rankled “Stoneites” in

the early 1840s with claims of priority.

⁴⁴ Tradition has it that when Stone moved to Illinois he found both “Campbellite” and “Stoneite” congregations nearby. He refused to identify with either until they “merged.”

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 175-176.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 179-181.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 197, quoting Stone’s *Christian Messenger*, 1833, pp. 4-6. Amazingly, Stone (*Ibid.*, p. 198) castigated Christians who wanted to baptize only those already saved as ones who “have a creed of their own . . . and are equally intolerant against those who dissent from their opinions or doctrines.”

⁴⁹ The rector of Johnson City, Tennessee’s Episcopal parish during the controversy over the selection of an openly gay bishop noted that while heresy would likely pass away over time, schism traditionally did not. Was he correct?

Dr. Glenn Thomas Carson elected New President of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society

By unanimous vote the Board of Trustees of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, on April 30, elected Dr. Glenn Carson to be the next president of the Society, following Dr. Peter Morgan, who served in that position for nine years. His service to the Society as president will begin July 1, 2005. The search, led by Dr. Laura Hobgood-Oster, began in 2003 and consumed the better part of two years.

Dr. Carson, forty-five years of age, is a native of Brunswick, Georgia, where he was baptized at age nine. He holds an Associate degree from Brunswick College in history; a Bachelor of Fine Arts from Valdosta State University in Theatre Arts; a Master of Divinity degree in theology from Southwestern Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas; a Doctor of Philosophy degree in the History of Christianity from Southwestern Seminary; and postdoctoral study at Brite Divinity School in Fort Worth, Texas.

Dr. Carson serves currently as Moderator of the Greater Kansas City Region Disciples Ministers Association and as a member of the Greater Kansas City Region Executive Committee with responsibility for leadership development. He is Consulting Pastor of Broadview Christian Church in Kansas City and was previously Senior Pastor of North Woods Christian Church also in Kansas City. Prior to his Kansas City assignments Dr. Carson served for five years as Assistant Professor of Religion at Charleston Southern University in Charleston, South Carolina and was Pastor of Rhett Avenue Christian Church in Charleston. He is the author of *Calling Out the Called: The Life and Work of Lee Rutland Scarborough*, Eakin Press, 1996; fourteen articles and nine academic papers. A book length manuscript is ready for publication and entitled: *The Eternity Principle: How to Contact an Invisible God in a Visible World*.

He is married to the former Mary Leslie Buice and they have one son, William, age seven.

Reflecting upon his appointment to the presidency of the Historical Society, Dr. Carson commented, "The rich heritage that we share in the Stone-Campbell tradition is not only worth preserving, it is worth sharing. Our mission is not only the past, it is the future as well. When we say the Disciples of Christ Historical Society is concerned with archives and documentation, we are, in effect, proclaiming our desire to tell the world about our faith and our mission as Christians."

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A Reconsideration of Nineteenth Century Popular Protestantism: Social and Economic Status in the Olathe (Kansas) Christian Church

John Grigg*

Introduction

On April 16, 1860 nine residents of the small eastern Kansas town of Olathe gathered together to inaugurate a Church of Christ under the leadership of two visiting evangelists. After a statement affirming their belief in basic Protestant doctrine, they pledged themselves to do everything in their power to “promote the peace, unity and prosperity of this church.”¹

The membership of the new Olathe Christian Church (OCC) did not conform to historian Nathan O. Hatch’s image of the congregations associated with the democratic denominations of the Second Great Awakening.² The majority of the congregation were successful entrepreneurs and a number held positions of prominence in the local community. Historian Ferenc Szasz has argued that while westerners participated in national trends they altered these trends to reflect the different culture in the west.³ While this is undoubtedly true, it may well be that alterations varied by location. The location of the OCC in a commercial town was unusual for the denomination in general and particularly unusual for the denomination in Kansas in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It seems likely that it was this urban setting that contributed to the development of a different kind of Christian Church.

Nineteenth Century Popular Protestantism

Time and space do not allow for a lengthy discussion of the events in the first third of the nineteenth century which profoundly altered American Protestantism. However, I need to note some specific points germane to this article. There were two main streams of religious upheaval which are collectively identified as the Second Great Awakening. The first of these was the revival meetings that flowed from the ministry of Charles Grandison

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Finney in the 1830s and 1840s. Finney eschewed formal theological training and introduced a populist style.⁴ His converts came largely from store owners, lawyers, master craftsmen and others who would be identified with the middle or upper classes.⁵ As the evangelist himself noted, he had converted the “great mass of the most influential people.”⁶ The Finney revivals also produced a coercive social force wherein converts attempted to alter social behavior in the wider community. Business owners who had undergone a conversion experience began to hire only men of good moral standing, as evidenced by their attendance at church. Furthermore, church attendance meant that an employee was more likely to be given opportunities of management or partnership when they arose.⁷

The other strand of the Second Great Awakening was centered in the more rural, western areas of the United States and was made up, to a large extent, of family farmers and those who dwelt in small towns. This religious movement was marked by the emergence of new denominations such as the Disciples of Christ. These denominations chose ministers based on calling and demonstrated ability, rather than education. Hatch argued that, in large part, this approach to the ministry was reflective of the make up of these churches themselves. The Disciples resisted social distinctions and saw themselves as arrayed against the civil, religious, and legal elites of society. Moreover, these denominations also believed that each person could discern biblical truth for themselves. Rather than being held within interpretative lines by clergy and creeds, people could determine where they would attend church based on their own interpretations (or emotions). When the Awakening splintered the Protestant church in America, it provided a plethora of choices for religious-minded people. Not only were people freer to determine which churches they wanted to join, they also felt freer to leave one church and join another.⁸

Although the nature of these churches mitigated against formal control of members' behavior, there were other ways in which the churches attempted to regulate the actions of their congregations.⁹ Historian Scott Miyakawa argued that Protestant denominations in the west were intimate, voluntary organizations which attempted to “regulate the entire personal, social and economic life of members and their families in accordance with standards which were essentially uniform for each denomination throughout the country.”¹⁰ This attempt to regulate behavior was not always successful. Because of the belief that anybody could interpret the bible for themselves, members frequently left one church to start another. For example, the town of Charleston, Indiana, boasted six churches to serve several hundred townspeople.¹¹

The Disciples of Christ in Kansas

The Disciples of Christ followed the westward spread of American expansion and the first Kansas churches were established in 1855. Growth of the denomination in Kansas was steady rather than spectacular. In 1860, the Disciples' claimed 900 members; in 1865, 3,000; in 1883; 21,800; and by 1916, approximately 65,000 members.¹² The Kansas Christian Churches also reflected the denomination's emphasis on rural life. Through at least 1920, the Disciples growth was centered in rural areas and small towns. In part, this reflected the Disciples' historical origins. However, the rural focus was also a consequence of the denomination's belief in the idea that American destiny lay in the hands of the yeoman farmer. The Disciples embraced the idea that rural life was superior to, and more spiritual than, urban life. Many leaders of the Kansas Disciples embraced this concept and the majority of new churches were established in rural areas. In addition, one of the early Kansas leaders, evangelist Pardee Butler, shied away from the cities since he did not believe the denomination possessed the financial power to establish urban churches.¹³

The Town of Olathe

Olathe was founded in 1857, and several years later was named the county seat of Johnson County, Kansas.¹⁴ Although the 1850s and the Civil War were traumatic times for the fledgling settlement, development was strong in the subsequent decades. The first two banks were incorporated in 1869 and 1870. The Olathe Flour Mill was built in 1869 to be followed by the Pearl Mills in 1880. By the time Cutler compiled his history of Kansas in 1883, he recorded that Olathe contained "at the present time three general stores, five drug stores, six groceries, four hardware stores, six agricultural implement dealers, four grain dealers, three livery stables, three furniture stores, two jewelry stores, four bakery and confectionery stores, five hotels, three lumber yards, one broom manufactory, four blacksmiths, one brick yard, three harness shops, and 2,850 inhabitants."¹⁵ In 1890 the population had grown to 3,294 and by 1901, 3,450. In the latter year, it was the largest town in the county and accounted for one-fifth of the county's entire population of 17,167.¹⁶

The town of Olathe was, in many ways, at odds with the agrarian focus of the Disciples of Christ. Although Olathe in the nineteenth century was not a huge urban center, neither was it a rural, agrarian-oriented town. Rather, the town's wealth came from commerce, trade and its position as the county seat. News stories, editorials and advertising in the local paper

all indicate an interest in commerce rather than agriculture. Furthermore, many of those listed as farmers in the various censuses were not dirt farmers but capital-driven landowners tied into the commercial aspects of the town.¹⁷ The growth of commerce and capital in the town is also reflective of a trend in the west toward more hardened class divisions.¹⁸ This emphasis on commerce is an important point since Olathe's population would not automatically lead one to consider it as an urban center. However, despite its size, the town functioned in more of an urban rather than a rural fashion.

The Christian Church was the first church organized in Olathe and it was not until late in the Civil War years that any more permanent congregations were founded. The first Roman Catholic church was organized in 1864, while 1865 saw the founding of the Methodist Episcopal, Congregational, Reformed Presbyterian and Old School Presbyterian.¹⁹ A United Presbyterian Church was established in 1866 and the first black church, the African Methodist Episcopal, in 1868. In 1879, the Baptist members of this church left to form their own congregation. A white Baptist church was founded in 1870. By 1915, Blair's history of Johnson County included Wesleyan Methodists, Episcopalians, German Baptists and a Gospel Hall.²⁰

The People of the Olathe Christian Church²¹

From the time of its original charter, the Olathe Christian Church was made up of a membership that varied significantly from the non-elitist ideals of the denomination. The nine founding members actually represented only three families. Martin Davenport was chosen elder of the church and was joined in membership by one son and four daughters.²² Evan and Sarah Ann Shriver were also present as was twenty-three year old William Bronaugh.²³ Shriver and Bronaugh were chosen deacons while Davenport's son Noah was named as the clerk.²⁴

These original members appear to have been reasonably prosperous. Martin Davenport, who was 62 in 1860, was listed in the 1865 Kansas state census as a farmer. The valuation of his farm property at \$3,200 and his personal property at \$1,425 suggests he was a reasonably successful one.²⁵ When he died in the early 1870s, Davenport was wealthy enough to set off a battle over his will. His heirs declared that Davenport was "possessed of a large amount of Real and Personal property" valued in the vicinity of \$4,000.²⁶

Evan Shriver was also a successful farmer. His property values for Real and Personal were listed as \$4,400 and \$2,679 respectively in 1865 and \$10,000 and \$3,000 in 1870.²⁷ William Bronaugh, who, it seems, was

a life-long member of the church, prospered rapidly in the years following the founding of the church. In 1865, his property values were \$3,000 and \$3,360 respectively while, by 1870, his Real property value had increased to \$6,000.²⁸ Indeed, Bronaugh was successful enough to rate a mention in Cutler's 1883 *History of the State of Kansas* which noted that he was a farmer and stockraiser who owned 160 acres of well-improved land and that he was also Treasurer of the District School Board.²⁹

One might wonder why a group of relatively successful men chose to establish a Christian Church as the town's first congregation. It may be that this was their own personal religious heritage or that they had come to believe in the precepts of the denomination. However, it is also possible that there was a more self-interested motivation. In the Disciples of Christ, appointment of pastors and determination of church rules lay entirely in the hands of the local congregation. It is possible that the church founders chose the denomination as it would allow them to exert a significant amount of control over the make up and structure of the church.

Whatever the reason, the church continued to attract both prosperous and influential members of Olathe society. A list of church members compiled sometime in the late 1860s was compared with the Kansas census records of 1865 and the U.S. census records of 1870. Although not all the church members could be found in the census lists, those who were located suggest a church membership that was reasonably well off. William Gans, who served as pastor and one of three elders, was a nurseryman with property values totaling \$3,300.³⁰ One of the deacons, George Lawrence, was a dry goods dealer whose property values increased from \$500 in 1865 to \$1,000 in 1870.³¹ Another member, P.M. Zook, operated a stationer's business.

Nor did the general prosperity of the church decline over the next decade. Census records of 1880 and 1885 reveal that there were still a number of well-to-do farmers but there was also a greater diversity of occupations. Fisher Garwood was the owner of a transfer line which was successful enough to enable Garwood and his wife Mary to employ a sixteen-year-old live-in servant/laborer named Edward Shaw.³² Ivory Legate was a druggist and was another member of the church who rated mention in Cutler's history. He had begun his career as a part owner of Brown, Legate and Tifford druggists but by 1883 operated his own business which Cutler valued at between \$5,000 and \$6,000. He was also the manager of Hayes Opera House and the Olathe Rifle Band.³³

Solomon Hisey, who joined the church sometime between 1883 and 1892, by which time he was a deacon, was an undertaker and partner

in the firm of “Hammond and Hisey, Undertakers and Dealers in Furniture.”³⁴ In the 1890s, the church was also home to Dr. O.S. Laws who practiced in the town for many years.³⁵ E.D. Warner, who served as a deacon in 1895, was a stockholder in both the Grange store and Patron’s Bank as well as the owner of considerable property in Kansas City, Missouri.³⁶

The membership rolls also contain the names of many women whose husbands either did not attend at all or were not members. A number of these families were also prominent in Olathe society. Margaret Christy (whose daughters also attended) was married to a druggist who operated his own store. Amanda Gaines’ husband Frank was a doctor while Ella Lilford’s husband was a real estate agent. Even more prominent was Mary Ogg’s husband Frank who was the local attorney for both the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe and the Kansas City Railroads and served two terms as county attorney.³⁷ The church also included (briefly it seems) at least one prosperous independent woman. Lizzie Galbraith who operated her own “Milliner & Dress Maker” business on the East Side on the town square.³⁸ Many of the prosperous members of the church also assumed roles of political leadership in the community. In 1863, F. E. Henderson was elected Johnson County Clerk and Evan Shriver was elected to the County Commission.³⁹ Through the 1870s, a number of other church members won election to various city and county offices. William Bronaugh was town treasurer (1872) and J.P. Hindman a county attorney (1876).⁴⁰ Frank Ogg, husband of church member Mary Ogg, in addition to his work as county attorney, was also city attorney in the 1870s and served at least one term as mayor of Olathe.⁴¹ Ogg’s work as attorney for the Kansas City Railroad company may also have been of help to the church. When a long-anticipated line was built through Olathe, the council and company agree that the company should pay a total of \$3,500 to the owners of the property through which the tracks were to run. The council noted that the money was to be “apportioned among said owners of improved property on said street except the Christian Church.”⁴² This exclusion strongly suggests that Ogg’s connection to both the company and the church, enabled the church to work out a more specific arrangement. The Olathe Mirror reported that the railroad had purchased two vacant lots and moved the church building to this new location. In return, the church deeded its lots to the railroad.⁴³ The church’s political connections continued through the 1880s and 1890s. In 1880, Thomas McGannon was the city clerk, J.L. Pettyjohn was city treasurer for Olathe during the early 1890s, at which time E.C. Owen was the city’s police judge. In 1893, E.D. Warner served one term on the city council while in 1897, Ivory Legate won election to a three year term as Johnson County Commissioner.⁴⁴ In

addition, a number of church members served as election officials between 1870 and 1900. The lists of church members are also significant for what occupations were not listed. There were few, if any, working-class people included in the list. Of all the names on the members' lists, only one can be linked with any justification to a laboring occupation. Elmira Little was married to a stonecutter who was not a member. None of the dozens of railroad laborers stationed at Olathe during the 1880s, appear on the membership lists. Neither does the Garwood's live-in servant nor any of the farm laborers who worked for, and lived with, some of the church's well-to-do farmers. It may be that poor and working-class people attended the church but simply didn't stay in the area long enough to be recorded on the census rolls. Or it may be that the poorer people of the town attended the church but never applied for formal membership. In addition there are a number of names on the rolls which cannot be matched with any census data and it may be that some of these people were laborers or working-class members of the church. Having noted the limitations of the details regarding the composition of the membership, some conclusions are still possible. It is clear that the leadership ranks (deacons, elders, board members) were exclusively the domain of successful businessmen and farmers. Furthermore, the OCC, despite being part of a denomination born in the anti-elite revivals of the western United States, bore a far closer resemblance, in socio-economic terms, to the churches that welcomed Charles Finney. That is, its members were businessmen and entrepreneurs as well as successful farmers who benefited from access to the commercial market to develop significant wealth. However, unlike Johnson's findings of the church memberships in Rochester, it does not appear that the situation in Olathe led working-class people to join the church seeking economic advancement. Admittedly, the records are very sparse here, but none of the few employees, farm laborers and servants of church members appear in the membership lists.

Moreover, there is some indication that there was tension between the Olathe churches and some of the townspeople. In 1881, the City Council passed an ordinance that anyone who should "disturb any congregation or assembly of people met for religious worship by making a noise or by rude or indecent behavior or profane discourse within their place of worship" was subject to a fine of \$100 or up to three months in prison. This was in contrast to a fine of \$50 for the disruption of any other meeting. The ordinance was re-issued in 1883.⁴⁵ In 1892, the city council moved that "the mayor appoint two special police to keep order at the churches on Sunday evenings."⁴⁶

In addition to these specific issues, the council also passed a number of ordinances prohibiting indecent exposure, immoral plays, and reminded the owner of the Hotel Olathe that the “playing of billiards or pool on the Sabbath would not be tolerated.”⁴⁷ The council also used its political power to hold down economic competition. In 1881 it passed An Ordinance Regulating Licenses for Certain Purposes.⁴⁸ This ordinance prohibited the selling of goods “by public outcry” without a license. Such a license cost \$500 for six months. It seems likely that this ordinance was designed to protect the business standing of the more well-to-do members of the community. Members of the Olathe Christian Church were not necessarily councilmen when these ordinances were promulgated. However, none of the ordinances seemed to excite any elite opposition and the church members were certainly connected to the city leadership. It seems safe to assume that they were, in general, supportive of these measures. We are left, then, with a picture of a middle-class church whose members have significant stature in the local community and, to some extent, used that stature to advance their own goals.

Church Order

It was noted earlier that while Miyakawa argued for strong, institutional attempts to regulate the personal lives of families, Hatch emphasized the absence of creeds or confessions when judging membership. In the absence of formal membership requirements, one way for a church to define acceptable and unacceptable behavior was to lay out moral standards. What the Olathe records indicate is that the church applied a standard that incorporated aspects of both these approaches. It is clear that membership was a formal standing as the periodical revision of the rolls indicate. This formal approach is confirmed by later entries that letters of transfer had been approved or denied. However, the fact that the membership rolls were not, apparently, updated assiduously also suggests that this method of control was not absolute. On the other hand, while it does appear that there were attempts to maintain the level of control that Miyakawa alluded to, it was not always successful and, perhaps more importantly, appears to have been largely abandoned in the 1870s.

The attempt to exert some control over those aspiring to be members is delimited in the membership lists. In the lists, there are columns noting the basis for admitting people to membership as well as the reasons for their departure. There are also long lists of those who were no longer part of the church. In some cases this was due to death or departure. However,

there are a number of entries that indicate certain standards were applied. The apparently ubiquitous category “Fellowship Withdrawn From” appears frequently. In some cases, it appears to have an administrative function wherein members who had not been in attendance for some time were removed from the roll. Indeed, at least once, at a church meeting in December 1881, there was a concerted effort to update the members list and a large number of names of people who were known to have left town were removed from the lists. However, the notation of “Fellowship Withdrawn From” was also used for those members who had either committed specific breaches of Christian propriety or who had adopted a lifestyle inconsistent with the church’s values.

This attention to the lifestyles of members was something that began early in the life of the church. In one of the first membership books dating from 1867 and 1868 it was recorded that Barnet Shriver had “bak [sic] slid” and that Richard Lindsey had “Run off.”⁴⁹ We also find the laconic entry that “JA Keeler [Keefer?] has not conducted himself consistently with the precepts of Christianity and Christian fellowship is . . . withdrawn from him.”⁵⁰ In this same time period, a more sizable problem was encountered. In an entry made sometime between June and December 1867, a list of eleven names is accompanied by the notation “Having imbibed the materialism Went out from us for they were not of us.” However, on March 13, 1868, the same names were re-written but this time accompanied by a notation which read: “it was considered that the following Brethren and Sisters having left us and seeking to cause a schism in the body were guilty of disorderly conduct and fellowship should be withdrawn from them.”

This change in the description of the event was probably significant. The expression “not of us” carries the idea that those named were not Christians. This harkens back to passages in the bible which make a similar distinction.⁵¹ In the revised version, the people in question were described as “Brethren and Sisters,” that is co-religionists. Nonetheless, they had still committed a grievous sin, that of schism. The Disciples firmly believed that dividing the church was ungodly. The revised version of the events thus did two things. First, it seems cooler heads had prevailed and the departed members were still perceived to be Christians. However, by judging them guilty of schism, the church had now interpreted the departure to be due to church-enforced discipline rather than member-controlled decisions.

Some of the eleven members who left the church at this time were fashionable members of Olathe society. In addition to his time as County Clerk, F.E. Henderson went on to serve on the Olathe City Council while G.F. Hendrickson served several terms as probate judge.⁵² Whatever

materialism or disorderly conduct had been, it did not effect their standing in society. Nor was this the only time that substantial members of the community ran afoul of the church administration. Evan Shriver, one of the church founders, had the notation “removed” entered next to his name at about the same time he was serving as County Commissioner.⁵³ Since Shriver continued to live in Olathe, one concludes that he either left the church for his own reasons or was forced out because of a breach of discipline.

More traumatic was the case of the church’s first elder, Martin Davenport. At a meeting of the church’s officers (elders, deacons and board members) on August 11, 1871 an entry was made that Davenport “on his making open confession was restored to the fellowship of the church.”⁵⁴ Although there is no record of what Davenport’s failing was, it appears to have been particularly grievous. In keeping with biblical dictates that elders be held to a higher level of accountability, Davenport was “discontinued as an elder of this congregation.”⁵⁵ Against his name in the membership lists the notation “Reduced to ranks” was made, but it seems that Davenport remained a member of the church until his death in 1872.

The minutes for the board meetings throughout 1871 and 1872 indicate that the church officers instituted a more systematic attempt to monitor the behavior of the members. The majority of the minutes record the names of those who served on a number of two-man committees appointed to wait upon various people and report as to their “future course.” In most cases the committees were continued to the next month presumably because the meetings had not yet taken place. Sometimes however, they were able to report at least a degree of success so that entries such as “Some long absent and promised reform” appeared. Occasionally, an even more satisfactory conclusion was reached as when Brother Graham was present and “made satisfactory statements his case was dismissed” or the milliner and dress-maker Lizzie Galbraith “making an open confession” was restored to fellowship.⁵⁶

Not all such events had happy endings though, as a number of the people visited are later noted as having had “fellowship withdrawn.” In some cases, it seems such decisions were reached solely as a result of someone’s failure to attend services regularly rather than for any significant moral failure. In other cases, it is apparent that the parting member wanted there to be no doubt that they were leaving the church. Thus one of the entries noted that a letter from P.M. Zook “was read to the church and decided to be an insult to the church and walking disorderly, the fellowship of the church was withdrawn.”⁵⁷

On June 1, 1872, the church was rent by a far more serious dispute. At a special meeting called on that day (probably of the whole congregation rather than just the church officers), all the elders of the church resigned and were replaced.⁵⁸ Several weeks later another meeting made several key decisions. They ordered that fellowship be withdrawn from the previous group of elders and several other members, that the house key to the pastor's house and several property deeds be reclaimed from the former officers, and, most significantly, that the name of the congregation be changed to "Church of Christ" or "Church of God," rather than "Christian Church, Olathe."⁵⁹ Such a name change is indicative of a major theological split within the ranks of the congregation which may have been a microcosm of events taking place in the entire denomination. A number of Disciples' churches disassociated themselves from the denomination and banded together under the new name of Churches of Christ or Churches of God. There were a number of reasons for this across the nation, although this division did not come to a nationwide head until the last decade of the nineteenth century. It is not clear from the Olathe records which of the underlying conflicts caused the division in that congregation.⁶⁰ Curiously, in light of this schism, the meeting records continued to use the title Christian Church, Olathe—the name in which the church was eventually incorporated.

Regardless of its causes, this split seems to have been particularly traumatic. Only three meetings were recorded between June 1872 and August 1881. While this does not mean these were the only meetings, it strongly suggests a change in the way business was conducted. Indeed, by the time regular minutes resumed in 1881, there was very little in the way of member discipline included, with the records mostly being confined to financial issues. While it is possible that the elders were meeting separately and not keeping written records, it may indicate a less formalized approach to matters of discipline. Furthermore, one event recorded during this period provides evidence that the church leadership was now more concerned with general exhortative warnings rather than specific cases of discipline. On January 3, 1897, the minutes recorded that "it was decided unanimously that the Board Publicly express their regrets that some of our members were participating in Dancing and other worldly amusements contrary to the Word of God."⁶¹ On the face of it, this would seem to be a not uncommon critique of a broad social trend. However, it appears that, in this case at least, there was a little more to it. In the Christmas Eve edition of the *Olathe Mirror* there was an announcement that special Christmas services would be held at the Christian Church with Pastor Fife preaching on "The Divinity of Christ" and "Why I Believe the Bible to be God's Word and Divine."⁶²

The following week, although there was no newspaper report on these services (as the paper sometimes did) there was a half-column sized report on the Dancing Party that had been held at the Grange Hall Christmas night.⁶³ Although the accompanying list of names does not feature any known members of the church, it is quite likely that a number of them already knew why the bible was God's word and chose, instead, to broaden their knowledge of dancing. Rather than approaching people individually, the Board chose to make a blanket statement which was probably read from the pulpit the next Sunday.

However, on at least one occasion after 1872, the actions of members required the leadership to take a specific, public stand. Such was the case with the abrupt departure of Mr. and Mrs. J.P. Hindman. Hindman had served the church as both deacon and elder.⁶⁴ In fact, the Hindmans had been so valuable that, in 1895, the board had approved a memorial for them honoring their service to the church.⁶⁵ However, two years later, a special board meeting was called to discuss whether or not to drop the Hindmans from the roll. This meeting was precipitated by an appearance of the couple before the church several days earlier at which Mrs. Hindman declared "that the Christian Church is a hearisy [sic] worse than the Catholicks [sic] that she was tired of it and wanted to be free." After some deliberation, the board agreed that their names "are stricken from the membership role [sic]."⁶⁶ Although it is clear that the Hindmans had made the choice to leave the church, it is interesting that the church leadership met to discuss removing them from the rolls. They apparently needed to be seen as exerting some control over the status of the members.

What the church records suggest is that the methods of controlling the personal lives of members evolved over time. During the first ten years or so of the church's existence it kept close tabs on not only the behavior of its members but also their attendance records. Following the major split of 1872, this monitoring either ceased or took on a less formal manifestation. However, the events surrounding the departure of the Hindmans as well as the incident over the Christmas dance suggest some kind of organizational oversight of behavior. The practice of issuing letters to members when they left the area may also indicate a means of regulating behavior. However, it is difficult to be completely conclusive in that regard as it is not clear what would prevent the issuance of such a letter.

Conclusions

As was noted earlier, a generally accepted paradigm of the Disciples of Christ indicates that local churches were made up of small

land-holders and farmers, workingmen and others with little connection to the political, social, or economic elite of their community. In many ways, this perception was reinforced and shaped by denominational leaders who believed the role of the denomination was to restore the simplicity of the New Testament church. This role was facilitated by the willingness of the Disciples to attach their denomination to the American frontier myth. Thus, the Disciples' simplicity was rooted not only in their theological beliefs but in their determination to avoid the dangers posed by urban life.⁶⁷

However, the picture of the Disciples of Christ as a non-elite denomination was probably never entirely accurate. For example, Alexander Campbell, one of the denomination's founders, died a wealthy man.⁶⁸ In addition, by the later part of the nineteenth century, many of the Disciples were more ambivalent about cities and those who lived there. A prime example of this can be found in T.P. Haley's 1888 history of the Christian Church in Missouri. When he described the St. Louis congregation, he noted that they were "[s]hunned by the opulent" and "scorned by the fashionable."⁶⁹ However, he celebrated the fact that the church in Independence "has always numbered among its membership many of the very best people of the community and is now a large, rich and influential church."⁷⁰ Thus, it was not completely out of order for a Christian Church to exist in such a setting nor was it entirely unprecedented that many well-to-do citizens found their spiritual home there.

As Szasz noted, the west has always bent the national trends of religion to its own shape. However, it seems possible that this bending took on a different direction in the towns of the Great Plains. The Olathe Christian Church attracted the commercial and political leaders of the town because it was exactly the type of church that such men would be comfortable in. These men, who probably embraced the frontier value of individualism, were more likely to find their home in a denomination which rejected complex liturgies and structures and where leadership was vested in the members of the church. Furthermore, this would explain why little effort was made to bring farm hands, railroad laborers and others of the working-class into the church. The church was another place where the town's leaders gathered. They most likely desired to exclude the working-class rather than include them.

However, the nature of the town of Olathe was also a primary reason why the church was unable to exert a great deal of disciplinary control over its members. The establishment of a rifle company, orchestra, library, and School for the Deaf provided other avenues to status and inclusion in the town's social life. The church was still part of that social life

but it was now one of a number of options. A falling out with the leadership of the town's oldest church did not adversely effect the political career of Evan Shriver or F.E. Henderson. And the decision of the Hindmans to leave the church had no impact on J.P. Hindman's work as the county attorney. Nor does it seem that theological duels necessarily effected the ability of town leaders to work together. In 1880, the Olathe Mirror carried an open letter to an out of town evangelist inviting him to preach in Olathe because of the large numbers of unchurched residents. Among others, the letter was signed by Ivory Legate, a member and future deacon of the Olathe Christian Church and Thomas McGannon, one of those who had left the church in the late 1860s and had been declared guilty of disorderly conduct.⁷¹

Moreover, the plethora of churches in Olathe may have contributed to the inability of the OCC to discipline its members. Although the evidence for this is scant some inferences can be made. Lizzie Galbraith, the dress store owner who was confronted by the church leadership for reasons unknown, was removed from the fellowship of the church only a few months after resolving her first discipline problem. She married in 1897, at the age of fifty, and lived in Olathe until her death in 1928. As a life-long resident of the town, she was the subject of a significant obituary notice wherein it was noted that she had been a long-time member of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Olathe.⁷² When there were a half dozen choices in a town of several thousand, it was not too difficult to find a new spiritual home.

All of this suggests that the nature of Protestant churches on the Great Plains was shaped by more than theological issues. In the case of the OCC it seems that the church reflected the character of its community rather than vice versa. In seeking to be part of town culture, it seems likely that the members of the OCC were willing to part from the more traditional foundations of their denomination. Although a great deal of research needs to be done, it could well be that the increasing commercial nature of some Great Plains' towns had far more impact on the makeup and structure of Protestant churches than has hitherto been imagined.

NOTES

¹ Church Charter, Miscellaneous Papers, Olathe Christian Church. All the church records are property of the First Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Loula Street, Olathe, Kansas.

² Although the founding document identified the new congregation as a Church of Christ, through most of the church's history, the congregation identified themselves as part of the Disciples of Christ. The two names, along with others were often used in describing the Christian Movement founded by Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone. The emergence of a distinct Church of Christ denomination did

not occur until very late in the nineteenth century. The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Kansas claims the Olathe congregation as one of their own dating back to 1860. See Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 68-81, 137, 138; Lester G. McAllister and William E. Tucker, *Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1975), 233-254; John D. Zimmerman, *Sunflower Disciples: Kansas Christian Church History* (N.p., [1958]).

³ Ferenc Morton Szasz, preface to *Religion in the Modern American West* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000), xv.

⁴ Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 196-201.

⁵ Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837*. (New York: Hill & Wang, 1978), 95-115.

⁶ Quoted in Johnson, *Shopkeeper's Millennium*, 103.

⁷ Johnson, *Shopkeeper's Millennium*, 116-128.

⁸ Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 3-81.

⁹ Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity*, 77, 78.

¹⁰ Scott Miyakawa, *Protestants and Pioneers: Individualism and Conformity on the American Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 3.

¹¹ Miyakawa, *Protestants and Pioneers*, 128-9.

¹² McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, 84, 85, 136-155, 159-188, 235; Zimmerman, *Sunflower Disciples*, 11, 12, 32, 91.

¹³ McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith* 235; David E. Harrell, Jr., "The Agrarian Myth and the Disciples of Christ in the Nineteenth Century," *Agricultural History* 41, no. 2 (April 1967): 181-192; Zimmerman, *Sunflower Disciples*, 28. This rural approach is reflected in the dates the first Disciples' churches were established in the state's six largest towns: Atchison, 1882; Fort Scott, 1872; Kansas City, 1881; Leavenworth, 1855; Topeka, 1880; Wichita, 1880.

¹⁴ William G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1883), Johnson County, Part 4.

¹⁵ Cutler, *History of Kansas*, Johnson County, Part 4.

¹⁶ Kansas Secretary of State, *Eighth Biennial Report (1891-2)* pp 69-70; *Thirteenth Biennial Report (1901-2)* pp 63-65.

¹⁷ c.f. Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order 1877-1920* (New York, Hill & Wang: 1967), 16, 17.

¹⁸ Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 389.

¹⁹ Cutler, *History of Kansas*, Johnson County, Part 4.

²⁰ Ed Blair, *History of Johnson County, Kansas* (Lawrence, Kansas: Standard Publishing Company, 1915), 108-9.

²¹ The church records from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries take the form of annotated membership lists and meeting minutes. The membership lists provide the name of the member, the basis of their acceptance into membership, the date of their departure and the reason for the departure. While the first of these two categories are always complete, the second two categories are more problematic. They are frequently left blank so it is not possible to know if the person in question died or left the church. Although the meeting minutes are more complete, they have their own intrinsic problems. Specifically, the minutes were kept by people intimately aware of the situations they were considering. Thus, there is a large amount of

presumed information. Also, in some cases, meeting minutes were either not kept or have been subsequently lost. None of this is meant to disparage the records but simply to note their limitations.

²² It is probable that Davenport, who was definitely a widower by 1872, had already lost his wife.

²³ In the 1865 Kansas census, Bronaugh's wife is given as Nancy and she appears in future church rolls. William Bronaugh was probably single in 1860.

²⁴ OCC Meeting Minutes, April 16, 1860.

²⁵ Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Decennial Census, 1865, Town of Olathe*.

²⁶ Johnson County Court Records Case #1376, Dated 1873/12/15

²⁷ Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Decennial Census, 1865, Town of Olathe*; Bureau of the Census, *Census of 1870, Johnson County, Kansas*.

²⁸ Kansas, *Decennial Census 1865*, Bureau of the Census, *Census of 1870*. The figure for Bronaugh's personal property is illegible.

²⁹ Cutler, *History of Kansas*, 630.

³⁰ Bureau of the Census, *Census of 1870*.

³¹ Kansas, *Decennial Census 1865*; Bureau of the Census, *Census of 1870*.

³² Bureau of the Census, *Census of 1880, Johnson County, Kansas*; Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Decennial Census 1885, Town of Olathe*.

³³ Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, 634; Blair, *History of Johnson County*, 73.

³⁴ Kansas, *Decennial Census 1885*; Cutler *History of the State of Kansas*, 633.

³⁵ Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Decennial Census 1895, Town of Olathe*; Laws' practice was also regularly advertised in the *Olathe Mirror*.

³⁶ Blair, *History of Johnson County*, 300.

³⁷ Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, 634; Blair, *History of Johnson County*, 74; names compared with Kansas *Decennial Census, 1885 and 1895*, Bureau of the Census, *Census 1880, 1890* and advertising in the *Olathe Mirror* for this same period. Copies of the *Olathe Mirror* are available on microfilm at the Olathe Public Library.

³⁸ See, for example, advertising in the *Olathe Mirror*, May 9, 1872.

³⁹ Johnson County Commissioners, *Commissioners Minute Book*, Book B (11/7/1862 – 12/23/1870). Both election results are recorded at November 6, 1863. Shriver had actually been appointed a month earlier to fill a vacancy before winning election in his own right. Johnson County Records are held in the Archives Division, Johnson County Offices, Olathe, Kansas.

⁴⁰ Johnson County Commissioners, *Commissioners Minute Books*, Book C April 9, 1872; Book D November 10, 1876.

⁴¹ City of Olathe, *Record Books*, May 6, 1874; December 20, 1883. Olathe City Records are held by the City Clerk's office, City of Olathe, Santa Fe Road, Olathe, Kansas.

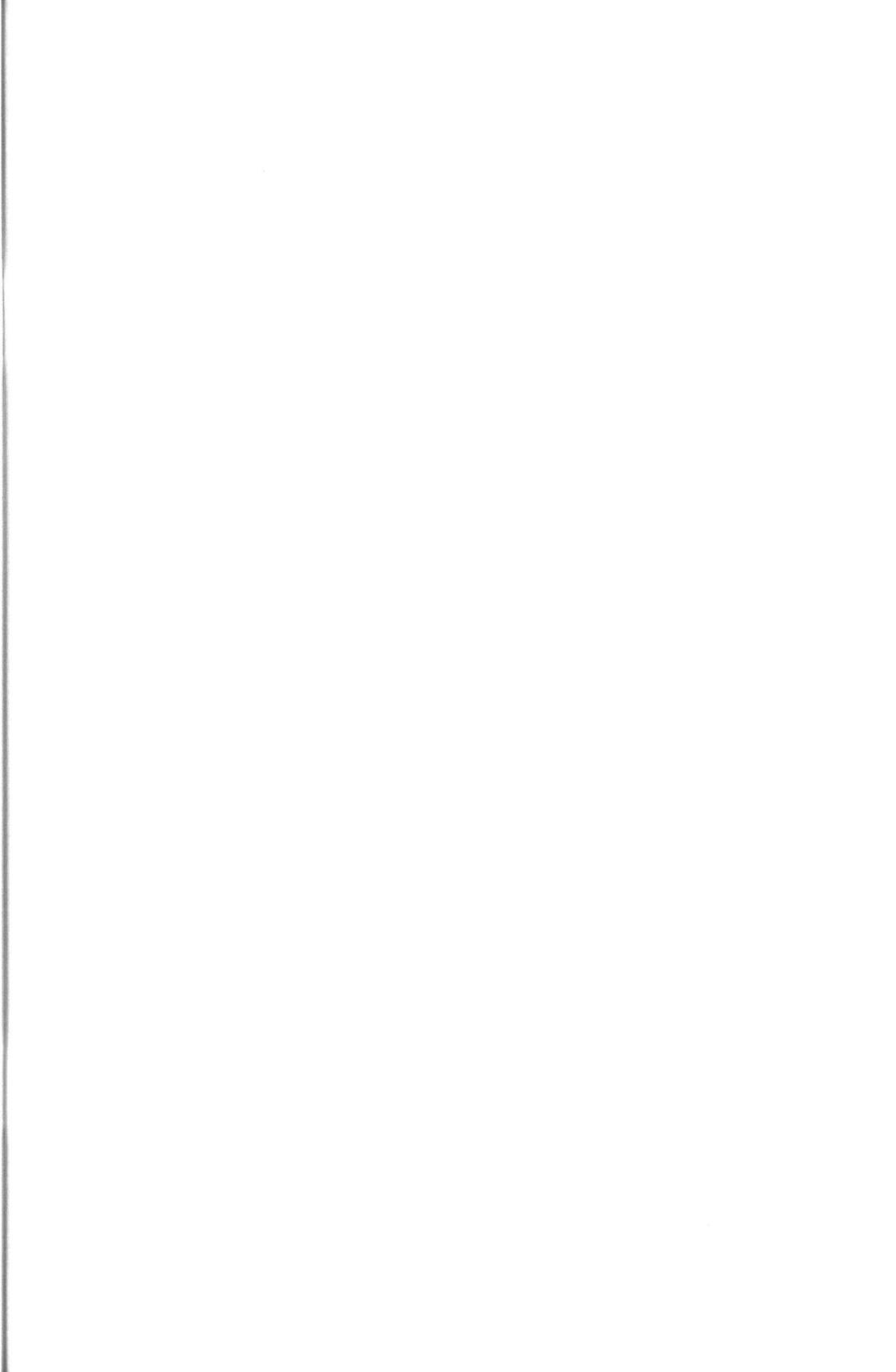
⁴² City of Olathe, *Record Books*, August 3, 1881.

⁴³ *Olathe Mirror*, August 4, 1881.

⁴⁴ City of Olathe, *Record Books*, May 4, 1880, April 15, 1890, April 10, 1891, April 7, 1893; Johnson County Commissioners, *Commissioners Minute Books*, Book E, November 6, 1882; Book G, November 5, 1897.

- ⁴⁵ City of Olathe, *Record Books*, December 21, 1881 and June 7, 1883.
- ⁴⁶ City of Olathe, *Record Books*, June 7, 1892.
- ⁴⁷ City of Olathe, *Record Books*, July 9, 1880, July 18, 1889.
- ⁴⁸ City of Olathe, *Record Books*, December 6, 1881.
- ⁴⁹ Records of the Olathe Christian Church, late 1867 or early 1868.
- ⁵⁰ Records March 13, 1868.
- ⁵¹ See, for example, John 15: 19 and 17:14.
- ⁵² City of Olathe, *Record Books*, September 15, 1874, April 7, 1893, April 5, 1901; Johnson County Commissioners, *Commissioners Minute Books*, Book C April 9, 1972; Book D November 10, 1876, November 8, 1878, November 5, 1880.
- ⁵³ Records of the Olathe Christian Church, 1868-1870.
- ⁵⁴ OCC Records, meeting minutes, August 11, 1871.
- ⁵⁵ OCC Records, meeting minutes, November 22, 1871; I Timothy, 5:20.
- ⁵⁶ OCC Records, meeting minutes, Dec. 27, 1871, Jan. 10, 1872, June 1, 1872.
- ⁵⁷ OCC Records, meeting minutes, April 6, 1872.
- ⁵⁸ OCC Records, meeting minutes, June 1, 1872.
- ⁵⁹ OCC Records, meeting minutes, June 18, 1872.
- ⁶⁰ McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, 233-254.
- ⁶¹ OCC Records, meeting minutes, January 3, 1897.
- ⁶² *Olathe Mirror*, December 24, 1896.
- ⁶³ *Olathe Mirror*, December 31, 1896.
- ⁶⁴ OCC, miscellaneous papers.
- ⁶⁵ OCC Records, meeting minutes, May 3, 1895.
- ⁶⁶ OCC Records, meeting minutes, May 25, 1897.
- ⁶⁷ Harrell, "Agrarian Myth," 182-186; W. Clark Gilpin, "Faith on the Frontier: Historical Interpretations of the Disciples of Christ," in *A Case Study of Mainstream Protestantism: The Disciples' Relation to American Culture, 1880-1989*, ed. D. Newell Williams (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1991), 267-272.
- ⁶⁸ Harrell, "Agrarian Myth," 182, 192.
- ⁶⁹ T.P. Haley, *Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Early Churches and Pioneer Preachers of the Christian Church in Missouri* (St. Louis, Christian Publishing Company: 1888), 478.
- ⁷⁰ Haley, *Christian Church in Missouri*, 535.
- ⁷¹ *Olathe Mirror*, December 23, 1880.
- ⁷² Obituaries of the Olathe area 1900-1940. Compiled by Mr. F.R. Morrison and available at the Olathe Public Library.

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Dale Fiers

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"Those who wish to understand better the modern and denominational developments within Disciples life will be served well by reading Cummins' account of the important role Fiers played in creating them." **Mark G. Toulouse, Professor of American Religious History, Brite Divinity School, Fort Worth, Texas**

DISCIPLIANA

The Quarterly Historical Journal of the
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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— From the Editor's Desk

The Christian Church, associated with Barton W. Stone, and the Shakers were both millennial movements that flourished on the nineteenth century American frontier. The social and religious context critical to understanding the growth of both movements was the post-Revolutionary character of the United States. Following the revolution, Americans experienced economic independence like never before. At the same time, they experienced religious freedom like never before. In this situation of unparalleled individual freedom, how could “peace, love and union,” to use Stone’s term, be achieved? The Christians called for manifesting the unity of the Spirit by abolishing creeds and forms of order, which they believed divided Christians, and accepting, instead, the authority of Christ as discerned through the scriptures, alone. Shakers proclaimed that a new humanity, living “in the unity of spirit and bond of peace,” was emerging through the embrace of celibacy and the sharing of economic interests.

However, there was an even more intimate relation between the two movements. Shaker missionaries in the West had their initial missionary success among members of the Christian Church movement. Rick Nutt discusses the religious context and Presbyterian heritage that provided the traditions and occasion for the emergence of the Christian Church movement. Stephen J. Stein shows how the revival experience of Western Presbyterians prepared the way for Shakers and traces the impact of former “Christians,” turned Shakers, on the development of the Shakers. Thomas H. Olbright explores the response of Stone’s Christians to the missionary success of the Shakers, pointing to theological consequences of the encounter and examining, in greater detail, its impact upon the developing polity of the Christians.

Fascinating in themselves, these papers point to the challenge of achieving peace, love and union in a culture that allows for and exalts a high level of individual freedom. This challenge continues in North American culture as a whole and, one might venture, even among the North American heirs of Barton W. Stone’s Christians.

D. Newell Williams

— From the President's Desk

The look on her face let me know I needed to elaborate. It was one of those opportunities to share with an interested listener about the work of the Historical Society. Her puzzled look was caused by my statement: "It's not about the past; it's about the future." Actually, I'm used to that look. When someone thinks of history, her mind naturally turns toward the past. So, what's this about the future?

While the resources of history are materials from the recent and/or distant past, their use is not limited in space-time to their own era. In fact, if our preservation of documents and artifacts is *only* so we will know what happened yesterday, then we understand just a part of their usefulness. I cannot speak for every institution, but at the Historical Society we do not care for the precious materials of history for the sake of preservation alone. Instead, our purpose is quite different. And it's all about the future.

We hope to make available for generations to come the stories that will help them contextualize their own time and place in history. One of my central beliefs is that we must understand where we have been in order to have some idea of where we are going. If we are innocent of any knowledge of our beginnings, whether related to culture, or nation, or religion, then we have no way to make sense of who we are, how we arrived, what we believe, why we believe it, and, indeed, where we are going. It is through the study of history that we connect our own story with the stories of those who came before us. In doing so we achieve a clarity about ourselves that would have otherwise been impossible.

This study is not done in isolation. Or, if it is, the individual is in danger of reaching conclusions that are either misleading, or just plain wrong. Instead, there is a *we* to the study of history. Through community we learn from one another. When someone shares her research with the rest of us, she makes a deposit in the bank of information we all share. We are all enriched by one another's study. At the same time, if I draw an off-center conclusion from my work, then there is a host of others who can gently pull me back on the path. But that begs the question: Why do they care about my interpretation of history? Because each of them – each of *us* – cares about the future. We want to do our very best to deliver to tomorrow the yesterday that actually was, so that our successors have a real opportunity to understand their world and what has made it the way it is.

At the Historical Society, then, we are being careful to preserve the past. But we are also forging the future.

Glenn Thomas Carson

Controversy in Christ: The Background and Context of Western Frontier Presbyterian Revivalism and the Movements which Grew Out of It

Rick Nutt*

Opening Remarks

It is my responsibility to present some of the most pertinent elements of the historical context of the western revivals that led to the Stoneite movement. I will do so with particular attention to elements in the history of the Presbyterian Church especially relevant to that story. We will find that a variety of ecclesiastical, social, cultural, and historical factors worked together to create the revivals which led to the formation of the Christian Church in the West.

The Adopting Act of 1729

Reformed Protestantism, as Continental Europeans named the Calvinistic tradition that we, following the British practice, call Presbyterianism, came to the colonies through a number of groups. French Huguenot and Dutch Reformed adherents in particular migrated in significant numbers and became a part of the story of Presbyterianism in the United States. However, most important for our story are the two primary sources of Presbyterianism in the nation, English Puritans and Scots-Irish Presbyterians.

The majority of the Puritans who settled the New England colonies held Congregational beliefs regarding church government. Some leaned toward Presbyterian polity, eventually establishing Presbyterian churches in those colonies and on Long Island, New York. Some southern colonists who were Anglicans (Episcopalians, we would say) favored a more Presbyterian form of government and contributed to the growth of such churches in Maryland and Delaware. By the late seventeenth century, Scottish immigrants from Northern Ireland came to the colonies, settling primarily in the Middle Colonies of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The differences between these two dominant sources of Presbyterianism in the United States — English and Scottish — would contribute to key controversies in the colonial period and, indirectly, the revivals that brought about the growth of the Christian movement in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

The first colonial controversy developed by the 1720s over the question of adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith. The Westminster Confession had been the standard expression of British (Irish, Scottish, and English)

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Presbyterianism since its writing in 1643. One hallmark of the creed was its affirmation that God alone is Lord of the conscience; another was its regard for scripture as the only infallible rule of faith and practice. Any human exposition of faith, individual or corporate, could contain error. As James Moorhead noted to this very gathering last year, “What Westminster did was to claim to provide an authoritative exposition of Scripture even as it allowed that such statements were infallible and provisional. In effect, the confession set the stage for an argument about the extent of its own authority and that of any creed.”¹ Just such arguments arose in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and provided a background for colonial developments.

In the colonies, some Presbyterian pastors began to doubt that all of their fellow clergy held a theology sufficiently in accord with the creed. The dispute tended to divide between the Scottish camp, convinced that orthodoxy required a strict subscription to the confession in all its particulars, and the English group, who would allow a measure of latitude in belief. The strict subscriptionists argued that the Westminster Confession was a full and complete exposition of biblical revelation and truth; that meant that to reject any portion of the creed, in effect, put one in opposition to scripture. Jonathan Dickinson, speaking for the other side, argued that such a stance on the Confession elevated the creed — the product of human minds and wills — to a status equal to that of God’s revelation in the Bible. The moderates, for lack of a better term, further held that the church should not emphasize strict observation of every theological point in Calvinism, down to the minutest point, to the neglect of a person’s inner feeling of faith and piety and the call to live as a disciple of the Christ. They held that the subscriptionists did just that, in effect reducing Christian faith to rational assent to Calvinist theological tenets and emphasizing the authority of the church.

The Adopting Act of 1729, proposed by Dickinson, resolved the dispute. The Synod of Philadelphia, the “national” body of Presbyterianism at the time, determined that clergy must accept the Westminster Confession of Faith “as being in all the essential and necessary articles, good forms and sound words and systems of Christian doctrine....”² Further, any pastor who “shall have any scruple with respect to any article or articles of said Confession...” bore the responsibility to make his disagreement known to his presbytery so his colleagues could judge whether or not the issue involved a necessary and essential doctrine or an incidental point of theology for which difference of opinion could be allowed.³ Although Dickinson and the other anti-subscriptionists thought the subscriptionists were in danger of equating the creed with scripture itself – a concern that the ecclesiastical descendants of Barton Stone and others in the Christian movement will understand well – we should note that this is a dispute among creedalists. Both parties affirmed the importance and value of the Westminster Confession; a church without a creed lacked the proper protection from error. The only question was the extent to which one must affirm each particular of Calvinist doctrine.

The Old Side – New Side Split

The Adopting Act of 1729 marked a truce in the dispute regarding the nature of Presbyterian faith and life. Unfortunately, events attendant to that phenomenon known as the Great Awakening brought disagreements again to the surface in a more

intensified form. This time the Presbyterians experienced a division into two competing denominations.

Many have described and interpreted the quickening of faith which spread across the European mainland, Britain, and the English American colonies during the 1730s-1750s. The Awakening first took hold among Presbyterians in New Jersey after Gilbert Tennent came under the influence of Dutch Reformed pastor Theodore Freylinghausen. The revivalists became convinced that Presbyterians, both lay and clergy, had reduced Christian faith to intellectual assent to a set of theological doctrines. They held that true Christianity required an identifiable conversion experience that changed the heart and led a person to live a new life — what at the time was called “experimental” Christianity. People who fell under the influence of the revival preachers manifested the emotion attendant to the born-again experience — sometimes moaning or weeping under the weight of their sin and the wonder of God’s forgiving grace. For those who opposed the revival this undermined proper decorum and order in divine worship, and seemed to invite laxity in theology.

Clearly the issues that led to the Adopting Act emerged once again in the dispute occasioned by the Great Awakening among Presbyterians. The subscriptionists (who came to be called the Old Lights) tended to oppose the revival and its “excesses,” while those who sought some latitude in belief (designated the New Lights) proved more receptive to the call for an experienced faith. In fact, the 1736 meeting of the Synod of Philadelphia effectively revoked the Adopting Act and approved strict subscription to the Westminster Confession of all Presbyterian pastors. However, other factors played a significant part in the disagreement. The Presbyterian church required its ministers to acquire an extensive education in the classics and theology. At this time, that generally meant graduation from a school such as Harvard or Yale, followed by a period of apprenticeship and study under a minister called “reading theology.”⁴ In the 1720s the Reverend William Tennent, Sr., father of revivalist Gilbert Tennent, moved to Neshaminy, Pennsylvania and began to train young men for ministry in his home. This Log College, as people dubbed it, produced many of the revivalist ministers in the Presbyterian Church. Consequently, the anti-revivalists began to move against the revivalists on two fronts.

First, the Synod of Philadelphia approved a resolution declaring that all ministers who had not graduated from one of the New England colleges or European universities should undergo examination by the Synod for sufficient classical and theological education — a clear slap at the graduates of the Log College. The examinations could be used to control, and even remove from ministry, the New Light pastors who promoted the Awakening among Presbyterians. The Old Lights called for the examination required of all Presbyterian pastors upon which ordination depended to be administered, or at least controlled, by the Synod, where they predominated. The New Lights argued that such a step constituted a breach of long-standing practice and church polity, which placed the right and responsibility of ordination examinations in the hands of the presbyteries — the governing body immediately below the synod in the Presbyterian system of government. In short, the dispute in the Presbyterian Church caused by the Great Awakening involved more than differences of opinion over Christian faith and living; it included, as church fights usually do, matters of power and control. Who has the right to determine church practice? Who has the right to make decisions regarding the ministry and decision-making processes of the church? This time attempts at compromise failed

and the Presbyterians experienced schism in 1741. The anti-revivalists, now called the Old Side, retained the name of the Synod of Philadelphia; the New Side formed the Synod of New York. This break in Presbyterianism lasted until 1758, when the two denominations reunited on essentially the New Side theology and understanding of faith.

Toward the Western Revivals

When the United States gained its independence from England, two concepts — democracy and individualism — were cemented as central for our national life. The people of the new nation believed that power should rest with the common person, and they exhibited a reluctance to trust institutions of authority. There existed a widespread belief that each person knows what is best for his or her own situation, and the closer decision-making was to the local community the better. Individualism stands as a close corollary to democracy. The emphasis on civil rights for each (white male) person and the foundation of our political system on the concept of one person-one vote manifested individualism from the nation's origins. Not surprisingly, religion in the United States reflected the importance of democracy and individualism — in fact, it played a key role in promoting them.⁵

Religiously, the central reality of the new nation was disestablishment. The rejection of a state religion meant that no denomination would have an ensured membership through government sponsorship; growth could only happen as people voluntarily agreed to join a particular church. That gave rise to active evangelism to persuade people to become Christian. Simultaneously, Christians in the United States were alarmed at the growth of Enlightenment rationalism among the people — although the numbers of those who took up the intellectual system no doubt remained small. The fear arose because rationalism was a direct challenge to Christianity and because, when it gained the upper hand in an extreme form during the French Revolution, chaos and disorder had reigned. Christians in the United States had such a reaction to the thought-system of the Enlightenment that they referred to it as “infidelity.”

A new period of evangelism emerged among Protestants in the new nation in this context. The work resulted in a widespread revival akin to the Great Awakening. The revivals began in the eastern states, often among college students. The Presbyterians' Hampden-Sydney College, located in Virginia where the New Side Presbyterian tradition prevailed, came under the influence of revival. More famous is the story of the Yale revival. The president of Yale, the Reverend Timothy Dwight (grandson of Jonathan Edwards), grew concerned over the growth of “infidelity” among the student body at Yale. Some of the students had begun to refer to one another by such names as “Voltaire” and “Rousseau” to exhibit their fondness for the French Enlightenment. Dwight responded with a series of sermons designed to defend and promote Christianity; surprisingly, students began to respond and many experienced a quickening of faith. The revival began to spread in churches along the eastern seaboard, especially as students at Yale, Hampden-Sydney, and other colleges, became ministers and brought those evangelistic methods to their congregations.

By 1800 growing numbers of people were migrating across the Allegheny and Appalachian mountain ranges to settle in western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky,

and Tennessee. Those who traveled west were usually hardy characters, which stood them in good stead — the difficulties of life on the frontier were considerable and legendary. The greatest immediate danger to the settlers was the resistance of the Native Americans to the usurpation of their land. Battles with the tribes took place frequently, and one never knew when a settlement or farm might come under attack. People often attended worship with their rifles and kept them at hand; ministers, like all travelers, kept firearms at the ready as they rode from preaching station to preaching station. Hostilities between settlers and Native Americans were so pronounced that James Kemper, the first installed pastor in Cincinnati, Ohio, moved with his wife and ten children from Danville, Kentucky, to Cincinnati under armed escort in 1791. The Treaty of Greenville (Ohio) in 1795 removed the Native Americans to the west, ending this challenge north of the Ohio River, but the problem persisted a few years longer in Kentucky and Tennessee.

Other problems proved more enduring. A prominent difficulty of the frontier was the isolation experienced by families or individual settlers who might not see another human for weeks at a time, especially during the winter months. Some who came West left behind troubled or less than reputable lives; almost all possessed the fierce individualism for which the pioneers are still known. Those traits, combined with the general absence of legal and moral restraints in the newly-settled territories, could result in licentious and sometimes violent behavior. Such realities of the frontier, when coupled with the widespread lack of church membership and occasional irreligiosity in the new nation, presented the church with a mountainous challenge.

At its inaugural meeting in 1786, the Presbytery of Transylvania joined with the Synod of Virginia to lament the “decay of vital religion and the prevalence of immorality” among the people and called for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer by all churches.⁶

The behaviors of pioneers which often hindered the work of the church included habitual drunkenness, profanity, bestiality, hardness of heart, and disbelief. Without doubt the greatest problem was drunkenness. Whiskey proved the universal drink of hospitality on the frontier. Stored whiskey would not spoil, and presented itself as one of few alternatives to water for drink. For those living in isolation it often became an unfortunate companion. So prevalent was the use of whiskey that congregations often paid their pastors with the commodity, so stated on the subscription papers by which they pledged their remuneration. William Warren Sweet has noted: “Such a paper containing subscriptions for the salary of Joshua L. Wilson of the First Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati for the year 1807 lists over 100 gallons.”⁷ Wilson could have used the whiskey for hospitality, or to sell to supplement his income, personal enjoyment, or any other use. Can one wonder that the majority of disciplinary cases conducted by sessions and presbyteries — for both laity and clergy — were for charges of habitual intoxication? Records indicate churches also tried members for sexual immorality, public profanity, dancing, and absenting oneself from public worship and the sacraments.

Revival on the Western Frontier

This backdrop of social, cultural, and ecclesiastical factors from the colonial to the early national periods provided the context in which the revival in the East jumped across the mountains and affected the West. Outside of the towns, people

on the frontier received ministerial services infrequently, for few formal congregations existed. Where Christians had banded together to form a church they rarely could sustain a pastor on a full-time, or even part-time, basis. The Methodist system of circuit-riders, by which ministers were assigned an area to travel, preaching wherever they had occasion, provided one group of preachers for the West. Baptists, whose pastors were often farmers or small store owners who also ministered to a congregation, filled some of the void. Those two denominations did not require pastors to attain a formal education in order to be ordained, so they could put clergy in the field with some dispatch.

Presbyterians, on the other hand, sought to meet the needs of their brothers and sisters on the frontier by different means. As indicated, Presbyterians had stringent educational and theological expectations of their clergy. This reflected the Presbyterian concern for order, education, and right doctrine in the church. That practice meant that it took time to educate and train new pastors, so Presbyterians in the West did not regularly receive ministry from someone in their own denomination unless they lived in a town. This was prior to the use of missionaries assigned exclusively to travel about the countryside preaching and establishing churches. Presbyterians carried out such work by “settled” ministers who were expected to spend some of their time itinerating out from their local congregation. The young Presbytery of Transylvania resolved at its first meeting to “seek after and give proper encouragement to the members of our society scattered up and down in small settlements; to assist in organizing and supplying them as far as our circumstances will allow, and each member [pastor] shall supply four Sabbaths and shall give account of his attention to this resolution.”⁸

Such were conditions on the frontier when the revival came west, associated with a new device called the camp meeting. With farmers scattered and isolated, and with ministers too few to supply the sacraments of the church consistently to all places, the custom of the “sacramental meeting” developed, in the tradition of a practice that Scottish Presbyterians brought with them from Scotland and Ireland. Communion, or the Lord’s Supper, was celebrated in a designated location—usually only once a year—and people would come from the surrounding countryside to worship and receive the sacrament. By 1800, a number of pastors (Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian) cooperated in the sacramental meetings. Preparatory services preceded the sacramental service for a few days, during which time preachers sought to bring people to an examination of their lives and acceptance of Christ as savior—or to a renewal of already-held faith.

The sacramental meeting became a great social event for frontier people starved for human companionship. Visiting, exchange of news, courting, and sharing of meals all marked the gatherings as people traveled by wagon, horseback, or on foot and camped out for the duration of the meeting. In July, 1800, James McGready in Logan County, Kentucky, accompanied by other Presbyterian and Methodist ministers, organized a sacramental meeting of four days in which the people experienced the presence of God in so powerful a manner that they manifested visible physical and emotional reactions. Then-Presbyterian pastor Barton Stone, impressed with what he had seen among the hardened and often crude people in Logan County, called a great meeting for Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in August, 1801. Estimates of the attendance ranged from ten to twenty-five thousand at a time when nearby Lexington had a population of approximately two thousand.⁹ The imagination strains to picture

the scene of so many gathered, camping in wagons and tents (thus the designation “camp meeting”), eating over open fires, always within earshot of one of the many preachers who proclaimed the gospel virtually around the clock while standing on newly-cut tree stumps.

The results of this “...conjunction of apathy and fervor, loneliness and sociality, monotony and miracle...” was explosive.¹⁰ Grown men and women who had cleared the wilderness in the face of every type of danger wept openly at the preaching of sin and salvation. Even more, hundreds manifested their emotional reaction to the services with severe physical “exercises.” Witnesses described the falling, jerking, dancing, barking, laughing, running, and singing exercises — strongly physical reactions to worship that far exceeded anything that had occasioned the earlier revivals in the east. Winthrop Hudson has written: “With ‘the traditionally slow cycle of guilt, despair, hope, and assurance’ being compressed into a few days or even hours, the emotional stress was agonizingly intensified and it cut deep into normal restraint.”¹¹

The camp meeting became an established institution in the West, especially among Baptists and Methodists. Not surprisingly, some Presbyterians had deep reservations about such emotionalism manifested in the revivals, concerned as they always were with decorum and order in every area of life — particularly in worship.

The great western revival led to two divisions in the Presbyterian Church. The newly-formed Presbytery of Cumberland, on the Kentucky-Tennessee border, had too few ministers to meet the growing interest in gospel preaching among the people. Presbyterian stress on an educated ministry meant the denomination could only supply ministers slowly, for education required time. The presbytery licensed (but did not ordain) men to preach without the usual training and study; both the synod and general assembly overturned that decision. The majority of the presbytery withdrew to found the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The issues of order, control of the governing process in the denomination, the rational nature of faith over against an emphasis on an experience of faith and holy living, which had vexed the Presbyterian Church for the better part of a century, played a key role in the schism.

Revival in northern Kentucky and southwestern Ohio created another separation from Presbyterianism, one of greater interest for our purposes. Theology played a more prominent role on this occasion. Perhaps the most distinctive Presbyterian doctrine, although others held it as well, was election. In its most rigorous expression, election holds that God chose from eternity those to whom God would grant saving grace, all others being foreordained for hell. Of course, a person can do nothing to earn that grace; justification by grace through faith was a staple of Protestantism from Luther’s discovery of Paul’s theology in Romans. Conservative Presbyterianism asserted that the logical conclusion drawn from that idea could only be “irresistible grace;” that is, sinful humans can do nothing to initiate or reject God’s extension of grace. If God chooses to save a person, he or she will be saved. Not only did a person remain totally passive in the drama of grace, but one could not prepare oneself to receive grace should it be given.

Finally, the Presbyterian teaching of election affirmed that, although Christ died for all people, his atonement was only for the elect — the idea of limited atonement. A moderate form of Calvinism existed which modified the most stringent elements of this understanding of election. First formulated by Jakobus Arminius in seventeenth-century Holland, Arminianism emphasized the initiative of God in

salvation and the helplessness of humans in the state of sin to earn God's grace. Arminianism did hold that a person might, by moral living and attending to the worship and study of God, prepare him- or herself to claim God's grace once it came. The New Lights, led by Robert Marshall, John Dunlavy, Richard McNemar, John Thompson, and Barton W. Stone, embraced a form of Arminianism. Stone wrote: "To an unbeliever, the gospel is weak and produces no effect. No means whatever, will produce its effect without application. Faith is applying the means or admitting the truth into the heart. When the sinner believes, he is quickened, renewed and sanctified." And again he asserted: "We see, then . . . the simple nature of faith and its use in regeneration. If, therefore, the gospel believed, or faith in the gospel, produces regeneration, it necessarily precedes it." Stone further articulated some ideas of limited atonement with which he disagreed: "That although Christ's Atonement is sufficient for the whole world, yet it is provided and designed for a few only, to whom it will certainly be applied, and cannot possibly be given to any other. . . . [T]hat although God in his word offers freely to all men all the blessings of eternal life, with every appearance of sincerity, yet he has nothing provided for any but a few chosen ones."¹²

Aside from these Arminian modifications of rigorous predestination, the New Lights departed from other Presbyterian practices. Most prominently, this group that would prove important to the development of the Restorationist Movement in the United States rejected the use of creeds as a measure of orthodoxy for church members. Reflecting Jonathan Dickinson's argument from the subscriptionist debate of the 1720s, Stone and his colleagues held that creeds benefited the church if treated as expressions of Christian convictions by a person or group to prompt discussion and thinking regarding divine truth. However, churches make creeds their standard of belief, usurping the place of scripture. Wrote Stone: "This sets aside the word of God, or at least binds the members of that particular society to understand the Scriptures as stated and explained in the Creed, on pain of being accounted unsound in the faith, or excommunicated from the church. This is indeed bringing the word of God to that standard. The people have the privilege of reading the Scriptures to prove the standard to be right; but no privilege to examine it by Scripture, and prove it to be wrong." He also asserted of a creed: "If it were left in its own place, to occupy the low ground of human opinion, it might do some good. But the moment it is received and adopted as a standard, it assumes the place of the Bible...."¹³

Some Presbyterian pastors clearly opposed some of the most emotional reactions people had to revival preaching, although the revivals do not seem to have played a key role in the eventual separation of the New Light, or Christian, Church from the Presbytery of Transylvania. The quickening and intensifying of faith on the frontier received widespread approval among Presbyterians. The only concern was regarding the lack of order and decorum that some perceived in the revival—but others noted that the West often called for a more forceful and experiential form of faith than one appropriate to more settled areas of the nation. The Presbyterian General Assembly of 1805 commented on the more extreme revival practices when it declared that "God is a God of order and not of confusion, and whatever tends to destroy the comely order of his worship is not from him."¹⁴ Some opposed revivalism because it implicitly raised the question of Arminianism. Revival preaching demands that the hearer do something: respond to the gospel of grace, make a choice to accept

Jesus as savior, or some such action. By definition, a person responding to revival appeals takes salvation, to some degree, in his or her own hands; the Calvinist doctrine of election is implicitly challenged from an Arminian direction. Thus, revivalism, although not a key point of contention between the traditional and New Light Presbyterians, became the occasion for this division in Christianity and did reflect one point of doctrine that was at issue.

Conclusion

Out of this confluence of factors came the creation of the Kentucky and Ohio portion of what became the Christian Church movement. In 1801 the Presbytery of Washington, in Southeast Ohio where he was located, received a charge against Richard McNemar for holding and teaching false doctrine —specifically, that Christ died for all people and not only the elect. In 1803, the Synod of Kentucky followed that charge with an examination of the theological soundness of McNemar and John Thompson. In response, five pastors — McNemar, Thompson, Robert Marshall, John Dunlavy, and Barton W. Stone — withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky. They formed their own Springfield Presbytery, named for the town in southwest Ohio where Thompson was pastor, agreeing on the modified Calvinist beliefs described above, and others. Before long they determined that not only were the traditional beliefs of Presbyterians mistaken, but aspects of the Presbyterian form of church government as well. In 1804 they issued the Last Will and Testament of Springfield Presbytery and called themselves the Christian Church.

This episode in the history of Christianity in the United States grew out of a specific meeting of ecclesiastical, social, and cultural factors. Developments in the life of the new nation, conditions on the frontier, and the history of debates that had taken place in the Presbyterian Church provided the context for the emergence of the New Lights. In the church, the questions of where authority resides, how much latitude should be allowed in theological belief, and the concern for order in worship, all of which had vexed the denomination previously, came into focus once again on the occasion of the revival in the West. The early national period was a period of ferment, not least religiously.

The New Lights continued to seek purity in Christian faith and life, leading McNemar and others eventually to join the Shakers. Marshall and Thompson grew convinced that the theological stance of Barton Stone and others was mistaken and felt the need for more order and authority in church government. Consequently, they returned to the Presbyterian Church in 1811. Stone, of course, emerged as a leader of what eventually became the Stone-Campbell Movement.

The developments recounted here demonstrate the tale of people carving out a life for themselves under difficult circumstances and responding faithfully to the gospel. They also show that revivals in Christianity can create tension among people of good intentions and belief. It makes for a telling and fascinating story.

NOTES

¹James H. Moorhead, “The Last Will and Testament of Springfield Presbytery from the Perspective of Presbyterian History,” *Discipliana* 64 (Summer, 2004): 37.

²The Adopting Act is readily found at www.pcanet.org/history/documents/adoptingact.html.

³*Ibid.*

⁴In the absence of professional schools, doctors, lawyers, and clergy routinely prepared for their careers by this method.

⁵See especially Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991) for democracy as a force in United States Protestantism and the formative role of religious democracy on politics.

⁶Cited in William Warren Sweet, *The Presbyterians. Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840, Series*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936), 131-132.

⁷*Ibid.*, 65. The date 1807 is in error; Wilson did not begin his service in Cincinnati until 1808.

⁸*Ibid.*, 132.

⁹Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1987), 132.

¹⁰Sidney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972), 433.

¹¹Winthrop S. Hudson, *op. cit.*, 133.

¹²These quotations all come from Stone's *A Compendious View of the Gospel*, found at www.mun.ca/rels/restmov/texts/bstone/APOLOGY.HTML.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴Cited in Hudson, *op. cit.*, 133.

“Taking up the Full Cross”: The Shaker Challenge to the Western “Christians”

Stephen J. Stein*

Writing about the “First Appearances of the Extraordinary Work” which he identified with the frontier revivals in Kentucky in 1801, Richard McNemar recorded the following description of a camp meeting at Cabin Creek.

It began on the 22d of May, and continued four days and three nights. The scene was awful beyond description; the falling, crying out, praying, exhorting, singing, shouting, &c. exhibited such new, and striking evidences of a supernatural power; that few, if any could escape without being affected. Such as tried to run from it, were frequently struck on the way; or impelled, by some alarming signal to return: and so powerful was the evidence on all sides, that no place was found for the obstinate sinner to shelter himself, but under the protection of prejudiced and bigoted professors. No circumstance at this meeting, appeared more striking, than the great numbers that fell on the third night: and to prevent their being trodden under foot by the multitude, they were collected together, and laid out in order, on two squares of the meetinghouse; which, like so many dead corpses, covered a considerable part of the floor.¹

These events, remarkable in 1801 when McNemar observed them, within a short time were almost commonplace as camp meetings—multi-day revivals—spread across the western frontier region of America.

The story of the conversion of Richard McNemar and his brother-in-law John Dunlavy to Shakerism—technically, the United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing—must begin with this larger western evangelical context. It is to that “Great Revival” therefore that I turn initially. I intend to contextualize the conversion of these two evangelicals to Shakerism by, first, describing the world that they inhabited before becoming Shakers and in doing so identify the factors that preconditioned them to their ultimate religious choice, namely, Shakerism. Next, I will include some comments about the Shaker tradition. Then I will identify the contributions McNemar and Dunlavy made to the growth and expansion of western Shakerism. Ultimately, my presentation addresses the issue of the relationship between the Shaker gospel and some of the other religious groups active on the western frontier in the early republic, specifically, the nascent “Christian Church.”

* * * * *

In the broadest sense we must begin by acknowledging that radical evangelical revivalism in America did not begin in 1800. Although historians now de-

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bate the usefulness of categories such as the “Great Awakening,” whether referencing the so-called “First Great Awakening” or the “Second Great Awakening,” in no case can it be suggested that camp meetings of the sort that took place in 1801 at Cabin Creek and then at a host of sites in the West sprang up out of nowhere.² We know a great deal about eighteenth-century evangelical revivals in the American colonies, whether linked to the names of George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Davies, or others. Even more importantly, we also know about the Scottish Presbyterian revivals in the eighteenth century that were led by such figures as William McCulloch and James Robe. These latter sacramental occasions were direct forerunners of the American camp meetings held on the western frontier at the start of the nineteenth century.³

One account of such a meeting at Cambuslang in 1742 comes from the hand of a layman, John Scot, a thirteen-year-old boy at the time. He wrote,

There were two sacramental occasions at Cambuslang s[ai]d year[.] [T]he last was about the first of A[u]gust where was many ministers from distant parts and such a multitude of folk from distant parts as far as Edinburgh, Stirling, Air, Pasley, & the agasant country in this nighbourhood that I never expect to see such a multitude again in one place in this world[.] [T]here was three tents up that day two for sermon & one for dispensing the sacrament and as many at each tent as could hear besids grate numbers seated in the field & goeing from one place to another. The work began at 8. o’clock & the sun was set before the tables were finished.⁴

Leigh Eric Schmidt and other scholars have argued persuasively that the camp meetings on the western frontier stand in a direct line and derive from the tradition of Scottish Presbyterian sacramental gatherings. I might add that before these sacramental occasions broke out in Kentucky and other parts of the Ohio River Valley, similar camp meetings had already occurred in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.⁵

It is in this evangelical world that we discover Richard McNemar and John Dunlavy. McNemar was born in 1770 into a family of pioneer farmers in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. The family, which had ties to the Church of England, moved repeatedly. At the age of twelve, McNemar later reported, he came under the influence of the Presbyterian Church. At the age of 15 he began teaching school at the same time that he continued to help out on the family farm. He also traveled extensively in both Ohio and Kentucky. Early in the 1790s he left his home area for a final time in order to study with Robert Finley, a Princeton graduate and Presbyterian minister who eventually located at Cane Ridge in Bourbon County, Kentucky. McNemar lived there until April 1793 when he married Jane Luckie; eventually they had seven children. Subsequently, he taught school in several locations and also served as a supply minister. In 1797 he took charge of a congregation at Cabin Creek, Kentucky. Later that same year he was licensed to preach, and the next year he was ordained in the Presbyterian Church. Richard McNemar clearly possessed leadership potential. In 1799, for example, he was selected as a delegate to the General Assembly in Virginia.⁶

The same Presbyterian Session that licensed McNemar to preach also licensed John Dunlavy to preach.⁷ Dunlavy was born in 1769 in Frederic county, Virginia. His family was Presbyterian. Dunlavy and McNemar were more than acquaintances. Dunlavy married McNemar's sister Cassie.⁸ Eventually they had five children. He served a Presbyterian church at Eagle Creek, Ohio. Both McNemar and Dunlavy attended a meeting of the Washington Presbytery in November 1799 in order to take part in an ordination event. The religious views of both of these men were direct products of their nurture in and commitment to the Calvinism of American Presbyterianism.

In McNemar's case, however, there were early signs that he began to deviate from classic Presbyterianism. Evidence as early as the latter months of 1800 suggests that he experienced doctrinal difficulties with his Cabin Creek congregation. When he offered to resign over the conflict, the congregation refused to accept his resignation. In November of that same year several members formally charged him with "heresy." McNemar, apparently, was arguing that creeds should be abolished and that the scriptures were not always clear and self-evident. Believers therefore sometimes required "new light" or additional revelation in order to understand the mysteries of the faith. In this conflict with his congregation, McNemar used his considerable rhetorical skills to defend his views. But, he acknowledged, these were "trying" times for him.⁹

That was McNemar's situation on the eve of the Great Revival. His important publication, *The Kentucky Revival*, which has as a first subtitle, *Or, A Short History of the Late Extraordinary Outpouring of the Spirit of God in the Western States of America*, though written after he had become a Shaker is helpful in reconstructing his views at the time. The second chapter narrates the spread of the Kentucky revival in the spring of 1801, beginning "in Logan and Christian counties, on the . . . Gasper and Red rivers," and moving from there to Madison county, then subsequently overspreading "the whole country," till in August a "general meeting" was held at Cane Ridge in Bourbon county some seven miles from Paris, Kentucky.

At Cane Ridge, McNemar reported, some twenty thousand people were in attendance. One hundred and thirty-five "wheel-carriages," he noted, were present at the encampment. The "subjects" of the revival were "distinguished by their flaming zeal for the destruction of sin, and the deliverance of souls from its power." In his judgment, the "operations and exercises" at the meeting were "indescribable." The "falling exercise" was perhaps most noteworthy. One minister calculated that some three thousand "fell" at the meeting.¹⁰ Another description of the Cane Ridge revival came from the hands of John Lyle, also a minister, who spoke of "eleven hundred communicants" taking part in the sacrament. Lyle described a variety of religious phenomena that took place including "a number of boys and girls singing and shaking hands, a sort of wagging that appeared like dancing at a distance." He described these children as "almost dizzy with joy."¹¹

McNemar's account focused attention on the distinctive doctrines and worship patterns at Cane Ridge. Participants, he wrote, asserted the centrality of the "inward light" by which God's will "was made manifest to each individual, who honestly sought after it." This inner light he contrasted with established views – concerning the sufficiency of the Scriptures – echoes of his controversy at Cabin Creek. He also described how this "new light" constituted a frontal attack on "all

creeds, confessions, forms of worship, and rules of government invented by men, . . . especially the distinguishing doctrines of Calvin.” At the gathering, he observed, no “learned expositor” was required; God “opened a door of salvation, through Christ, for all.” Those who refused to enter, he declared, had only themselves to blame “for their own perdition.” He therefore sounded an Arminian note: individuals are responsible for their own salvation or damnation.¹²

At Cane Ridge, McNemar explained, persons were allowed to worship according “to their own feelings,” and the result was a “variety of exercises” in the meetings. Distinctions were “laid aside,” and all were “welcome to sing, pray, or call sinners to repentance.” “[O]ld and young, male and female, black and white, had equal privilege to minister the light which they received, in whatever way the spirit directed.” The result, he declared, was a “striking solemnity” beyond imagination.¹³ Of all the phenomena in these meetings, the “falling exercise” was the most “baffling” to observers. As the “breathless body” of the subject lay on the ground “for hours, and days,” the “immortal part . . . traversed the regions of eternity,” he wrote.¹⁴ Upon arising from these trances, the subjects of them delivered “exhortations” that were evidence of “a Divine power” that convinced “the most obstinate unbelievers.” McNemar was especially taken with “powerful addresses from little children”—children just “eight or ten years old”—that were “so marvelous and astonishing” that they moved persons of “the most rugged passions” to tears of repentance. Similarly, the “gift of exhortation” worked “miraculous” changes, turning “bold” opponents of the revival into “meek and gentle” spirits.¹⁵

In his description and defense of the revivals, McNemar answered critics who claimed that many of those “converted” in the Great Revival soon returned to their former sinful ways. Since that was so, these critics argued, the whole was not “the work of God.”¹⁶ McNemar responded by pointing out that spiritual life involves a process of “growth” and that the revival was but a “first work” which must be accompanied by clearing away the “rubbish” of the old ways and laying a new “foundation.” He also acknowledged that the exercises of the New Lights were but an anticipation of the future things hoped for and a recognition of the necessity to forsake old ways, or to “roll . . . [old ways] out of the way, until the way was prepared for a better foundation to be laid.”¹⁷

Soon the work of preparing for that better foundation preoccupied McNemar, Dunlavy, and other leaders of the Great Revival. The conflict had been joined within the ranks of the Presbyterians on the frontier. McNemar himself became the pastor of Turtle Creek Church in Ohio in the spring of 1802. It was not uncommon for his preaching to be accompanied by the variety of the exercises that had occurred in the revivals. But by this time McNemar was also a marked man in Presbyterian circles. In October 1802 he was accused of subversive theological views at a meeting of the Washington Presbytery held in Cincinnati. The Calvinists in the Presbytery led the opposition to him. On that occasion the Presbytery declared that McNemar’s “ideas” were “strictly Arminian” and therefore “dangerous to the souls of men and hostile to the interests of all true religion.”¹⁸ Yet he continued to preach.

When the Kentucky Synod met the following September in Lexington, it censured the Washington Presbytery for its inaction regarding McNemar. But by this time a small group of staunch supporters of McNemar had emerged who were advocates of the new revivalism. They apparently, however, gave up on the idea of

Synod, and in a written statement they declared their intention to withdraw from it. They rejected the notion that McNemar's judgments were "dangerous to the souls of men, and hostile to the interests of all true religion." At the same time, they claimed "the privilege of interpreting the Scripture by itself," and they reaffirmed their belief in "the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures." They also declared themselves "inviolably attached to the doctrines of grace."¹⁹ The document they prepared was signed by Robert Marshall, Barton W. Stone, John Thompson, John Dunlavy, and Richard McNemar.²⁰ Efforts to reconcile these dissenters were unsuccessful, and on September 13 the Synod suspended the five ministers for separating and for refusing to accept the Confession of Faith. Shortly after this, the five dissenting clergy formed the independent Springfield Presbytery.

In January 1804 the members of the newly formed Springfield Presbytery published *An Apology for Renouncing the Jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky*. It contained a justification of their separation, an attack on Presbyterian doctrines, and a defense of scriptural authority over that of creeds.²¹ By this point Barton W. Stone had emerged as a major, perhaps "the" major, leader of this schism. Born in 1772 in Maryland, reared in Virginia, and educated in North Carolina, Stone became a candidate for the Presbyterian ministry following a conversion under James McGready in the early 1790s. From the very beginning, he had been uncomfortable with some traditional concerns of Calvinist theology, including predestination. Licensed to preach in 1796 in North Carolina, he served as an itinerant preacher in Tennessee until 1798 when he became the minister at Cane Ridge, Kentucky.²²

The Springfield Presbytery did not long endure. In June 1804 it was dissolved, even though its members were serving a good number of churches in both Kentucky and Ohio. The pivotal document signaling the dissolution was *The Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery*, a creative document echoing the semiformal language of a personal will.²³

The Springfield Presbytery described itself as "in more than ordinary health. . . and in perfect soundness and composure of mind; but knowing that it is appointed for all delegated bodies once to die. . . ." Then followed twelve provisions, among which were the following. The signatories willed that the Springfield Presbytery "die, be dissolved, and sink into union with the Body of Christ at large." That their name "be forgotten." That "making laws for the government of the church. . . forever cease." That the "church of Christ assume . . . internal government." That "each particular church. . . chuse their own preacher" and support them by "a free will offering." That the people "take the Bible as the only sure guide to heaven." That "preachers and people . . . behold the signs of the times." *The Last Will and Testament* was signed by the same five ministers who declared their departure from the Kentucky Synod, plus David Purviance.²⁴

It does not take special insight to recognize the radical implications of the positions taken by these signatories. In effect, they declared that the New Light movement had immense implications for how the Christian church should be structured, led, supported, inspired, and envisioned. Out of this context the "Christian" movement emerged with its sharp critique of existing denominations and its determination to be structured and informed in other ways.²⁵ These were the circumstances in which Richard McNemar and John Dunlavy found themselves two hundred years ago at the start of 1805.

The stage was set for the entrance of new players into the religious world of Kentucky and Ohio. One group of new players made their entrance from the East, specifically, from New Lebanon, New York. That was the site of the village that was the headquarters of the religious society known as the Shakers. The Shakers were, as I indicated above, the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing. By 1805 this community had a thirty-year history in America. It was an imported English religious sect.²⁶ In 1774, on the eve of the War for Independence, Ann Lee, a gifted charismatic approaching forty years old, arrived at the port of New York City with a handful of followers from Manchester, England. Within a few years she and some of those followers had relocated to an area near the village of Niskeyuna outside Albany in upstate New York. There these Shakers, as they were called from the fact that they often trembled in worship or while in ecstasy, experienced hostility from some neighbors and from authorities because they were thought to be British sympathizers. But they also attracted considerable favorable attention from evangelical Christians caught up in local revivals in the region. The Shakers gained converts, for example, among Separate Baptists who split off from Congregational churches in the area.²⁷

Ann Lee, the daughter of a blacksmith and herself an illiterate factory worker, was a powerful prophetic figure. She asserted authority by means of her teaching and her personal witness. Among her distinctive religious ideas was the notion of the dual nature of God, God as both Father and Mother—one God, but two natures. She also declared that the fall into sin in the Garden of Eden was the result of the “premature and self-indulgent use” of sexual relations. Therefore, she argued, it was incumbent on the Believers, as the Shakers were also known, to confess their sins and to abstain from sexual relations in the same manner that Jesus in his human life remained “undefiled.”²⁸ Lee's ideas were based in part on revelations she received.

Ann Lee, known to her followers as “Mother Ann,” had a very short public career in America. Her greatest success came in the years 1781-1783 when she traveled with an entourage of disciples around eastern New York and parts of New England, declaring her message and challenging those who listened to accept it. This opening of the Shaker gospel was greeted with enthusiasm and delight by some, but with ridicule and hostility by others.²⁹ The first American converts confessed their sins and declared their commitment to Shakerism. By early 1781 the members of the community at Watervliet, New York, the Shaker village outside Albany, began calling themselves “Believers in Christ's Second Appearing,” implying that this new gospel was a fulfillment of the promise of a second coming.³⁰

This is not the occasion to provide extended details concerning the early years of Shakerism in America. Let it suffice to note that by the time of Lee's death in 1784, converts to the Shaker gospel were located at a variety of sites throughout New England and eastern New York. The transition from Lee's leadership to that of her followers was accomplished over a period of several years. By late 1787 American converts were in charge of the young community, making decisions that shaped and informed the subsequent history of the society. Among the first American leaders were Joseph Meacham, a former New Light Baptist elder, and Lucy Wright, a gifted woman who had been married to a merchant. These two provided leadership during

a period that witnessed the consolidation of community structures for the young, but growing society and its continued geographical expansion. Following Meacham's death in 1796, Lucy Wright took over first in the ministry, a position she held until her death in 1821. During Lucy Wright's twenty-five-year tenure as first in the ministry, Shakerism expanded dramatically, first in the east and then subsequently in the Ohio River Valley.³¹

The Shakers were drawn into these new missionary endeavors, in part, on the strength of their observation of the success enjoyed by the evangelical revivals known subsequently as the Second Great Awakening. The Shakers, in turn, developed their own missionary program, often working literally on the edge of the evangelical revivals. The Believers employed a number of successful outreach strategies.

On January 1, 1805, for example, three male Believers from the Shaker village near New Lebanon, New York—the site which had emerged as the headquarters of the expanding society—set out on foot for the Ohio River Valley where they knew that the evangelical revivals had been so successful. Their journey took more than two months before they reached Paint Lick, Kentucky. They traveled through Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Tennessee. The distance was more than twelve hundred miles; they had to cross mountains and rivers. As they traveled, they paid special attention to evidence of religious activity. In their journals, for example, they recorded observations of so-called “Jerkers,” that is, persons who experienced religious ecstasy when filled with the spirit.³²

After arriving in the Ohio River Valley, the three Shaker brothers from the East spoke to New Light congregations in both Kentucky and Ohio, including communities at Paint Lick, Cane Ridge, and Turtle Creek. It was in these contexts that the Shaker missionaries encountered the Presbyterian dissenters, including Barton Stone and Richard McNemar, among others. At Turtle Creek, Ohio, they gained their first convert in the West, Malcolm Worley, who had invited them into his home. Worley, according to McNemar, was “a man of unspotted character, of an independent fortune, and a liberal education.”³³ McNemar was initially astonished at Worley's conversion, so much so that he determined to try “to get a deeper and more practical acquaintance with it.” Within a matter of weeks, ten or twelve families in the Turtle Creek area had converted to Shakerism, including Richard McNemar and his family.³⁴

The Shaker missionaries carried a letter from their colleagues at New Lebanon that served as both an introduction and a summary of the Shaker gospel. Sent from the “Church of Christ,” it was addressed to the “people in Kentucky and the adjacent states.” The Shaker authors of the letter acknowledged that an astonishing “work of God” had taken place in the West, and they expressed the desire for it to continue. But, more importantly, the primary purpose of the letter was to declare the particulars of the Shaker gospel. The letter stated that Believers, who “were looking for the coming of Christ,” had made no progress toward “Regeneration” or “the New Birth” as long as they had “lived in the works of natural generation, copulating in the works of the flesh.” But, the letter continued, Shaker “witnesses” who were recipients of “the revelation in this last display of grace of God to a lost world” knew the “way out of all sin.” The necessary steps were to “believe in the manifestations of Christ,” to confess “all” your “sins,” and to “take up” the “cross against the flesh, the world, and all evil.” That is “the way of life,” the letter stated, the “way out of all sin.”³⁵

The missionaries' letter sounded several themes already circulating among New Lights caught up in the Kentucky revival. Both Shakers and New Lights were committed to the notion of the presence of God in their midst, to the work of regeneration, and to a triumph over sin. The language they used was often similar, even if the import attached to it differed. Both groups spoke of a second coming of Christ, of taking up the cross, of confessing one's sins, and of obeying the spirit of Truth. Both valued "[b]odily exercises, dreams, visions and ecstasies." But the Shakers declared that Believers "by the cross . . . overcome and gain an encreasing victory over that which is death to the soul, by dying to it." They asserted, "To the unclean lust of the flesh, in which the sinful selfish nature of man is formed, the followers of Christ stand, in a peculiar manner opposed; and count it their distinguishing privilege to preserve their bodies in sanctification and honour." The Shakers stated that those who joined the Believers found themselves delivered "from every branch of evil" including "pride, coveteousness, anger, hatred, etc.," and by contrast they grew "into a peaceable, gentle, kind and loving spirit."³⁶

In his 1807 publication, *The Kentucky Revival*, Richard McNemar documented the first successes of the Shaker missionaries in the West. He reported that the Believers at Turtle Creek near the end of May, 1805, took up "their cross, and by the same faith and spirit" increased "in love and union, peace, joy and harmony, and every good word and work." By June this new faith had spread to Eagle Creek, and the testimony was opened there, too. By the end of the next month, John Dunlavy "began to preach" the Shaker gospel, and the result was that some twenty to thirty families embraced the testimony. Those families, McNemar reported, "have denied un-godliness, and worldly lusts, [and have] taken up their cross, [and they] live together in the unity of the Spirit and bond of peace" as they travel "from death into life." By the middle of August McNemar reported that families in widely scattered areas of Ohio and Kentucky had embraced the Shaker gospel. They "denied ungodliness, and worldly lusts, [having] taken up their cross." They "live together in the unity of the spirit and bond of peace."³⁷

But the New Believers had much to learn about the Shaker way of life, and the missionaries from the East set out to instruct them. They taught the converts about Shaker "union and uniformity" in "economy, dress, [and] deportment." They introduced the unique worship practices of the Believers, including distinctive songs and the dance. McNemar's home became a worship center before there was a Shaker meeting house, and the Shaker converts danced in the open space between the two parts of his cabin. Soon additional "old" Believers from the East arrived as reinforcements for the first missionaries. Among the new arrivals was David Darrow who was placed in charge as the lead in the ministry in the western portion of the society.³⁸ Darrow had gained his religious credentials as a Believer at the New Lebanon site, having given his farm to the Shakers. Over the next years both McNemar and Dunlavy contributed in major ways to the growth and development of western Shakerism.

* * * * *

Richard McNemar played a major role in the expansion of Shakerism in the West. He exercised substantial influence on the course of events in the young society as a missionary. He was a gifted, dedicated individual who identified closely with the Shaker cause and whose ultimate place in Shaker history is indisputable, despite a strange and bizarre conclusion to his life.

McNemar, following his conversion to Shakerism, immediately contributed to the growth of the society in both Ohio and Kentucky. He became a leading Shaker missionary in the western region. Initially, he contacted persons in communities where he had served as a minister, or had visited as a revivalist, or had acquaintances; and he introduced the eastern Believers to people he knew and who knew him. This networking process proved highly productive for the Shakers, and it greatly facilitated the gathering of converts and the eventual formation of new communities in the West. One location where McNemar was known was Eagle Creek where his brother-in-law, John Dunlavy, was the minister. McNemar's brother, Garner, also lived at Eagle Creek. Issachar Bates, one of the three original eastern missionaries, reported that Dunlavy and his wife Cassie, who was McNemar's sister, converted to Shakerism in late July of 1805 as a result of these personal relationships.³⁹ The converts brought into the society the resources that were needed for the establishment of communal villages—land, livestock, and other financial assets. The establishment of Shaker villages in the West was a product of the combined efforts of the eastern Believers, who committed large amounts of human and economic resources to this western expansion, and the substantial contributions of the western converts themselves. A communal society – which is what the United Society of Believers was (and is) – requires a strong economic foundation.

It would be difficult to overstate the critical role that McNemar played in the early Shaker missionary efforts in the West. He was influential in the gathering and founding of several western communities. He had a hand in the organization and establishment of the Watervliet village in Montgomery County, Ohio, the Whitewater community in Hamilton County, Ohio, and the North Union village near Cleveland. He also assisted with founding efforts at Pleasant Hill and at South Union in Kentucky. And he played a supportive role in the attempt to establish the West Union village at Busro, Indiana.⁴⁰ McNemar was even involved with a somewhat strange effort by the Believers in 1807 to attract into the society Native Americans located in western Ohio.⁴¹

McNemar's success in this missionizing role was the result of many things, including his own physical and charismatic qualities. Listen to the impression he made on one potential convert to Shakerism at a first meeting she attended. When McNemar stepped up to address the meeting at Union Village in Ohio,

his magnetic eloquence swayed and animated the audience by its power as I could see while I trembled under its *greatness*, as it felt to me. And I looked with wonder on his tall erect form, his hair black and strong as an Indians, forehead high and white, a raised vein along the center brought to the surface of the skin by the warming force of his testimony, large full eyes "blue as a Southern sky," which seemed to draw . . . the electric currents from the very heavens above.⁴²

There were many testimonies of this sort concerning McNemar. He was also not above arguing the practical advantages of membership in the society, including the "joint interest" or shared possessions Believers held in the community.⁴³

All of this evangelistic effort did not go unnoticed by the eastern leadership of the society. In 1811 Lucy Wright designated Richard McNemar a special apostle to the West. On the occasion of a visit to New Lebanon, she complimented McNemar

and said to him, "I give you a new name. I call you Elder Eleazar Right, because you understand Mother's gospel right." He accepted the new name, but he spelled it "Eleazar Wright." He also subsequently used that name as a pseudonym on some of his publications.⁴⁴ McNemar exercised a variety of leadership roles at the diverse locations where he assisted in the establishment of Shaker communities. His primary location, however, remained Union Village outside Lebanon, Ohio. Union Village was the lead village in the western Shaker world. It functioned as an overseer of sorts for all the other western sites. From that location McNemar moved to assist and deal with problems and challenges at various western sites.

Richard McNemar was distinguished by another gift exercised extensively throughout his professional life. He was drawn to the writing of religious poetry and hymns. He often expressed his deepest feelings and convictions in verse. This pattern preceded his conversion to Shakerism. Here are some lines from a poem that documents his New Light stage.

Five preachers form'd a body, in eighteen hundred three,
From Antichrist's false systems to set the people free;
His doctrine and his worship in pieces they did tear—
But e'er the scene was ended these men became a snare.

As witnesses for Jesus, they labor'd night and day,
To convince the blinded pharisees that Christ was on his way;
But souls bound for the kingdom did strangely turn aside,
And for a little season took these to be their guide."⁴⁵

The same poetic pattern prevailed after his conversion to Shakerism. McNemar often composed poems or hymns about the circumstances at hand. He composed one entitled "Christ & Herod" on the day preceding the 1810 assault on Union Village by a mob of 500 men seeking forcibly to remove children they claimed were being held against their will.⁴⁶ Here is the opening verse of that hymn.

The name of Herod signifies
The glory of the skin;
But Christ th' anointed purifies
The living soul from sin.
Thus Christ and Herod plainly clash,
And different points uphold;
The one contending for the flesh,
The other for the soul.⁴⁷

The poems and hymns McNemar composed often reflect the deepest religious truths and values of the Shaker society. In 1833 he published a volume entitled *A Selection of Hymns and Poems for the Use of Believers* that includes many he had written. It is filled with compositions that range across the gamut of Shaker religious and historical experience. Again, one example will suffice.

In the Church of Christ and Mother,
carnal feelings have no place;

Therefore when the flesh is named,—
 when impeachments fly around,
Honest souls do feel ashamed,—
 shudder at the very sound.

Ah! thou foul and filthy stranger!
 What canst thou be after here?
Thou wilt find thyself in danger,
 if thou dost not disappear.
Vanish quick, I do advise you!
 For we mean to let you know
Good Believers do despise you,
 as a dang 'rous deadly foe.

Dare you, in the sight of heaven,
 show your foul and filthy pranks!
Can a place to you be given
 in the bright angelic ranks?
Go! I say, thou unclean devil!
 Go from this redeemed soil.
If you think you cannot travel,
 through a lake of boiling oil.⁴⁸

McNemar used his poetic skills to great effect as an apologist for his new faith.

Perhaps the most striking example is his 1813 tract entitled *A Concise Answer, to the General Inquiry, Who, or What are THE SHAKERS*. In a prefatory note he reported that the publication originated in response to an 1808 inquiry regarding the Shakers from a person in Georgia.⁴⁹ Here are some select lines from *A Concise Answer*.

A Church of people have of late,
Appear'd in the Ohio state;
And strange reports have spread abroad,
Of what they call the work of God;
And candid souls both far and near,
From this strange people wish to hear,
What part of scripture they've fulfil'd,
And on what rock their church they build.

Against the flesh we all unite,
And bear our cross by day and night;
For virgin purity we hold,
More precious than Peruvian gold
And with this people none can stay,
Unless they walk this narrow way.

Blood-shed and carnage we abhor,
And therefore cease from learning war.

And Jesus Christ we jointly call,
The blessed Father of us all
His bright example we adore.
And follow none who were before.
But as without an helper meet,
No parentage can be complete;
Therefore in being born anew,
We have a blessed Mother too;
Tho' human wisdom cannot scan,
How woman here can help the man;
Yet by the woman in her lot,
The way of God is plainly taught.

When this small answer ye peruse,
Ye may believe it if ye choose;
As certain facts may credit claim,
Above the voice of common fame,
But if in any doubts ye be,
Like good Nathaniel come and see.⁵⁰

Finally, I must be explicit about something that has been implied in my comments. Richard McNemar emerged as one of the earliest and most significant writers within the community. His *Kentucky Revival*, was a first major publication associated with the Shaker society. His skillful historical account of the Kentucky Revival and his description of the rise and dissolution of the Springfield Presbytery and his narrative entitled *A Brief Account of the Entrance and Progress of What the World Call SHAKERISM, among the Subjects of the Late Revival in Ohio and Kentucky* make that 1807 volume a primary, if not the primary, contemporary account of the story I am attempting to tell.⁵¹ McNemar's account of the origins of western Shakerism is a major historical source. It is also, admittedly, an apologetic account which in its second chapter sets out to refute the false judgments of "wrong-headed clergy" and others who have portrayed the society falsely.⁵² In other words, in the work McNemar responded directly to the critics and opponents of his new faith.

It is clear that McNemar recognized the power of the written word, and he hoped to marshal its usefulness on behalf of his community. In the early 1830s he carried this commitment one step farther. While he was serving at Watervliet, Ohio, he launched the *Western Review*, a publication which set out to document the progress of western Shakerism. McNemar served as editor, typesetter, and printer.⁵³ Historians working on early western Shakerism are beholden to McNemar for his efforts to compile and preserve written records and to document the development of the society.

* * * * *

John Dunlavy also contributed substantially to the growth and development of western Shakerism as well as Shakerism in general. He exercised influence in the

society as a missionary, a community leader, and a theologian.

Following his conversion to Shakerism in July of 1805, Dunlavy, like McNemar, immediately began proselytizing on behalf of the Shaker gospel. He served as a missionary, itinerating in both Ohio and Kentucky. He, like McNemar, exploited the personal relationships he had established as a New Light minister in his efforts to persuade others to join the society. The “old” Believers (a term used for the eastern Shakers who came west) recognized the importance of utilizing the skills and experience of these former New Light ministers as apostles for the Shaker gospel.

John Dunlavy’s life as a Shaker centered most of the time at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, where he served in various positions of leadership for some twenty years. He filled a variety of roles at that young village, including preacher, counselor, and physician. The Shaker village at Pleasant Hill, founded in 1806, was located some twenty or so miles southwest of Lexington. It enjoyed considerable commercial advantage because of its proximity to the Kentucky River.⁵⁴ But during its first two decades, the community at Pleasant Hill experienced repeated internal conflicts. As a result, the wisdom and diplomacy of Dunlavy and other leaders were often in demand. The factious nature of the community was one factor leading to the establishment in 1817 of a separate “Gathering Order” for initiating new converts into the organization. Dunlavy was one of the Believers chosen to supervise this new family and to instruct the new converts who were resident in it. He became an elder at the North Lot Family House, the site of the new Gathering Order.⁵⁵ At times more than one hundred new or potential Shakers were part of that family. He therefore played an influential role in the training of new Believers in the Shaker gospel. From him they learned about the beliefs and lifestyle of the society.

Dunlavy has been described by early twentieth-century Shaker historians, Anna White and Leila S. Taylor, as “an eminent leader among western Shakers.”⁵⁶ That he was, indeed. But his eminence rests most directly, in my judgment, on his distinctive intellectual contribution to Shakerism, namely, the publication of a huge systematic theology in 1818 entitled *The Manifesto, or A Declaration of the Doctrines and Practice of the Church of Christ*.⁵⁷ More than 500 pages in length, the book was published at Pleasant Hill by Shaker printers. More than one critic has declared *The Manifesto* to be “the definitive treatise on Shaker theology.”⁵⁸ The contrast between Dunlavy’s treatise and McNemar’s history is substantial. What makes Dunlavy’s document so important is the point at which Shaker religious thought was in the second decade of the nineteenth century.

Shaker theology was literally in its birthing stage at this point in time. Ann Lee herself had been illiterate. She literally forbade her followers to write anything, thinking the Spirit should not be confined to the written page. The Spirit must move where it wishes. Slowly, however, the needs of the young community forced the Believers to pick up the pen in their own defense. Critics were attacking them in print, and logic demanded that they defend themselves. Interestingly, the first full statements of Shaker theology came from the western frontier. The first major publication was authored in 1808 at Union Village by Benjamin Seth Youngs, one of the three original eastern missionaries, assisted by David Darrow and John Meacham. They submitted the *Testimony of Christ’s Second Appearing* to Lucy Wright and the eastern leaders for their approval. It elicited a somewhat mixed response.⁵⁹

As early as 1815 John Meacham, who had become the leading elder at Pleasant Hill, alerted Lucy Wright that Dunlavy was writing a major religious statement, and he sought consent from the eastern leadership. Three years later *The Manifesto* appeared.⁶⁰ Dunlavy's work was unlike any Shaker publication that had appeared prior to this time. It did not tell the story of Shakerism; it did not utilize an historical approach; it did not record or celebrate the religious experience of the Believers. Dunlavy structured his volume after the pattern followed by systematic theologians; he employed standard theological categories and language. On an earlier occasion, I wrote the following about *The Manifesto*.

Dunlavy constructed his volume as a negative critique of classic Reformed dogma. Based on his understanding of Scripture and revelation, he rejected the conservative ideas of election and reprobation as well as the concepts of the imputation of original sin and the vicarious atonement of Christ. *The Manifesto* underscores the freedom and responsibility of individuals to accept the gospel, the role of Christ as an example for Believers, the function of obedience in the process of justification, and the goal of a sinless life for the Christian. In addition, Dunlavy provided a framework for understanding the peculiar Shaker practices of confession, celibacy, joint interest, and withdrawal from the world, designating these as marks of the true church of Christ. Finally, he distinguished the Believers' view of the resurrection, which he equated with regeneration, from that of contemporary evangelicals by emphasizing its spiritual and progressive character.⁶¹

Dunlavy was learned and well educated. He was clearly familiar with the conventions of formal theology. He cited biblical texts in Greek and Hebrew. His book was designed to be read by "the thinking part of mankind." At times *The Manifesto* is abstract and demanding. I suspect relatively few Believers would have been up to a full engagement and understanding of his treatise.

Dunlavy's work, along with the earlier *Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing*, marked a significant shift in the development of Shaker theology and apologetics. Prior to those two publications, most of the apologetic writing about Shakerism had employed experiential argumentation, focusing on the personal experience of Ann Lee and the testimonies of her followers and successors.⁶² Dunlavy was writing Shaker theology in a different mode: he used scriptural interpretation, reason, and logic to develop and defend Shaker religious positions. He and a few other Believers began to construct a Shaker system of religious thought, an act not terribly dissimilar to that also being carried out by other religious groups at the time, including the New Light group that Dunlavy and McNemar had abandoned. This new move had interesting implications for future leadership within the society. It challenged the notion that the primary or even sole criterion for leadership was spiritual experience. Now intellectual expertise began to play a role in the selection of leaders for the society.

The sophisticated character of *The Manifesto* was obviously apparent to Believers in the society. That probably explains why in 1834, eight years after

Dunlavy's death, two eastern leaders, Calvin Green and Seth Y. Wells – both intellectuals themselves – published a small volume of extracts from *The Manifesto* entitled *Plain Evidences, by which the Nature and Character of the True Church of Christ May Be Known and Distinguished from All Others. Taken from a Work entitled "The Manifesto," or A Declaration of the Doctrines and Practice of the Church of Christ; Published at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, 1818.*⁶³ The selections they chose from *The Manifesto* deal with the "united inheritance" or joint interest which describes both the temporal and the spiritual realities as Shakers live together in new families, the principle of the cross of Christ which separates Believers from the abomination they link to marriage and natural generation, the "sinless life" which is the goal of the true Christian, and the resulting separation between the true church of Christ and the world. *Plain Evidences* repackaged some of Dunlavy's primary theological judgments. It also expanded his influence as a major theological apologist for Shakerism.

* * * * *

The biographies of both Richard McNemar and John Dunlavy end in unexpectedly ways. McNemar, who had made so many contributions to western Shakerism, in 1836 turned down an opportunity to serve as the leading elder at Union Village. Subsequently he fell out of favor with Freegift Wells, the eastern Believer who assumed that position. In 1839, during the outburst of spiritualistic activity in the society known as "Mother Ann's Work," McNemar was rebuked in a visionary message from Ann Lee and as a result ordered exiled from the community. He then traveled to New Lebanon where he was exonerated by another Shaker visionary. He returned to Union Village, but became ill and died shortly afterward.⁶⁴

John Dunlavy's investment in the expansion of the western society included several periods of time spent at the West Union Shaker community, a village in the western portion of the Indiana Territory. West Union, founded in 1810, was also known as Busro, from its location in Busseron Township on Busseron Creek, which was north of Vincennes. Busro was ill-fated almost from the start. Rumors of possible conflict with nearby Indians, earthquakes, and malaria outbreaks plagued the site. When the War of 1812 broke out, the village was abandoned for a two-year period. The residents returned to Busro two years later, but problems continued. Internal conflict and illness ultimately led to a second decision to abandon the site in 1827, this time for good. Unfortunately, Dunlavy visited the site again in the midst of these problems. He contracted malaria while there and died in 1826.⁶⁵

The religious journeys of both McNemar and Dunlavy are instructive in a variety of ways. They show the religious fluidity on the western frontier in the early national period. Both of these men moved with relative ease from classic Presbyterian Calvinism, to New Light Arminianism, to sectarian Shakerism. Both of these men enjoyed the cumulative effect of their religious odyssey; at each stage they benefited from the previous stages. Obviously McNemar and Dunlavy grew as a result of their involvement with the New Light movement and with the short-lived Springfield Presbytery. But in their own judgment, they continued to grow as they moved on to Shakerism. They themselves were very conscious of this cumulative process in their own lives. For Dunlavy it was so clear a perception that he closed *The Manifesto* with a long letter addressed to Barton W. Stone in which he acknowledged the developmental character of the Christian life and the spiritual journey. Such was

Dunlavy's ultimate understanding of the Shaker gospel. He wrote,

When this gospel appeared to me, and I became acquainted with it, I found it answered my faith and filled my soul in all things. But with it appeared the cross. In it, and in those who bore it, appeared the holiness of God in a degree beyond any thing which I had ever seen or heard....

Of course, the next question to be settled was, Shall I take up my cross, and deny myself and follow Christ, suffering all the privations against the flesh, which the gospel requires, that I may obtain salvation by the cross, or shall I refuse and lose my soul and all my labors?... Salvation was at that time the uppermost matter in my mind, as it had long been.... I there-fore, after mature deliberation, closed in with it, and I do not repent....⁶⁶

Dunlavy's hope (and I suspect McNemar's, too) was that some of those "who have seen the light of the day, and have closed their eyes against it," may yet find "the work imperfect where they are" and "eventually submit, to take up their cross, and suffer shame for the name of Christ."⁶⁷ That was also apparently their ultimate hope for their former friend, Barton W. Stone.

NOTES

¹ Richard McNemar, *The Kentucky Revival, or, A Short History of the late extraordinary out pouring of the Spirit of God, in the western States of America, agreeably to Scripture-promises, and Prophecies concerning the Latter Day: with a Brief Account of the entrance and progress of what the world call Shakerism, among the subjects of the Late Revival in Ohio and Kentucky. Presented to the true Zion-traveler, as a memorial of the wilderness journey* (Cincinnati, 1807), 23-24.

² See, for example, Jon Butler, "Enthusiasm Described and Decried: The Great Awakening as Interpretive Fiction," *Journal of American History*, 69 (September 1982), 305-325.

³ See, for example, Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990* (New York, 1994). See also Arthur Fawcett, *The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1971).

⁴ Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), 42.

⁵ See, for example, John B. Boles, *The Great Revival 1787-1805* (Lexington, Ky., 1972), 41-43.

⁶The two principal sources on McNemar's biography are J.P. MacLean, *A Sketch of the Life and Labours of Richard McNemar* (Franklin, Oh., 1905), and Hazel Spencer Phillips, *Richard the Shaker* (Lebanon, Oh., 1972). See also David J. Graham-Voelker's entry on "Richard McNemar" in John A. Garraty & Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography* (24 vols. New York, 1999), vol. 15, pp. 175-176. MacLean gives "Luckes" as the maiden name of McNemar's wife (p. 5).

⁷ See the entry on Dunlavy in Holley Gene Duffield, *Historical Dictionary of the Shakers* (Lanham, Md., 2000), 29-30.

⁸ Phillips, *Richard the Shaker*, 19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 21. See also MacLean, *Sketch*, 6-15.

¹⁰ McNemar, *Kentucky Revival*, 26.

¹¹ Catharine C. Cleveland, *The Great Revival in the West 1797-1805* (Chicago, 1916), 183-189.

¹² McNemar, *Kentucky Revival*, 29-30.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹⁸ William Garrett West, *Barton Warren Stone: Early American Advocate of Christian Unity* (Nashville, Tenn., 1954), 55-56.

¹⁹ West footnote.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 57-58.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 61.

²² On Stone, see West, *Barton Warren Stone*; D. Newell Williams, *Barton Stone: A Spiritual Biography* (St. Louis, Mo., 2000); and Philip K. Goff's entry on "Barton Warren Stone" in *American National Biography*, vol. 20, pp. 841-842.

²³ West, *Barton Warren Stone*, 75, 77-80.

²⁴ "Last Will & Testament, &c.," appears on the closing three pages of McNemar, *Kentucky Revival*, paginated 21-23.

²⁵ The literature on the origins of the Christian movement includes Winfred Ernest Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, *The Disciples of Christ: A History* (St. Louis, 1948); Lester G. McAllister and William E. Tucker, *Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* (St. Louis, 1975); Max Ward Randall, *The Great Awakenings and the Restoration Movement* (Joplin, Mo., 1983); and David Edwin Harrell, Jr., *Quest for a Christian America, 1800-1865: A Social History of the Disciples of Christ*, vol. 1 (2nd ed., Tuscaloosa, 2003).

²⁶ The literature on the history of the Shakers includes Edward Deming Andrews, *The People Called Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society* (New York, 1963); Stephen A. Marini, *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Priscilla J. Brewer, *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives* (Hanover, N.H., 1986); Clarke Garrett, *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion: From the Camisards to the Shakers* (Baltimore, 1987); and Stephen J. Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers* (New Haven, 1992).

²⁷ Brewer, *Shaker Communities*, 6-8.

²⁸ Anna White and Leila S. Taylor, *Shakerism: Its Meaning and Message embracing An Historical Account, Statement of Belief and Spiritual Experience of the Church from Its Rise to the Present Day* (Columbus, Oh., 1905), 19.

²⁹ Stein, *Shaker Experience*, 18-25.

³⁰ White and Taylor, *Shakerism*, 47.

³¹ Stein, *Shaker Experience*, 49-57.

³² Andrews, *People Called Shakers*, 70-93.

³³ This characterization of Worley appears as a footnote in the 1846 edition of *The Kentucky Revival* (New York), p. 88.

³⁴ McNemar, *Kentucky Revival* (1807), 80-81.

³⁵ J.P. MacLean, "The Shaker Community of Warren County," in *Shakers of Ohio: Fugitive Papers Concerning the Shakers of Ohio, With Unpublished Manuscripts* (Columbus, Oh., 1907), 61-63. Portions of a slightly different version of the letter appear in Andrews, *People Called Shakers*, 75-76

³⁶ McNemar, *Kentucky Revival*, 83-84.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 84-85.

³⁸ Phillips, *Richard the Shaker*, 49-52.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁴¹ See *Ibid.*, 55-61; and MacLean, "Shaker Mission to the Shawnee Indians," in *Shakers of Ohio*, 347-361.

⁴² Daniel W. Patterson, *The Shaker Spiritual* (Princeton, 1979), 162.

⁴³ Andrews, *People Called Shakers*, 117.

⁴⁴ White and Taylor, *Shakerism: Its Meaning and Message*, 149.

⁴⁵ McNemar, *Kentucky Revival*, 72.

⁴⁶ See MacLean, "Mobbing the Shakers of Union Village," in *Shakers of Ohio*, 362-387.

⁴⁷ Patterson, *Shaker Spiritual*, 164—165.

⁴⁸ Philos Harmoniae [i.e. McNemar], *A Selection of Hymns and Poems, For the use of Believers. Collected from sundry Authors* (Watervliet, Oh., 1833), 72.

⁴⁹ McNemar, *A Concise Answer, to the General Inquiry Who or What are the Shakers* (Hartford, 1835), "Notice," p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 3, 4, 6, 7.

⁵¹ McNemar's "Brief Account" in *Kentucky Revival* occupies pp. 73-104.

⁵² *Kentucky Revival*, 86.

⁵³ Phillips, *Richard the Shaker*, 85.

⁵⁴ See Thomas D. Clark and F. Gerald Ham, *Pleasant Hill and Its Shakers* (Harrodsburg, Ky., 1983).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

⁵⁶ *Shakerism*, 322.

⁵⁷ Pleasant Hill, Ky., 1818.

⁵⁸ Mary L. Richmond, *Shaker Literature: A Bibliography* (2 vols. Hanover, N. H., 1977), I, 72.

⁵⁹ Benjamin Seth Youngs, *The Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing Containing a General Statement of All Things Pertaining to the Faith and Practice of the Church of God in this Latter-day* (Lebanon, Oh., 1808). See also Stein, *Shaker Experience*, 69-73.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁶² See Stephen J. Stein, "'A Candid Statement of Our Principles': Early Shaker Theology in the West," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 133 (1989), 503-519.

⁶³ Albany, N.Y., 1834.

⁶⁴ Phillips, *Richard the Shaker*, 109-117.

⁶⁵ Clark and Ham, *Pleasant Hill*, 44.

⁶⁶ Dunlavy, *Plain Evidences*, 110-111.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 114.

Rallied Under the Standard of Heaven

Thomas H. Olbricht*

1805, two hundred years ago, was a very good year for Barton W. Stone and those associated with him. They were now on their own, having broken ties with the Presbyteries of Kentucky and Ohio and growing rapidly. But soon visitors from the north divided their leadership and alarmed those who remained. Early in March, Shaker missionaries, John Meacham, Issachar Bates, and Benjamin Seth Youngs arrived at Paint Lick, Kentucky, and started winning persons in the region to their anticipated commutarian churches, especially from among those allied with the “Last Will and Testimony of Springfield Presbytery.”¹

The Shaker Conversions

Barton W. Stone several years later commented upon these traumatic developments in his *Autobiography*:

The churches and preachers grew and were multiplied; we began to be puffed up at our prosperity. A law of Synod, or Presbytery, forbade their people to associate with us in our worship, on pain of censure, or exclusion from their communion. This influenced many of them to join us. But this pride of ours was soon humbled by a very extraordinary incident. . . . Three missionary Shakers from the East came amongst us—Bates, Mitchell, and Young. They were eminently qualified for their mission. Their appearance was prepossessing—their dress was plain and neat—they were grave and unassuming at first in their manners—very intelligent and ready in the Scriptures, and of great boldness in their faith.²

In others words they were well prepared, systematic and organized, traits not altogether characteristic of the Christians.

They also were deliberate and persuasive in their approach. They informed us that they had heard of us in the East, and greatly rejoiced in the work of God amongst us—that as far as we had gone we were right; but we had not gone far enough into the work—that they were sent by their brethren to teach the way of God more perfectly, by obedience to which we should be led into perfect holiness. They seemed to understand all the springs and avenues of the human heart. They delivered their testimony, and labored to confirm it by the Scriptures—promised the greatest blessings to the obedient, but certain damnation to the disobedient. They urged the people to confess their sins to them, especially the sin

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of matrimony, and to forsake them all immediately — husbands must forsake their wives, and wives their husbands. This was the burden of their testimony. They said they could perform miracles, and related many as done among them. But we never could persuade them to try to work miracles among us.³

The outcome of the Shaker efforts was that two of the signers of the “Last Will and Testament” Richard McNemar and John Dunlavy became Shakers, as well as another well-known preacher, Matthew Houston, along with Malcolm Worley, an elder at Turtle Creek.⁴

Many such things they preached, the consequence of which was similar to that of Simon Magus. Many said they were the great power of God. Many confessed their sins to them, and forsook their marriage state; among whom were three of our preachers, Matthew Houston, Richard M’Nemar, and John Dunlavy. Several more of our preachers, and pupils, alarmed, fled from us, and joined the different sects around us. The sects triumphed at our distress, and watched for our fall, as Jonah watched the fall of Nineveh under the shadow of his gourd. But a worm at the root of Jonah’s gourd killed it, and deprived him of its shade, and brought on him great distress. So the worm of Shakerism was busy at the root of all the sects, and brought on them great distress; for multitudes of them, both preachers and common people, also joined the Shakers. Our reproach was rolled away.⁵

Stone at first was open to hearing what the Shakers had to say, but the more he learned about their claims the more alarmed he became. The three Shakers visited at his house in early March 1805. According to Issachar Bates in his journal, when he first visited Stone and nearby preachers, “We had much conversation with him (Stone) and a number more; they sucked in our light as greedily as ever an ox drank water, and all wondered where they had been that they had not seen these things before.”⁶ The Shakers now left Kentucky and traveled across the Ohio River to Turtle Creek, Ohio. They returned to Kentucky on Saturday before the first Sunday in April, went to Stone’s house and found several preachers and others present. Stone and many of the others had in the meantime changed their attitude toward the Shakers. According to Bates:

I arrived at Barton Stone’s on Saturday night and found many of the preachers there and a number of others. I was received with outward kindness and a number of people felt very friendly but the preachers were struck with great fear and concluded that if I was permitted to preach that it would throw the people into great confusion, and to prevent it they would counteract their former liberality and shut out all other sects from preaching at that meeting and that would shut me out...After the exercises of the day [Sunday] I returned to Stone’s again and stayed all night and had much conversation with a number of people. The next day I went on the ground again. There were some preaching and a little of everything that amounted to nothing. The people insisted on

my preaching. At last eight men went to the stand and said I should preach, so to pacify them they told they [sic] would dismiss the meeting at twelve o'clock, and then I might preach, and they did so."⁷

Stone now believed that an all out effort had to be exerted in order to prevent the defections to the Shakers. By April 27, 1805, the Shakers had won 30 converts.⁸ He noted in his autobiography:

Never did I exert myself more than at this time, to save the people from this vortex of ruin. I yielded to no discouragement, but labored night and day, far and near, among the churches where the Shakers went. By this means their influence was happily checked in many places. I labored so hard and constantly that a profuse spitting of blood ensued. Our broken ranks were once more rallied under the standard of heaven, and were soon led on once more to victory. In answer to constant prayer, the Lord visited us and comforted us after this severe trial. The cause again revived, and former scenes were renewed. The Shakers now became our bitter enemies, and united with the sects in their opposition to us.⁹

The immediate outcome of the Shaker "invasion" was that Stone was thrust into an expanded leadership role. Though he was a leader in promoting the camp meetings and his home seemed to have been a central meeting place, McNemar was much more aggressive in promoting the abandonment of the Springfield Presbytery and the writing of the "Last Will and Testament."¹⁰ When McNemar joined the Shakers it is clear that Stone felt compelled to step out. He exerted what energy he could muster to offset the efforts of the Shakers.

Stone believed that the moment at which the Shakers arrived was a propitious time for them to influence several of the Christian leaders and believers. One of the appeals of the Shakers was their emphasis on holiness. Stone wrote:

Perfection in holiness was their theme, to attain which the people were urged to receive their testimony, and submit to their direction. As many among us were breathing after perfect holiness, they were disposed to listen to any proposition by which they might advance to that desirable state.¹¹

Other appeals had to do with enthusiasm and eschatology:

About this time, or soon after the dissolution of Springfield Presbytery...some of our leading preachers began to indulge in wild, enthusiastic speculations, and hesitated not to publish them abroad. One proclaimed that the Millenium was come - another said, that Christians would never die, but be made immortal by some extraordinary operation of the spirit; and plainly hinted at the denial of the resurrection of the body and of a future judgement.¹²

Critics of those associated with Stone charged that the unconventional outlooks of the Christians paved the way to their enthusiastic succumbing to the

wives of the Shakers. But Stone observed that this charge soon backfired because several of the critics' own adherents soon joined the Shakers:

Their conclusion was, that our doctrine was thus demonstrated to be false, because so many of its advocates had embraced Shakerism. - But this argument was soon taken from them; for many of the various sects, both preachers and people, were also ensnared, and united with them.¹³

The Outcome

Despite the Shaker crisis in the Spring of 1805 the Christians soon closed ranks, developed increased dedication and became more closely knit. Furthermore, they repositioned their aspirations so as to conform more closely to the Scriptures and the Lord revealed therein. Stone observed:

Those of us, who stood firmly fixed in the faith of Christ, encouraged each other, and were indefatigable in our exertions to rescue the Churches from the snare of the Shakers, and to establish them on the Gospel. The storm, so tremendous in its first appearance, soon passed over. We have thought that this distressing occurrence has eventuated in good, great good to the Christian Church; for by it we are taught to check our mind from indulging too freely in vain speculations, and to examine well by the Bible, every doctrine presented for our acceptance. We are also taught our entire dependence upon the great Head of the Church for all good, and that he only can keep us from falling.¹⁴

Not only did the Christians recoup their losses with this newly found determination and unity of effort, they actually exceeded their prior attainments.

We humbled ourselves under the mighty hand of God - day and night, in public and private we called upon God for his Holy Spirit to revive us and bless us once more. The Lord hearkened and heard, and poured out his Spirit upon us. Our ranks, which had been thinned by the Shaker-storm, were soon filled and the churches were multiplied. Peace, love and union increased, and abounded every where. Many who had been our opposers began to see that God was with us, and either united with us, or ceased from their opposition. A few happy years we thus enjoyed in the service of our Lord. But tribulation yet awaited us. Some of us saw evidently another storm gathering and began to prepare to meet it.¹⁵

In the meantime the Christian leaders rethought their willingness to sink "into unity with the body of Christ at large," especially with groups such as the Shakers. As Newell Williams observed, "...the success of the Shaker mission challenged the polity of the "Last Will and Testament" and tested the limits of the former presbytery's ecumenism."¹⁶ John Thompson at the camp meeting on Turtle Creek, April 27, 1805, objected strenuously to Shaker participation, calling them liars! McNemar reported that at an August camp meeting at Concord, Stone had invited

him to attend, forbade him to speak or visit his house. Furthermore, Stone assembled a “council of the Christian clergy” who decreed that Dunlavy, Youngs and Worley were not to speak.¹⁷

Theological Influence

We may glimpse something of how the encounter with Shakers influenced the future theology of the Stone Christians by setting forth the components of the Shaker faith as iterated and rejected by Barton Stone. The aspect which Stone first highlighted for criticism was the Shaker call for perfection through (1) the confession of sins and especially (2) the sin of matrimony.¹⁸ Williams suggests that perhaps the main reason Stone turned away from his early enthusiasm for the teaching of the Shakers was when the realization set in that he would have to give up his wife and family. If he and his family joined the Shakers they would only be able to converse in the communal context. Stone had great admiration for his wife Elizabeth, and in fact, contended that rather than holding him back in his relation with the Lord as the Shakers contended of a marriage partner, she was the source of much encouragement.¹⁹ Other points of criticism were: (3) They claimed to perform miracles (4) They denied the literal resurrection of the human body, but located the resurrection in the body of Christ, that is, the church. The resurrection, in effect has already occurred. (5) They claimed that there is no better heaven than that on earth. (6) They claimed to communicate with angels and the departed saints. (7) They regularly practiced voluntary dancing together. (8) They practiced communal living having all things in common. (9) They were under the control of elders. (Stone should have gone on to mention both male and female elders.) (10) Christ did not accomplish salvation in his appearance as a man. (11) He accomplished it in his appearance as a female in Anne Lees [*sic*] and in that appearance is the complete power of salvation. (12) The Shakers have received new revelation that is superior to the Scriptures. (13) They began with references to the Scriptures as a rhetorical strategy, but after a time, turned to their new revelations.²⁰ In all these regards Stone and his associates believed that the Shakers exceeded the boundaries of the faith as found in the Scriptures.

Structures to Meet the Challenges

The Shaker experience prompted the Christians to seek some method for holding their churches together without returning to the legislative powers of the presbyteries from which they had retreated. What were they to do? A controversy soon arose regarding believer’s baptism by immersion as opposed to the sprinkling of children. Because of the Shaker experience and later controversies the Christians developed a policy of meeting in concert and discussing matters on which they might have conflicted views. Stone stated in his *Autobiography*:

The brethren, elders, and deacons came together on this subject; for we had agreed previously with one another to act in concert, and not to adventure on any thing new without advice from one another.²¹

Despite these conferences on many issues they came to no common agreement, but decided to let the various churches and preachers hold diverse and sometimes conflicting positions. Their struggles with polity that first surfaced in the Shaker defections were to haunt them with some constancy for the next twenty-seven years, that is, until 1832 when they began to merge with the Campbell reformers and even afterward to the present.

Reflections on the weaknesses of their approach to polity occupied the Christian Church leaders as well as their critics outside the movement. So Robert Davidson observed,

The scheme of comprehensive union, however plausible in theory, was not found to work well in practice, and the body became more and more disorganized. There was a universal want of order and agreement, and every one did what was right in his own eyes. Even Mr. Stone admitted the prevailing evils. A letter to Mr. Marshall contained the following confession: "I see the Christian Churches wrong in many things—they are not careful to support preachers—they encourage too many trifling preachers—are led away too much by noise, &c."²²

Davidson's criticism reflected the claims of Robert Marshall and John Thompson who returned to the Presbyterians in 1811. After leaving the Christians they published a document in which they set forth their reasons. In it they stated:

In past years we have held several meetings of preachers, and private members promiscuously assembled, which we called Conferences, but found in our disjointed situation, they were of no account. Because after our Conference was over each one, as if in a state of entire dissociation, acted as he pleased, however contrary to the conclusions of Conference.²³

In 1810 these two proposed a "formal union, so as to be responsible to each other—to be capable of doing business in a united capacity—of trying preachers—casting out the erroneous, of wicked, and clearing the innocent."²⁴ A proposal was written up and agreed upon in a meeting at Bethel, Kentucky in August 1810. A later meeting was held at Mount Tabor in March 1811 and the question of the organization taken up, but after scrutinizing two written protests the plan for a more formal union was rejected.²⁵ As the result Thompson and Marshall made overtures to return to the Presbyterian Church and did so later in 1811.²⁶

We obtain a perspective on the approach to achieve consensus of the Christians by recounting their controversies over baptism. Whenever controversies broke out, the leaders of the Christians called ad hoc meetings to discuss the varied points of view. It appears that at least until into the 1810s, no regular or annual meetings assembled. In 1807 the Christians took up the question of believer's immersion. Most of them were from a Pedobaptist background. Robert Marshall had been one of the earliest to conclude that immersion was the teaching of the early church. Stone had tried to counteract that Marshall was about to defect to the Baptists. Stone in letters to Marshall tried to counteract his immersionist views, but in the process became instead convinced himself of the believer's immersionist

position. The result was that most of the leaders took up the practice of immersion even though they accepted Pedo-Baptists.²⁷ A special conference was called.

Stone later wrote:

A number of us from reading the Bible had received the conviction that immersion was the Apostolic mode of baptism, and that believers were the only proper subjects of it. The Elders and brethren met in Conference on this and other subjects of importance. It was unanimously agreed that every brother and sister should act according to their faith; that we should not judge one another for being baptized, or for not being baptized in this mode. The far greater part of the Churches submitted to be baptized by immersion, and now there is not one in 500 among us who has not been immersed.²⁸

The evidence is that from 1804 on the Christians held conferences, mostly of preachers and perhaps elders when the situation demanded, some of the earliest of which regarded the arrival of the Shakers. By the time Stone founded *The Christian Messenger* in 1826, however, conferences were a regular occurrence. I have not been able to discover from any of extant materials when the annual conferences commenced, but perhaps in the late 1810s. In the first volume of *The Christian Messenger* is an essay on Conferences. It is in the form of a letter written by Philip. The letter opens, Brother Stone:

As the subject of Conference is considerably agitated at present, in the religious community, on the propriety of which there is (as upon almost every other subject) a variety of opinions; and as it certainly is a matter of no small importance, I beg leave to invite your attention to the subject, with a single view of eliciting information, and ascertaining, if possible, what is propriety.²⁹

He goes on to point out that an annual conference occurs among “the brethren of the Christian connexion” but that hostility toward it arises from some quarters. He says that many assume that the Christians associate for the purpose of legislation, but that cannot be the case since there is only “one law-giver”, that is, the head of the church. He further declares,

I do most sincerely, and I hope ever shall, contend for the absolute independency of each church, as the complete transaction of its own business; and for its want of responsibility to any human tribunal whatever. I know and acknowledge no higher tribunal than “*the church;*” and every member is alone responsible and answerable to the particular church where his membership may be.³⁰

He then goes on to describe the purpose of the conference as he understands it.

It may then be enquired, what propriety is there in your Conference or annual meeting? I answer, simply to worship together and strengthen the bonds of union, to receive and obtain information from the different churches, either from their letters or messengers, and attend to their suggestions, and as far as in our

power comply with their requests; attend to ordination, if thought proper, when required by the brethren; to arrange our appointments so as to supply the destitute churches with preaching; and imitate the primitive church by making such *requests* only as may be proper to *set things in order*. The brethren, who meet the elders as messengers, we do not recognize as representatives. Let that principle be established, and a foundation is at once laid for the final annihilation of Christian liberty. I would therefore oppose any convocation, the object of which is to take from the churches any of their sovereign rights and prerogatives, or to legislate in any manner whatever for them, or that will maintain or uphold the doctrine, that any man or order of men are not *alone* answerable to the particular church where they may have membership. But I am nevertheless constrained to believe that our Conferences, as they are termed, with our present views of Christian liberty are highly beneficial. It enables the brethren to ascertain the situation of each other, and each church; to learn the prosperity of God's cause; to meet and worship together; and to obtain a variety of information, important to be known. Surely then, none will oppose meetings, the object of which is alone information and edification, and not legislation.³¹

Annual conferences are reported in *The Christians Messenger* as regularly taking place. One was held at Antioch in Bourbon County, Kentucky in 1828 and among those present were Stone, John Rogers, Thomas Allen and Joseph Marsh from New York who was a Jones/Smith Christian.³² Also the same year an annual conference is reported as having been held at the Franklin Union Meeting House in Miami County, Ohio.³³ The New England Christians did not commence annual conferences until after Elias Smith departed for the Unitarians after 1817,³⁴ and such conferences had to be defended by their organizers as late as 1832. An annual conference for northwest Georgia is mentioned in the *Christian Messenger* in 1829,³⁵ and one in Alabama and another in Iowa in 1831.³⁶

Conclusion

In what way then did the 1805 coming of the Shakers to Kentucky influence the future course of the Stone movement? First of all it thrust Stone more directly into the leadership of the movement. It caused the Christians to depend more humbly on the power of God for their efforts. It removed those from the churches who were more inclined toward new excitements and innovations. It caused the Christians to return again and again to the Scriptures, that is, they rallied under the standard of heaven. It led them to conclude that they could not fellowship with all groups who claimed a Christian heritage due the aberrant views of some. It caused them to come together frequently so that they could discuss their common challenges. The eventual outcome was the formation of annual conferences.

NOTES

¹ Stephen J. Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 59.

² "A Short History of the Life of Barton W. Stone," Written by Himself (1847), based on the edition in *Voices from Cane Ridge*, edited by Rhodes Thompson (St. Louis, Mo.: The Bethany Press, 1954), 31-134. I have taken this footnote as well as the text throughout this essay from the Webpage of Hans Rollmann at the Memorial University, St. Johns, Newfoundland, <http://www.mun.ca/rels/restmov/texts/bstone/barton.html>.

³ "A Short History..." p. 92.

⁴ Robert Davidson declared Worley as "one of the wildest of the New Lights". In regard to the Ohio visit of the Shakers he wrote, "Come to Ohio, they visited Turtle Creek, near Lebanon, and introduced themselves to Malcolm Worley, and through him to Mr. McNemar, and were permitted, without any impediment, to address the congregation on the following day which was the Sabbath. The door being thus widely thrown open, it is not wonderful that Worley, who had been one of the wildest of the New Lights, and was like a tinder ready for the spark, became their first proselyte; and by the 23rd of May, they numbered thirty or forty converts, among whom were the prominent leaders in the Revival with McNemar himself at the head." From Robert Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the state of Kentucky with a preliminary sketch of the churches in the valley of Virginia* (New York : R. Carter, 1847). Quoted 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 Dooly, William Dye, Thos. Kyle, George Shidler, William Kinkade, Thomas Adams, Samuel Kyle, and Nathan Worley, together with a historical sketch of the great Kentucky Revival* (Dayton : B. F. & G. W. Ells, 1940), p. 275. (Earlier edition, 1848).

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

⁶ Quoted in: Charles C. Ware, *Barton W. Stone* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1932), p. 164. Ware in turn cited J. P. MacLean, *Shakers in Ohio* without the data. It is in a reprinted edition : J. P. MacLean, *Shakers of Ohio : fugitive papers concerning the Shakers of Ohio, with unpublished manuscripts* (Philadelphia : Porcupine Press, 1975). See also D. Newell Williams, *Barton Stone: A Spiritual Biography* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000) pp. 121-129, William Garrett West, *Barton Warren Stone: Early American Advocate of Christian Unity* (Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1954). Also Douglas A. Foster, "The Last Will and Testament of Springfield Presbytery: Its Presbyterian Context and Signers," *Stone-Campbell Journal* 7 (Fall 2004) 171-187.

⁷ Quoted in Ware, pp. 166-167.

⁸ Williams, *Barton Stone*, p. 124.

⁹ "A Short History" p. 93.

¹⁰ Williams, *Barton Stone*, p. 97. Also Foster, "The Last Will...", p. 183-184.

¹¹ Barton W. Stone, "History of the Christian Church in the West," *Christian Messenger*, 1 (October 1827) 265-269.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 265. He wrote similarly in his Autobiography: "Their coming was at a most inauspicious time. Some of us were verging on fanaticism; some were so disgusted at the spirit of opposition against us, and the evils of division, that they were almost led to doubt the truth of religion in toto; and some were earnestly breathing after perfection in holiness, of which attainment they were almost despairing, by reason of remaining depravity. The Shakers well knew how to accommodate each of these classes, and decoy them into the trap set for them. They misrepresented our views, and the truth; and they had not that sacred regard to truth-telling which becomes honest Christians. I speak advisedly." p. 904.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 92

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

¹⁶ Williams, *Barton Stone*, p. 126.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Stone, *Autobiography*, p. 92.

¹⁹ Williams, *Barton Stone*, pp. 127-128.

²⁰ Stone, *Autobiography*, pp. 92-95.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

²² Quoted in: Levi Purviance, p. 227.

²³ 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* (Cincinnati: J. Carpenter & Co., 1811), published in Levi Purviance, p.262.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

²⁶ They affirmed again after some fashion the doctrines of election and predestination.

²⁷ Williams, *Barton Stone*, p. 129-130. An interesting detailed reflection upon the Christians and immersion after 1805 may be found in David Purviance's Biography. He tells of his raising the question soon after the birth of his last child in 1805. He also tells of how immersion began to spread and of the immersion of Barton Stone, as well as his own views on immersion. Pp. 116-138.

²⁸ Stone, *A Short History*, p. 267.

²⁹ *The Christian Messenger* I, p. 49.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50. It is interesting that three Stoneite (they were identified as "new lights") ministers showed up at the 1827 Mahoning Baptist Association meeting.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

³² *The Christian Messenger*, III, p. 22.

³³ *CM*, III, p. 41.

³⁴ Thomas H. Olbricht, "Christian Connexion and Unitarian Relations 1800-1844," *The Restoration Quarterly*, 9 (1966) 163, 175, 178, 180.

³⁵ *CM* IV, p. 45.

³⁶ *CM* VI, pp. 26, 27.

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— From the Editor's Desk

Nomenclature has been a challenge in the Stone-Campbell Movement from the very beginning. In 1804, Barton Stone and fellow signers of the *Last Will and Testament of Springfield Presbytery* eschewed all names but Christian. Nevertheless, they were referred to by others as "Newlights" and later became known as "Stoneites." Alexander Campbell referred to himself and his followers as Reformers. Others referred to them as "Campbellites." When the movements of Stone and Campbell came together in 1832, Stone believed that they should be called Christians. Campbell argued for Disciples. No formal action was taken to resolve this disagreement. Instead, by common usage the movement came to be known as Disciples of Christ, while congregations were called Christian Church or Church of Christ.

Divisions in the Movement, which ultimately resulted in the separate bodies known as Churches of Christ, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), and the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ, caused the term Restoration Movement to be favored over Disciples of Christ as the general term for the Movement in some quarters of the Movement. This term, judged as authorizing a particular interpretation of the vocation of the Movement, was not widely accepted in other quarters of the Movement. In recent decades, the term Stone-Campbell Movement, first popularized by Churches of Christ historian Leroy Garrett, has become increasingly favored by members of the Movement seeking an alternative to "Disciples of Christ," which *could* be heard as marginalizing Churches of Christ and Christian Churches and Churches of Christ, and the "Restoration Movement," which *could* be heard as marginalizing the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

The challenge of nomenclature in the Movement remains, as is evident in the fine articles included in this number. In her study of the role of railroads in the location of congregations of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Texas, Ellen Lewis refers to the denomination as "Disciples" or "Disciples of Christ." She also refers to the *Movement* as Disciples or Disciples of Christ. This is appropriate, as her references to the Movement are to the period when Disciples of Christ was the accepted term for the Movement. Moreover, the activities of the Texas Christian Missionary Society, on which much of this study focuses, are clearly associated with persons identified as Disciples, rather than as members of Churches of Christ, which were formally recognized as distinct from Disciples of Christ toward the end of the period under examination. Nevertheless, sorting out the different meanings Disciples of Christ and Disciples takes some doing. Harold Holland refers to the Movement both as the Stone-Campbell Movement and Disciples in his study of religious journalism in nineteenth-century Nashville. His use of Disciples is appropriate, as the Movement was known as Disciples of Christ in the nineteenth century (though, his study shows that opponents preferred the term Campbellites!).

Nevertheless, it is mildly ironic that the *Gospel Advocate*, the premier Disciples journal published in Nashville, would later be self-identified not with Disciples of Christ, but with Churches of Christ. The challenge of nomenclature continues!

D. Newell Williams

— From the President's Desk

Histories and Theologies. One must use the plural for both. There is no one way to view reality, whether one is speaking of the past in this world, or the eternal now of another. Psychologists say that effects are 'over determined.' That is, there is no one cause for the resulting effect. There are many causes – sometimes a multitude – and inevitably include ones that are unknown. In the same way, there is no one telling of the human story, nor one description of our relationship to the divine.

While one could argue that the reality that is, or a reality that has occurred, is an undivided whole, we can agree, I think, that we connect to, or experience, that reality individually. An historical event may be said to exist independent of interpretation, but in the end it is the interpretation that makes the event accessible. God exists in unity with all that is, objectively. But it is the subjective use of language that gives us context for and contact with divinity.

These various subjective interpretations, then, comprise what we ultimately know (or think we know) about what has happened and what (or who) is. We include data. We exclude data. Since it is impossible to include everything in the telling of our story, we must, of necessity, pick and choose what to put in and what to leave out. So, before we even begin our description, we have already shaped how it will look and how it will sound. Even in the telling of a single event of significance we have to limit resources in order to maintain clarity in the story.

When we are discussing God it is a gross understatement to say we are excluding details. It is only possible to describe our sliver of experience. And even that is within the confines of language. One can read sources from the Apostle Paul to Emerson and feel their struggle to convey the images in their minds by the use of words. They keep coming at ideas from different angles, trying their best to help the reader understand their thoughts. But one senses that they often fall short in the conveyance, and one suspects that they cannot even describe it to themselves with full satisfaction.

If even Emerson cannot tell himself, or us, what is on his mind, what chance do the rest of us have? If St. Paul has trouble clarifying his experience with God, the rest of us might expect some difficulty in communicating our thoughts about reality. We each choose words as best we can and say "this is my theology." We examine sources and, as we are able, say "this is history." It is never, ever, the definitive theology or history; it is one of many. I tell it my way. You tell it your way. Neither telling is exhaustive or without error. But we each, in our own way, add to the collective memory. It is this memory we share with one another and share with the future.

Glenn Thomas Carson

WHERE THE DISCIPLES BEGAN IN TEXAS: CONGREGATIONS ALONG THE RAILROAD

Ellen K. Lewis*

Organizing evangelists in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, who utilized rail transportation, exerted greater influence on the characteristically rural location of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)¹ in Texas than the westward migrations in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century.

Where Are the Disciples?

In the latter third of the nineteenth century, in the decades following the Civil War, the United States was transformed into an urban society.² While that happened the “Disciples remained a predominantly rural and small town communion.”³ That continues to be true today, more than a hundred years later. In speaking recently with a group of Disciples seminarians, Rick Morse, who heads the denomination’s New Church Ministry effort, began his “Introduction to New Church Ministry” presentation with a nearly similar statement. Based on where the majority of their churches are located, the Disciples are still – in the Twenty-first century – a mostly rural denomination.⁴ Morse was speaking of American Disciples in general. Is the rural characterization true for Texas Disciples?

The popular image of Texas may be one of wide-open spaces. To be sure, plenty of that remains, especially in west Texas. But the reality is that Texas has become a dominantly urban state.⁵ And what was true for the country in general, that while the society transformed itself from rural to urban the Disciples retained their rural character, is true of Texas as well. In Texas, the Disciples of Christ are still a mostly rural denomination. The 2003 *Yearbook and Directory of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*, which serves as the denomination’s official record of churches, lists 398 currently reporting congregations in Texas. Of that number, 146 of the churches are located in cities that are listed by the 2000 decennial census as urbanized areas.⁶ Everything outside of ur-

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banized areas is considered rural.”⁷ On that basis, 252 of the Disciples churches in Texas, or sixty-three percent, are located in rural areas.

To underscore further the predominantly rural and small town character of the Disciples of Christ in Texas, it is worth noting that 124 of the 146 churches that can be called urban are located in the four largest urbanized areas in the state: Austin, Houston, San Antonio, and the Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan complex. The Dallas-Fort Worth area alone accounts for fifty-nine percent of the non-rural churches. Figure 1, Disciples of Christ in Texas 2003, emphasizes graphically the degree of urban concentration.

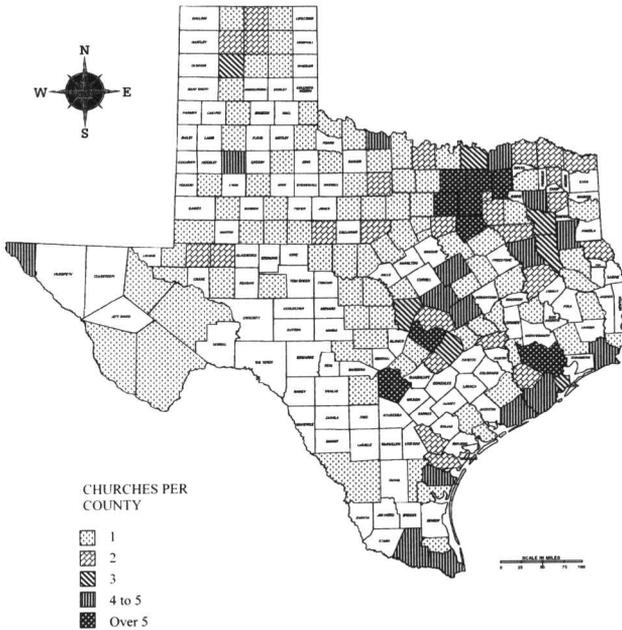


Figure 1. Disciples of Christ in Texas, 2003

A Theoretical Framework

Why are Disciples churches in Texas where they are? How may we account for the particular pattern of location of Disciples churches? Understanding relative location – why things are where they are – is one of the basic themes of geographic inquiry. “There is...overwhelming evidence to suggest that the spatial location of geographic facts is not random.”⁸ Patterns of location, the spatial distribution of phenomena, are not accidental. Nor can understanding of spatial distribution be divorced from history. Where things are at any point in time is “a result of what happens *elsewhere earlier*.”⁹

The decisions and actions of the past created the human landscape that we are trying to interpret today. "Diffusion – the spread of a phenomenon over space and growth through time – is one way change occurs. Migration of people [or] the movement of an idea (such as religion) ... are examples of diffusion."¹⁰ I propose spatial diffusion as a useful theoretical basis for attempting to understand the existing pattern of location of Disciples churches in Texas.

Before considering some basic elements of the diffusion process as they relate to the present location of Disciples churches, there are two patterns of diffusion that should be discussed. As most of us understand the process of diffusion in scientific terms, it involves the movement of something from an area of higher concentration to an adjacent area of lesser concentration. In spatial diffusion theory this is called neighborhood diffusion. "The earliest expansion of a phenomenon is to individuals or groups nearest its place of origin," with the phenomenon moving out like a wave from the point of origin. An alternative pattern of movement is called relocation diffusion. In this process, the agents of diffusion change their spatial location, sort of leap-frogging to a new location rather than waiting for the wave to reach it.¹¹ Of course, in the real world the diffusion of a particular phenomenon often occurs in more than one way and that seems to be true for the movement of Disciples to their present locations in Texas.¹²

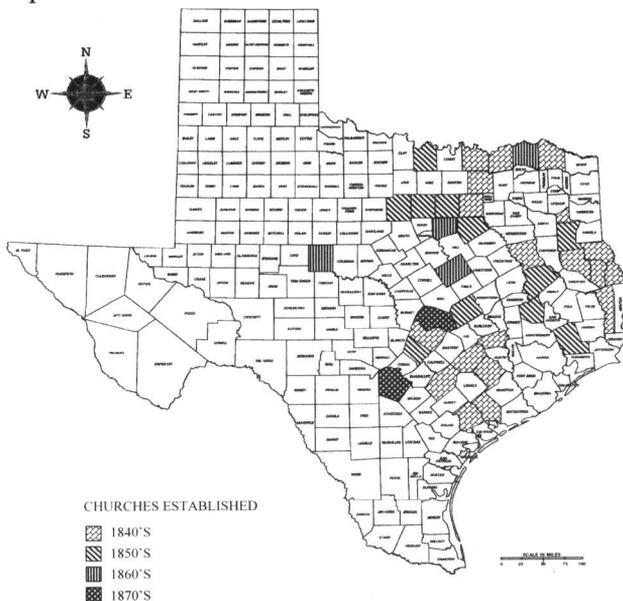
The Early Disciples Experience in Texas

According to Morrill, Gaile, and Thrall, "a theory of spatial diffusion should say something about the origin of the phenomena, how it came to exist."¹³ For that reason, the examination of the Disciples Texas experience will begin by recounting the origins of the Disciples phenomena and how it came to be in Texas.

The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) had its origins in the early 19th century, along what was then the western frontier of the United States, in two movements which sought to restore Christianity to its original, New Testament, form and practice. In 1804, Presbyterian minister Barton Stone (who was one of the organizers of the great revival meeting at Cane Ridge, Kentucky three years earlier) and five others publicly rejected the imposition of sectarian divisions by church authorities. The dissenters and fifteen related congregations adopted the name "Christian" for themselves. In western Pennsylvania, Thomas Campbell formed the Christian Association of Washington in 1809. Two years later at Brush Run, the association became a church and licensed

Campbell's son, Alexander, to preach. Under Alexander Campbell's leadership, the reform movement, whose adherents he called "Disciples," spread westward into Ohio. Spreading into the same general area of the country, the two groups inevitably became acquainted with each other and came to recognize common principles; they united in 1832 becoming known as "Disciples of Christ."

From Ohio and Kentucky, Disciples accompanied the southward and west-ward migrations of the 1830s and 1840s into Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, and on in to Texas.¹⁴ In the early years of the nineteenth century, before Texas independence, small numbers of Anglo-Americans settled in the northeastern corner of Texas under the mistaken impression that it was part of Arkansas. These settlers came largely from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas. When Mexico became independent of Spain and began a policy of attracting new settlers to Texas, the number of immigrants from the United States increased dramatically. They settled in three general areas: in north Texas westward along the Red River; in central east Texas in San Augustine, Shelby, Sabine, and Rusk counties, and in south central Texas in the lower Brazos and Colorado River valleys. In each of these areas, the majority of settlers came from Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas.¹⁵ The location of the earliest Disciples Churches in Texas, represented in Figure 2, "Disciples of Christ in Texas Prior to 1875," reflects this settlement pattern.



Source: *Texas Disciples* by Colby D. Hall

Map by Susan Henry

Figure 2. Disciples of Christ in Texas prior to 1875.

Following Texas independence and for the remainder of the nineteenth century, immigrants continued to arrive in Texas. By 1860, most Disciples were settled in the northeastern and central eastern part of the state, reflecting a continuation of the earlier settlement pattern.¹⁶ Until the decade after the Civil War and the beginning of the era of railroad building in Texas, the pattern of settlement in general remained east of a roughly north-south line west of San Antonio.¹⁷

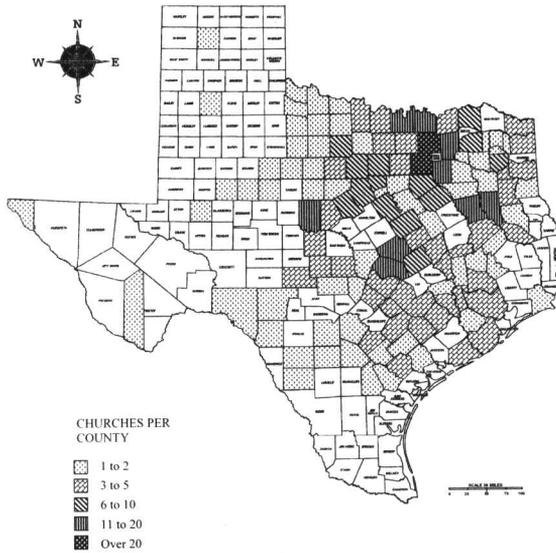
The location of Disciples churches up to that time, as depicted in Figure 2, reflects this westward extent of settlement. Things did not change dramatically until Texas caught up with the rest of the country in railroad construction.

The Railroads

The first railroad charter was granted in Texas in 1836. That company failed. Texas waited until 1853 for the short line west from Houston/Galveston to the Brazos River to enter service.¹⁸ Still, Texas remained far behind the rest of the country in railroad construction until the mid 1870s. Until 1880, Fort Worth and San Antonio were as far west as the rail lines went. The 1880s were a decade of explosive growth for Texas: the population of the state increased by 40 per cent, the number of cities with a population over 4,000 doubled to 20, and the state's railroad mileage increased tenfold with all but one of the cities of at least 4,000 residents served by multiple rail lines.¹⁹ When the railroads began to carry pioneers to west Texas, Disciples were among them. Figure 3, Disciples of Christ in Texas 1890, when compared with Figure 2, shows the rapid movement of Disciples westward in just 20 years. When an overlay of the Texas rail system in 1890 is added to the location of churches in 1890 (Figure 4), it shows a remarkable coincidence in location and should at least raise the question of a possible correlation between railroad growth and the spatial diffusion of Disciples in Texas. To suppose that immigration and the continuation of westward expansion account for all of the Disciples presence in west Texas overlooks the deliberate nature of the Disciples expansion during the period.

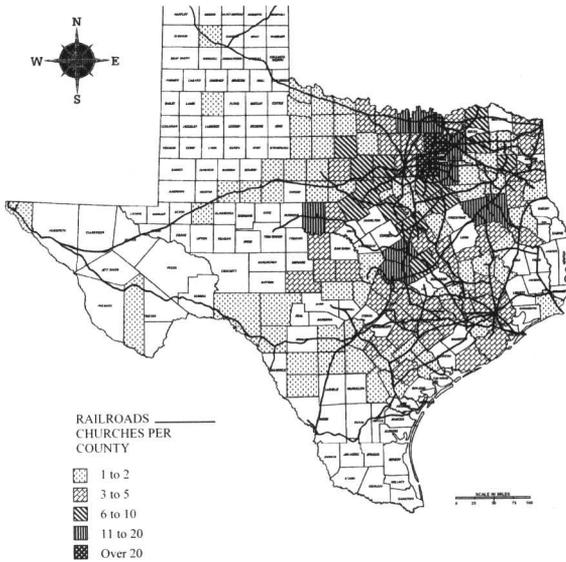
The Disciples and the Railroad

In their history of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), McAllister and Tucker describe the way in which Disciples mirrored the energy and vision of the expanding nation at the end of the



Source: *New Historical Atlas of Religion in America* by Edwin S. Gaustad and Philip L. Barlow Map by Susan Henry

Figure 3. Disciples of Christ in Texas 1890.



Source: *New Historical Atlas of Religion in America* by Edwin S. Gaustad and Philip L. Barlow and *Texas Railroads: A Record of Construction and Abandonment* by Charles F. Zlotowski Map by Susan Henry

Figure 4. Disciples of Christ in Texas 1890

nineteenth century. “Their preachers and organizing evangelists, utilizing the intricate system of connecting railroad lines, went to new areas and established congregations which were soon thriving in the general prosperity of the times.”²⁰ The expansion of the rail system in Texas came at an opportune time for Texas Disciples. In 1886, they followed the example of Disciples in a number of other states in organizing the Texas Christian Missionary Society for

cooperative effort in evangelism. Whether an organized network of church planters existed who traveled the railroads to find locations for new churches was not discovered in this research. It can be inferred, however, that Disciples preachers and evangelists were riding the rails in Texas, and holding meetings and “preachings” for the communities they visited.

Examining some of the references available in relation to the role of the railroads in the life of Texas Disciples will speak to Morrill, Gaile, and Thrall’s stipulation that a theory of diffusion should say something about how a phenomenon becomes dispersed.²¹ Colby Hall quotes the second State Secretary of the Texas Christian Missionary Society, J. W. Holsapple speaking about his money saving practice of always riding the chair car when traveling.²² We may infer that Holsapple did his traveling on behalf of the Society by train. Hall also records a number of incidents where Holsapple mentions meeting with representatives of local congregations “at the depot” on arrival.²³ Hall’s accounts of the tenure of the succession Secretaries of the Society reveals a program of travel that could only have been achieved in those days by train.²⁴ That the program yielded results is evident in the statistics related by Cortell Holsapple. During the tenure of A. J. Bush as Secretary, the Texas Christian Missionary Society planted over 200 churches. B. B. Sanders, who was Secretary a few years later, claimed that the Disciples numbered 700 churches, nearly all in railroad towns.²⁵

Not only did the trains figure in the work of evangelization on the state level, they played an important role in more localized efforts. As part of an expansion campaign sponsored by the Texas Christian Missionary Society, J. C. Mason gathered a church of Disciples in Houston that he quickly turned to the tasks of teaching and preaching through the Christian Endeavor Society. This freed him on weeknights to travel to towns in every direction from Houston to engage in preaching.²⁶ How else but by train?

This general reliance on travel by train for evangelization was certainly aided by the regular practice of the railroads which provided passes and discount fares for clergy. When Mason became editor of a small weekly religious publication, he enjoyed the added travel benefit of the mileage coupons that the railroads provided in exchange for advertising in his publication.²⁷ The amount of railroad advertising in the *Texas Missions*, a periodical Mason edited several years later when he became Secretary of the Texas Christian Missionary Society is illustrative. The October 1905 issue carried ads from eight different railroads. Other issues carried fewer but still prominent railroad advertising.²⁸

A pair of articles which appeared in the *Christian-Evangelist* at mid-twentieth century under the heading “The Churches and the Railroads – An Appreciation” captures the nature of the symbiotic relationship. One article enumerates what the railroads have done for churches.²⁹ It points out that travel by rail was easy and comfortable. That was no small consideration for preachers and evangelists trying to canvass a state the size of Texas. Discount clergy fares and even entirely free transportation made using the rails feasible considering that traveling evangelists could not rely on the offerings received at their destinations.

The accompanying article, which highlights the benefits that came to the railroads from the churches, brings us full circle to the very condition of church life being explored here. “The churches have established missions and churches at almost every ‘whistle stop’ along America’s new or proposed rail lines...”.³⁰ For Disciples this is abundantly clear when the present location of Disciples churches in Texas is examined in relation to the extent of Texas rail lines near the years of peak rail mileage. Figure 5 overlays the present distribution of Disciples churches in Texas with the location of rail lines in Texas in 1930 before the number of rail miles began to decline. The comparison reveals a remarkable coincidence, which, though not conclusive in itself, is highly suggestive of the influence of the railroads on the location of Disciples churches in Texas. It goes a long way to explaining the diffusion of Disciples churches to so many rural locations throughout the state.

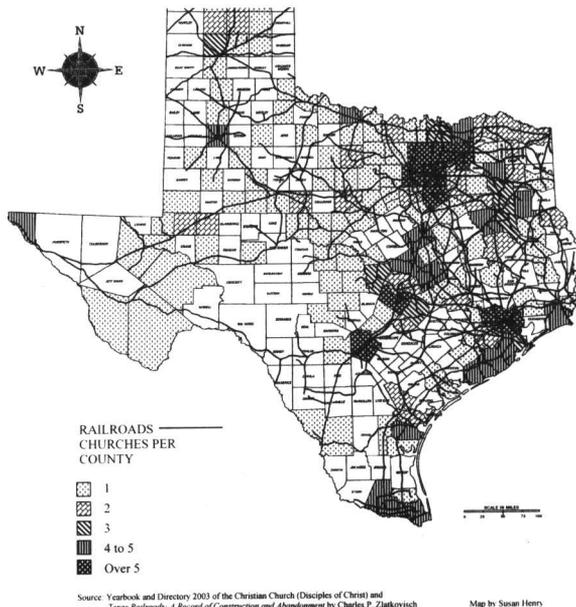


Figure 5. Disciples of Christ in Texas 2003 in relation to the fullest extent of rail lines having existed in the state (1930 track miles).

Morrill, Gaile, and Thrall point out that “different spatial patterns may result from a diffusion that is actively promoted.” They also note that “diffusion can be modified by the costs and quality of the paths over which the phenomenon moves.”³¹ The vigorous and sustained evangelism efforts of many congregations and the Texas Christian Missionary Society and the ready path provided by the railroads, resulted in a pattern of spatial diffusion different than what might have been expected otherwise. Relying strictly on the neighborhood effect, Disciples churches might simply have spread outward from the earliest locations to create a dense pattern of church location in the eastern part of the state. Instead, the relative ease with which evangelists could reach far-flung populations in the rural western part of the state, aided a process of relocation that resulted in the characteristically rural location of Disciples churches in Texas.

NOTES

¹ In the interest of economy, the denomination will be referred to as Disciples throughout this paper.

² Lester G. McAllister and William E. Tucker, *Journey in Faith* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 1975), 233-234.

³ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁴ Richard (Rick) P. Morse, “Introduction to New Church Ministry” (presentation at the Disciples Seminarians Conference, Nashville, Tennessee, 21-24 October 2004).

⁵ Terry G. Jordan with John L. Bean, Jr., and William M. Holmes. *Texas: A Geography*.

⁶ U.S. Census Bureau. “Urban Areas of the United States PDF Map Files.” 1 October 2004. <http://www.census.gov/geo/www/maps/ua2kmaps.htm> 4 December 2004.

⁷ U.S. Census Bureau. “Census 200 Urban and Rural Classification.” 30 September 2004. http://www.census.gov/geo/www/ua/ua_2k.html 4 December 2004.

⁸ William Norton, *Human Geography*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 333.

⁹ Richard Morrill, Gary L. Gaile, and Grant Ian Thrall, *Spatial Diffusion* (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1988), 7.

¹⁰ Norton, 44.

¹¹ Morrill, Gaile, and Thrall, 12-13.

¹² *Ibid.*, 12.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 23

¹⁴ Bret E. Carroll, *The Routledge Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 70.

¹⁵ Jordan, 70-73.

¹⁶ Carter Boren, *Religion on the Texas Frontier* (San Antonio, Texas: Naylor, 1968), 61.

¹⁷ Billy M. Jones, *The Search for Maturity*. The Saga of Texas Series, ed. Seymour V. Conner, no. 5 (Austin, Texas: Steck-Vaughn Company, 1965), 91.

¹⁸ S.G. Reed, *A History of the Texas Railroads: And of Transportation Conditions under Spain and Mexico and the Republic and the State* (Houston: St. Clair Publishing Co., 1941), 10, 60-61.

¹⁹ Charles P. Zlatkovich, *Texas Railroads: A Record of Construction and Abandonment* ([Austin]: Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas, 1981), 7.

²⁰ McAllister and Tucker, 255.

²¹ Morrill, Gaile, and Thrall.

²² Colby D. Hall, *Texas Disciples* (Fort Worth, Texas: Texas Christian University Press, 1953), 163.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 162-176.

²⁵ Corttell King Holsapple, "A Study in the History of the Disciples of Christ in the State of Texas" (B.D. Thesis, Drake University, 1926), 163-164.

²⁶ Fuller, Bertha Caroline Mason, "Jacob Caswell McCoy Mason, Christian Minister, 1845-1934: A Story of Christian Service, 1867-1934, in Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mexico, and the Southwest area" (M.A. thesis, Texas Christian University, 1953), 100.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 103.

²⁸ *Texas Times* 2, no. 10 (October 1905) and 4, No. 7 (July 1907).

²⁹ Robert W. Hopkins, "What the Railroads Have Done for the Churches." *Christian-Evangelist* 89, no.3 (17 January 1951):57.

³⁰ F.W. Burnham, "What Have the Churches Done for the Railroads," *Christian-Evangelist* 89, no.3 (17 January 1951): 57.

³¹ Morrill, Gaile, and Thrall, 9-11.¹ Colby D. Hall, *Texas Disciples* (Fort Worth, Texas: Texas Christian University Press, 1953), 163.

AS OTHERS SAW US: SOME ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS JOURNALISM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY NASHVILLE

Harold E. Holland*

George Ricardo Fall (1808-c1874) was a younger brother of Philip Slater Fall (1798-1890), the Baptist minister who converted his Nashville congregation in the 1820s to the Campbell movement. In 1829 he issued the prospectus for a weekly paper to be called the *Tennessee Christian Register and Literary Journal* which would promote the dual causes of Christian union and temperance. But evidently subscribers did not come forth in sufficient number for the twenty-one-year-old Fall to proceed with publication.¹ In the following year George Weller (1790-1841), the first rector of Nashville's Christ Church, issued both a prospectus and a specimen number of the *Gospel Advocate*, to be published biweekly on behalf of the Episcopalians, but evidently this project also was dropped for lack of support.²

The first successful religious periodical in Nashville was the *Revivalist*, which was published from 1832 to 1834 when it was continued as the *Cumberland Presbyterian* and published until 1839. Its successor was the *Banner of Peace* (1853-62). The *Western Methodist* appeared in 1833, to be succeeded in turn by the *South Western Christian Advocate* (1836-46), the *Nashville Christian Advocate* (1846-50), the *Nashville and Louisville Christian Advocate* (1851-54), and again the *Nashville Christian Advocate* (1854-62). The mainline (Old School) Presbyterians published the *American Presbyterian* from 1835 to 1838. The *Baptist* also appeared in 1835, moved to Louisville in 1839, reappeared in Nashville in 1844, assumed the name *Tennessee Baptist* in 1847, and, like several other Nashville periodicals, died with the Union Army invasion in 1862. Advocates of the Stone-Campbell Movement published the *Christian Review* (1844-47), the *Christian Magazine* (1848-53), and another *Gospel Advocate* (1855-61).³

Altogether some forty-nine religious periodical titles were either proposed or published in Nashville by 1862. Many were short-lived. They included magazines for women or for children,

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scholarly monthlies and quarterlies, Sunday school materials, and temperance advocates. But the papers listed above were the mainstays of these several denominational publishing programs. They were really newspapers in either octavo or folio format and they sometimes lacked pagination. Typically they appeared weekly, with an eclectic mix of denominational and general religious news, political and other secular news, helpful information for home and farm, a little fiction and poetry, sermons and exhortations to Christian living, appeals for temperance, obituaries, fervent pleas for more cash-paying subscribers, reviews as well as paid advertisements for numerous books, periodicals, academies and colleges.

Much space in these papers was given to the proceedings of Presbyterian and Cumberland Presbyterian synods and general assemblies, Baptist conventions, Methodist conferences, and Disciples cooperations, to the reports of missions both domestic and foreign, and to the discussion (often quite heated) of denominational differences in doctrine and practice. The twin subjects of slavery and abolition, the North-South splitting of several religious bodies, and finally the coming of civil war received much attention from the various editors. Three of these papers were quite successful, with the *Nashville Christian Advocate* claiming between 8,000 and 12,000 subscribers by 1858, the *Tennessee Baptist* about 15,000 by 1859, and the *Banner of Peace* nearly 5,000 by 1862. These three and the *Gospel Advocate* became casualties of the Civil War, but all four would resume publication with the coming of peace.⁴

Much has been written by scholars of the Stone-Campbell Movement about the sermons, debates, books, periodicals, and educational institutions of its pioneers. This author has found it informative to study also the writings of editors and contributors to the various periodicals in Nashville that stood in opposition to this movement. The examples cited below are typical.

Presbyterian editors of this period had little to say about the Stone-Campbell Movement, except perhaps for a satirical piece by one Quadratus about “the infallible bishop” at Bethany, (West) Virginia.⁵ Cumberland Presbyterian editors were somewhat more aggressive in their opposition. For example, in 1843 the *Banner of Peace* carried the contribution of one Timothy accusing the “Campbellites” of being similar to Catholics—this because Tolbert Fanning (1810-74), their “champion” in Tennessee, was said to be ridiculing the doctrine of regeneration by the Holy Spirit in favor of baptismal regeneration.⁶ Several years later editor William S. Langdon (d.1869) employed ridicule himself in several tales about

Christian and Baptist immersions in freezing and even sub-zero weather.⁷ His successor, William Eldred Ward (1829-87), wrote of the *Gospel Advocate*: “This is a publication of the Christian or Campbellite Church, and is very neatly gotten up. Its matter is suited to them, but of course we are not expected to subscribe to it. We dissent from it respectfully, but heartily and totally.”⁸ A postwar attack by Kentucky minister Milton Bird (1807-1871) accused “Campbellism” of repudiating “experimental religion” while picking flaws in all religions, thus being “salamandrine” in its nature.⁹

Heavier opposition was provided by Nashville editor-minister John Berry McFerrin (1807-1887) and fellow minister Fountain Elliott Pitts (1808-1874) on behalf of the Methodists. In 1841 McFerrin objected to recent preaching in Nashville by Campbell for his citing of John Wesley as favoring immersion as the mode of baptism. A week later he accused Campbell of changing ground too often on the subjects of faith, repentance, baptism, and the witness of the Holy Spirit:

He seems to us to have no settled views on the subject of religion. That he is a man of fine personal appearance, winning manners, forcible address, fluency of speech, great research, and handsome literary attainments we cheerfully grant, but as a theologian [*sic*], in all honesty and candor we must say in him we have no confidence, for he who has changed so often, may still turn another somerset.¹⁰

In 1843 McFerrin published an article by George Shaeffer deploring proselyting. It was said to be wrongfully motivated, productive of strife with no real gain for Christ’s kingdom, and harmful to individuals. He added: “We sometimes find persons who have gone the round, from Methodist to Baptist, from Baptist to Campbellite, and from Campbellite to Mormon.”¹¹ Sidney Rigdon (1799-1876), a leader of the Disciples in Ohio, and his congregation had become converts to Mormonism shortly after publication of the *Book of Mormon* in 1830. McFerrin therefore was very happy to pick up a note from another paper in 1844 about claims by Walter Scott (1796-1861) and Campbell that the Mormons had derived their practice of immersion for baptism from the Disciples: “What a beautiful offspring is Mormonism, the first born of Campbellism.”¹²

Meanwhile McFerrin had been publishing in 1842-43 a lengthy series by Pitts (at first under the pseudonym of Fletcher) entitled “Tracts on Campbellism.” The second tract in the series

was typical:

We seriously doubted in our last whether the Campbellites were the true Church of Christ, or the disciples of Christ; and the more we look into the subject, the more our doubts increase upon us. Let us contrast for a moment the spirit evinced by *their* converts, and the disposition manifested by those who profess to be converted by the Holy Ghost. The latter in almost every instance seemed to be filled with meekness, gentleness, humility, and joy in God their Savior. While in the general the converts to Campbellism show a *fierce spirit*; they become zealous disputants immediately, and are no sooner “put into the kingdom,” as they term it, than they appear to be gifted in *Biblical criticism*, nay attempt to quote Greek, and at every crook and corner are ready to denounce even venerable age and piety; and take on as if they were the only *simon pures* on earth.¹³

This “fierce proscriptive spirit” was said to be due to Campbell’s uncharitable doctrine as stated in a recent issue of the *Millennial Harbinger*: “If any of them willfully neglect, or disdain immersion, we cannot hope for his salvation.” Pitts compared this to a statement of the Council of Trent: “If any one shall say that baptism is not necessary to salvation, let him be accursed.” Charging that the writings of Campbell constituted a creed for his followers, Pitts concluded: “Instead, then, of reforming the professing world from creeds, they have absolutely added another to their number. Their reformation, then, on this point, is a failure, and of course, a misnomer.”¹⁴

Pitts challenged Alexander Campbell on his plea for Christian union, “as though it were a thing possible, for all men to think alike; when even apostles who possessed plenary inspiration, differed, on one occasion from each other” (referring presumably to Acts 15).¹⁵ Still another tract belittled Campbell as a Bible translator. Campbell had published in 1826 a version of the New Testament that George Campbell, James Macknight, and Philip Doddridge first issued in 1818. But Campbell had made numerous changes, most notably using the word “immersion” in place of the word “baptism.” According to Pitts, “Mr. C. sometimes inserts the translations of one, sometimes of another and sometimes of neither of his doctors.” He should have called his work “the translation of one man, patched up with the

various renderings of whoever he thought proper to prefer.”¹⁶

Pitts accused Campbell and his followers—just as the Cumberland Presbyterians had been doing—of placing an inordinate emphasis on water baptism, equating it with regeneration. In both England and America the Mormons were said to be reaping where the “Campbellites” had sown, because “the two systems seem still to be identical in denying the necessity of spiritual regeneration.”¹⁷

Tolbert Fanning, editor of the *Christian Review*, made negative comments from time to time about Pitts and his series of tracts (which were reprinted and collected into a 35-cent pamphlet in 1844), whereupon McFerrin gave a scathing reply, making fun of Fanning’s grammar, his many occupations and his competence therein, and closing his remarks as follows: . . . we advise President, Editor, Farmer, Mechanic, Post Master, Proclaimer Fanning to attend to his school, his two papers, his farm, his blacksmith’s, carpenter’s, tailor’s, and shoemaker’s shops, and post office; to look well to his own brethren and the blooded stock on his farm, and he will have his hands full, and never have time to encounter Mr. Pitts or any other respectable Methodist preacher.¹⁸

In October 1845 Campbell began a monthly series in the *Millennial Harbinger* entitled “Tracts for the People.” These were fairly long articles on such subjects as the authority of the Bible, principles for its interpretation, faith, repentance, the two covenants, and baptism. McFerrin took great delight in referring to these as a creed. Fanning took exception to his comments on the subject and called him his “thorn in the flesh,” to which McFerrin replied: “Mr. Fanning assumes very high ground in placing himself upon an equality with St. Paul and our blessed Saviour. If this be the mark of his humility and the spirit of that religion which he propagates, we can but believe that he is very far gone from original righteousness.”¹⁹ Fanning wrote in 1847 that he could no longer discuss things with McFerrin because his wit was “not sufficiently refined,” whereupon McFerrin accused Fanning of attacking only those whom he thought he could defeat. He concluded: “In the meantime if your soars [*sic*] fester, please give us information—as we have a few more probes on hand which we can use quite to your advantage if not to your comfort.”²⁰

By 1860 McFerrin had not mellowed very much in his attitude toward “Campbellites.” Here was his comment about the *American Christian Review*, being published by Benjamin Franklin (1812-78) in Cincinnati: “Among other signs that Methodism is doing the work of God and prospering, we have the rather pleasing one that it is the main object of attack in this paper.”²¹

Meanwhile the Baptists in Nashville had been strongly

opposed to leaders such as Fanning and Campbell for many years, thanks in large part to the conversion of most of their members and the consequent loss of their building to the Christians under the leadership of Fanning's brother-in-law, Philip S. Fall, in 1826-28. In 1835 Robert Boyte Crawford Howell (1801-1868) began serving as pastor of the Baptist Church which had been reestablished in Nashville in 1830, and he started publication of the *Baptist* in the same year. At first he had little to say regarding the Stone-Campbell Movement. This was not accidental but intentional: "Knowing that this system had been fostered and kept alive by opposition, we have avoided for some time past, noticing either the inconsistencies or progress of what is termed the reformation."²²

By 1845 the attacks against Baptists by the Stone-Campbell Movement had become too numerous to be ignored any longer. The rumor that year of a possible union among Unitarians, Universalists, and Disciples brought forth this comment by Howell: "This amalgamation of the three sects named, appears to us to be particularly appropriate. The Universalists are an antisectarian sect, the Campbellites are sectarian antisectaries, and the Unitarians are philosophical antireligionists. . . Put all their systems together and they amount to a mere external formality."²³

Like the Methodists, Howell was overjoyed by Campbell's series of "Tracts for the People." He wrote: "This creed of Mr. Campbell is most excellent. We are sorry that it was not published years ago. It would have prevented a great deal of misunderstanding and angry discussion."²⁴ Of course this produced even more "angry discussion," especially by Campbell, Fanning, and John R. Howard (1807-1870), editor of the *Bible Advocate* in Paris, Tennessee. Fanning became so antagonistic that Howell cut him off from his list of exchanges: "We cannot afford to read a paper so filled with malignity and vituperation." Howell also announced a few weeks later that he would no longer condescend to notice the editorial attacks by Howard: "We have no small shot for crows, and blackbirds."²⁵

In 1847 James Robinson Graves, pastor of Nashville's Second Baptist Church, succeeded Howell as editor of the *Baptist* which he promptly renamed the *Tennessee Baptist*. As one of the most consistently belligerent editors ever to work in Nashville, Graves took as his motto "Progression through aggression."²⁶ He vehemently opposed all religious bodies which differed in any way with his understanding of the fundamentals of Baptist doctrine and practice—which meant he was in opposition to the Roman Catholics as well as to one or more Protestant denominations at all times. Some of his

strongest material was aimed at the Stone-Campbell movement. Thus in 1853 when Jesse Babcock Ferguson (1819-70), editor of the *Christian Magazine*, found himself in serious difficulty with his brethren because of his publication of articles (based on 1 Peter 3: 18, which seemed to him to imply universal salvation), Graves took full advantage of his discomfiture by giving generous excerpts from Campbell and others who had been refuting Ferguson's "heresy." Ferguson continued to be a target of abuse for several more years. Graves was relentless, boasting in 1855 that "we expect not to cease for one week our opposition to Campbellism." When fire destroyed the Nashville Christian Church's building in 1857, Graves could not resist reiterating an old theme: "With the measure you mete, it shall be meted to you."²⁷

Graves's stubbornness and natural pugnacity were bound to get him into trouble. At least once he was sued for libel and lost. On another occasion he was given a caning by Edwin H. Ewing, a member of the Nashville Christian Church, because of articles impugning the morals of Ferguson and other members. But these matters, serious as they may have seemed at the time, would eventually prove almost trivial in comparison with the controversy and disruption within Southern Baptist churches that were to be brought on by the exclusionist doctrines of Graves that came to be known as Landmarkism.²⁸

CONCLUSION

In 1844 a Nashville editor included the following in the prospectus for a periodical he was to edit: "Regarding the principles which this paper will maintain, it may, perhaps, be unnecessary to say more than that they are those taught in the Bible, which is our only rule of faith and practice, and which have characterised the true Church of Christ in every age."²⁹ This was written, not by a follower of Stone or Campbell, but by R. B. C. Howell in the first issue of a new series of the *Baptist*. In fact Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Cumberland Presbyterian, and Disciples editors all claimed the Bible as the basis of their faith and practice. All attempted to supply material that would edify and inform their members. All expressed strong opposition to such evils as drunkenness, sexual immorality, profanity, circuses, the theater, and the reading of secular novels.

Editors opposed to the Stone-Campbell Movement tried to find and point out inconsistencies in the preaching and writings of Campbell, Fanning, and others. Fairly or not, they charged those who were advocating a creedless, Bible-centered faith with producing *de facto* creeds themselves in their publications. Moreover their

alleged belligerence and arrogance were said to be inconsistent with the pacific and humble spirit of Christ. This was a frequent charge, but as has been shown, some of these opposition editors, especially McFerrin and Graves, could give as well as receive in the area of negative journalism.

Several editors took delight in the alleged connections of “Campbellites” with Mormons (several defectors having become Mormon leaders) and with Unitarians (based in part on Barton W. Stone’s struggles from his student days onward with the doctrine of the Trinity.)³⁰

Some but not all of Nashville’s antebellum religious journalists thoroughly enjoyed their games of witty argumentation. But in the immediate postwar era her editors would give less emphasis to bitter controversy, thanks perhaps to the loss of life, physical suffering, loss of property, humiliation, and deprivation in which all had shared. McFerrin, after serving for three years as a minister to Confederate forces, found his farm in ruins when he returned home in 1865, at about which time his house was burned. On the Sunday morning of the fire he preached with Hebrews 13: 14 as his text: “Here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come.” Soon thereafter he and his colleagues reopened the Southern Methodist Publishing House and resumed publication of the *Nashville Christian Advocate* in 1866. Because of his many years of service as minister, editor, and agent of the publishing house, McFerrin is rightfully regarded as a Methodist hero.³¹

During the Federal occupation of Nashville R. B. C. Howell was imprisoned for two months for refusing to take an oath of allegiance to the Union. He was able to continue in his local ministry but suffered a stroke in 1867 and died fifteen months later. Southern Baptists regard him as one of their pioneer statesmen.³² Tolbert Fanning’s steadfast pacifism had been respected by Confederate authorities, but during the occupation he too refused to take the oath, was convicted of treason and treated as an outcast. He eventually resumed publication of the *Gospel Advocate*, started two new schools, and was publishing the *Religious Historian* when he died in 1874 of injuries sustained from a goring by one of his prize bulls.

Fanning’s influence for conservatism in the Stone-Campbell movement has been immense.³³ Bobby Burns wrote:

wad some Pow’r the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us!
It wad frae mony a blunder free us,
And foolish notion.³⁴

It is humbling but perhaps salutary to look backward to see how the Stone-Campbell Movement was perceived by others more than a century ago.

NOTES

¹ "Proposal," *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, August 7, 1829. In 1853 George Ricardo Fall began editing and publishing the *Jackson Mississippian*. He served as Mississippi state printer for several years.

² "Prospectus," *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, October 7, 1830. No copy of the specimen number could be found for this study.

³ This paper is based largely on the author's copyrighted work, *Religious Periodicals in the Development of Nashville, Tennessee as a Regional Publishing Center, 1830-1880* (D.L.S. dissertation, Columbia University, 1976), 952pp., where full documentation is provided. See chapters 5-29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 31; Methodist Episcopal Church South, *Journals*, 1858, p. 493; "The Goal Won at Last," *Tennessee Baptist* 15, no. 17, January 8, 1859; "Correction," *Banner of Peace* 20, no. 25 (October 19, 1865): 57. It was 1872 before the *Gospel Advocate* could claim to have 3,000 subscribers: "A Closing Word to Our Readers," *Gospel Advocate* 14, no. 50 (December 19, 1872): 1191-94.

⁵ "On Campbellism," *American Presbyterian* 4, no. 47 (November 29, 1838): 187.

⁶ "Campbellism and Catholicism," *Banner of Peace and Cumberland Presbyterian Advocate* 2, no. 28, September 8, 1843.

⁷ "Cold Immersing," *ibid.*, 15, no. 23, February 26, 1857.

⁸ "Editor's Table," *Banner of Peace* 17, no. 12 (December 2, 1858): 46.

⁹ "Campbellism," *ibid.*, 23, no. 9, August 13, 1868.

¹⁰ "Mr. Alexander Campbell," *South Western Christian Advocate* 5, nos. 19-20 (March 13, 20, 1841): 74, 78.

¹¹ "Proselyting," *ibid.*, 7, no. 36 (July 7, 1843): 123.

¹² "Mormonism—Campbellism," *ibid.*, 8, no. 17 (February 23, 1844): 66. This article was picked up by the Cumberland Presbyterians: "Mormanism [*sic*]—Campbellism," *Banner of Peace and Cumberland Presbyterian Advocate* 3, no. 2, April 18, 1844.

¹³ "Tracts on Campbellism" (No. 2), *South Western Christian Advocate* 7, no. 8 (December 23, 1842): 31.

¹⁴ "Tracts on Campbellism" (No. 3), *ibid.*, 7, no. 10 (January 6, 1843): 39.

¹⁵ "Tracts on Campbellism" (No. 4), *ibid.*, 7, no. 12 (January 30, 1843): 45-46.

¹⁶ "Tracts on Campbellism" (No. 7), *ibid.*, 7, no. 22 (March 31, 1843): 80.

¹⁷ "Tracts on Campbellism," *ibid.*, 8, no. 16 (February 16, 1844): 62.

¹⁸ "Christian Review," *ibid.*, 9, no. 15, February 7, 1845. In contrast a former student wrote: Brother Fanning is the only man I ever saw that could succeed in every calling. He was a preacher with few equals, a teacher among the best, a good doctor, a fine judge of law, a lover of all kinds of stock, dogs, and fowls, as well as a good nurseryman and a splendid farmer. Everything he did prospered, being a good financier; and all that he and his good wife did was for the betterment of humanity. May we all imitate them in their good works. See James E. Scobey, ed., *Franklin College and Its Influences* (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Co., 1954), pp. 238-39.

¹⁹ "Rev. A. Campbell's Confession of Faith," *Nashville Christian Advocate* 10, no. 46, September 11, 1846; "Mr. T. Fanning," *ibid.*, no. 48, September 25, 1846. The first in the lengthy series "Tracts for the People" appeared in the *Millennial Harbinger*, ser. 3, vol. 2, no. 10 (October 1845): 433-444.

²⁰ "Christian Review," *Nashville Christian Advocate* 11, no. 15, February 5, 1847.

²¹ "The American Christian Review," *ibid.*, 24, no. 11, March 15, 1860. The *American Christian Review* was published until 1965. See Holland, *Religious Periodicals*, p. 795.

²² "A New Chapter in Campbellism," *Baptist* 1, no. 9 (September 1835): 144.

²³ "Amalgamation of Sects," *Baptist* [new ser.] 1, no. 44 (June 21, 1845): 689-90.

²⁴ "The Creed of A. Campbell," *ibid.*, [n.s.] 3, no. 2 (September 5, 1846): 28-29.

²⁵ "Excision," *ibid.*, [n.s.] 3, no. 4 (September 19, 1846): 49; "Attacks," *ibid.*, no. 9 (October 24, 1846): 129.

²⁶ "Volume Sixth," *Tennessee Baptist* 6, no. 1, September 6, 1849.

²⁷ "Fergusonism," *ibid.*, 9, nos. 22-25, February 12, 19, 26, March 5, 1853; "The Past," *ibid.*, 11, no. 52, August 25, 1855; "Fire," *Ibid.*, 13, no. 31, April 11, 1857.

²⁸ Holland, *Religious Periodicals*, chap. 20. For a brief summary of the Landmark controversy, see Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 722-25.

²⁹ "Salutatory," *Baptist* [n.s.] 1, no. 1 (June 29, 1844): 1.

³⁰ D. Newell Williams, *Barton Stone: a Spiritual Biography* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000), pp. 150-54.

³¹ For a biography of McFerrin by one of his younger colleagues, see Oscar Penn Fitzgerald, *John B. McFerrin: A Biography* (Nashville: Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, 1888),

448pp. See also Holland, *Religious Periodicals*, pp. 662-65.

³² *Dictionary of American Biography*, 9: 304-5; Lynn E. May, Jr., *The First Baptist Church of Nashville, Tennessee, 1820-1970* (Nashville: First Baptist Church, 1970), pp. 44-74, 82-115; Holland, *Religious Periodicals*, p. 182.

³³ For an excellent biography of Fanning see James R. Wilburn, *The Hazard of the Die; Tolbert Fanning and the Restoration Movement* (Austin, Texas: Sweet Publishing Co., 1969), 288pp. See also Holland, *Religious Periodicals*, chaps. 40-41.

³⁴ Robert Burns, "To a Louse," in numerous textbooks and collections.

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