ABSTRACT

Transatlantic Evangelical Missions Culture and the Rise of the Campbell Movement

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Historical accounts of the Stone-Campbell Movement (SCM) have often envisioned it as a uniquely American movement. This dissertation utilizes the perspectives of transnational history and evangelicalism to demonstrate that transatlantic evangelical currents inextricably shaped Thomas Campbell and his son, Alexander Campbell, the two leading figures of the Campbell tradition of the SCM. Using the work of Clifford Geertz on religion as culture, this dissertation explains the rise and solidification of the "transatlantic evangelical missions culture" and argues that scholars should understand the origins of the Campbell movement, as expressed in the Christian Association of Washington (CAW) and its *Declaration and Address* (1809), as emerging from the missions culture.

First, historians have missed the missions context for a number of reasons including inquiry focused on the nation-state, Alexander Campbell's vehement opposition to missionary societies in the 1820s, and historical focus on the missionary society as a source of division in the late nineteenth century. Therefore, historians of SCM missions have started narratives in the 1820s with an anti-missionary-society

Campbell and sought to explain why he changed later in the 1840s. This study shows that the Campbells supported missions for two decades before the 1820s.

Second, historians have focused on restoration of New Testament Christianity and Christian unity as major ideals that constituted the ingenuity of the Campbell movement, often looking for one or the other ideal in early influences. Although these emphases were central to the Campbell movement, they were not unique to it; the ideals constituted foundational parts of the missions culture. In fact, the Christian vision articulated in the CAW and *Declaration and Address* was one of many similar expressions of the evangelical missions culture that solidified in the 1790s. Although later historical accounts have missed it, the Campbells' earliest writings demonstrate that they viewed their CAW as part of the missions culture. The democratic American frontier, their developing hermeneutic, and developments within the missions culture led the Campbell movement, ironically, to oppose missionary societies by the 1820s. Nonetheless, the Campbells' CAW and *Declaration and Address* had origins in the transatlantic evangelical missions culture.

Transatlantic Evangelical Missions Culture and the Rise of the Campbell Movement

by

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A Dissertation

Approved by the Department of Religion

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASNA	Associate Synod of North America
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society (a.k.a. Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen)
CAW	Christian Association of Washington
EMS	Edinburgh Missionary Society
ESU	Evangelical Society of Ulster
GASS	General Associate Synod of Scotland
GES	General Evangelical Society
LMS	London Missionary Society
NEC	New England Company (a.k.a. Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England)
NMS	Northern Missionary Society
NT	New Testament
NYMS	New York Missionary Society
OT	Old Testament
PCUSA	Presbyterian Church in the United States of America
SCM	Stone-Campbell Movement
SPCK	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
SPGH	Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home
SPG	Society for Propagation of the Gospel
SSPCK	Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge
WMS	Western Missionary Society

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

I. Thesis

This dissertation argues that the Campbell movement in the United States had substantial roots in the transatlantic evangelical missions culture of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The Protestant missionary enterprise of this period wielded extraordinary influence on English-speaking Christianity; its ideas and practices in England, Ireland, and Scotland influenced Thomas and Alexander Campbell and the origins of the Stone-Campbell Movement (SCM). Scholarship has usually seen the SCM as a uniquely American religious movement and thus has been inclined to neglect the transatlantic influence upon the Campbell tradition.[1] This dissertation demonstrates that the Campbells experienced the transatlantic missions culture of the period and that it constituted an important source of the Campbell movement's early formation and ideology. The dissertation argues that the earliest Campbell tradition as articulated in the Christian Association of Washington (CAW) and its *Declaration and Address* (1809) was more indebted to the transatlantic evangelical missions culture than it was to the American context's fertile frontier and democratic soil. The latter inextricably influenced the development and trajectory of the movement, but the CAW and *Declaration and Address* were manifestations of the transatlantic evangelical missions culture.

[1] For example, see Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 220; Paul Keith Conkin, *American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 1–56.

II. Nomenclature and Methodological Perspective

I use a number of terms above and throughout the dissertation that require definition and justification. First, I use the phrases Stone-Campbell Movement (a.k.a. Restoration Movement, which is falling out of usage in scholarly literature) and Campbell movement (or tradition) in specific ways. The Stone-Campbell Movement (SCM) is the typical identifying name for the religious tradition descending from groups associated with Barton Stone, Thomas Campbell, and Alexander Campbell. Congregations and individuals following the lead of these people and others with similar ideas called themselves various names (e.g., Disciples of Christ, Churches of Christ, Christian Churches, Christians) and eventually separated into several major religious denominations throughout the twentieth century—which include the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Churches of Christ, and Christian Churches/Churches of Christ.[2]

I use the phrases "Campbell tradition" and "Campbell movement" synonymously to describe the development of both Thomas and Alexander Campbell from their earliest experiences to the end of their lives, though distinct traditions of the Campbells and Stone did not end with the lives of the founders.[3] "Campbell tradition" in this dissertation signifies the Campbells' influences, ideas, and practices as they developed over time in various religious, social, and political settings. The Campbell tradition underwent much

[2] For introductions to SCM history, see D. Newell Williams, Douglas A. Foster, and Paul M. Blowers, eds., *The Stone-Campbell Movement: A Global History* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2013); Douglas A. Foster et al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); Edwin Scott Gaustad and Philip L. Barlow, eds., *New Historical Atlas of Religion in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 178–87.

[3] For astute analysis of these traditions and their trajectories, see Richard T. Hughes, "The Apocalyptic Origins of Churches of Christ and the Triumph of Modernism," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 2, no. 2 (1992): 181–214; Richard T. Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996).

development in the period prior to 1823, at which point the tradition's ideas took on more identifiable shape as Alexander Campbell started his first periodical, *Christian Baptist*, and his debating career. A concerted effort with an identified aim and a public platform distinguished the *Christian Baptist* period from the preceding period.

Justifications exist for covering only the Campbell tradition and not that of Stone. In the history of the SCM, the Stone and Campbell traditions developed separately until the 1820s, at which time connections increased and similarities were explored. By the early 1830s, a unity movement grew as congregations affiliated with Stone and Campbell, respectively, merged in a number of locations. Recent studies have demonstrated that, despite years of scholarly neglect, the Stone tradition was extraordinarily influential and deserves equal coverage to that of the Campbell tradition.[4] Although I agree wholeheartedly with this assertion, historical understanding of the Campbell tradition also continues to evolve and necessitates more scholarly research. This dissertation shows that a significant part of the Campbell heritage has not yet been fully understood by generations past. Two further justifications for covering only the Campbell tradition include the facts that (1) my thesis directly applies to the Campbells' experiences and developments long before they knew Stone and the Christians, and (2)

[4] Paul M. Blowers, Douglas A. Foster, and D. Newell Williams, "Stone-Campbell History Over Three Centuries: A Survey and Analysis," *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), xxxii; Michael W. Casey and Douglas A. Foster, "Introduction: The Renaissance of Stone-Campbell Studies: An Assessment and New Directions," in *The Stone-Campbell Movement: An International Religious Tradition*, ed. Michael W. Casey and Douglas A. Foster (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 33; D. Newell Williams, *Barton Stone: A Spiritual Biography* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000), 1–6.

sources required for a thorough understanding of Stone's early ideas and practices on evangelical missions culture are not extant.[5]

Although this dissertation is in part dealing with the history of a denomination (or, more accurately, a movement that spawned several denominations), it also utilizes recent trends of pandenominational studies (evangelicalism in this case) and transatlantic history, both of which need to be defined.[6] Transatlantic history is an interdisciplinary and transnational perspective of historical inquiry.[7] One important development of global approaches to history has been the move from a national to a transnational framework of analysis. Transnational history as defined by Thomas Bender, Ian Tyrell, and others concerns the movement of peoples, ideas, technologies, and institutions across national boundaries.[8] Key to transnational history is the attempt to deprovincialize American history in order to highlight the ways in which various nations and cultures have shaped

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[5] David Newell Williams, "The Theology of the Great Revival in the West as Seen Through the Life and Thought of Barton Warren Stone" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1979), 177–97.

[6] Among the key advocates for a trend which sees issues such as the liberal-conservative divide as more significant in shaping religion than denominational identity is Robert Wuthnow. On the other hand, Rodney Stark recently made a case that denominations continue to shape religious identity significantly, and the recent collection of essays edited by Robert Bruce Mullin and Russell E. Richey demonstrate that the denomination continues to be a beneficial category of inquiry for religious history. See Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); Rodney Stark, *What Americans Really Believe: New Findings from the Baylor Surveys of Religion* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2008); Robert Bruce Mullin and Russell E. Richey, eds., *Reimagining Denominationalism: Interpretive Essays*, Religion in America Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[7] For the current state of Atlantic history, see Nicholas Canny and Phillip Morgan, "Introduction: The Making and Unmaking of an Atlantic World," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World: 1450-1850*, ed. Nicholas Canny and Phillip Morgan, Online. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Philip D. Morgan and Jack P. Greene, *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*, Reinterpreting History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[8] Ian Tyrrell, "Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice," *Journal of Global History* 4, no. 3 (2009): 453–74; Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

each other. Arising from historians questioning the efficacy of the nation-state as a framework for analysis, transatlantic history assumes that history is richer when viewed from a wider vantage point such as the Atlantic basin.[9] A transatlantic perspective has been utilized to great effect in the history of evangelicalism, as discussed below, and it offers a more complex story of Campbell origins than America-centric perspectives.

This study also utilizes the pandenominational category of "evangelical." This is the term that many late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Christians used to describe themselves, their theologies, and their voluntary societies. I use "evangelical" as outlined by David Bebbington's *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (1989) and by Mark Hutchinson's and John Wolffe's *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism* (2012).[10] "Evangelical" has had many meanings throughout history, and this has made it a term of controversy among scholars.[11] Nonetheless, two converging descriptions (one historical

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[9] Will Kaufman and Heidi Slettedahl Macpherson, "Introduction," in *New Perspectives in Transatlantic Studies* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2002), xi–xxv.

[10] See David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1989), 1–19; Mark Hutchinson and John Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1–25; Mark A. Noll, D. W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk, "Introduction," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond 1700-1990*, ed. Mark A. Noll, D. W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 3–15; Timothy Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology*, ed. Timothy Larsen and Daniel J. Treier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–14; Mark Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys*, A History of Evangelicalism 1 (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 15–21; W. R. Ward, "Evangelical Awakenings in the North Atlantic World," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume VII, Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 329–47.

[11] For these meanings, see *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 5:447-50. A current analysis of the debate is found in Hutchinson and Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism*, 1–25.

and one theological) of "evangelical" restrict it enough to form a historically coherent subject while not denying the immense diversity within the category.[12]

In a historical sense, a discrete network of Protestant Christian movements arose during the eighteenth century in Great Britain and its colonies and in Germany. Hutchinson and Wolffe's superb treatment of the origins of evangelicalism uses a helpful metaphor:

> Evangelicalism as it developed from the 1730s onwards showed strong continuities with the past, but nevertheless also manifested a distinctive and innovative combination of characteristics. . . . Perhaps the best metaphor for visualizing that process [of complex origins and shifting alliances] is to think of a major river, made up of tributaries with diverse origins and courses, but eventually combining their differently coloured waters in a common stream, subsequently again divided into channels by islands.[13]

They identify four major tributaries feeding evangelicalism. First and most influential was English Puritanism, including Baptists, Independents, and English Presbyterians. Second, Scottish Presbyterianism was a transatlantic evangelical force as the Scottish diaspora from the early seventeenth century created evangelical hubs in places like Ulster and Pennsylvania.[14] Third, High Church Anglicanism provided the form of the voluntary religious societies that became the key structure through which evangelicals influenced Christianity. Also, devotional societies like the Holy Club were prominent especially in Bristol and London, most famously contributing to the development of leading evangelical personalities George Whitefield and John Wesley.

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[12] This two-prong description relies on Noll, Bebbington, and Rawlyk, "Introduction," 1–6.

[13] Hutchinson and Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism*, 27.

[14] The Campbells lived in both Ulster and Pennsylvania, following the enormous Scotch-Irish migrations to Pennsylvania in the colonial and early national periods. See P. Gilmore, "Rebels and Revivals: Ulster Immigrants, Western Pennsylvania Presbyterianism and the Formation of Scotch-Irish Identity, 1780-1830" (PhD diss., Carnegie Mellon University, 2009).

Hence many early evangelical leaders were Anglican. Fourth, continental Pietism contributed the beginnings of new birth experiential theology, small gatherings for Bible reading and lay participation, social activism through Francke's institutional ingenuity at Halle, and the Moravian community's vision for missions. The confluence of these tributaries created a distinctive blend of Christianity across the transatlantic.[15]

This discrete network of Protestants throughout England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Germany, and North America experienced a series of intense religious "awakenings," often associated with revivals and experiential conversion. The confluence of Protestant tributaries does not necessitate continuity with those tributaries. In fact, discontinuity was an important factor in the intensity of the religious awakenings crucial for evangelical identity. Historian Thomas Kidd notes, "Early American evangelicalism was distinguished from earlier forms of Protestantism by dramatically increased emphases on *seasons of revival*, or *outpourings of the Holy Spirit*, and on *converted sinners experiencing God's love personally*."[16] In the perception of evangelicals, there were elements of the revivals of the 1730s and 1740s that were qualitatively and quantitatively new.

The evangelical awakenings gave rise to a pattern of religious experience and practice in the transatlantic area.[17] Common experience, belief, and practice were

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[15] Hutchinson and Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism*, 26–32.

[16] Kidd also affirms that evangelicalism was international in character, though he focuses on America for the majority of his study. See Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), xiv; Hutchinson and Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism*, 32.

[17] Susan O'Brien, "A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735-1755," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 4 (1986): 811–32.

supported and perpetuated by evangelical networks (printed media, travelling celebrities, and shared organizations of communication and networking). Evangelicals could read about the conversion experience of a Massachusetts lay woman, journals of larger-than-life figures who led the movement, and about revivals in the American colonies or in Scotland. As Hutchinson and Wolffe explain, "It was not American religion, English religion or German religion, but a meeting of multiple post-Reformation spiritualties brought together by the geographical movement of people as well as by the transmission of ideas."[18] By the middle of the eighteenth century, evangelical networks had created a strong transatlantic evangelical community that would grow to dominate the cultural life of some areas.

This historical sense of "evangelical" is complemented by a theological description based on a pattern of convictions and attitudes, which include, according to Bebbington, "biblicism (a reliance on the Bible as ultimate religious authority), conversionism (a stress on the New Birth), activism (an energetic, individualistic approach to religious duties and social involvement), and crucicentrism (a focus on Christ's redeeming work as the heart of essential Christianity)."[19] Although scholars have offered some objections to Bebbington's four major descriptive categories, and provided the caveat that emphases varied from one generation and group to the next, Hutchinson and Wolffe demonstrate that no one has offered a convincing refinement.[20] These two

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[18] Hutchinson and Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism*, 32.

[19] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 1–19; Noll, Bebbington, and Rawlyk, "Introduction," 6.

[20] Both Thomas Kidd and Timothy Larsen suggest that Bebbington's categories do not sufficiently stress the work of the Holy Spirit in evangelical rhetoric and experience. Hutchinson and Wolffe, *A Short*

converging descriptions of evangelicalism make it a coherent topic for pandenominational inquiry while also respecting the diverse variety of evangelicals. As others have argued, the tension between the idealized definition and the unending variety does not negate the usefulness of the category.

The transatlantic nature of evangelicalism has made it an important topic of inquiry for the transatlantic perspective. For example, Richard Carwardine's *Transatlantic Revivalism* (1978) demonstrated the connectedness of evangelicals in the Atlantic region.[21] Susan O'Brien's seminal article, "A Transatlantic Community of Saints" (1986), demonstrated the connectivity of the transatlantic evangelicals during the 1740s through correspondence, magazines, and public readings about transatlantic revivals and missions.[22] Leigh Eric Schmidt demonstrated the importance of Scottish Eucharistic gatherings for generating American camp meetings.[23] Mark Noll, David Bebbington, and George Rawlyk edited a volume in 1994 that highlighted the importance of transatlantic connections for sustaining evangelicalism and explaining its development

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History of Global Evangelicalism, 16–25; Kidd, *The Great Awakening*, xiv; Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," 10–12.

[21] Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978).

[22] O'Brien, "A Transatlantic Community of Saints," 811–32; Susan Durdan O'Brien, "Study of the First Evangelical Magazines, 1740-1748," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27, no. 3 (1976): 255–75; Susan O'Brien, "Eighteenth-Century Publishing Networks in the First Years of Transatlantic Evangelicalism," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond 1700-1990*, ed. Mark A. Noll, D. W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 38–57.

[23] Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scotland and the Making of American Revivalism*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001); Jon Butler, "The Future of American Religious History: Prospectus, Agenda, Transatlantic *Problématique*," *William and Mary Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1985): 167–83; Jon F. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Harvard University Press, 2005).

and have published a multi-volume history of evangelicalism with a transnational perspective.[24] From the early eighteenth century, "innovative networks of communication have sustained the transnational character of evangelicalism and given it much of its distinctive shape."[25] These networks of communication included voluntary societies (e.g., missionary and Bible societies), personalities, books, magazines, hymns, etc., and they shaped transatlantic evangelicalism's character, convictions, patterns of organization, strategies of communication, and responses to cultural change.

These evangelical networks were sufficiently strong at the end of the eighteenth century to create a transatlantic community that birthed the Protestant missionary movement. Historian Ruth Rouse claimed, "No outburst of missionary zeal, unless it be the Jesuit Mission of the 16th century, has ever paralleled the missionary developments resulting from the Evangelical Awakening between 1790 and 1820."[26] The evangelical missionary enterprise was a transatlantic phenomenon that shaped religious development across the region. Despite this fact, relatively scant attention has been paid to transatlantic connections until the last several decades.

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[24] Mark A Noll, D. W Bebbington, and George A Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond 1700-1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*; John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney*, A History of Evangelicalism 2 (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2007); David Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody*, A History of Evangelicalism 3 (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2005); Brian Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Graham and Stott* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004).

[25] Noll, Bebbington, and Rawlyk, "Introduction," 9.

[26] Ruth Rouse, "Voluntary Movement and the Changing Ecumenical Climate," in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948*, ed. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, 3rd ed. (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1986), 310.

Finally, I use anthropologist Clifford Geertz's analytical categories when referring to the missions "culture" constructed by eighteenth-century transatlantic evangelicals. "The whole point of a semiotic approach to culture is," Geertz wrote, "to aid us in gaining access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live so that we can, in some extended sense of the term, converse with them."[27] Geertz's now classic essay, "Religion as a Cultural System," takes his semiotic concept of culture[28] and uses his method of interpretive anthropology[29] to construct a definition of religion as a cultural system. His analytical categories have been and continue to be useful to historians for a number of reasons, especially for his view of cultures as particular (i.e., they are all different) and his argument that scholars should describe other cultures based on their own perspectives and ideas.[30] Geertz unpacked his definition of religion for almost the entirety of the essay. Religion is

> (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general

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[27] Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 24. Most of the essays in *The Interpretation of Cultures* were written in the 1960s and Basic Books published the first edition of this volume of essays in 1973. Geertz wrote "Thick Description" in 1973 as an introduction to these essays.

[28] That is, culture "denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life." Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 89.

[29] "Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun," Geertz said, "I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning." Culture is not a *power* that *causes* events, behaviors, institutions, and processes. Instead, culture is a context within which events, behaviors, institutions, and processes can be intelligibly described. Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," 5, 14, 24.

[30] Rosalind I. J. Hackett, "Anthropology of Religion," in *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, ed. John Hinnells, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2010), 165–68; Daniel L. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 233–67; Brian M. Howell and Jenell Williams Paris, *Introducing Cultural Anthropology: A Christian Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 175–99.

> order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.[31]

First, symbols include anything that convey an idea or meaning: object, event, ritual, action, gesture, quality, relation, etc.[32] Second, this system of symbols makes people feel things (moods) and want to do things (motivations). For Geertz, motivations are persistent inclinations to perform certain acts or experience certain feelings in certain situations. For example, as chapter three of this dissertation documents, among the most important moods and motivations identifiable in the interdenominational missionary culture of the 1790s were pity for the heathen and a desire to cooperate with other Christians to spread a simple evangelical gospel to those poor heathens around the world.

Third, symbols attempt to provide an ultimate explanation for the order of the world, particularly when one experiences empirical phenomena suggesting a world of disorder, injustice, or immorality. The fourth and fifth points of Geertz's definition stress the importance of ritual action and its influence on one's view of the world. It is in ritual or ceremonial action that one becomes convinced of the veracity of one's religious conceptions. The institutional structures of evangelical missions ensured frequent meetings at which common rituals served to synthesize the ethos (i.e., moods, motivations, morals, and values) with the evangelical world view and thereby convict those in attendance and those who read accounts in evangelical magazines of the legitimacy and necessity of their great worldwide errand. Geertz's analytical categories provide a useful tool to understand how ideas and actions emerged and formed the way a

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[31] Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," 90.

[32] Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion*, 233–67.

particular religious community experienced its world. This community constituted an identifiable religious culture by the end of the eighteenth century—a transatlantic evangelical missions culture.

III. Outline of the Dissertation

Transatlantic evangelical missions culture influenced the ideas and organization of the early Campbell tradition, but historians have only recently and only superficially discovered the influence. Chapter Two delineates and explains the historiography of the perceptions of Campbell movement origins, noting how missions influences were quickly omitted from the story. Chapter Three analyzes the building of a transatlantic missions culture from its early articulations up to the 1790s. Motivated by millennial anticipation, pity for the "heathen," and a belief that converted Christians in all denominations could unite in subscribing to the primitive gospel, many missions advocates utilized voluntary societies as a means for interdenominational cooperation to accomplish their worldwide errand. The London Missionary Society was the most influential interdenominational missionary society in the transatlantic region from 1795 to the early nineteenth century, as it became the model for smaller societies and a hub of evangelical networking.

Chapter Four focuses on the individuals, ideas, and societies of the missionary enterprise of Great Britain which yielded substantial influence on the Campbells—the Evangelical Society of Ulster in Ireland and the Haldane brothers and Greville Ewing in Scotland. The London Missionary Society inspired creators of the Evangelical Society of Ulster, which Thomas Campbell co-founded. This dissertation devotes substantial space to constructing the transatlantic evangelical missions culture throughout the eighteenth century and specifically in Ireland and Scotland in the 1790s and 1800s. That is because

it became clear while researching potential influences on the Campbells that many leaders of evangelical missions throughout the eighteenth century had articulated similar ideas to those the Campbells proposed in the U.S. It became apparent that the evangelical missions culture that arose in the eighteenth century wielded extraordinary influence on the Campbells. Therefore, reconstruction of that missions culture is at the heart of this dissertation. The interdenominational missionary societies emphasized Christian unity for the purpose of evangelizing the world with a simple evangelical gospel, often driven by millennial rhetoric. It is no coincidence that the early Campbell movement shared all of these emphases nor that the Campbells' first organization in the United States was an interdenominational evangelical missionary society—the Christian Association of Washington. Naturally, then, Chapter Five examines the Christian Association of Washington, comparing and contrasting it to the larger missions culture's ideas and practices detailed in the earlier chapters. Chapter Five recounts the Campbells' support of missionary societies up to 1821 and Alexander Campbell's anti-missionary-society campaign from 1823 to 1830, explaining his drastic change in the early 1820s. The Conclusion summarizes the takeaway of the study: the transatlantic evangelical missions culture was the context from which the Campbell tradition emerged.

The findings of this study expand our understanding of SCM origins. Historians have identified a number of important backgrounds to the Campbell tradition that have made it seem uniquely American. They have also identified important roots in Protestantism and Puritanism. This study shows that the Campbells encountered many of their early ideals, such as a simple evangelical Christianity devoid of "partyism," in the transatlantic evangelical missions culture. Historians have for too long neglected the

direct impact of missions and missionary societies on the early Campbell tradition for reasons explained in chapter two. The dissertation proposes to push historiography of the SCM to take stock of these influences in the future, depicting the Campbell tradition as emerging from a transatlantic evangelical missions culture that eventually developed in a unique context on the American frontier influenced by the democratic milieu of the early national period.

When historians read the sources relevant to the early Campbell movement with the transatlantic evangelical missions culture in mind, it becomes clear that we have not fully understood the context and influences animating the Campbells' early ideas and actions. Two decades of Campbell support of the missionary enterprise (before the anti-missionary writings) have been almost entirely omitted from the historical narrative. Exploring those two decades in light of the missionary movement illustrates the sway of the transatlantic evangelical missions culture upon the early Campbell movement. Accounting for the extraordinary shift in Alexander Campbell's view on missionary societies by the 1820s demonstrates how substantially and swiftly the new Campbell hermeneutic, public reformation program, and American context shaped the Campbell tradition's religious thought and reformatory practices. The Campbell hermeneutic and reformation program had by the 1820s become fixated on restoring the "pattern" of Christian beliefs and practices found in the New Testament, questioning all authorities that threatened individual liberty of interpretation. This path from evangelical missions culture to individualistic patternist restorationism was not unheard of, as several of the Campbells' acquaintances and influences made similar journeys to various kinds of primitivism.

CHAPTER TWO

A Historiography of the Origins of the Campbell Movement: The Omission of Missions

I. Introduction

A transatlantic evangelical missions culture decisively influenced the rise of the Campbell tradition, even if historians after Robert Richardson—whose 1868-1869 history did tangentially note the influence of the Irish and Scottish missions milieu on both Campbells—have largely forgotten the fact. Although missionary societies have been a central object of Stone-Campbell Movement (SCM) historiography since the nineteenth century, they have been so only because the missionary society was one of the issues that caused the first major division within the SCM. When assessing the earliest origins of Stone and Campbell traditions, historians have had almost nothing to say about the influence of missions or missionary societies, even though the evangelical missionary enterprise wielded great influence on the Campbells and their reformation movement. Several developments help explain the lack of attention to missions in the historiography of the Campbell movement's origins. This chapter highlights some of those developments by analyzing the historiography of the origins of the Campbell tradition.

Despite the fact that most historians of the SCM have relied heavily on Robert Richardson's history for understanding the Campbells in context, scholars quickly lost sight of Richardson's claims about the importance of missions in the formation of both Campbells.[1] The historiography of the Campbell movement's origins demonstrates the

[1] See the Richardson section below.

early removal and replacement of Richardson's narrative with narratives shaped by subsequent historians' perspectives to serve subsequent historians' purposes. Only recently have scholars recovered some of the Irish and Scottish influences on the Campbells, though no account has been able to bring all of the various strands together under a unifying context.

It is my contention and this dissertation's aim to demonstrate that the transatlantic evangelical missions culture provided an important religious context of the Campbells' religious experiences from the 1790s to the 1810s and was, therefore, key to the tradition's origins. SCM historians have uncovered several parts of this context, but all of these parts come together in the most comprehensive way when viewed from the perspective of the transatlantic evangelical missions culture from which the Campbell movement emerged in the early nineteenth century, most palpably visible in Thomas Campbell's Christian Association of Washington and its foundational document, *The Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington* (1809).

Therefore, the major purpose of this chapter is to explore the historiography of the Campbell movement with this question in mind: To what extent have historians observed the influence of evangelical missions on the origins of the Campbell movement?[2] I chose

[2] For SCM historiography, see Michael W. Casey and Douglas A. Foster, "Introduction: The Renaissance of Stone-Campbell Studies: An Assessment and New Directions," in *The Stone-Campbell Movement: An International Religious Tradition*, ed. Michael W. Casey and Douglas A. Foster (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 1–65; Richard T. Hughes, "Twenty-Five Years of Restoration Scholarship: The Churches of Christ, Part I," *Restoration Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (1982): 233–56; Richard T. Hughes, "Twenty-Five Years of Restoration Scholarship: The Churches of Christ, Part II," *Restoration Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (1983): 39–62; Richard Hughes et al., *American Origins of the Churches of Christ: Three Essays on Restoration History* (Abilene: Abilene Christian University Press, 2000); Paul M. Blowers, Douglas A. Foster, and D. Newell Williams, "Stone-Campbell History Over Three Centuries: A Survey and Analysis," *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); D. Newell Williams, Douglas A. Foster, and Paul M. Blowers, eds., *The Stone-Campbell Movement: A Global History* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2013), 1–8.

the historiographical works included here based either on their influence on later histories (such as the writings of Alexander Campbell and Robert Richardson), their popularity within the Movement (such as West, Murch, and Garrison), or their influence in American religious history (such as Hatch, Hughes, and Allen).[3] Before analyzing the history of research, I provide a concise account of the most important developments in the history of the early Campbell tradition to orient readers unfamiliar with the broad story. The subsequent historiography demonstrates that historians have deciphered the importance of some transatlantic evangelical connections, but much more work needs done in delineating the characteristics of the evangelical culture that influenced the Campbells, fleshing out the nature of the connections, and determining the extent to which those connections influenced the Campbells' early ideas and practices.

II. Key Dates and Developments in the Early Campbell Movement

Raised an Anglican in the established Church of Ireland, Thomas Campbell (1763-1854) became a minister of the Seceder Antiburgher Presbyterians in Ulster, Ireland, from 1798 until he immigrated to Washington, Pennsylvania in 1807. He attended the University of Glasgow in the 1780s, a time when Lockean empiricism and Thomas Reid's Common Sense Philosophy predominated. After five years of subsequent theological education at an Antiburgher school, Campbell was ordained in 1798 and became pastor of a Seceder congregation at Ahorey near the village of Richhill. He conducted services at Ahorey and also attended meetings at the Richhill Independent congregation, which hosted travelling evangelists who had become very popular in the

[3] This chapter draws especially on Blowers, Foster, and Williams, "Stone-Campbell History Over Three Centuries," xxi–xxxv.

evangelical missionary culture of the period. Also in 1798, Thomas was one of thirteen cofounders of the Evangelical Society of Ulster (ESU), one of many voluntary societies modeled on the London Missionary Society (LMS) founded in 1795. Thomas later modeled his Christian Association of Washington, Pennsylvania, founded in 1809, after the LMS, ESU, and similar evangelical missionary societies.[4] In Ireland, however, the Seceders judged the ESU to be latitudinarian and unfit for Presbyterian Christianity. Thomas continued to work for unity among the divided Presbyterians, which efforts never succeeded in his tenure.

Hoping for better health and opportunity, Campbell immigrated to the U.S. in 1807, joining many friends from Ulster who settled in Washington, Pennsylvania. After more than a year of trials with his own Seceder Presbytery of Chartiers and the Associate Synod of North America, Campbell split from the Presbyterian Church in 1809 and established a voluntary society, the Christian Association of Washington (CAW), whose organization and goals were similar to those of the ESU and LMS. He wrote the constitutional document of the CAW, the *Declaration and Address* (1809), which became one of the most influential documents of the SCM. Campbell's family, including his son, Alexander Campbell (1788-1866), joined him in the U.S. in 1809. The family attempted to join their father earlier, but a shipwreck off the coast of Scotland, in which all survived, led the family to spend nearly a year in Scotland waiting to complete their voyage. During that period, Alexander attended the University of Glasgow and spent much time with Greville Ewing, a Scottish evangelical and colleague of Robert and

[4] Lester G. McAllister, "Campbell, Thomas (1763-1854)," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 138–42.

James Haldane. Both Thomas and Alexander Campbell left the Presbyterian Church in 1809 and began working out the implications of the major principles enshrined in the *Declaration and Address*: Christian unity, restoration of New Testament Christianity, individual liberty of interpretation, evangelism, and millennialism.[5]

In 1812, the Campbells decided that adult immersion was the appropriate mode of baptism, a decision which started a long and contentious relationship with Baptists. Baptist preacher Matthias Luce baptized the Campbells and several others in their Independent congregation in 1812. In 1811, when the CAW began to resemble a congregation, the Campbells started an Independent congregation which met at the two CAW log buildings. The Independent church became known as the Brush Run Church and joined the Redstone Baptist Association in 1815. Both Campbells were active members of the Redstone Association, which, among other things, raised funds for the newly formed national Baptist missionary society. Armed with a Baptist identity, Alexander began his debating and publishing careers in the early 1820s. He published the *Christian Baptist* for seven years (1823-1830), a period during which Campbell won many Baptists to his reformation, but at a very high cost of immense and painful division in countless congregations across the frontier.

The Campbell tradition thus had Scots-Irish Presbyterian, Independent, and evangelical roots in Ireland, Scotland, and the U.S. In the U.S., after leaving the Presbyterian Church, the Campbells used their earlier experiences to construct something new, which developed in a number of phases. At first, Thomas started an evangelical

[5] Leroy Garrett, "Campbell, Alexander (1788-1866)," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 112–34.

voluntary society similar to those he experienced in Ireland. Then the Campbells formed an independent congregation similar to those they attended in Ireland and Scotland, but this congregation identified as a church of the CAW until 1812. The Campbells sought acceptance from Presbyterians in their early U.S. years, but eventually, they became more explicitly Baptist, though even when identified with Baptists the Campbells were pushing for newness (e.g., they would not accept creeds as tests of fellowship). The Campbell tradition eventually evolved into something other than Baptist, and the Campbell Reformers and Baptists formally split in 1830. At that point, Alexander started the *Millennial Harbinger* (1830-1870)—a more irenic periodical than *The Christian Baptist*—and shortly thereafter began uniting with Christian congregations affiliated with Barton Stone.[6]

III. Alexander Campbell and the Shaping of Subsequent Historiography

Alexander drastically shaped the way historians have understood the origins of the Campbell tradition in at least two important ways. First, his vicious attack on missionary societies in the *Christian Baptist* (1823-1830) and the subsequent controversies over missionary societies became focal points for historians both inside and outside the SCM. From the earliest issue of the *Christian Baptist*, Alexander spilled a great deal of ink vehemently critiquing missionary societies and enumerating their abuses.[7] His anti-societies rhetoric in the 1820s has detracted the attention of historians

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[6] For an excellent survey of this early story, see Williams, Foster, and Blowers, *The Stone-Campbell Movement: A Global History*, 9–29.

[7] I analyze Campbell's attack in chapter five. Among his complaints were the large sums of money missionaries made, the large expense of the missionary enterprise and disproportionate number of converts, the absence of missionary societies in the NT meant they were unauthorized for the church today, and they perpetuated sectarianism and subsequently hindered Christian unity and the conversion of the world. Also see Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell: Embracing A View of the Origin, Progress and*

from the Campbells' missions ideas before 1823. That is, nearly all the scholarly work on the history of missions in the SCM begins with Alexander's anti-missionary-society arguments recorded in *The Christian Baptist* or focuses on the subsequent missionary society controversy that was a determinative issue for the SCM's first major division.[8] Consequently, historians have almost completely neglected the Campbells' substantial connections to the missionary movement prior to 1823.[9]

Principles of the Religious Reformation Which He Advocated, vol. 2 (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1890), 49–68; Bill J. Humble, "The Missionary Society Controversy in the Restoration Movement (1823-1875)" (PhD diss., The University of Iowa, 1964), 33–43; William J. Richardson, "Alexander Campbell's Conception of Mission," in *Unto the Uttermost: Missions in the Christian Churches/Churches of Christ*, ed. Doug Priest (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1984), 95–115.

[8] For example, see D. S. David Staats Burnet, *The Jerusalem Mission Under the Direction of the American Christian Missionary Society* (New York: Arno Press, 1977); Martin Bailey Clark, "The Missionary Position of the Movement of Disciples of Christ in the Early Years of the Nineteenth Century Reformation" (master's thesis, Butler University, 1949); Morrison Meade Davis, *How the Disciples Began and Grew: A Short History of the Christian Church* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1915); Anthony L. Dunnavant, *Restructure: Four Historical Ideals in the Campbell-Stone Movement and the Development of the Polity of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* (New York: P. Lang, 1993); David Filbeck, *The First Fifty Years: A Brief History of the Direct-Support Missionary Movement* (Joplin: College Press, 1980); Phillip Wayne Elkins, *Church-Sponsored Missions: An Evaluation of Churches of Christ* (Austin: Firm Foundation Publishing House, 1974); F. M. Francis Marion Green, *Christian Missions, and Historical Sketches of Missionary Societies Among the Disciples of Christ: With Historical and Statistical Tables* (St. Louis: J. Burns Pub. Co, 1884); Humble, "The Missionary Society Controversy in the Restoration Movement (1823-1875)"; Walter Wilson Jennings, *Origin and Early History of the Disciples of Christ: With Special Reference to the Period Between 1809 and 1835* (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1919); George Kresel, "Alexander Campbell's Theology of Missions" (PhD diss., Boston University, 1961); Thomas H. Olbricht, "Missions and Evangelization Prior to 1848," *Discipliana* 58, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 67–79; Doug Priest, *Unto the Uttermost: Missions in the Christian Churches/Churches of Christ* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1984); Doug Priest, "Missionary Societies, Controversy Over," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); Henry Webb, "A History of the Independent Mission Movement of the Disciples of Christ" (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1954); Paul Allen Williams, "Missions, Missiology," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

[9] One of the few exceptions is Anthony Dunnavant's 1984 dissertation, published in 1993. He argued that four ideals—restoration, unity, liberty, and missions—constitute the main thrust of the movement's founders and followers, though later generations stressed one or several ideals over others. He was primarily interested to note the connection between the Christian Association of Washington and extra-congregational organization, but he does hint at the Association's missionary society backgrounds. Dunnavant, *Restructure*, 16; Anthony Leroy Dunnavant, "Restructure: Four Historical Ideals in the Campbell-Stone Movement and the Development of the Polity of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)" (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1984).

Second, Alexander also influenced historiography through his narratives of the SCM's origins. Analysis of three of his writings (from 1833, 1848, and 1861) reveals those aspects of the story which Alexander wanted posterity to remember. In 1833, just three years after his tumultuous break with the Baptists became official and at the beginning of the union period between Campbell and Stone churches, Alexander wrote "Disciples of Christ," an entry for the *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*. He suggested the key dates for the movement's origins were (not surprisingly or coincidentally) 1823, when for the first time a "restoration of the *original gospel* and *order of things* began to be plead," and 1827, when the Mahoning Baptist Association hired Walter Scott as evangelist and great numbers began to be immersed, which prompted Baptist associations to "declare non-fellowship with the brethren of the reformation." The earlier years play almost no role in his narrative—he does not even mention the Christian Association of Washington or its *Declaration and Address*.[10]

In 1848, Alexander published a series of anecdotes about the Campbell movement's origins.[11] In these four articles, he called attention to the *Declaration and Address* in order to highlight the new restorationist hermeneutic.[12] He recalled the lasting

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[10] Alexander wrote the article in 1833, published first in 1835, then in 1838, the edition quoted here. See Alexander Campbell, "Disciples of Christ," ed. J. Newton Brown, *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (Brattleboro': Brattleboro' Typographic Company, 1838), 462–464, accessed August 11, 2015, http://web.archive.org/web/20111208232724/http://www.mun.ca/rels/restmov/texts/acampbell/DOC-ERK.HTM.

[11] Alexander Campbell, "Anecdotes, Incidents and Facts, No. I," *Millennial Harbinger* (1848): 279–83; Alexander Campbell, "Anecdotes, Incidents and Facts, No. II," *Millennial Harbinger* (1848): 344–49; Alexander Campbell, "Anecdotes, Incidents and Facts, No. III," *Millennial Harbinger* (1848): 522–24; Alexander Campbell, "Anecdotes, Incidents and Facts, No. IV," *Millennial Harbinger* (1848): 613–16.

[12] On Campbell hermeneutics, see M. Eugene Boring, "Bible, Interpretation of the," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 81–87; Thomas H. Olbricht, "Hermeneutics," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 387–90.

impression of reading in the *Declaration and Address* that nothing ought to be admitted to the church as of divine obligation unless it was expressly enjoined in the NT, "EITHER IN EXPRESS TERMS OR BY APPROVED PRECEDENT."[13] He mentioned the CAW, but only to contrast his own breakthrough concerning believers' immersion with the tradition-laden Association. He said the CAW's members were "not only all Pedobaptists, but the most leading and influential persons in it were hostile to the Baptist views and practice."[14] In sum, when discussing the Movement's origins, Alexander highlighted the new restorationist hermeneutic, his breakthrough concerning believers' baptism by immersion, and he viewed early Campbell development through his dramatic break with the Baptists in the late 1820s, thereby minimizing Thomas' Christian Association of Washington and context of the *Declaration and Address*.

Alexander reified this historiographical stance on the movement's origins in *Memoirs of Thomas Campbell* (1861). Although he noted Thomas' efforts to unite the Seceder Presbyterians in Ireland, he did not mention the Independents at Richhill or the ESU. Also, in Alexander's version of the story, it was Thomas' restorationist proposal that got him into trouble with the Associate Synod of North America. That is, Thomas proposed that the Presbyterians allow him to practice only what is "expressly taught and enjoined in the Divine standard," and this proposal was what the Synod rejected. Therefore, Thomas wrote the *Declaration and Address* to defend his restorationist position. Alexander gave very little attention to unity, missions, or the actual CAW, ostensibly unimportant for origins.

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[13] Campbell, "Anecdotes, Incidents and Facts, No. I," 280.

[14] Ibid., 281.

When we take all three of these depictions together, two particular themes emerge in Alexander's historiography of the Campbell tradition, both of which shaped many later historical works. First, Alexander's accounts were teleological—he told the story according to what came to be important later (i.e., a restoration hermeneutic), with little concern for earlier influences upon Thomas or himself.[15] He located the central components of the rise of the Campbell movement in the hermeneutic proposed in the *Declaration and Address* and the break from Presbyterians and then Baptists. Alexander's teleological treatment of origins was more concerned with later developments and how things actually ended up than with early influences.

Second, Alexander focused on the document (i.e., the *Declaration and Address*) of the CAW but almost completely neglected the Association's organizational plan. That decision was probably based on Whiggish history—after all, his memory said the Association did not do much. But its eventual failure and dissolution does not detract from its significance in the origins story, for in 1809, it no doubt seemed to Thomas and many of the other members that this Association might flourish just as the ESU, LMS, and many others had flourished in the U.K. Most historians since Alexander's historiography have allowed a focus on certain aspects of the document of the Association to minimize or even preclude investigation of the actual CAW or the culture out of which it emerged. The form, ideas, and practices of the Association, as laid out in

[15] Alexander was reluctant to admit he had been influenced by others. For example, see A. Campbell, "To R. B. Semple, of Virginia," *Christian Baptist* 5, no. 5 (December 3, 1827): 399–400.

the *Declaration and Address*, were direct descendants of the transatlantic evangelical missions culture.[16]

IV. Robert Richardson, Evangelical Missions, and Origins of the Campbell Movement

Robert Richardson's (1806-1876) *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* (1868-1869) is an authoritative work in the history of Campbell movement origins and it shaped, in some way, all subsequent histories of the SCM.[17] Richardson portrayed Campbell as a hero, one who exemplified the "very principles that Richardson cherished."[18] Richardson's own preoccupation with unity and corresponding rejection of a burgeoning rationalistic patternism in some parts of the SCM, often palpable in his biography, led him to emphasize earlier unity influences, unlike Alexander's history. One source of unity upon the early Campbell tradition which Richardson highlighted was transatlantic evangelical missions.

Chapter four of volume one demonstrated that "the Independents had a most important influence upon the religious views of both Thomas Campbell and his son

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[16] See chapters three and four for evidence supporting this claim.

[17] The Campbell family requested that Richardson write Alexander's biography, for which he had access to the family papers. Thus his book has an insider's perspective and constitutes "not only the first comprehensive Campbell biography but the first general history of the Stone-Campbell Movement." See James O. Duke, "*Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 513. Richardson's papers are held in the Archives and Special Collections, T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV. Although drafts of *Memoirs* are available in the collection, much of the material Richardson used and quoted at length in *Memoirs* is no longer extant.

[18] Paul M. Blowers, "Richardson, Robert (1806-1876)," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 651.

Alexander."[19] For example, the Independents at Richhill knew Thomas well enough to give him a facetious nickname (i.e., they called him Nicodemus, "who came to Jesus by night," because Thomas usually arrived at the Independent Church at night after he had completed services at his own church in Ahorey). The Richhill Independents often invited itinerant transatlantic evangelical personalities to preach there, which allowed Thomas to hear Rowland Hill, James Haldane, John Walker, and others involved in building the evangelical missionary culture in the 1790s.[20]

Richardson also acknowledged the influence of the missionary movement rooted in Wesley's and Whitefield's emphasis on evangelical preaching.[21] Richardson knew that the purpose of the emerging missionary societies was to "make a united effort to arouse the people to greater religious activity, and . . . to employ those agencies of open-air preaching and itinerancy." He also knew the Haldanes supported missions and that Thomas was a member of "a considerable missionary society, called the Evangelical Society." He knew that Thomas "warmly sympathized" with its practices and "took great pleasure in aiding its operations." Richardson reported the pleasing results of this "species of mission": preachers "were sent out by [the Evangelical Society's] means" to preach in public places and wherever they could obtain an audience. "Like missionaries

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[19] Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell: Embracing A View of the Origin, Progress and Principles of the Religious Reformation Which He Advocated*, vol. 1 (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1890), 59–60.

[20] Richardson delineated the views of Scotch Independents associated with the teachings of John Glas and Robert Sandeman, noting the influential practices of these churches, many of which Campbell later adopted. The theological connections between these Scottish leaders and Alexander Campbell received full treatment in Lynn McMillon's 1972 dissertation at Baylor University, published in revised form as *Restoration Roots* in 1983. See Lynn A. McMillon, "The Quest for the Apostolic Church: A Study of Scottish Origins of American Restorationism" (PhD diss., Baylor University, 1972); Lynn A. McMillon, *Restoration Roots* (Dallas: Gospel Teachers Publications, 1983).

[21] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:71–75.

in heathen lands," Richardson explained, "they felt themselves freed, in good measure, from the sectarian necessities and constraints of party-preachers. They were left, as it were, alone with the Word of God and the souls of men."[22] The missionary societies were non-sectarian in nature and their evangelical missionaries were determined to take the simple message of the Bible to people anywhere they would listen, whether fields, barns, houses, or churches.

Richardson devoted chapter ten of volume one to the reform movement of the Haldanes and Greville Ewing (1767-1841) because, in his estimation, their movement "produced a lasting effect upon [Alexander's] mind" and was the "movement from which [Alexander] received his first impulse as a religious reformer, and which may be justly regarded . . . as the *first* phase of that religious reformation which he subsequently carried out."[23] Richardson highlighted the missionary impulse energizing this influential Scottish reform movement. Ewing became the editor of the *Missionary Magazine* whose object was to "awaken the churches to the importance of missions to the heathen world."[24] The Haldanes and Ewing eventually joined together with others in founding missionary societies and a seminary to train missionaries. James A. Haldane's Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home was established in 1798 and its address, which Richardson quoted at length, clarified that it was not attempting to extend the influence of

[22] Ibid., 1:73–74.

[23] Ibid., 1:149.

[24] Ibid., 1:153.

any sect but to send itinerants and schoolmasters out to make known the "evangelical gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."[25]

This Scottish reform movement which so influenced Alexander, according to Richardson's presentation, had several chief characteristics: it promoted cooperation and Christian unity; its primary goal was to train and send out itinerant preachers of the simple gospel; its secondary goals included printing and distributing religious tracts and Bibles, forming "Sabbath-schools," and building structures for preaching. Despite the clear parallels between the Irish and Scottish missions sources and the *Declaration and Address*, Richardson did not make the connection as explicitly as one would expect, partly because he did not understand the extent or nature of Thomas' involvement in the ESU. Document discoveries by Hiram Lester in the 1980s illuminated the extent of this connection and the characteristics of the ESU.[26]

Richardson argued that the Campbells' desire for Christian unity came from two different sources. Alexander had imbibed liberal, independent, and ecumenical views from the reform movement of the Haldanes and Ewing. Thomas, on the other hand, came to similar independent and ecumenical views by way of his personal experience with the "tyrannous spirit of sectarianism" in America.[27] Although Richardson did not flesh out the implications of these transatlantic evangelical influences upon the Campbell

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[25] Ibid., 1:161.

[26] See Hiram Lester section below.

[27] At least this is what pushed him to leave Presbyterianism for Independent views and unity. A modern proponent of this view, who also ascribes much importance to transatlantic influences before the break with Presbyterianism, is Charles F. Brazell, Jr., "Reluctant Restorationist: Thomas Campbell's Trial and Its Role in His Legacy" (PhD diss., The University of Texas at Arlington, 2007).

movement, he did at least delineate many people, ideas, practices, and organizations that shaped the Campbells.

Richardson also described the Christian Association of Washington as an important organization in the origins of the movement. Thomas' trouble with the Associate Synod of North America was caused not by his new hermeneutic but, rather, by his non-sectarian administration of the Lord's Supper. Furthermore, "the whole design" of the CAW was "to put an end to partyism, and to induce the different religious denominations to unite together upon the Bible as the only authorized rule of faith and practice, and to desist from their controversies about matters of mere opinion and expediency."[28] The Association's members were from various parties and joined because they were "sick of the animosities and controversies between the rival sects" and had concluded that such divisions were among the greatest evils and chief hindrances to the spread of the gospel.[29] These divisions led them to seek a common ground for unity, which they found in the Bible.[30] The appeal of Thomas' proposal was in the "novelty and force of the plea he made for Christian liberality and Christian union upon the basis of the Bible."[31] Therefore, the CAW—important in its own right—was formed to promote unity, and its *Declaration and Address* was designed to set forth the object of the Association.[32]

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[28] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:233.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., 1:237.

[31] Ibid., 1:231.

[32] Ibid., 1:241–2.

In sum, Richardson saw the unity and evangelism of the evangelical missionary societies as an important influence on both Campbells and highlighted unity as the goal of the CAW. He seems to have known that the missionary enterprise and the ecumenical spirit were linked to voluntary societies, but he did not extensively flesh out the significance of this for the origins of the Campbell tradition. He also missed the connection between the CAW and the ESU, despite the fact that he knew of other societies like them and discussed those societies' goals, which the CAW had replicated.[33] Nonetheless, Richardson did locate origins in the broader evangelical world and in Thomas' early "Evangelical Society" which promoted unity.

V. Twentieth-Century Historiography: Unity, Restoration, Frontier, and Democratization

Two influential denominational histories from the mid-twentieth century came from Earl Irvin West and James Deforest Murch. West's four volume work, titled *The Search for the Ancient Order: A History of the Reformation Movement, 1849-1906* (1949-1987), was the "first truly comprehensive history of the Movement by an academic historian from within the Churches of Christ. Yet it continued the interpretative trends . . . [of] restoration as the Movement's essence and the triumph of Churches of Christ."[34] West's explicit goal was to uncover how and why the SCM divided over the missionary society and instrumental music, making restoration and division the center of his inquiry. Despite his focus on the period from 1849 to 1906, as noted in the subtitle, West provided 165 pages of historical background to 1849. He mentioned Glas, Sandeman, Ewing, and

[33] These observations along with his short treatment of the ESU and lack of details (e.g., he never gave the name of the ESU) demonstrate that he did not have the constitutional documents of the ESU.

[34] Blowers, Foster, and Williams, "Stone-Campbell History Over Three Centuries," xxvi.

the Haldanes, but only to emphasize their restorationist beliefs and worship practices—not their evangelical context. For West, the legacy of the *Declaration and Address* was its status as a famous document to "come out of the movement to restore primitive Christianity."[35] West relied on Richardson throughout his treatment of the early years, but he omitted most of Richardson's content concerning the evangelical societies and the ecumenism of the Campbells' Irish and Scottish experiences. Instead, West portrayed the movement as one centered on restoration of the New Testament as a rule of faith and practice, much like Alexander's earlier portrayal.

In another important survey, *Christians Only: A History of the Restoration Movement* (1962), James Deforest Murch argued that the SCM had its origins in America. Two of his presuppositions explain why he makes this particular claim. First, he believed church history was cyclical. The cycle was four-fold: purity, power, apostasy, and restoration.[36] Murch claimed, "Wherever error or apostasy threaten the purity and effectiveness of the church of Christ, God raises up a restoration movement to accomplish His purpose."[37] The state of Christianity in America was at an all-time low in the late eighteenth-century, according to Murch. Therefore, in the cycle of church history, America was at the stage of apostasy and ripe for a restoration movement at precisely the time when the Campbells came on the U.S. scene.

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[35] Earl Irvin West, *The Search for the Ancient Order: A History of the Restoration Movement*, vol. 1 (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1949), 49.

[36] James Deforest Murch, *Christians Only: A History of the Restoration Movement* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1962), v–viii, 9–18.

[37] Ibid., 18.

Second, Murch's providential view of history, or the "traditional historical view," as he called it, "sees in history the hand of God and evaluates and interprets facts in the light of His Word."[38] Through his providential purview, Murch saw that God had prepared in America the "seed bed for the birth and development of the greatest single Christian movement of distinctly American origin in the religious world."[39] Like others before and after him, Murch relied heavily on Richardson's history for Irish and Scottish information, choosing which aspects of the narrative to emphasize. For Murch, the Campbells' British experiences influenced their restoration ideas, but missions and the interdenominational societies received scant attention.

The most prominent twentieth-century historian of the Disciples of Christ was Winfred Ernest Garrison (1874-1969).[40] Garrison and his colleagues at the University of Chicago utilized Frederick Jackson Turner's (1861-1932) frontier thesis as an interpretive paradigm for American religion.[41] Garrison wrote several histories with this interpretation in the 1930s and 1940s—these dominated Disciples' historiography for

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[38] Ibid., v.

[39] Ibid., 34.

[40] Son of beloved editor J. H. Garrison (1842-1931), Winfred received degrees from both Eureka College and Yale before receiving a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1897. His dissertation analyzed the historical sources of Alexander Campbell's theology. W. Clark Gilpin, "Garrison, Winfred Ernest (1874-1969)," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); Winfred Ernest Garrison, *Alexander Campbell's Theology: Its Sources and Historical Setting* (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company, 1900).

[41] According to Turner's 1893 essay and subsequent theory, free land, westward expansion, and the continual process of beginning again on the line of settlement explain the development of American democratic life and character—the independent character, love of simplicity, freedom from structural oppression (e.g., clerical elite), zeal for democratic institutions, and desire for eliminating nonessentials (e.g., limited government) all came from the frontier environment. See Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921), 1–38; W. Helsabeck, "The American Frontier," *Leaven* 7, no. 4 (1999): 177–80.

most of the twentieth century. Also, the application of the theory of development for historical understanding captivated Garrison. He put it this way in the introduction of his dissertation:

> The most fruitful and far-reaching general conception which this age has brought into prominence is the idea of development. [It is] based upon a metaphysics which finds the essence of reality to consist . . . in the process by which functions are fulfilled, forms developed and new adaptations made to changing conditions. . . . If the very essence of reality lies in development, growth and adaptation, then knowledge of any portion of reality is to be sought in the study of its process of development. . . .
>
> The idea of development [when applied to the domain of history] has produced what is sometimes called the 'new historical method.' It is the method which treats history as an organism whose parts grew together and can not be understood separately; as a succession of events causally related, the ultimate essence of which lies in their causal connection. . . .
>
> An idea or an institution is a growth. As a plant grows out of a seed, so an idea develops from earlier ideas. Varying conditions of soil, moisture, heat and light influence the growth of the plant; varying local and temporary needs, individual abilities and personal adaptations determine the form of the idea. . . .[42]

With this view of history, Garrison easily wedded Turner's frontier thesis and the idea of development to form a perspective on SCM history that persuaded many subsequent historians. For example, his *Religion Follows the Frontier* (1931) interpreted the SCM as a religious organism which arose and evolved in response to its frontier environment. Ideas were like seeds planted in fertile ground, and Garrison argued that Alexander's idea of restoration was a seed he got from his Scottish influences and planted in the fertile American frontier. In fact, Garrison reduced Glas, Sandeman, Ewing, and the Haldanes to restorationists: "It will be observed that the union motive was virtually nonexistent among these restorers of the primitive order. Their object was not to be united with other

[42] Garrison, *Alexander Campbell's Theology*, 9–14.

Christians, but to be right."[43] He distinguished between these diverse sources much more carefully in his later survey, noting at least that they all "played down the dogmas and authoritative ecclesiastical structures that divide, and all played up a warm evangelical faith."[44] As I argue in subsequent chapters, the Campbells learned much more from Ewing and the Haldanes than restorationism. Ewing and the Haldanes were transatlantic evangelicals whose emergence as leaders was inextricably linked to the context of the evangelical missions culture that stressed Christian unity. Robert Richardson understood aspects of this connection, even if Garrison and most subsequent historians missed the importance of unity in these Scottish sources.[45] As this dissertation demonstrates, viewing the Campbell movement's origins in the context of the evangelical missions culture helps historians take stock of both unity and restoration in the U.K. sources of influence.

In his major historical works, Garrison located three sources of the Campbells' emphasis on unity. First, the Independent church at Richhill gave Thomas a "more sympathetic attitude toward" adherents of other denominations. Thomas there encountered evangelical revivalists such as Rowland Hill and John Walker. Garrison argued that none of these evangelizing tours "advocated explicitly the union of the churches or all Christians in one church." Depending on one's interpretation of this

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[43] Winfred Ernest Garrison, *Religion Follows the Frontier: A History of the Disciples of Christ* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1931), 37–38.

[44] Winfred Ernest Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, *The Disciples of Christ: A History*, rev. ed. (1948; repr., St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, 1964), 128.

[45] Recently, Leroy Garrett wrote, the Scottish reformers did not "include unity as part of their reformation. This was the unique feature of what became the Campbell plea. While the Scots called for restoration of primitive Christianity as if it were the end in view, the Campbells made it a means to an end—the end being the unity of all believers in Christ." Garrett, "Campbell, Alexander (1788-1866)," 118.

statement, it could be considered true. However, many of these evangelists did have Christian unity at the center of their evangelical efforts. This was especially the case with those involved in the missionary culture, which included everyone Garrison mentioned. Most important for their omission were the ESU, Thomas' role as co-founder of it, and the ESU's explicit appeal to Christian unity on the basis of the primitive gospel.

Second, Thomas reacted against the divisive tendencies in his own church. Thomas' identity was that of an Old Light Antiburgher Seceder Presbyterian. His failed attempt to unite Irish Seceders troubled him deeply and constituted serious internal dissatisfaction that influenced his actions in the U.S.

Third, John Locke's writings, especially *Letters Concerning Toleration*, promoted a broad spirit of toleration which both Campbells embraced. Locke argued for a nonsectarian Christianity which found its unity in the few essentials identified by Christ and his apostles. Lockean Christian unity permeated Thomas' *Declaration and Address* and, according to Garrison, comprised (1) the most important source of the Campbells' ideas on unity and (2) the primary impetus for Thomas' leaving the Presbyterian Church and forming the CAW.[46] Most SCM historians have followed Garrison on this point about Lockean unity because Locke's and other Enlightenment thinkers' emphasis on toleration, which undergirded much of modern political liberalism, deeply influenced the Campbells. Indeed, as chapter three of this dissertation argues, the intellectual milieu of the Enlightenment fueled the toleration found in the interdenominational missionary societies.

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[46] Garrison, *Alexander Campbell's Theology*, 9–158; Garrison, *Religion Follows the Frontier*, 72–73, 85, 94; Garrison and DeGroot, *The Disciples of Christ*, 38–58, 124–61.

Garrison is a particularly interesting case because one would assume his own desire for Christian unity would have led him to emphasize those portions of Richardson that showed unity and simple evangelical Christianity as the key themes of the missionary movement with which the Campbells interacted. But Garrison completely missed the connection between unity and the missions influences because he could only find restoration in the U.K. evangelicals. Where he did discover evangelistic zeal, he did not correlate the unity theme in the missions movement (not even those connections Richardson already highlighted). Furthermore, Garrison ascribed much causal influence to the frontier environment. He rightly noted the influence of John Locke but envisioned Locke and other ideological influences as important primarily in how they shaped the Campbells' responses to the determinative frontier environment. The embodied and formational experiences of the evangelical missionary societies are simply absent.

In a related vein of historiography, Nathan Hatch's seminal 1980 article[47] and highly influential book, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (1989), both argue that the process of democratization and populism in the early American republic are central to understanding "the wave of popular religious movements that broke upon the United States" and their effect on the subsequent development of American Christianity.[48] Hatch argues that "religious populism has been . . . a recurring source of new religious movements" in America, and he calls the SCM "that most American of

[47] Nathan O. Hatch, "The Christian Movement and the Demand for a Theology of the People," *Journal of American History* 67, no. 3 (1980): 545–67.

[48] Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 3.

denominations."[49] Hatch's synthesis portrays the Campbell movement as an American phenomenon growing out of the democratic and egalitarian forces of the early American republic.

Like Garrison's frontier thesis, Hatch's democratization thesis is persuasive in many respects and illuminates the religious and cultural context which shaped early SCM adherents. However, his focus on America as a peculiar setting can lead to a deficient understanding of the larger context shaping the origins and development of the movements he discusses.[50] In particular, transatlantic evangelical societies, which influenced the Campbells' movement for unity based on the Bible alone, were not an American phenomenon. The voluntary benevolent societies gave populist Christianity structures of cooperation, networking, and means of wielding political and social power in the period Hatch discusses, yet these societies were transatlantic rather than American phenomena.

Hatch's American-centric interpretation also runs the risk of overlooking other key ideals that were shared across the transatlantic and, therefore, not simply unique outgrowths of an American context. For example, Hatch disregarded the influence of the Haldanes on the Campbells. He argued, "The early documents of the Campbell movement, however, manifest a keen awareness that the issues to be faced were, in their

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[49] Ibid., 220.

[50] Douglas Foster has highlighted the problematic synthesizing in Hatch's article and book. Hatch does not distinguish the individuals or the movements he discusses carefully enough. Further, he does not distinguish the early from the late Campbell, which is particularly problematic when dealing with the origins of the Campbells' ideas. The Campbell tradition underwent massive changes in its first twenty years after the 1809 *Declaration and Address*. See Hughes et al., *American Origins of the Churches of Christ: Three Essays on Restoration History*, 109–11.

intensity at least, peculiarly American and demanded new solutions."[51] To evince this claim, he cites Thomas' *Declaration and Address*, the most explicitly transatlantic of the early Campbell documents which was largely reliant for its form and much of its content on its Irish, British, and Scottish predecessors. In other words, Hatch's narrow geographical and socio-political focus led him to omit and devalue important ideological, organizational, and formational influences for the origins of the SCM and skewed his reading of important primary documents.

It was only recently that historians began doing original research on restoration roots of the Campbell tradition, and these have been significant especially in regard to Scottish evangelicals. Lynn McMillon's 1972 dissertation and its revised publication in 1983 provided a scholarly treatment of the rise of restorationism in general and how it influenced the Campbells. McMillon summarized restorationist views of early reformers, Anabaptists, Robert Browne, Congregationalists, John Glas, Robert Sandeman, and the Haldanes, devoting the final chapter to Alexander's appropriation of these earlier restorationists' ideas and practices.[52] A number of subsequent works have continued this fruitful line of inquiry, especially in regard to Glas, Sandeman, and the Haldanes, all of whom influenced the Campbell tradition to some extent.[53] Nonetheless, only a few have

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[51] Hatch, "The Christian Movement," 551 n.20.

[52] McMillon, "The Quest for the Apostolic Church"; McMillon, *Restoration Roots*.

[53] Richard Tristano, *The Origins of the Restoration Movement: An Intellectual History* (Atlanta: Glenmary Research Center, 1988), chap. 3, accessed April 29, 2014, http://www.seenow.net/beavercreek/media/Tristano_Restoration-Movement.pdf; Deryck W. Lovegrove, "Unity and Separation: Contrasting Elements in the Thought and Practice of Robert and James Alexander Haldane," in *The Stone-Campbell Movement: An International Religious Tradition*, ed. Michael W. Casey and Douglas A. Foster (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 520–43; John Howard Smith, *The Perfect Rule of the Christian Religion: A History of Sandemanianism in the Eighteenth Century* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2008), 181–82; Brazell, Jr., "Reluctant Restorationist," 78, 204; Camille K. Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists? The Careers of Robert and James Haldane in Cultural and Political Context" (PhD diss., Texas Christian University, 1999); Camille Dean, "Robert and James Alexander

noted a missions connection, and even those stop short of drawing out implications of missions ideas for Campbell movement origins.[54] Significant in this regard is the work of Camille Dean who argues that the Haldanes had numerous phases of development during which they oscillated from emphasizing evangelism to restorationism and back again.[55] Their concern for evangelism, as seen in their involvement in the missionary endeavor in the transatlantic, indirectly "breathed new life and a new evangelistic spirit into the Scottish independent tradition" as it lived on in a number of Christian groups, including the Campbell movement.[56] Dean also pointed to Haldanean postmillennial missionary enthusiasm as a background to millennialism in the Campbell tradition.[57]

Other important works on restorationism as a source of SCM origins came from Richard Hughes and Leonard Allen in two books published in 1988 and various subsequent publications.[58] In *Illusions of Innocence*, Hughes and Allen demonstrated that

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Haldane in Scotland: Evangelicals or Restorationists?," *Restoration Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (2000): 99–111; Lori Shannon Phillips Mayberry, "Robert and James Alexander Haldane in Scotland: An Evangelistic Effort That Failed to Germinate," *Restoration Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (1997): 203–14; Camille K. Dean, "British Backgrounds of Millennialism in the Campbell Tradition," *Discipliana* 60, no. 3 (2000): 67–77.

[54] Dyron Daughrity, "Glasite Versus Haldanite: Scottish Divergence on the Question of Missions," *Restoration Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2011): 65–79.

[55] Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?"

[56] Dean, "Robert and James Alexander Haldane in Scotland," 111.

[57] Dean notes that the Haldanes' emphasis on missions with their postmillennial missionary enthusiasm was rooted in seventeenth-century Puritan interpretation of prophecy and its eighteenth century manifestation in the tradition espoused most influentially (for postmillennialism and evangelical missionary fervor) by Jonathan Edwards. See Dean, "British Backgrounds of Millennialism in the Campbell Tradition," 67–68.

[58] Richard T. Hughes and C. Leonard Allen, *Illusions of Innocence: Protestant Primitivism in America, 1630-1875* (Abilene: ACU Press, 2008); Richard T. Hughes and C. Leonard Allen, *Illusions of Innocence: Protestant Primitivism in America, 1630-1875* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); C. Leonard Allen and Richard T. Hughes, *Discovering Our Roots: The Ancestry of Churches of Christ* (Abilene: ACU Press, 1988).

restorationism or primitivism had its roots in Christian Humanism, the Protestant Reformations, and Puritanism.[59] The Campbells stood directly in the lineage of restorationists produced by these diverse movements since the sixteenth century. Furthermore, Hughes and Allen critiqued historical approaches that viewed restorationism as a popular response to major economic or social disorder, such as the frontier for Garrison and democratization for Hatch. "In this view," argued Hughes and Allen, "the restoration impulse is essentially compensatory and flourishes among the displaced, the disoriented, or the dispossessed." That is, traditional values were turned upside down and social disintegration of revolutionary America prompted some Baptists, Mormons, and "Christians" to restorationism.[60] Although they acknowledge the contributions of interpretations in this historiographical tradition, Hughes and Allen argue that intellectual history reveals a very real spiritual crisis which cannot be explained solely by social, economic, or military pressures.[61] In addition, their analysis of restorationism in earlier centuries demonstrates that it was an enduring and international phenomenon that had as much to do with one's intellectual tradition as one's socio-political context, even if they highlight characteristics of the American context (e.g., a "new world" and *novus ordo seclorum* after 1776) that made it an especially fertile place for millennially-charged primitivism.[62] As Hughes argued in a later article, the restoration

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[59] Hughes and Allen, *Illusions of Innocence*, 4.

[60] Ibid., xv. They quote Rhys Isaac, Gordon Wood, and Nathan Hatch as proponents of the view that the restoration impulse was a popular response to social disorder.

[61] See also Richard T. Hughes, "Two Restoration Traditions : Mormons and Churches of Christ in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Mormon History* 19, no. 1 (1993): 37.

[62] Hughes and Allen, *Illusions of Innocence*, 1–3.

vision was not unique to antebellum America and "much less to the process of democratization or to social marginality in the new republic."[63]

Hughes and Allen made a transatlantic point without drawing out its implications. As noted in the introduction and will become clear in later chapters, the Puritan restoration tradition that Hughes and Allen highlighted was also an influential source for the transatlantic evangelical missionary culture. In fact, a simple primitive gospel, millennialism, and missionary endeavors became inseparable ideas for many leading evangelical thinkers in the eighteenth-century transatlantic area. As I demonstrate in the next chapter, a transatlantic evangelical missionary culture provided a broad context that held a number of these various strands of thought together, uniting them in a coherent picture of the world that mobilized Christians to cooperate in order to spread a simple, primitive gospel—shorn of denominational baggage—with millennial excitement usually fuelling motivations.

Hughes also made significant contributions to historical understanding of Alexander Campbell. Hughes' contribution here must be viewed through his larger goal of explaining the development of Churches of Christ, particularly in regard to how the Churches of Christ have synthesized, adapted, and rejected parts of the distinct worldviews of Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone. Hughes' seminal article, "The Apocalyptic Origins of the Churches of Christ and the Triumph of Modernism" (1992), laid the groundwork for *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America* (1996). In these works, Hughes distinguished between Stone's apocalyptic premillennial primitivism and Campbell's rationalistic postmillennial primitivism,

[63] Hughes, "Two Restoration Traditions," 38.

demonstrating that Stone's worldview was influential especially on nineteenth-century Churches of Christ. Hughes offers a profound analysis of the sometimes similar but ultimately very different worldviews of Stone and Campbell and how they affected subsequent history of the Churches of Christ.[64]

I should note two points about Hughes' depiction of Alexander which pertain to this dissertation. First, Hughes' coverage of Alexander is almost totally reliant on the 1820s and following. He offers splendid explanations for the evolution of Alexander from a radical sectarian in the 1820s *Christian Baptist* era to a defender of American Protestantism by the late 1830s.[65] As noted earlier, attempts to explain Alexander's move from early iconoclast who despised missionary societies (1820s) to president of a national missionary society (1849) have been central to the historiography of missions in the SCM. Although Hughes' explanation of the shift from earlier to later Campbell is superb, he did not analyze the Campbell tradition in its first two decades before the *Christian Baptist*. A third Alexander exists in these early years. Alexander was influenced by his childhood in Ireland, his evangelical father, his experiences with evangelicals in Scotland, his identity as a Baptist in America, and his participation in the great missionary fervor of the early nineteenth century, notably (if almost totally forgotten) in his itinerancy for the CAW and for the Brush Run Church's consistent financial support

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[64] Richard T. Hughes, "The Apocalyptic Origins of Churches of Christ and the Triumph of Modernism," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 2, no. 2 (1992): 181–214; Richard T. Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), especially chapters 2 and 5.

[65] Hughes and Allen, *Illusions of Innocence*, 170–87; Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America*, 21–46.

of the first national Baptist missionary society in the U.S.[66] This third and earliest Campbell was often quite different from the Alexander of the 1820s. In fact, a key aim of chapter five of this dissertation is to explain why Alexander abruptly shifted from twenty years of supporting the missionary enterprise to harshly condemning missionary societies in the *Christian Baptist*.

Second, and related to the first point, Hughes and Allen continued the line of argument that sees the roots of Campbellian unity in the thought of John Locke.[67] They point to Locke's Christianization of the Deist model for achieving unity, which attempted to locate the essentials of religion upon which all reasonable people could agree. Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695) made the case that people had to believe only one proposition in order to receive salvation—Jesus is the Messiah.[68] Hughes and Allen argue that Alexander used Locke's method of unity but inserted Puritanism's more robust content:

> Campbell derived his emphasis on restoration from Puritanism. . . . His emphasis on unity he derived from the British rationalists, especially John Locke, who sought a means to societal unity in the aftermath of Calvinism, sectarian disputes,

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[66] Titled The General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions, this national organization began in 1814 to support the Judsons, missionaries to India and then Burma. See W. M. Patterson, "Triennial Convention," *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 1185. See chapter five for more information on the Brush Run Church's support of the Baptist missionary society.

[67] Hughes and Allen, *Illusions of Innocence*, 177–8; Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America*, 26, 49–50.

[68] John Locke, *The Reasonableness of Christianity, As Delivered in the Scriptures*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for Awnsham and John Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1696). Locke argued that belief in Jesus as the Messiah distinguished believers from unbelievers and was the key to becoming a member of Christ's church. Locke grounded this claim with a flurry of New Testament texts. John 20:30-31 in particular made it plain to Locke "that the Gospel was writ to induce men into a belief of this Proposition, *that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah*; which if they believed, they should *have life*" (Locke, *Reasonableness*, 28-29). The miracles of Jesus provided evidence that he was the Messiah. Since even devils believe, however, Locke argued that Jesus also taught that Christians had certain ethical obligations. While the core of the book argued that Christianity's bottom line was Jesus as Messiah, Locke also stressed the necessity of a moral life.

> and religious wars. Campbell and the rationalists differed not in intention or theological model but in content. The intention in both instances was pluralism and unity. The theological model in both instances was the reduction of religion to a set of self-evident essentials on which all reasonable persons could agree. . . . Ironically, Campbell . . . filled the rationalists' model with the Puritans' restorationist content which the rationalists already had rejected as divisive. And by predicating unity on the restoration of an institution—the primitive, apostolic church—rather than on a religion of nature, or a single revealed doctrine as with Locke, he elevated the problem of essentials-nonessentials to critical significance.[69]

This perceptive analysis illuminates Alexander's combination of Puritan primitivism and Lockean unity, particularly as Alexander's thoughts emerged in the mid- and late-1820s.

Lockean epistemology was indeed a central building block of the Campbell tradition. Lockean epistemological presuppositions were essential to the Campbells' hermeneutic and restorationism, and Locke's ideas in *A Letter Concerning Toleration* shaped Thomas' *Declaration and Address* and Alexander's outlook on unity and toleration.[70] But the Campbells directly experienced and participated in evangelical efforts to attain Christian unity for the goal of evangelization. Thomas' experiences in this evangelical missions culture provided much of the structure and content of his CAW and *Declaration and Address*. In other words, I do not wish to deemphasize Locke's influence, but I do wish to place Locke in a larger context in which the Campbell's experienced his ideas as well as those of the Puritans and others. This context of the evangelical missions culture has been largely neglected and has more contextual explanatory power than Locke's ideas alone.

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[69] Hughes and Allen, *Illusions of Innocence*, 178.

[70] For an overview and bibliography on Locke's influence on the Campbell tradition, see John Mark Hicks, "Locke, John (1632-1704)," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 487.

Chapter Four demonstrates that both Campbells had a direct encounter with unity (particularly in its relation to a nondenominational gospel for the conversion of the world in an atmosphere charged with millennial speculation) in the transatlantic evangelical missions culture of the 1790s to 1810s. The missionary societies and key figures with whom both Campbells were acquainted provided direct and concrete experiences of the type of unity Thomas envisioned when writing the *Declaration and Address*. This source of the Campbells' early ideas of Christian unity is corroborated by the fact that the *Declaration and Address* —which articulated key ideas of primitivism, unity, and millennialism—was in part a reproduction of other missionary society charters. This Christian unity for the sake of evangelizing the world with a simple evangelical gospel was the Christian unity the Campbells sought from the 1790s to the 1810s. The evangelical missions context helps explain the Campbell tradition's early domino schema: Christian unity based on New Testament Christianity would make the world believe (i.e., unity as a means to evangelize the world) and the conversion of the world would then usher in the millennium. These ideas permeated the transatlantic evangelical missions culture.

This second point works in tandem with the first and my overall transatlantic perspective: attention to the early years of development demonstrates that the Campbell movement, as constructed from the 1790s to early 1820s, was a transatlantic evangelical tradition. Although the American context was crucial for nurturing the Campbell tradition into what it became by the 1820s, a transatlantic purview and attention to earlier years demonstrates that the Campbell tradition was shaped as much by transatlantic ideas and practices as by a peculiar American context.

VI. Evangelical Society of Ulster: David M. Thompson and Hiram J. Lester

It was not until the 1980s that the first scholarly works explored original research on the "Evangelical Society" which Richardson briefly described as one of Thomas' influential experiences with the evangelical missions movement. The first historian to locate the extraordinary connection between the ESU and the Campbell movement was David M. Thompson.[71] Thompson made this connection even though he did not have the document that Hiram Lester had found that same year, which I discuss below. In fact, Thompson had uncovered the connections between SCM origins and evangelical culture already in 1980. In the aptly named *Let Sects and Parties Fall*, he noted,

> Apologists for the Disciples movement on both sides of the Atlantic have tended to ignore the extent to which the programme of Christian unity on the basis of the Bible was part of the common stock of evangelical ideas in the early nineteenth century. It lay behind the burst of missionary activity overseas in the 1790s and 1800s: it was of obvious importance in the foundation of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804. But it did not last. In England first Anglican evangelicals and then Methodists abandoned the idea of undenominational evangelism, and by the 1830s separate Unions had been established for Congregationalists and Baptists.[72]

Thompson, a British historian of religious nonconformity, perceptively noted the evangelical context which linked unity on the basis of the Bible with the early missionary and Bible voluntary societies.

Thompson's important discoveries were a precursor to the most important historical work linking Thomas to the ESU, which came from Hiram J. Lester (1933-

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[71] David M. Thompson, *Let Sects and Parties Fall: A Short History of the Association of Churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland* (Birmingham: Berean Press, 1980), 9; David M. Thompson, "The Irish Background to Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address*," *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society* 3, no. 6 (1985): 215–25; David M. Thompson, "The Irish Background to Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address*," *Discipliana* 46 (1986): 23–27.

[72] Thompson, *Let Sects and Parties Fall*, 9.

1998).[73] Lester located a number of sources that clarified Richardson's comments about the "Evangelical Society."[74] The most important source he located was the constitutional document of the ESU, although he also found several letters illuminating some of the connections between the ESU and LMS.[75] He published a series of articles discussing these findings which culminated in his seminal article, "The Form and Function of the *Declaration and Address*," published posthumously in 2000.[76] Comparing the ESU founding plan with the *Declaration and Address*, Lester demonstrated that Thomas had followed the organizational plan of the ESU for the CAW. The ESU was, for the Campbells, an "early baptism in ecumenicity." He critiqued earlier works that pointed to Locke as the source of Campbell's emphasis on unity, demonstrating that Thomas copied the evangelical missionary societies to produce his Association of Washington and the Campbell movement's foundational document.[77]

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[73] For biographical information, see Richard T. Hughes, "Lester, Hiram Jefferson (1933-1998)," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 469–70.

[74] For description of the sources, see Hiram Lester, "Alexander Campbell's Early Baptism in Ecumenicity and Sectarianism," *Restoration Quarterly* 30 (1988): 86 n.4.

[75] These sources and many more archival materials Lester collected from Ireland, Britain, and other places are available at T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV, Archives and Special Collections, Hiram Lester Papers.

[76] Hiram J. Lester, "The Form and Function of the *Declaration and Address*," in *The Quest for Christian Unity, Peace, and Purity in Thomas Campbell's* Declaration and Address*: Text and Studies*, ed. Thomas H. Olbricht and Hans Rollmann, ATLA Monograph Series 46 (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 173–92.

[77] Alfred Russell Scott also drew on Thompson's findings in his 1987 article, but it was Lester who illuminated the relationship between Campbell and the ESU by following the trail to which Thompson had pointed. Lester published a number of articles beginning in 1988 that were based on new materials he found in Ireland, including the ESU's constitutional document and letters from ESU missionaries. Lester demonstrated that Campbell had based the plan of his American society on the plan that he knew from the ESU. Joseph Thompson, who helped Lester locate the ESU's constitutional document, also published an article on the ESU in 1988. Thompson's article summarized the content of ESU's constitutional document but also included information on the official denominational responses to the ESU. In his 2007 article, Richard Phillips did not add any new source information to this picture, but he did point to it as one of the

Lester apparently did not know of the numerous evangelical societies in the U.S. at the time of the CAW's formation in 1809, as he said, "there weren't any other evangelical societies in the U.S."[78] Therefore, he only made the connection between Thomas and the ESU as well as the LMS, rather than the larger transatlantic evangelical missionary movement of which the LMS and ESU were British and Irish examples. There actually were evangelical societies in the U.S. at the time. Nonetheless, Lester could not have been more correct in his depiction of the CAW when he said it was an "evangelical, missionary society for the purpose of sending itinerant evangelists to places devoid of gospel preaching, and to distribute Bibles to the poor."[79] That is exactly what it was and, therefore, the transatlantic evangelical missions culture is an important context for the rise of the Campbell tradition. This dissertation picks up where Lester left off, taking his findings further and fleshing out the significance of the missionary society roots of the *Declaration and Address*.

Lester's work has prompted a slight shift in the historiography of Campbell tradition origins. For example, Richard Phillips petitioned for a reexamination of Thomas

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major reasons to reappraise Thomas Campbell. More recently, I emphasized how two primary evangelical characteristics found in the Moravians, Wesleys, the London Missionary Society, and the ESU (i.e., itinerant preaching and unity) had made it more clear that the early Campbell movement was a product of late-nineteenth century evangelicalism. See Alfred Russell Scott, "Thomas Campbell's Ministry at Ahorey," *Restoration Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1987): 229–34; Lester, "Alexander Campbell's Early Baptism in Ecumenicity and Sectarianism," 85–101; Hiram J. Lester, "An Irish Precursor for Thomas Campbell's Declaration and Address," *Encounter* 50, no. 3 (1989): 246–67; Hiram J. Lester, "The Case Against Sectarianism," *The Disciple* 17, no. 3 (1990): 10–12; Lester, "The Form and Function of the *Declaration and Address*," 173–92; Joseph Thompson, "The Evangelical Society of Ulster," *The Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland*, no. 17 (March 1988): 1–29; James L. Gorman, "European Roots of Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address*: The Evangelical Society of Ulster," *Restoration Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (2009): 129–37.

[78] Lester, "The Case Against Sectarianism," 10.

[79] Ibid.

and the *Declaration and Address* based on these earlier influences.[80] Also, recent works on the SCM at least mention the ESU.[81] The most recent survey of SCM history begins with the assertion that Stone Christians and Campbell Reformers both "affirmed that Christian unity was critical to the evangelization of the world and the in-breaking of Christ's early reign of peace and justice," and gives several paragraphs to discussion of Thomas' role in the Evangelical Society of Ulster.[82] Synthesizing a number of previous studies, Charles F. Brazell, Jr.'s recent dissertation, "Reluctant Restorationist: Thomas Campbell's Trial and Its Role in His Legacy" (2007), takes stock of the transatlantic connections that influenced the formative years of the Campbell movement, particularly in regard to Presbyterian divisions.[83]

VII. Conclusion

The answer to this chapter's inquiry, then, is that historians have indeed paid some attention to the missions influence which Richardson stressed in the 1860s, but until

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[80] Richard Phillips, "Thomas Campbell: A Reappraisal Based on Backgrounds," *Restoration Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (2007): 75–102; L. Thomas Smith, "Thomas Campbell's Midlife Crisis: A Biographical Introduction and Historiographical Synthesis," *Stone-Campbell Journal* 14, no. 1 (2011): 3–19.

[81] For example, see Eva Jean Wrather, *Alexander Campbell: Adventurer In Freedom: A Literary Biography*, ed. D. Duane Cummins, vol. 1 (Fort Worth: TCU Press and the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 2005), 53–54; John P. Harrison, "Evangelical Society of Ulster," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 315–16.

[82] Williams, Foster, and Blowers, *The Stone-Campbell Movement: A Global History*, 9, 18.

[83] Brazell roots Thomas' move to restorationism and unity in his Irish and Scottish precursors, but he sees Thomas' trials by the Chartiers Presbytery and the Associate Synod of North America from 1807-1809 as the decisive experience leading Thomas to reluctantly break with Presbyterianism and start the CAW. Although Brazell does utilize a transatlantic perspective, he primarily brings together secondary research on most of the early years and focuses primarily on Campbell restorationism. Brazell's major contribution to historiography is chapter four, in which he carefully examines the minutes of Chartiers Presbytery and the Associate Synod of North America to offer nuances and additions to the earlier work of Herbert Hannah. See Brazell, Jr., "Reluctant Restorationist"; William Herbert Hanna, *Thomas Campbell: Seceder and Christian Union Advocate*, Reprint. (Joplin: College Press, 1986).

recently, the historiography points to an omission of missions. The historiography of Campbell movement origins is diverse, and even in this short survey the diversity of the various contexts which have shaped the telling of history are glaring. Alexander's history was teleological, focused on the aspects of the story that became central to the SCM (i.e., a restorationist hermeneutic). Richardson's access to the family papers fostered thorough coverage of the early years, and his own desire for Christian unity led him to evangelical sources which stressed unity. Most importantly, Richardson described the missionary movement in Ireland and Scotland as an important influence on both Campbells' early experience of unity and evangelism. Garrison's treatment, in contrast, argued that the non-American influences were restorationists with no concern for unity. Instead, he argued that John Locke was the source of the Campbells' unity, and most historians have followed him in that conclusion. Garrison's shift away from the evangelical missionary sources of unity which Richardson had located has only recently been partially rectified.

Other historians have focused on democratization or restoration as the central components of the early Campbell movement and, therefore, largely neglected the Irish and Scottish evangelical missionary societies whose focus was interdenominational cooperation for the sake of evangelizing the world. The few historians who had acknowledged the European evangelical sources relied on Richardson's account until Hiram Lester recently located primary sources that illuminated the European and evangelical milieu which Richardson highlighted. Lester argued that Thomas' early unity ideas and organizational proposals had more important roots in his experience with the Evangelical Society of Ulster than in Locke. Lester's discovery is the starting point of this dissertation. Historians have a deficient understanding of the Campbells' earlier

experiences with evangelical missions because the implications of Lester's findings have not yet been fleshed out.

This dissertation expands on Lester's work. If the connections he identified are analogous to the tip of an iceberg, this dissertation attempts to construct the iceberg. That iceberg is the transatlantic evangelical missions culture which produced societies such as the LMS, ESU, and Thomas' CAW. I turn in the next chapter to a survey of this evangelical missions culture which permeated the transatlantic and formed the context out of which the Campbell movement emerged.

CHAPTER THREE

Transatlantic Evangelical Missions Culture in the Eighteenth Century

I. Introduction

Protestant Christians of different denominations gathered together in London for four days in September 1795 to organize the most influential interdenominational missionary society of the era, the London Missionary Society (LMS). The excitement of a new missionary movement was palpable in the sermons and reports. Leading missions advocate David Bogue optimistically proclaimed in his sermon at the LMS foundational meetings, "Behold us here assembled with one accord to attend the funeral of *bigotry*."[1] For Bogue and his contemporaries, interdenominational cooperation for missionary action harbingered the death of "bigotry" or "partyism" and also the imminent latter day millennial reign of Christ. The transatlantic evangelical missions culture that developed throughout the eighteenth century and solidified in the 1790s had a number of themes at its center, including Christian cooperation in prayer and organization for missions, a simple primitive gospel upon which all Christians could unite for missions, pity for the heathen, and millennialism as motive for missions.

This chapter describes the development of that missions culture from its evangelical roots in the early eighteenth century to its most formative years in the 1790s. Sections two through four discuss the most influential proponents of Protestant missions

[1] David Bogue, "Objections Against A Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," in *Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the Missionary Society, September 22, 23, 24, 1795; To Which Are Prefixed, Memorials, Respecting the Establishment and First Attempts of That Society* (London: Printed and Sold by T. Chapman, 1795), 130.

before the 1790s, the various motivations undergirding support for a Protestant missionary movement, and the key themes of missionary sermons and literature. The ideas of theologians, pastors, and missionaries treated in sections two through four provided the raw materials for the missions culture that emerged in the 1790s. The fifth through eighth sections focus more narrowly on the developments of the 1790s. Section five describes the social and theological context in which the major voluntary societies emerged, and section six explains William Carey's contribution to this pivotal period in Christian history. The seventh section moves to analysis of the interdenominational London Missionary Society and similar societies of the 1790s by examination of founding plans and constitutions, sermons, missionary magazines, and other germane sources. The eighth and conclusory section synthesizes the interdenominational missions culture of the 1790s, which provides a basis for comparison of the Campbells' experiences in Ireland, Scotland, and America, and will help determine the extent of the missions culture's influence upon the rise of the Campbell tradition.

II. The Rise of Evangelical Missions: Pietists, Puritans, and Moravians

Scholars of evangelicalism, missions historians, historians of the ecumenical movement, and historians of millennialism have identified the inextricable connections of the evangelical revival beginning in the 1730s and the rise of the Protestant missionary movement. For example, eminent historian Andrew Walls observed, "the modern missionary movement is an autumnal child of the Evangelical Revival. Fifty years separate the great events of Northampton and Cambuslang from the formation of the earliest of the voluntary societies to promote Christian activity in the non-Christian world; yet, without the revival, the society would have been inconceivable." According to

Walls, the evangelical revival supplied both the missionaries and the activism that fueled the missionary movement. Therefore, "the first generation of the Protestant missionary enterprise was for practical purposes an evangelical undertaking."[2] Although historians disagree on the extent and nature of the connections, they agree that the missionary movement's motifs and motives had origins in the transatlantic evangelical awakenings.[3]

Continental Pietism was one of the major tributaries feeding into the evangelical missionary movement.[4] Lutheran minister Philip Jacob Spener's (1635-1705) *Pia Desideria* (1675) laid the foundations of Pietism. Spener's thought was indebted to mystical theologians such as Johann Arndt (1555-1621), who taught an experiential inward piety.[5] Historian Peter Erb explains, "Unlike his Orthodox opponents, Spener

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[2] Andrew F. Walls, "The Evangelical Revival, the Missionary Movement, and Africa," in *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996), 79–80.

[3] Ruth Rouse, "Voluntary Movement and the Changing Ecumenical Climate," in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948*, ed. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, 3rd ed. (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1986), 309–10; Martin Schmidt, "Ecumenical Activity on the Continent of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948*, ed. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, 3rd ed. (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1986), 84; Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America* (South Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1976); Wilbert R. Shenk, *Changing Frontiers of Mission*, American Society of Missiology Series 28 (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1999), 143; Douglas A. Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 79; W. R. Ward, "Evangelical Awakenings in the North Atlantic World," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume VII, Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 329–32; Mark Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys*, A History of Evangelicalism 1 (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 223–32; Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), chap. 13; Mark Hutchinson and John Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 26–36; James A. De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions, 1640-1810*, 2006 Reprint. (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1970); Andrew Porter, "Church History, History of Christianity, Religious History: Some Reflections on British Missionary Enterprise since the Late Eighteenth Century," *Church History* 71, no. 3 (2002): 567–76; Dana Lee Robert, "Introduction," in *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914*, ed. Dana Lee Robert, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 1–20.

[4] Hutchinson and Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism*, 30–32.

[5] Peter C. Erb, "Introduction," in *Pietism: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 3–4.

focused more on the subjective appropriation of the believer's redemption than on God's objective saving act in history in the incarnation."[6] Spener sought to revitalize the Lutheran church after the Thirty-Years War, teaching that priesthood of believers meant all Christians should mimic the love of Christ and lead lives of intense devotion and study. Spener's Pietism proposed small gatherings (*collegias pietas*) devoted to Bible study and discussion, the practice of love in conjunction with knowledge, the practice of charity in religious controversy, and heartfelt preaching that emphasized holy living rather than doctrinal polemics.[7] Pietism increased its organization under the patronage of Frederick III of Brandenburg, who founded the University of Halle in 1694. Under the leadership of August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), Halle became the central hub of Pietist activity and a major influence on the early Protestant missionary movement.[8]

Pietism's major contributions to evangelical missions culture included an emphasis on charity, cooperation, experiential new birth and consequent proto-ecumenical ecclesiology, missionary training, millennialism as motive for missions, and transnational as well as trans-confessional correspondence.[9] For example, Frederick III promoted Pietism in an explicit effort to popularize a type of Christianity—focused on inward piety and practice—that could build bridges between Reformed and Lutheran

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[6] Ibid., 6.

[7] Philip Jacob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, trans. Theodore G. Tappert (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2002).

[8] Hutchinson and Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism*, 30.

[9] Ward, "Evangelical Awakenings in the North Atlantic World," 329–32; Schmidt, "Ecumenical Activity on the Continent of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 84.

groups in his realm.[10] The focus on new birth, especially as Francke taught it, represented a radical breakthrough into establishing the kingdom of God.[11] This new birth experience shaped Pietist and evangelical ecclesiology in the sense that it became a basis of fellowship for Christians in various denominations. As scholar Martin Schmidt describes, the new birth "brings into being an invisible, 'spiritual' Church, which, as the true Church, reaches far beyond all the limits of all the historical and concrete Churches."[12] Thus the new birth became a common ground for cooperation with born-again Christians across denominational lines, though it also became the basis for acrimonious divisions (i.e., claims of the converted vs. the unconverted) during the later awakenings.

Protestant missions were almost non-existent at the turn of the eighteenth century, when Pietists organized the Danish-Halle mission in 1706. The work of John Eliot (1604-90) was one of the few substantial missions to non-Christians in Protestantism before 1706.[13] The Protestant movement initially was preoccupied with refuting other Christians and establishing confessional identities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries rather than with converting non-Christians. Furthermore, some Protestants believed that Christ's command to preach the gospel to the ends of the earth (Mt 28:18-20) was meant only for

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[10] James E. Bradley, "Toleration and Movements of Christian Reunion, 1660-1789," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume VII, Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 361–62.

[11] Erb, "Introduction," 9.

[12] Schmidt, "Ecumenical Activity on the Continent of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 83.

[13] William R. Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 24; Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 2nd ed., The Penguin History of the Church 6 (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 193; De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 122–24; Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 237–38.

the apostles.[14] The established churches in England and Scotland did create several societies that had evangelization as a goal—the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England (a.k.a. NEC) (1649), the first Protestant missionary society; the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) (1698); the Society for Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) (1701), which had conversion of "heathens and infidels" as its purported principal aim; and the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) (1709)—and royal charters for several British colonies in America expressed evangelization of heathens as a motive for colonization.[15] Among these earliest stirrings of missionary effort, a decisive moment for early Protestant missions unfolded in 1706, when Lutheran King Frederick IV of Denmark sent two Pietist Lutherans from the University of Halle to his small colony, Tranquebar, on the coast of India, which became legendary in missions memory.[16] Halle and its Pietist networks supplied many Protestant missionaries in the early years of the missionary movement.[17]

A common feature of the earliest stages of Protestant missions was international cooperation and connection among Christian traditions. Frederick V. Mills, Sr. demonstrates that there was a "cooperative or ecumenical quality about the SSPCK that

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[14] Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 189.

[15] For the rise of missions thought and institutions covered in this paragraph, see Ibid., 179–204; Dana Lee Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 31–52; De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 5–115; R. Pierce Beaver, *Pioneers in Mission: The Early Missionary Ordination Sermons, Charges, and Instructions* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co, 1966); Frederick V. Mills, Sr., "The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in British North America, 1730-1775," *Church History* 63, no. 1 (1994): 15–30; Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*.

[16] On the Danish-Halle mission to Tranquebar, see Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, 240–53.

[17] Robert, *Christian Mission*, 41–44; Brij Raj Singh, *The First Protestant Missionary to India: Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, 1683-1719* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999).

characterized its relations with the NEC and the SPG."[18] The SPCK maintained close connections and cooperated throughout the eighteenth century with continental churches and their clergy.[19] The SPG followed similar patterns, even if managers of these societies relegated the societies' efforts to work the church had always done (e.g., ordain and equip clergy).[20] The Danish-Halle mission cooperated with the SPCK and Congregationalists from its earliest years. Historian of missions Stephen Neill noted that English Christians followed the work in Tranquebar more closely than Christians anywhere else; they had the *Annual Letters* of the missionaries translated into English and read at SPCK meetings.[21] Thus the earliest Protestant missions were intimately connected, and the participants themselves deliberately fostered the transnational and interdenominational connections. As Ernst Benz has made clear, Cotton Mather in Boston, Francke in Halle, and the SPCK secretaries in London, were connected through correspondence and a common commitment to the mission work in Tranquebar and ecumenical concerns.[22]

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[18] Mills, Sr., "The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in British North America, 1730-1775," 16.

[19] The SPCK supported German Lutheran missionaries in South India. From 1710 to 1728, the SPCK contributed financial help to the missionaries sent out by the Danish-Halle Mission to Tranquebar. Between 1728 and 1825, the SPCK employed or supported in part about sixty missionaries who had received Lutheran ordination. See Norman Sykes, "Ecumenical Movements in Great Britain in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948*, ed. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, 3rd ed. (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1986), 160–61.

[20] Andrew F. Walls, "Missionary Societies and the Fortunate Subversion of the Church," *Evangelical Quarterly* 88, no. 2 (1988): 143.

[21] Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 197; Ernst Benz, "Pietist and Puritan Sources of Early Protestant World Missions (Cotton Mather and A. H. Francke)," *Church History* 20, no. 2 (1951): 31–32.

[22] Benz, "Pietist and Puritan Sources," 28–55; Ernst Benz, "Ecumenical Relations between Boston Puritanism and German Pietism: Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke," *The Harvard Theological Review* 54, no. 3 (July 1961): 159–193; Brijraj Singh, "'One Soul, Tho' Not One Soyl'? International Protestantism and Ecumenism at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 31 (January 2002): 61–84.

American Congregational Pietist Cotton Mather (1663-1728)—whose thought directly connected Christian unity, world missions, and the eschaton—was particularly important for subsequent evangelical missions culture.[23] Mather's biography of John Eliot, his correspondence with Francke and the Tranquebar missionaries, and other writings reveal already in the early eighteenth century the interrelated themes of unity, missions, and eschatology that eventually dominated evangelical missions culture.[24] Mather praised John Eliot's plan to unite Presbyterians and Congregationalists for missions, and he rejoiced at a merger of English Presbyterians and Independents.[25]

Mather's mature thought on Christian unity owed much to Pietism.[26] Mather praised Francke and other Pietists and declared himself in line with their movement in *The Heavenly Conversation* (1710): "READER, Behold an ESSAY, which may be Entitled, American Pietism."[27] Mather was drawn to Pietism's promotion of piety, missions, and Christian unity. In at least seven books, Mather argued for a Christian unity

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[23] Chaney describes Mather as the quintessential figure who tied together the periods from Eliot to Edwards. See Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 49–56; Don Herbert Yoder, "Christian Unity in Nineteenth-Century America," in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948*, ed. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, 3rd ed. (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1986), 226–32; Richard F. Lovelace, *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origins of American Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Christian University Press, 1979); De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 79–115.

[24] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 49–56; Benz, "Pietist and Puritan Sources," 28–55; Cotton Mather, *The Triumphs of the Reformed Religion, in America: The Life of the Renowned John Eliot* (Boston: Printed by Benjamin Harris, & John Allen, for Joseph Brunning, 1691). A number of editions of Eliot's *Life* followed, many of which are accessible from Early English Books Online.

[25] He recorded this in a sermon on Christian union. See Cotton Mather, *Blessed Unions. An Union with the Son of God by Faith. And, An Union in the Church of God by Love, Importunately Pressed; In A Discourse Which Makes Divers Offers, for Those Unions; Together with a Copy of Those Articles, Whereupon A Most Happy Union, Has Been Lately Made between Those Two Eminent Parties in England, Which Have Now Changed the Names of Presbyterians, and Congregationals, for that of United Brethren* (Boston: Printed by B. Green, 1692).

[26] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 54–56.

[27] Cotton Mather, *The Heavenly Conversation* (Boston: Printed by Barth Green, for Eleazar Phillips, 1710), Preface.

based on the "uniting Maxims" of the Gospel.[28] Mather argued, "These Divine, Ancient, Eternal MAXIMS of the Gospel, which are laid up in the *Mines* of Sacred Scriptures, are to be dug from thence," and in 1716 he excavated fourteen primitive and eternal Maxims.[29] The first three maxims were about God, Christ, and Scripture; the rest concerned individual conversion[30] and pious living.[31] Mather believed that Christians who agreed on these basic maxims of Scripture "ought with a *Christian affection* to embrace one another, and with *United Endeavors*, and an heavenly Harmony, and Agreement, prosecute *Good Purposes* to advance *Piety*, and the *Kingdom of God*." He chided Christians who went beyond the basic Maxims to create unnecessary "*Terms of Communion*" by which they justified excluding from the Eucharist and ecclesiastical privileges those whom Christ had received. Christians with diverse opinion could unite on the basis of piety: "In this *Diversity* let *Charity* be kept in its Vigour. . . . Their diversity in *Lesser Matters* will but render the more Amiable their *Unity* in the *Greatest Matters*; in the Love of God, and our Neighbour; in a Lively Faith on our Saviour, and in *Pure, & Undefiled Religion*." The people who had these "*Evangelical* and *Everlasting*

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[28] Listed in Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 88, n58.

[29] Cotton Mather, *The Stone Cut Out of the Mountain, And the Kingdom of God, in Those Maxims of It, That Cannot Be Shaken* (Boston: n.p., 1716), 1–5.

[30] "I must, by a Rectifying, and Purifying *Change*, Produced by the SPIRIT of GOD upon me, become a *New Creature*." Ibid., 5.

[31] Mather later reduced these fourteen to three Maxims ([1] one God in three persons who created the world and whom we should obey; [2] Christ the eternal Son of God who became incarnate and reconciles us to God and on whom our faith is based; [3] love of God means it is our duty to love our neighbor and live after the golden rule) in a short pamphlet titled "The Religion Which All Good Men Are United In" and in his Dec 31, 1717 letter to Tranquebar missionary Bartholomew Ziegenbalgh. Both documents are printed in Cotton Mather, *India Christiana: A Discourse, Delivered unto the Commissioners, for the Propagation of the Gospel among the American Indians Which Is Accompanied with Several Instruments Relating to the Glorious Design of Propagating Our Holy Religion, in the Eastern as Well as the Western, Indies, An Entertainment Which They That Are Waiting for the Kingdom of God Will Receive as Good News from A Far Country* (Boston: Printed by B. Green, 1721), 52–55, 62–74.

Maxims written on their Hearts" were the true people of God. Mather juxtaposed the united people of God embracing the maxims to the opposite people of "Party" spirit.[32]

Mather created his unity maxims with the missionary enterprise and subsequent eschaton in mind. He explained how the maxims not only served to unite Christians but formed a basis for the missionary's message: "This Pure, Genuine, and Primitive Christianity makes that Invitation of Christ unto the Nations…; *Come to me, ye that labour, and are heavy-laden, and I will give you Rest*: *Take my Yoke upon you; An easy Yoke, a golden one, and one that will never be repented of*."[33] The maxims of piety would make known the "*Way of God*" to all the nations, a prerequisite to the coming of God's new Pentecost—when God would pour out the Holy Spirit upon the nations in the latter days (he cited Joel 2:38). "The Day is at Hand," Mather declared, "when these *Maxims of the Everlasting Gospel* shall be a *Stone Cut out of the Mountain*" (referencing Daniel 2:45). The stone would smite the "Papacy" and God would shake the nations. "Arise now, *O ye Ministers of God* . . . and consider, *What shall now be done, that the Kingdom of God may appear by the most Explicit Union of all Good Men, on the Eternal Maxims of it!*" Mather taught that subscription to, observation of, and propagation of these maxims would lead to Christian unity, strengthen missions, and herald the eschaton.[34] Just as Christian unity upon maxims or essentials of Christian faith became central to the missionary enterprise, so did millennial motivation.

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[32] Mather, *The Stone Cut Out of the Mountain*, 6, 10.

[33] Ibid., 8.

[34] Ibid., 8–13.

As Mather represented the early Pietist missionary impulse in North America, Scottish Presbyterian minister Robert Millar (1672-1752) represented the evangelical inclination in Scotland.[35] Millar's historical and apologetic work, *The History of the Propagation of Christianity* (1723), was quite popular, seeing at least three editions and a Dutch translation. Two scholars have called him an eighteenth-century Scottish Latourette,[36] and missions historian Johannes van den Berg claimed that Millar's work was "perhaps the most important example of Scottish missionary interest" in the period between Puritanism and Methodism.[37] Millar was part of the transatlantic correspondence by which early evangelicalism networked and constructed identity (e.g., Mather wrote Millar in 1725 to extol Millar's book, mentioning that he had shown it to several friends).[38]

Millar's *History* supports the idea that the most important evangelical missions advocates in the transatlantic during the early eighteenth century had similar motives for missions.[39] First, Millar invoked pity as motivation for missions. Like most contemporary evangelicals, Millar believed non-Christian religions were evil. His interpretation of

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[35] See Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story*, 85–6; Richard B. Sher, "Millar, Robert (1672-1752)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed July 23, 2013, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67754.

[36] John Foster, "A Scottish Contributor to the Missionary Awakening: Robert Millar of Paisley," *International Review of Missions* 37 (1948): 139; Ronald E. Davies, "Robert Millar: An Eighteenth-Century Scottish Latourette," *Evangelical Quarterly* 62 (1990): 143–56.

[37] Johannes van den Berg, *Constrained by Jesus' Love: An Inquiry into the Motives of the Missionary Awakening in Great Britain in the Period between 1698 and 1815* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1956), 58.

[38] Mather to Robert Millar, May 28, 1725, in Cotton Mather, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, ed. Kenneth Silverman (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 405–406.

[39] For treatment of a number of motives for missions in the eighteenth century, see van den Berg, *Constrained by Jesus' Love*; De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 79–115.

Rom. 1:21-32, Eph. 2:1-3, and other passages led him to see paganism as Satan's tyrannical trick.[40] Therefore, Millar admitted that he hoped "*to move our Bowels of Pity for that Slavery and Thraldom to which the* Heathens, *who make up so great a Part of the World*, *are yet chained by the Enemy of Mankind*."[41] He believed Christians would be moved to pity when they learned the extent and character of paganism in the world. Christians who properly viewed reality would envision the helpless heathen under the influence of darkness and destined for eternal torment; the heathens' only hope was in Christians who would fulfill Jesus' command to preach the gospel to the ends of the earth.[42] Throughout his book, Millar beseeched Christians to construct and execute proper means for the conversion of heathen, particularly by imitating John Eliot and the Danish missionaries.[43] Moving from pity for the doomed heathen to motivation for mission became a pattern in the evangelical construction of religious meaning which undergirded the early evangelical motivation to missionary action.

Second, Millar proposed the same sort of cooperative method as Mather and Francke, whose works he had read. The cooperative motif was limited to Protestants and related to Catholicism. Millar argued,

> The zeal of the Church of *Rome*, in their College for propagating the Faith, ought to excite Protestants to the like endeavors; not to propagate their own opinions, to make proselytes to a party, and subject foreigners to a *Roman Pontiff*, but to *turn sinners from darkness to light*, *and from the power of Satan unto God*; *that they*

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[40] Robert Millar, *The History of the Propagation of Christianity and Overthrow of Paganism*, 3rd ed. (London: Printed for A. Miller, 1731), 2:389–90; Andrew F. Walls, "Romans One and the Modern Missionary Movement," in *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996), 55–67.

[41] Millar, *The History of the Propagation of Christianity and Overthrow of Paganism*, 1:iii.

[42] Ibid., 2:394–95.

[43] Ibid., 2:354ff.

> *may receive the forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified*; to promote true Christianity over the world, and to use all proper means for attaining so good an end.[44]

Millar proceeded to praise Francke's piety, his orphanage, his university, and his missions endeavors. Citing Cotton Mather's account of the University, Millar declared it would be good if "all our schools were managed by such rules as the *Pietas Hallensis* has exemplified." Millar also praised William Stevenson, chaplain of the East India Company at St. George, and quoted at length his December 27, 1716 letter to the SPCK. In that letter, Stevenson asked the SPCK to be wary of impediments to mission work among pagans, particularly "*the mixing of disputable opinions with the plain and necessary doctrines of the Gospel*." Instead of propagating opinion, "Nothing ought to be taught among [the natives] but the plain and unquestionable truths of the *Christian Faith*." Thus Stevenson's first proposed method of prosecuting the missionary work was to

> unite the hearts and endeavours of the several Societies in *England, Denmark* and *Germany*, that have engaged to support the Protestant Mission, that laying aside all distrust and jealousy of one another, concerning the point of national honour, in carrying on this design, and all partiality and prejudices in favour of their several schemes and opinions, they may agree to promote the glory of God, and the conversion of the Heathen, by all proper methods and persons, without disputing about rights, precedence or superior direction. . . . When one common Society for promoting the Protestant Mission is happily formed, one of the first things that can fall under their consideration, is, how to raise a sufficient fund for carrying on so great a work, toward which 'tis but reasonable, that all charitable Christians will readily contribute.[45]

Millar and Stevenson both presupposed a belief similar to that expressed in Mather's maxims: there was a simple or core gospel message in Scripture and then there were historical traditions added onto that core through time; missionaries should take

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[44] Ibid., 2:370.

[45] Letter from William Stevenson to the Secretary of the SPCK on December 27, 1716, printed in Ibid., 2:380–89, quoted from 386.

only the plain Gospel to pagans and leave the added traditions at home. That is why Millar could believe that a movement of prayer and action for missions to convert the heathen would "silence the clamour of parties, would confirm the truth of our holy Religion."[46] "If *Christians* would serve God in *Spirit* and *Truth* at home; if they would lay aside their *Divisions*, *Parties*, and unchristian *Humours* . . . ," Millar wrote, "what a glorious addition to the *Church* of Christ might we justly expect?"[47]

Third, Millar proposed prayer as the foundation of a successful Protestant missionary effort, and such prayer proposals became a common feature of eighteenth-century evangelical missionary culture. Millar wrote,

> The promises of the enlargement of the New Testament Church are many, and the time is near when they shall be fully accomplished: We ought then every one of us, in our station, to throw in our mite for the conversion of the heathen world, not only by frequent prayers to the throne of grace upon ordinary occasions, but also by joining in solemn days of humiliation and prayer for that end.[48]

John Foster noted the extraordinary impact this idea, already represented in 1723, had on the missionary movement. The Scottish concert-of-prayer movement which began in 1744 prepared the way for the ecumenical missionary awakening. The prayer movement is discussed below, but suffice to say for now, the movement directly impacted many of the leaders of the missionary explosion of the 1790s. Prayer was not only the first means of propagating the gospel, it was instrumental in creating an interdenominational evangelical movement for missions.[49]

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[46] Ibid., 2:371, 380, 394.

[47] Ibid., 1:x.

[48] Ibid., 2:355.

[49] Foster, "A Scottish Contributor to the Missionary Awakening," 142.

Fourth, a united and prayerful missionary effort would also lead to the fulfillment of God's eschatological promises. Millar's missionary eschatology was similar to Mather's. Millar believed that although God had already fulfilled many promises found in Scripture, "there is a fuller performance of them to be expected before the end of the world; for our Lord himself foretold, *This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come*."[50] Furthermore, Millar argued that Christians should propagate the gospel in Asia, Africa, and America because he understood Romans 11:25 to be a prophecy meaning the Jews would convert to Christianity only after the "fullness of the Gentiles be come in." The whole eschaton therefore relied on Christians' obedience to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. Millar reasoned, "Since we are encouraged by these precious promises, to expect a more glorious day of the conversion of the nations . . . , and the time I hope is near; ought not every *Christian* to pray, long and wait for that time, and contribute his best endeavours to promote so great a work."[51]

Millar was for Scotland what Mather was for colonial America and Francke was for Germany: an astute and persuasive missions advocate. Miller's work on missions reveals his desire for a Protestant cooperative effort to take the plain gospel to heathen lands and rescue them from Satan's grasp. He exhibited an optimistic spirit and emphasis on morality as the design of the gospel that was not too far from latitudinarians, yet his belief that a revival in piety and prayer at home were prerequisites to a widespread conversion of pagans and his praise of Francke's missionary endeavors placed him

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[50] Millar, *The History of the Propagation of Christianity and Overthrow of Paganism*, 2:393. He was quoting Mt 24:14.

[51] Ibid., 2:394.

directly in line with Pietism. As van den Berg noted, "So we find also with him that seeming *coincidentia oppositorum*, that blend of Rationalism and Pietism, which again and again has proved to be one of the main characteristics of the British missionary enterprise."[52] How much Millar influenced the 1740s prayer movement in Scotland is uncertain, but Millar's successors in Paisley, including John Witherspoon and John Snodgrass, supported the SSPCK and Snodgrass also supported the LMS.[53] In these connections and through his writings, Millar contributed much to the evangelical missions culture.

Pietism entered evangelical missionary culture not only through Mather, the Danish-Halle Tranquebar mission, and Millar, but also through the Moravian Church (a.k.a. *Unitas Fratrum*) and its leaders' influence on transatlantic evangelicals.[54] Indeed, J. C. S. Mason's recent study demonstrates the enormous influence of Moravian missions upon the leaders of the most influential missionary societies of the 1790s.[55]

Under the patronage of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), Bohemian Brethren refugees settled in Saxony at Herrnhut from 1722, establishing in 1727 a "Brotherly Union and Agreement" which described the community's rules and ecumenical theology:

> Hernnhut, and its original old inhabitants must remain in a constant bond of love with all children of God belonging to the different religious persuasions—they must judge none, enter into no disputes with any, nor behave themselves

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[52] van den Berg, *Constrained by Jesus' Love*, 59. That same blend manifested in the thought of Thomas Campbell.

[53] Davies, "Robert Millar," 144–47.

[54] Erb, "Introduction," 20–21; Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, chap. 9.

[55] J. C. S. Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England, 1760-1800* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society/Boydell Press, 2001).

> unseemly toward any, but rather seek to maintain among themselves the pure evangelical doctrine, simplicity, and grace.[56]

Zinzendorf's de-emphasis on denominationalism was founded on his view of inward experiential conversion as the chief criteria of Christian identity. "Religion," he declared, "must be a matter which is able to be grasped through experience alone without any concepts."[57] He vehemently opposed the idea that intellectual knowledge or formularies determined one's Christian identity. Only *fiducia implicita*, "the undisclosed but affecting believing within the heart," constituted saving faith.[58] Therefore, the genuine character of a Christian had nothing to do with one's religious denomination: "It is a rule belonging absolutely to the character of the true Christian that, properly speaking, he is neither Lutheran nor Calvinist, neither of this nor the other religious denomination."[59] By making new birth the most important criteria for Christian identity, Zinzendorf's ecumenism surpassed that of the earlier Pietists. He broadened Spener's concept of *ecclesiolae in ecclesia* to suggest that the various denominations were divinely instituted schools which were directing believers toward the eventual renewed form of the true church.[60] "Now thus far it is good that we have many religious denominations,"

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[56] Count Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, "Brotherly Union and Agreement at Herrnhut (1727)," in *Pietism: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 325.

[57] Count Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, "Thoughts for the Learned and Yet Good-Willed Students of Truth (1732)," in *Pietism: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 291.

[58] Count Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, "Concerning Saving Faith (1746)," in *Pietism: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 305.

[59] Count Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, "On the Essential Character and Circumstances of the Life of a Christian (1746)," in *Pietism: Selected Writings*, ed. Peter C. Erb, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 311.

[60] Erb, "Introduction," 20–21.

Zinzendorf declared, "so much so that I despise anyone who, without the deepest and most thoroughly examined reason, changes over from one denomination to another."[61] He believed the differences between denominations were important, but they were only fluid outward expressions of the more important commonality of Christian identity: Christians were those whose hearts Christ had changed through experiential conversion, and they were found in all denominations.[62] Pietist thought on new birth—transmitted through Zinzendorf, the Moravians, Mather, and others—undergirded the evangelical view of inward experiential conversion as a more important marker of Christian identity than denominational affiliation. Evangelicals used essentials of the gospel—whether new birth or some other essential maxim—as justification for interdenominational cooperation, which culminated in the interdenominational societies of the 1790s.

Zinzendorf's emphasis on ecumenism and experiential conversion greatly influenced the development of evangelical missions culture. Moved by the petitions of Anton Ulrich, a native of the Caribbean island of St. Thomas, the Moravian community became convinced of their missionary purpose.[63] Their first missionaries went to the Caribbean in 1732 and within that same decade they had missions in Africa, India, South America, and North America. The Moravians had more missionaries in foreign lands by the end of the 1730s than all Protestants had in the prior two hundred years.[64] Emphasis on missions led to the centrality of the Moravian practice of *Gemeintag* by 1728.

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[61] Zinzendorf, "On the Essential Character," 312.

[62] Ibid., 312–24.

[63] Jon F. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Harvard University Press, 2005), 49.

[64] Robert, *Christian Mission*, 44–45.

Gemeintag was a community gathering for the reading of various news, but it focused on missionary reports and letters. This practice influenced U.K. societies' public readings of international news on what became known as "Letter Days." Furthermore, missionary letters and reports quickly took a place alongside revival reports in the transatlantic evangelical magazines of the 1740s and following.[65]

These missionary endeavors placed the Moravians at the center of the transatlantic evangelical religious exchange during the evangelical awakening of the 1730s and 1740s, notably present in John Wesley's encounter with August Gottlieb Spangenberg and Peter Böhler and in the Moravian missions in Georgia and Pennsylvania.[66] In William Carey's opinion, the Moravians surpassed all previous efforts for mission. Similarly, to the advocates of interdenominational societies in the 1790s, Zinzendorf was a religious symbol of what they perceived to be the best kind of Christian unity (i.e., unity without uniformity) coupled with a zeal for cooperative missions.[67] All of the ideas noted above led Zinzendorf to argue that missionaries should not impose doctrinal and cultural provincialisms upon their converts. Instead, each society should apply the gospel to its own language and customs.[68] Herein lies the seed and substance for the late eighteenth century theorists of interdenominational missions—Christians

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[65] Susan O'Brien, "A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735-1755," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 4 (1986): 825–26; Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 115–19.

[66] John Wesley, *The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley, A.M., Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford* (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1855), 1:18, 62–80; Richard P. Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 58–96.

[67] Roger H. Martin, *Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre-Victorian Britain, 1795-1830* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1983), 4, 31–33.

[68] Hutchinson, *Errand to the World*, 26.

cooperating to carry out a simple evangelical gospel devoid of the denominations' particular packaging of that gospel.

III. Jonathan Edwards: Eschatology, Prayer, and Brainerd

A contemporary of Zinzendorf named Jonathan Edwards was the most important theologian for evangelical missionary thought in the American colonies and his ideas guided transatlantic evangelical missions for decades after his death. Missions historian Charles Chaney claims that Edwards' "thought is the great intellectual and spiritual vein from which missionary theology in the period is mined. His theology is the most profound expression of the fresh and vigorous impulse that flavored missionary thought and activity through the next seventy-five years."[69] Edwards received a tradition of missionary involvement from Solomon Stoddard, who, with Cotton Mather and Benjamin Coleman, ensured the continuation of Indian missions after King Phillip's War.[70] Edwards gave seven years to missionary service at Stockbridge and he became the spiritual father of colonial American missionaries. [71] Ronald Davies argues that, if William Carey and Samuel Hopkins are the "fathers" of modern missions on their respective sides of the Atlantic, then Jonathan Edwards is the "grandfather of modern Protestant missions" on both sides of the Atlantic.[72] Stuart Piggin's recent chapter

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[69] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 57.

[70] Ibid., 58.

[71] George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), chap. 23.

[72] Ronald E. Davies, "Jonathan Edwards: Missionary Biographer, Theologian, Strategist, Administrator, Advocate--and Missionary," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 21, no. 2 (April 1997): 60.

documents Edwards' extraordinary influence on the leaders of the major missionary societies of the 1790s.[73]

Chaney describes four of Edwards' contributions to the missionary movement—a theology of evangelism, eschatological motivation, movement of united prayer for revival and missions, and a new missionary image. First, in the wake of the 1734-35 Northampton awakening, Edwards was filled with optimism concerning the exciting times of awakening, so he preached with urgency.[74] The awakening convinced him that he lived during one of the special times when God poured out God's Spirit in extraordinarily powerful ways. In such days, Edwards encouraged people to use all the means of moving toward conversion because God had opened wide the doors of mercy. In his famous 1741 Enfield sermon, Edwards pleaded with his hearers:

> Now you have an extraordinary opportunity, a day wherein Christ has flung the door of mercy wide open, and stands in the door calling and crying with a loud voice to poor sinners; a day wherein many are flocking to him, and pressing into the kingdom of God. . . . Will you neglect this precious season? . . . Let everyone that is out of Christ, now awake and fly from the wrath to come.[75]

Edwards' understanding of conversion in an extraordinary time of the Spirit's outpouring undergirded most Calvinist evangelistic and missionary enterprises undertaken in the eighteenth-century.[76]

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[73] Stuart Piggin, "The Expanding Knowledge of God: Jonathan Edwards's Influence on Missionary Thinking and Promotion," in *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad: Historical Memories, Cultural Movements, Global Horizons*, ed. David William Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 266–96.

[74] On the revival and its background, see Kidd, *The Great Awakening*, chap. 2.

[75] Jonathan Edwards, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," in *Jonathan Edwards's* Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*: A Casebook*, ed. Wilson H. Kimnach, Caleb J. D. Maskell, and Kenneth P. Minkema (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 49–50.

[76] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 63; Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 207–10; Peter Johannes Thuesen, *Predestination: The American Career of a Contentious Doctrine* (Oxford: Oxford

Second, Edwards' theology of evangelism was intricately bound to his eschatology.[77] According to a series of thirty-nine sermons Edwards delivered to his congregation in 1739, which he considered a great contribution to theology, Edwards described history in three epochs. The third epoch stretched from Christ's resurrection to the end of the world. Edwards assigned missionary activity an important place in this last epoch, when Antichrist would fall and the church would enter an age of prosperity. In fact, Edwards identified revivals and missions as the signs of the latter days when outpourings of the Spirit would renew the church and increase conversions as the gospel was preached to the entire world. Edwards cited Revelation 14:6 and Isaiah 66:7-9 to contend that "The gospel shall be preached to every tongue, and kindred, and nation, and people, before the fall of Antichrist; so we may suppose, that it will soon be gloriously successful to bring in multitudes from every nation."[78]

Edwards saw the beginnings of this evangelistic age in the gospel's recent successes accompanying the discovery of the Americas (i.e., Christian proselytization of the American Indians) and the Pietist missions in India. He thought America—New England, in particular—would be the place for the rise of the glorious latter days, and the awakenings of the 1730s and following surely seemed like possible beginnings.[79] He interpreted recent technological advances in printing and sea navigation by way of the

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University Press, 2009), 114–15; N. L. Geisler, "Predestination," *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 927–28.

[77] De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 124–37.

[78] Jonathan Edwards, Jr. and John Erskine cooperated to publish these sermons in 1774: Jonathan Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption: Containing the Outlines of a Body of Divinity in a Method Entirely New* (Boston: Reprinted by Draper and Folsom, 1782), 230–37, quoted at 251; De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 126.

[79] De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 130.

mariner's compass, as well as increased learning, to be divine preparations for the coming conversion of people throughout the world. As the church eventually gained victory over heathenism, Christians would have a "wonderful spirit of pity towards them, and zeal for their instruction and conversion . . . , and many shall go forth and carry the gospel unto them."[80] Missionary action was an essential obligation of the church in Edwards' eschatological schema. Worldwide missionary endeavors were the instrument of God's final redemptive work in history—both to win converts and to destroy Antichrist.[81] As missions historian Pierce Beaver concluded, "Edwards brought the Church, in popular expectation, to the dawn of the millennium, and made it possible for that millennial expectation to become a motive for mission at the end of that century."[82]

Third, Edwards' support of the burgeoning prayer movement made a lasting impact on the missionary movement's foci of unity and prayer. In 1744, a group of Scottish ministers beseeched Christians to join them for a portion of time on Saturdays, Sundays, and the first Tuesdays of each quarter in "united extraordinary" prayer to God to "appear in his Glory" and "manifest his Compassion to the World . . . by an abundant Effusion of his *Holy Spirit* on all Churches, and the whole habitable Earth, to revive True religion in all Parts of Christendom, and to deliver *all Nations* from their great and manifold spiritual Calamities and Miseries."[83] The response in Scotland to this

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[80] Edwards, *Work of Redemption*, 257.

[81] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 68.

[82] Millennialism had been a motive for Anglo-American missions from their very inception, as demonstrated by De Jong. See R. Pierce Beaver, "The Concert for Prayer for Missions: An Early Venture in Ecumenical Action," *Ecumenical Review* 10, no. 4 (1958): 424; De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 1–158.

[83] The story is recounted in Jonathan Edwards, *An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the*

movement—which linked prayer with unity, revival, and missions—was so positive that, after the two years of proposed prayer, the ministers issued a similar call to transatlantic Protestants in *A Concert for Prayer*, *To Be Continued for Seven Years* (1746).[84] Because Edwards corresponded with the signers of the *Concert*, he received one of the copies.[85] He subsequently promoted the concert of prayer in his congregations and throughout the world by publishing *An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union Among God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth* (1747).

An Humble Attempt constituted Edwards' clearest articulation of how eschatology should motivate Christians to unite in prayer and missions. Edwards based his appeal for united prayer on an exposition of Zechariah 8:20-22, which contained a prophecy of a "future glorious Advancement of the Church" that would constitute the greatest time of increase in the last days.[86] This triumph of the church was imminent, but Edwards, like Mather, believed the church's triumph in the last days was directly related to Christian unity in prayer. Edwards concluded his exposition of the text:

> From the Whole we may infer, That it is a very *suitable* Thing, and *well-pleasing to God*, for many People, in different Parts of the World, by express *Agreement*, to come into a *visible Union*, in extraordinary, speedy, fervent and constant *Prayer*, for those great Effusions of the *Holy Spirit*, which shall bring on that

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Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth, Pursuant to Scripture-Promises and Prophecies Concerning the Last Time (Boston: Printed for D. Henchman in Cornhil, 1747), 14–20; Beaver, "The Concert for Prayer for Missions," 420–27.

[84] Reprinted in Edwards, *An Humble Attempt*, 20–25.

[85] On the Edwards-Scottish correspondence, see Christopher W. Mitchell, "Jonathan Edwards's Scottish Connection," in *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad: Historical Memories, Cultural Movements, Global Horizons*, ed. David William Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 222–47.

[86] Edwards, *An Humble Attempt*, 1–15.

> *Advancement* of Christ's Church and Kingdom, that God has so often promised shall be in the *latter Ages* of the World.[87]

The concert of prayer wielded extraordinary influence on missions.[88] The prayer movement continued in the 1780s and 1790s, during which time *An Humble Attempt* saw several printings in the transatlantic world, including wielding great influence on William Carey and the founders of the London Missionary Society in 1795.[89]

Fourth, Edwards constructed a Protestant missionary image through his most popular written work, *The Life of David Brainerd* (1749).[90] Brainerd became a missionary saint after Edwards' biography of him became a best-seller in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries around the Atlantic basin.[91] Brainerd went to work for the SSPCK in the Middle Colonies in 1742, shortly after Yale expelled him for purportedly claiming one of the unconverted Yale tutors had "no more grace than a chair."[92] Brainerd's work with Native Americans only had small signs of success, such as the awakening among the Delawares in 1745. He eventually succumbed to tuberculosis and

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[87] Ibid., 13.

[88] De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 133.

[89] "The United Prayers of the Churches, for the Universal Spread of the Knowledge and Glory of Christ," *The Evangelical Magazine* 3 (May 1795): 198–202; Stephen Orchard, "Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening," *Journal of Religious History* 22, no. 2 (1998): 138; Davies, "Robert Millar," 154; Beaver, "The Concert for Prayer for Missions," 422–26; Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 280.

[90] Chaney argues that, "until 1748, there was, with the possible exception of John Eliot, and perhaps, among some in Northern Europe, Bartholomaus Zigenbalg, no great Protestant missionary saint." Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 71.

[91] Joseph Conforti, "Jonathan Edwards's Most Popular Work: 'The Life of David Brainerd' and 19th Century Evangelical Culture," *Church History* 54, no. 2 (1985): 188–201; Andrew F. Walls, "Missions and Historical Memory: Jonathan Edwards and David Brainerd," in *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad: Historical Memories, Cultural Movements, Global Horizons*, ed. David William Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 248–65.

[92] Kidd, *The Great Awakening*, 196.

died in the Edwards' Northampton parsonage in 1747. Before he died, Brainerd had agreed to publish his diary. Edwards inherited the uncompleted manuscript and published *The Life of David Brainerd* (1749), an edited version of Brainerd's intimate spiritual diary presenting Brainerd as a Christian hero and the archetypal evangelical missionary. The distinctive marks of the Brainerd missionary image included a concern to glorify God, show compassion for lost souls and pity for pagans, and also embrace self-denial and self-sacrifice in the tradition of the Apostle Paul.[93] Brainerd's SSPCK sponsors, whose correspondents wrote a preface to *The Life of David Brainerd*, had eschatology as a primary motivation for mission. As De Jong notes, Edwards' edition of *Life of David Brainerd* also "consciously linked the work of revival, regarded as the first victories in the church's latter-day glory, with mission efforts."[94] Edwards's *Life of David Brainerd* exerted an enormous influence on leaders of the transatlantic evangelical missionary movement.[95]

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[93] Ibid., 195–201; Conforti, "Jonathan Edwards's Most Popular Work," 189; Hutchinson and Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism*, 44–45.

[94] De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 148–49.

[95] The book went through more editions and reprints than any other popular Edwardsian work. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the *Life* was reprinted in America, England, Scotland, and Holland, and it was the first American biography to reach a large European audience. During the first half of the nineteenth century, when evangelicals looked for inspirational models for missionary work and millennialism, the *Life* attained its widest popularity in America and abroad. The *Life* was one of the American Tract Society's most successful publications in the nineteenth century. It influenced leading transatlantic evangelicals, such as John Wesley, William Carey, Andrew Fuller, John Ryland, Henry Martyn, Francis Asbury, and Francis Wayland. Joseph Conforti explained, "To Carey, one of the first Baptist missionaries to India, the *Life* was 'almost a second bible.' Martyn claimed that he was drawn into missionary work through reading the *Life*. . . . In America evangelicals from Francis Asbury in the late eighteenth century to Francis Wayland in the middle of the nineteenth testified to the importance of Brainerd's example." Brainerd was not just a missionary model, but a model of evangelical piety and experimental Christianity. The *Life* also became the archetype for the missionary memoir. Like Edwards' goal for the *Life*, later evangelical missionary biography aimed to excite and encourage Christians to pray and work for the advancement of Christianity in the world. Conforti, "Jonathan Edwards's Most Popular Work," 192.

Edwards provided the evangelical missionary movement with a theology of evangelism, millennial motives for missions, a movement of united prayer for revival and missions, and a new missionary image in Brainerd. As De Jong put it,

> The circumstances in Edwards' life co-operated to forge a coalition of millennial thought and missionary enterprise that was a major force in the origin of the modern missionary movement in the 1790's. . . . If the two major forces behind the nineteenth century Anglo-American missions could be isolated, a convincing case could be constructed for their being the theology of Jonathan Edwards and the example of David Brainerd.[96]

"In Anglo-American eschatology," De Jong averred, "the latter days had always been associated with the universal knowledge of Christ. When the revivals of this period [1735 to 1776] were linked with the latter days, therefore, every prayer for the revival or for the kingdom assumed an immediate missionary dimension."[97] After Edwards' work, evangelical missions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were almost always tied to united prayer movements, revivals, and eschatology.

IV. George Whitefield and John Wesley

George Whitefield and John Wesley were also influential on the early evangelical missions culture. Key contributions of Whitefield, Wesley, and their traditions included an ecumenism based on new birth conversion, de-emphasis on denominational identity rooted in Methodist Connexions, and organization of itinerant preaching.[98]

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[96] De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 137.

[97] Ibid., 157.

[98] Martin, *Evangelicals United*, chap. 1–2; David Bebbington, "The Growth of Voluntary Religion," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume VIII, World Christianities, C. 1815-c.1914*, ed. Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 60; Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists*, 282–98.

Whitefield acquired evangelical fame as a gifted orator and the central international celebrity in the transatlantic awakenings of the mid-eighteenth century.[99] Like other prominent evangelicals (e.g., Zinzendorf and the Wesleys), Whitefield's spirituality took shape in a religious society in the tradition of Spener's *collegias pietas* (i.e., the Holy Club at Oxford). He began preaching at the age of twenty-one, and his publication of sermons and journals quickly won him international fame. His experiential new birth conversion, in which he experienced an inward change of heart, greatly influenced his theology thereafter. He promoted and practiced itinerant preaching when it was not yet accepted in many places; partly through his influence, itinerancy became a key method of evangelical missions at home and abroad in the late eighteenth century.[100]

Whitefield's most famous sermon topic and most important theological idea for Christian cooperation was new birth as the essential marker of Christian identity, which sometimes encouraged fellowship and cooperation in missions efforts between evangelicals of different Christian denominations. His often-printed[101] sermon, *The Nature and Necessity of Our New Birth in Christ Jesus* (1737), began with a preface exhorting fellow ministers to move their parishioners beyond the "Shell and Shadow of Religion" to an acquaintance with the "Nature and Necessity of that Inward Holiness, and

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[99] The most recent biography of Whitefield is Thomas S. Kidd, *George Whitefield: America's Spiritual Founding Father* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

[100] Jerome Dean Mahaffey, *The Accidental Revolutionary: George Whitefield and the Creation of America* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2011), 8.

[101] The sermon went through over twenty editions in America and Britain. See Jerome Dean Mahaffey, *Preaching Politics: The Religious Rhetoric of George Whitefield and the Founding of a New Nation*, Studies in Rhetoric and Religion 3 (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), 264 n.7.

Vital Purity of Heart."[102] Taking 2 Cor. 5:17[103] as his text, Whitefield argued that regeneration, or new birth in Christ Jesus, was the "Hinge on which the Salvation of each of us turns" and a point on which "all *sincere* Christians, of whatever Denomination, agree." Whitefield believed that justification (i.e., to have one's sins forgiven) required also sanctification (i.e., to have one's corrupt nature changed and made holy).[104] A profession of faith and a physical baptism was not enough to gain one salvation. To be "born again," to "put off the old man," to be "renewed in the Spirit," to become "new creatures," all demonstrated for Whitefield that Christianity required a "*thorough, real, inward* Change of Heart." He urged readers not to interpret these biblical phrases metaphorically, because those who did just might "interpret themselves out of their Salvation."[105] For Whitefield, as for an increasing number of evangelicals, the new birth rather than denominational affiliation was the quintessential marker of Christian identity.

Although Whitefield's definition of new birth as the mark of true Christians contributed to the hardening bifurcation between pro-revivalists and anti-revivalists which caused much division in the eighteenth century, it also led to a de-emphasis on denominationalism.[106] Whitefield's non-denominationalism was manifest in a popular sermon anecdote:

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[102] George Whitefield, *The Nature and Necessity of Our New Birth in Christ Jesus, in Order to Salvation. A Sermon Preached in the Church of St. Mary Radcliffe, in Bristol*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for C. Rivington in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1737), viii.

[103] "Therefore if any man *be* in Christ, *he is* a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new" (KJV).

[104] Whitefield, *The Nature and Necessity of Our New Birth*, 1, 3.

[105] Ibid., 11.

[106] On the major divisions, see Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 119–32; Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 4–9.

> "Father Abraham, whom have you in heaven? Any Episcopalians?" "No." "Any Presbyterians?" "No." "Have you any Independents or Seceders?" "No." "Have you any Methodists there?" "No, no, no." "Whom have you there?" "We don't know those names here. All who are here are Christians—believers in Christ—men who have overcome by the blood of the Lamb and the word of his testimony." "O, is this the case?" said Whitefield; "then God help me, God help us all, to forget party names, and to become Christians in deed and in truth!"[107]

Whitefield's de-emphasis on denomination and his cooperation with Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, contributed to a Calvinist Methodist tradition which became the most influential incubator for leaders of the interdenominational missionary society movement in the 1790s.[108] The 1770s witnessed a divisive period among evangelicals due to the controversy over Calvinism, yet, historian Roger Martin argues, the conception of "pan-evangelicalism" survived "due to George Whitefield more than any other man." Wesley's bias toward Anglicanism and Arminianism and his prejudice against Dissent made him less influential on Dissenting Calvinists, Martin claims; thus it was Whitefield's "catholic spirit" that inspired later generations of evangelicals to cooperate.[109] Therefore, it is to Whitefield, "more than to John Wesley or the regular evangelical Anglicans that we must look for the wellsprings of the late eighteenth-century pan-evangelical impulse. . . . The missionary-minded, undogmatic Calvinism that was the doctrinal cement of pan-evangelicalism was largely inspired by Whitefield." Indeed, it was Whitefieldite moderate Calvinists who united to produce the great united evangelical

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[107] Cited in Mahaffey, *The Accidental Revolutionary: George Whitefield and the Creation of America*, 186; Mahaffey, *Preaching Politics*, 75–76; Joseph Beaumont Wakeley, *Anecdotes of the Rev. George Whitefield, M.A., with Biographical Sketch* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872), 134–35. I have been unsuccessful in identifying the primary source.

[108] Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 12–14.

[109] Norman Sykes would agree with Martin, as he sees Wesley's contribution to ecumenism as ambiguous: "Thus the greatest religious figure of his age contributed more perhaps to the accentuating than to the healing of the divisions of the universal Church." Sykes, "Ecumenical Movements in Great Britain in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 165.

societies of the 1790s.[110] Stephen Orchard claims relatedly that Whitefield's activity in North America is where one finds the "seminal influences which led to the flowering of Protestant missionary societies."[111]

Particularly influential in denominational mobility was Whitefield's influence on Lady Huntingdon, who followed Whitefield's Calvinism at the expense of her friendship with Wesley. Her college at Trevecca in South Wales trained ministers of episcopal and non-episcopal traditions and focused on the art of spiritual awakening, but it also came to see itself as a training grounds for overseas preachers. Hastings had been interested in Whitefield's work in America, and he left her his orphanage in Bethesda, Georgia, which he had wanted to transform into an academy. Shortly after his death, in the early 1770s she made the orphanage an academy on the model of Trevecca to train evangelists to preach among the colonists, their slaves, and the Native Americans.[112] Although Bethesda experienced many difficulties,[113] Hastings' Trevecca College trained many of the leaders of the interdenominational and international missions.[114]

Yet historians should not minimize the importance of the Wesleys on the ecumenical and missionary impulses upon evangelicalism. Charles Wesley wrote a

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[110] Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 9–14.

[111] Orchard, "Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening," 139.

[112] Dorothy Eugenia Sherman Brown, "Evangelicals and Education in Eighteenth-Century Britain: A Study of Trevecca College, 1768-1792" (PhD diss., The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1992), 227–34.

[113] Bethesda Academy still exists and traces its roots to George Whitefield. See http://www.bethesdaacademy.org/about-us/history/, accessed June 23, 2014.

[114] At least six Trevecca students were co-founders of the London Missionary Society in 1795. Brown, "Evangelicals and Education," 211–38, 282, 303, 305, 307, 313, 318; Sykes, "Ecumenical Movements in Great Britain in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 165; Orchard, "Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening," 139–44.

popular hymn in 1740 that demonstrated the ecumenical ecclesiology of the Wesleys, which evangelicals seeking to cooperate across denominational lines for missionary purposes repeated for decades. The hymn began by professing Christ as the perfector of the saints and the saints as Christ's "mystic body." The hymn petitioned Christ to join the church in one spirit and to aid Christians in their care for one another as Christ's body. The last of ten stanzas said,

> Love, like death, hath all destroyed
> Rendered all distinctions void;
> Names, and sects, and parties fall:
> Thou, O Christ, art all in all![115]

The last two lines of the hymn became popular in evangelical interdenominational circles, appearing in magazines and sermons in the 1790s.[116]

The same ecumenical sentiment expressed above in Charles Wesley's hymn existed in other songs and sermons. For example, the name of the hymnal John Wesley published, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs, Intended for the Use of Real Christians of All Denominations* (1753), expressed tacitly what the title page and preface made unmistakable. The title page quoted Colossians 3:9-11, noting that neither ethnicity, social class, nor physical identifiers mattered after one put on the image of Christ. The preface loathed the "Spirit of Bigotry," which caused Christians to fight with one another over opinions and modes of worship, but applauded the exact opposite "Catholic Spirit."

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[115] John Wesley, *A Collection of Hymns: For the Use of the People Called Methodists* (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1877), Hymn 518; Bible Christian Book Committee, *A Collection of Hymns, For the Use of the People Called Bible Christians*, 2nd ed. (Plymouth: Printed by S. Thorne, 1863), Hymn 495.

[116] Several references are treated below and in the next chapter. More recently, David M. Thompson borrowed the lines of verse for the title of his history of Churches of Christ in Britain. See David M. Thompson, *Let Sects and Parties Fall: A Short History of the Association of Churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland* (Birmingham: Berean Press, 1980).

In fact, Wesley joyously observed the "Spirit of Bigotry greatly declining (at least in every Protestant Nation of *Europe*) and the Spirit of Love proportionably increasing" among people of "every Opinion and Denomination." Wesley continued, "They seem weary of tearing each other in pieces, on account of small and unessential Differences; and rather desire to build up each other, in the great Point wherein they all agree, the Faith which worketh by Love, and produces in them the Mind which was in CHRIST JESUS." Wesley hoped that his hymnal, which he said was carefully crafted along nondenominational lines, would contribute to the growing Catholic Spirit. "There is not an Hymn, not one Verse inserted here," Wesley assured his readers, "but what relates to the Common Salvation; and what every serious and unprejudiced Christian, of whatever Denomination, may join in."[117] This hymnal rooted in interdenominational new birth identity saw at least two dozen reprints in Wesley's lifetime.[118]

Wesley emphasized this "Catholic Spirit" also in a sermon by that title, based on 2 Kings 10, which delineated the appropriate Christian disposition toward those with whom Christians disagreed. Wesley argued that the limited nature of knowledge required Christians to allow liberty of opinion dictated by individual conscience. Furthermore, he encouraged Christians not to judge brothers and sisters based on types of worship or doctrinal opinions. Wesley did not swing the doors wide open, for he wanted to avoid being lumped in with the latitudinarians. Rather, a Catholic spirited person's mind should be fixed "concerning the main branches of Christian doctrine." A Catholic spirit included

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[117] John Wesley, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs, Intended for the Use of Real Christians of All Denominations*, 1st ed. (London: Printed by William Strahan, 1753), ii–iv.

[118] Nearly all of them are available from Eighteenth Century Collections Online. The 24th edition (London: Printed by J. Paramore, 1786), retained Col 3:9-11 on the title page and the same preface as the first edition cited here.

love toward neighbor and stranger, friend and enemy, but emanated from a person who assented to right beliefs and worshiped faithfully.[119] Some editions of this sermon included at the end Charles Wesley's hymn, Catholic Love, which lamented strife created by forms and modes and names, declaring,

> Forth from the midst of Babel brought,
> Parties and sects I cast behind;
> Enlarged my heart, and free my thought,
> Where'er the latent truth I find
> The latent truth with joy to own,
> And bow to Jesus' name alone.[120]

This ecumenism manifested itself in many ways, including John Wesley's interdenominational Society for Reformation of Manners (1757).[121]

Wesley remained firm in this catholic spirit rooted in new birth as the real key to one's Christian identity rather than one's denominational polity, rites, and opinions, even when preaching a sermon just after the death of Whitefield in 1770, though their theological differences at times caused serious discord among evangelicals. Wesley praised Whitefield's ecumenical disposition (what Wesley called "Catholic love") which Whitefield had, Wesley believed, rightly rooted in two essential doctrines of Scripture (justification by faith and new birth).[122] Wesley extolled, more than any other quality,

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[119] John Wesley, "Sermon XXXIX: Catholic Spirit," in *Sermons on Several Occasions by the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford*, New edition. (Leeds: Printed by Edward Baines, 1799), 515–28. Also available from the Wesley Center Online, accessed May 5, 2014, http://wesley.nnu.edu/john-wesley/the-sermons-of-john-wesley-1872-edition/sermon-39-catholic-spirit/.

[120] Charles Wesley, "Catholic Love," included with John Wesley's Sermon XXXIX: Catholic Spirit, available at Wesley Center Online, accessed May 5, 2014, http://wesley.nnu.edu/john-wesley/the-sermons-of-john-wesley-1872-edition/sermon-39-catholic-spirit/.

[121] Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 24.

[122] John Wesley, *A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield. Preached at the Chapel in Tottenham-Court-Road, and at the Tabernacle near Moorfields, on Sunday, November 18, 1770* (London: Printed by J. and W. Oliver, 1770), 25.

Whitefield's catholic love and catholic spirit. And he exhorted the congregation to follow Whitefield's example. A person with a catholic spirit would love people as children of God and partakers in the kingdom of heaven on earth and in eternity "all of whatever opinion, mode of worship, or congregation, who believe in the LORD JESUS; who love GOD and man; [who please God, who fear God, who abstain from evil, and who are zealous to do good works]."[123] Wesley chided those with a party spirit who judged others based on their choice of congregation or opinions. Catholic spirited Christians like Whitefield did not judge other Christians but loved them, and Wesley encouraged his hearers to do the same.

Beyond this evangelical denominational fluidity and "Catholic Spirit," which admittedly did not always work out in practice as it did in theological theory, the Wesleyan tradition also supported missions, even if they were not as influential as the Whitefieldite Calvinists came to be. For example, historian Joseph Conforti noted that he was "among the first evangelicals to see the value of the *Life* [*of David Brainerd*]."[124] Wesley's abridged version of *Life* went through seven English editions between 1768 and 1825.[125] Although Wesley's time as a missionary for the SPG was brief and he squelched Thomas Coke's proposals in the 1770s, he was in favor of missions to all parts of the world.[126] In Thomas Coke's *An Address to the Pious and Benevolent, Proposing an Annual Subscription for the Support of Missionaries* (1786), John Wesley provided a note

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[123] Ibid., 27.

[124] Conforti, "Jonathan Edwards's Most Popular Work," 191.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists*, 282.

of approval of the project.[127] Coke even hoped to unite Calvinists and Arminians in his "Plan for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathen" (1783).[128] Coke continued a relentless effort to raise funds for foreign missions throughout his life.[129]

Although evangelicals were extraordinarily diverse and were prone to infighting throughout the eighteenth century, many perpetuated some degree of the ecumenical emphases of the Pietists and Moravians or the denominational fluidity most strongly promoted by the Whitefield tradition. The emphasis on Christian unity was manifested most commonly in concerts of prayer for revival and missions. Those times of prayer became identity- and reality-shaping rituals. As Christians prayed together and the evangelical missions movement gestated, evangelicals almost always watched for signs of the times. Most expected that revivals and conversion of heathen were two clear signs of a new epoch in human history. Thanks to eighteenth century publications and networks, by the 1790s evangelicals of most flavors agreed that praying together for revival and missions was a good thing which anticipated and perhaps hastened the latter days and Christ's imminent return.

V. The Rise of Evangelical Voluntary Societies in the 1790s

The most important transatlantic evangelical structural development in the 1780s and 1790s was the voluntary society. Although numerous societies preceded them in the

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[127] Thomas Coke, *An Address to the Pious and Benevolent, Proposing an Annual Subscription for the Support of Missionaries in the Highlands and Adjacent Islands of Scotland, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, and Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec* (London: n.p., 1786), 2.

[128] Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 25.

[129] John A. Vickers, "Coke, Thomas," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 1:238–39.

eighteenth century, voluntary societies proliferated from the 1790s. The voluntary society grew out of the socio-economic, intellectual, and political contexts and became the most important means of evangelical social and evangelistic activism. Societies arose for nearly every fathomable cause, and missionary societies were among the earliest and most popular.[130] Thus it was not until the 1790s that evangelicals constructed and administered missions structures they had been talking and praying about for over fifty years. The missions movement gained momentum something like a snowball rolling down a hill increasing in size all the way. By the 1780s and 1790s, evangelical papers, schools, and connections had grown large enough to garner substantial support. The number of people digesting Edwards on prayer for missions in the last days grew and prompted William Carey's influential 1792 proposal of a voluntary society as a functional "means" of propagating the gospel to the heathen. The General Evangelical Society (GES) (1787) organized in Dublin for Protestant evangelization of Ireland, while the Northamptonshire Baptists organized the denominational Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen (a.k.a., Baptist Missionary Society or BMS) in 1792. Evangelical Anglicans established in 1799 what became known as the Church Missionary Society. A number of societies were explicitly interdenominational. Influential among these was the London Missionary Society (1795), emulated by many smaller missionary societies across the Atlantic basin and in Europe. The Religious Tract

[130] By 1915, Protestants administered over 350 missionary societies supporting about 24,000 foreign missionaries. Robert, *Christian Mission*, 51.

Society (1799) and the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804) were also important societies which evangelicals across denominations supported. [131]

Andrew Walls has called attention to the extraordinary impact of these societies on the Western church. Most individuals in 1790 still thought in terms of parish boundaries—the idea of a voluntary association of individuals joining together for a defined goal was still fairly novel. These societies were often started by unknown people and they made space for medical and female ministries that were not possible in existing church structures. They depended on donations and regular participation of lay people just as much as clergy. Therefore, the people who supported and ran them also took ownership of them and sacrificed a great deal for them and their causes. Support of the voluntary societies allowed people even of modest means to perceive themselves as participants in overseas missions and other social ministries which attempted to transform culture and herald the millenium. And the societies added an "international dimension which hardly any of the churches, growing as they did within a national framework, had any means of expressing. After the age of the voluntary society, the Western Church could never be the same again."[132] As Walls concluded, "By its very success, the voluntary society subverted all the classical forms of church government, while fitting comfortably into none of them."[133]

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[131] Beaver, *Pioneers in Mission: The Early Missionary Ordination Sermons, Charges, and Instructions*, 1–32; John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney*, A History of Evangelicalism 2 (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2007), chap. 6–7; Hutchinson and Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism*, 70–85; Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960).

[132] Walls, "Missionary Societies and the Fortunate Subversion of the Church," 154.

[133] Ibid., 147.

The social, economic, intellectual, political, and religious contexts of the late-eighteenth century Atlantic basin propelled the rise of evangelical missionary societies from the 1790s onward.[134] Maritime explorers such as James Cook "brought home to the British imagination the reality of the vastness of the world and the diversity of its peoples. . . . It was now more than ever apparent that the Gospel had not been preached to the ends of the earth."[135] Imperial colonialism offered a way for Europeans to migrate and travel back and forth across the Atlantic, encounter non-Christian peoples, and establish early missions.[136] Industrialization provided advances in communication and travel, though it also produced large-scale movements of people and urban conditions which led to increasing growth of dissenting evangelical groups such as the Methodists, whose itinerants were able to serve urban and frontier areas where older parish structures were insufficient. Evangelicals from dissenting and established groups formed voluntary religious societies which employed itinerants who could meet the needs presented by the unique societal developments in new urban areas and on the western frontiers in the United States.[137]

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[134] For in depth analysis of the contextual factors I mention only briefly here, see David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, American Society of Missiology Series 16 (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991), 262–345; Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 208–22; Robert, *Christian Mission*, 44–48.

[135] Orchard, "Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening," 139.

[136] "Three C's" of colonialism were often cited as Christianity, commerce, and civilization. See Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 305.

[137] Stewart J. Brown, "Movements of Christian Awakening in Revolutionary Europe, 1790-1815," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume VII, Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 577; Bebbington, "The Growth of Voluntary Religion," 60.

The intellectual context of the Enlightenment deeply shaped both evangelicalism and the missionary enterprise throughout the eighteenth-century.[138] Historians have not only debunked the idea that evangelicalism emerged as anti-intellectual and anti-rational, but recent studies by missiologist David Bosch,[139] historian Brian Stanley,[140] and historian David Bebbington[141] demonstrate that the intellectual environment of the Enlightenment directly influenced eighteenth-century evangelicalism and the missionary movement.[142]

In his seminal work on evangelicalism in Britain, Bebbington notes several major areas of Enlightenment influence upon evangelicalism. He argues that "Edwards derived

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[138] David Bebbington notes the central figures and contributions to the Enlightenment included René Descartes' promotion of mathematical certainty in human knowledge, John Locke's empiricism which argued against innate ideas and for knowledge coming from experience, and Isaac Newton's success with empirical investigation and inductive reasoning. Kerry Walters notes, "the Enlightenment worldview embraced a number of identifying beliefs. It would be a mistake to think of them as necessary and sufficient principles uniformly held by all philosophers. As historian Carl Becker noted, the ethos was more a 'climate of opinion' than an epoch of uniform agreement. But five general beliefs stand out as providing a basic orientation for most of the Enlightenment's leading spokespersons: (1) the primacy of experience and inductive reason; (2) the importance of science, or "natural philosophy"; (3) a deep-seated suspicion of authority; (4) an emphasis on reform; and (5) a confidence in the perfectibility of both individuals and society. Kerry Walters, "Enlightenment," in *Encyclopedia of Religion in America*, ed. Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2010), 695; David Bebbington, "Enlightenment," ed. Nigel M. de S. Cameron, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 294–295.

[139] Bosch devoted an eighty-two page chapter of his magisterial missiology, *Transforming Mission*, to argue "the entire modern missionary enterprise is, to a very real extent, a child of the Enlightenment." "The entire Western missionary movement of the past three centuries," he contends, "emerged from the matrix of the Enlightenment." See Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 274, 344.

[140] Stanley posits that "the modern Protestant missionary movement cannot be understood unless full attention is paid to the intellectual milieu within which evangelicalism was shaped. Moreover, [this book] broadly supports the now established consensus that this milieu was essentially one formed by the intellectual contours of the Enlightenment." See Brian Stanley, "Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 4.

[141] Bebbington produced a persuasive argument that the "Evangelical version of Protestantism was created by the Enlightenment." See David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1989), 42–74.

[142] For a historiographical overview, on which I rely for this section, see Stanley, "Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation," 1–21.

his confidence about salvation from the atmosphere of the English Enlightenment." Common Sense Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment animated the thought of many transatlantic evangelicals. Evangelicals adopted optimism about human progress, which translated into confidence in their ability to convert the world and the common eschatological perspective that Christ would return after the millennium (i.e., postmillennialism) since the gradual improvement of humanity would result in the millennium. Confidence in human potential, individual autonomy, and freedom of choice influenced Edwardsian moderate Calvinism, which placed obligation to believe on individuals and thus also drove revivalism and evangelism. The flexible, tolerant, utilitarian spirit of the Enlightenment age fostered field preaching, lay preaching, women preaching, a catholic spirit, and interdenominational voluntary societies. The Enlightenment milieu also influenced evangelical literary tastes, types and means of benevolence, and views on politics.[143] Evangelicalism was intricately related to the intellectual milieu of the Enlightenment.[144]

A number of general characteristics often identified with the Enlightenment influenced the ideas and actions of the proponents of the transatlantic evangelical

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[143] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 42–74.

[144] For more on the relationship of Enlightenment and evangelicalism, also see David Bebbington, "Revival and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England," in *Modern Christian Revivals*, ed. Edith Waldvogel Blumhofer and Randall Herbert Balmer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 17–41; Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 150–51; Richard T. Hughes and C. Leonard Allen, "Restoring First Times in the Anglo-American Experience," in *Illusions of Innocence: Protestant Primitivism in America, 1630-1875* (Abilene: ACU Press, 2008), chap. 1; C. Leonard Allen and Richard T. Hughes, *Discovering Our Roots: The Ancestry of Churches of Christ* (Abilene: ACU Press, 1988), chap. 7; Mark A Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 154–57; Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *Protestants in an Age of Science: The Baconian Ideal and Antebellum American Religious Thought* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); W. Reginald Ward, "Enlightenment in Early Moravianism," in *Faith and Faction* (London: Epworth Press, 1993), 95–111.

missions culture.[145] Reason as a central authority combined with freedom of individual conscience led some evangelicals, such as Philip Doddridge and some "New Lights," to oppose subscription to any creed.[146] The same tenets led to a religious toleration—which John Locke justified on grounds of Scripture, natural rights, and human psychology in his classic defense of religious toleration[147]—which caused some evangelicals to oppose the legitimacy of civil or religious authorities to compel belief.[148] Lockean and Enlightenment toleration undergirded evangelical ecumenism and the catholic spirit practiced by many early evangelicals and the 1790s missionary leaders. For many evangelicals, Enlightenment toleration reduced or completely dissolved the cognitive dissonance that could accompany evangelical interdenominational cooperation for missions.

Numerous other Enlightenment characteristics shaped evangelical missions culture. Comparisons of "civilized" and "rational" Westerners with "uncivilized" and "irrational" heathen savages was not new to the Enlightenment era, but as Stanley argues, what was "new about eighteenth-century thought was its increasing tendency to assert the *intrinsic* unity and equality of all humanity." One sees this emphasis throughout the early

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[145] For Bosch, the contours of the Enlightenment included reason as key authority (I think therefore I am), subject-object scheme (subject [*res cogitans*] could observe external object [*res extensa*]), the earth could be occupied and subdued, the elimination of purpose and introduction of direct causality as the key to understanding reality, the belief in progress and discovery of new territories and colonialization, the ideal of modernization, scientific knowledge was factual, value-free, and neutral, all problems were solvable, people were emancipated, autonomous, individuals, resulting in the dominant characteristic of the modern era—radical anthropocentrism. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 262–267.

[146] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 54.

[147] John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (London: Printed for Awnsham Churchill, at the Black Swan at Amen-Corner, 1689).

[148] I. R. McBride, "'When Ulster Joined Ireland': Anti-Popery, Presbyterian Radicalism and Irish Republicanism in the 1790s," *Past & Present*, no. 157 (1997): 69–70.

missionary literature which attempts to provoke "pity" and "compassion" for the heathen destined to hell and often rejected slavery as wrong and an obstruction to conversion of the world. The missions advocates argued that heathens were not irreversibly irrational or barbarian; instead, they simply needed civilization and Christianity to manifest their God-given innate capacity to flourish. Optimism about human potential and Western progress translated into confidence in the illuminative power of education, knowledge, and rational thought that could lead to the Christianization and salvation of the heathen.[149] However, "civilization" versus "evangelization" was a constant conversation among missionaries and advocates; thus the Christ and culture dialectic is the central theme and key problematic running throughout historian William Hutchinson's *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (1987).[150] Although Enlightenment era optimism led some ethnocentric Westerners to see "civilization" as a prerequisite to evangelization, Westerners were not monolithically ethnocentric in the missionary enterprise.

Finally, the Enlightenment ideal of toleration and individual autonomy which led to the gradual shift of the conception of religion from the public to the private sphere deeply shaped Western society, Christianity, and the evangelical missions culture. Religious belief became a voluntary act of the individual rather than a public act of allegiance to the establishment, and the evangelical conversion narrative contributed to the new conception of religion. Relying on the work of Peter van der Veer, Stanley notes that the missionary movement promoted this privatization and voluntarization of religion

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[149] Stanley, "Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation," 10–12.

[150] Hutchinson, *Errand to the World*, 10–13, passim.

but was also a product of it: "The locus of Christian commitment had moved from the state church to the voluntary society of 'true,' converted believers, and such societies pursued the goal of the dissemination of true Christianity both within formal Christendom and beyond it."[151] Andrew Walls argues that the evangelicalism of the 1790s answered modern concerns when it "reconciled the developed consciousness of individual responsibility, so characteristic of Enlightenment thought," with a close fellowship of like-minded "real" (i.e., converted rather than "nominal") Christians which ameliorated the atomization created by individualism in the modern church and society. Reconciling such societal and religious concerns, evangelicals added the flexible voluntary society and thus fueled the Protestant missionary movement and provided an outlet for evangelical activism.[152] Bosch also points out that the voluntarism of missionary societies was driven by "social and political egalitarianism of the emerging democracies" and the "free-enterprise system."[153]

The 1770s through the 1810s was a time of political upheaval in the Americas, Britain, and Europe. Enlightenment thinkers synthesized ideas that culminated in revolutions across the transatlantic and began to permeate Western political culture. The French Revolution figured prominently into eschatological speculation of evangelicals who were always looking for visible signs of the fall of Antichrist—"evangelicals all saw

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[151] Stanley, "Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation," 13; Peter van der Veer, ed., *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

[152] Andrew F. Walls, "The Eighteenth-Century Protestant Missionary Awakening in Its European Context," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 29–30.

[153] Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 328, 334.

the sign of the latter days in the humbling of the Roman Catholic Church."[154] In this socio-economic and political upheaval, evangelical dissent in England, Ireland, and Scotland grew at an unprecedented rate from 1790 to 1815, and these groups were important to the missionary enterprise.[155]

The religious context gave shape to and was shaped by these intellectual, political, social, and economic contexts. An important development in the religious context was the prior and subsequent evangelical awakenings. Evangelicals of the 1790s continued the conversionist revivalism of their predecessors but, painting in broad strokes, developed several key theological ideas. The Calvinism of Edwards continued to provide what evangelicals called "moderate Calvinism," and some went further to embrace Arminianism, which was more palatable to the political and anthropological milieu of many late eighteenth century transatlantic people.[156] Wesley's explicit Arminianism gave credence to ideas that suited a free and confident people who were in charge of their own destinies and responsible for making their own decisions. Furthermore, postmillennialism became the most common eschatological view, and it continued its deep connection to missionary thought. According to missions scholar Charles Chaney, "Not a single sermon or missionary report can be discovered [from this era in America] that does not stress eschatological considerations."[157] Characteristics of evangelicals in the revolutionary 1790s included an elevated common person who was equal with all other people before

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[154] De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 164, 160.

[155] Brown, "Movements of Christian Awakening in Revolutionary Europe, 1790-1815," 578.

[156] On Edwardsian moderate Calvinism in the eighteenth century, see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 63–65.

[157] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 269.

God (i.e., all equally needed conversion), a lay leadership active in preaching and organizing, opposition to skepticism and materialism and some types of rationalism of the Enlightenment, and a large constituency outside the established churches.[158]

Scholars also have emphasized the inextricable connection between the evangelical awakening of the 1790s with the missionary and ecumenical movements. Ruth Rouse (over)stated,

> Missions and ecumenism are inseparable. Revival, missions, Christian unity, is an inevitable series. No outburst of missionary zeal, unless it be the Jesuit Mission of the 16th century, has ever paralleled the missionary developments resulting from the Evangelical Awakening between 1790 and 1820. Their ecumenical results were outstanding. . . . The new missionary enterprise gave rise at once to co-operation and unity amongst Christians of different Churches.[159]

Evangelicalism provided the international and interdenominational networks that undergirded the missionary movement. Walls summed it up well:

> The chain that led to William Carey's pioneering missionary initiative of 1792 was forged by a gift from a Scottish Presbyterian to an English Baptist of a book by a New England Congregationalist. Another New Englander, David Brainerd, became the principal model of early British Missionary spirituality; his own work had been supported by the Society in Scotland for Promoting Christian Knowledge. An unending stream of correspondence, crisscrossing the Atlantic, reveals just how important as a missionary factor were the African-Americans and Afro-West Indians. . . . Magazines . . . gathered and disseminated 'missionary intelligence' without regard to denomination or country of origins. . . . Above all, the revival supplied missionaries. There had been various earlier schemes for missions, although none went further than paper because no one was likely to undertake them. The first generation of the Protestant missionary enterprise was for practical purposes an evangelical undertaking.[160]

The rest of this chapter demonstrates these connections and themes that were foundational to the transatlantic evangelical missions culture. The contexts noted above

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[158] Brown, "Movements of Christian Awakening in Revolutionary Europe, 1790-1815"; Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, chap. 7.

[159] Rouse, "Voluntary Movement and the Changing Ecumenical Climate," 310.

[160] Walls, "The Evangelical Revival, the Missionary Movement, and Africa," 79–80.

shaped and made the missions movement possible, but the focus henceforth is to understand the evangelicals involved in missions on their own terms. How did they see their world and why did missions become a central response to their perception of the world? How and why did they establish missionary societies and magazines? What were the key symbols used in missionary sermons and literature? Of course, diversity existed among missions advocates, and the missionary movement took a different course shortly after this period. But in the 1790s, in very broad strokes, what were key components of the transatlantic evangelical missions culture?

VI. William Carey, Voluntary Missionary Societies, and Hopkins

Numerous publications during the last two decades of the eighteenth century argued for the establishment of voluntary missionary societies, sometimes organized along denominational lines and sometimes with explicit promotion of interdenominational cooperation. These appeals were typically connected to the concert of prayer for revivals and missions that began in Scotland and became widespread through the support of Jonathan Edwards and leading evangelicals in the second half of the nineteenth century. Scottish Presbyterian John Erskine (1721-1803) was key to the missionary awakening of the 1790s. He corresponded with Atlantic evangelicals throughout the eighteenth century, promoting the 1740s revivals, the concerts for prayer, and foreign and home missions with eschatological motives. He served as a director of the SSPCK, and he published and distributed the works of Jonathan Edwards. Erskine sent Edwards' *An Humble Attempt* to his English Baptist correspondents in Northamptonshire (Andrew Fuller and John Ryland, Jr.), prompting them to start concerts of prayer for revival and the spread of Christ's kingdom in 1784, from which Baptist

missions developed. Erskine and the SSPCK also nurtured the central leaders of the London Missionary Society.[161]

The most influential appeal for missions by way of voluntary society came from the pen of Baptist William Carey (1761-1834), whose persuasive *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (1792) earned a widespread readership. Carey's *Enquiry* was a culmination of his experience with the Northamptonshire Baptists and his reading of Edwards' works. His persuasive articulation of both the "obligation" and the "means" to convert heathens is a chief reason for his fame as "father" of modern missions.[162]

Carey's *Enquiry* had five major sections, the first of which used a number of biblical passages to demonstrate that missions were obligatory for all Christians. The title page provided a quote attributed to Paul:

> For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach, except they be sent?[163]

However, the central passage upon which Carey based his *Enquiry* was Matthew 28:19-20,[164] the so-called Great Commission; this became the chief biblical symbol of the

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[161] De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 166–98; Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 207–10; John R. McIntosh, "Erskine, John," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 1:363.

[162] Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1992* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992), 12.

[163] The title page quoted all of Rom 10:12-15. William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (Leicester: Printed and Sold by Ann Ireland, 1792), 1.

[164] "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen" (Mt 28:19-20 KJV).

missions movement. Carey argued that the commission of Jesus Christ to his disciples was still binding on Christians. He refuted opponents' claims that (1) "if God intends the salvation of the heathen, he will some way or other bring them to the gospel, or the gospel to them" or (2) that the commission was only binding upon the apostles and not on Christians today or (3) that Scriptures proved the time had not yet come for the conversion of the heathen or (4) that Christians should focus on the need in their own nations.[165] In the case of number three, whose proponents also said that first "the *witnesses must be slain*, and many other prophecies fulfilled," Carey referred readers to "Edwards on Prayer, on this subject, lately re-printed by Mr. Sutcliffe."[166]

Carey's *Enquiry* continued the evangelical use of eschatology as a motive for missions.[167] As De Jong pointed out, basic to Carey's "theology of missions is the framework of his discussion [in *Enquiry*], namely the belief that, as promised in the prophets, history is moving toward its culmination in the kingdom of Christ."[168] Clear from the introduction, Carey encouraged Christians to pray and work for the kingdom, work exemplified by John Eliot, David Brainerd, and the Moravian Brethren.[169] Carey appealed not only to actors in history but also to biblical prophecy. He found in Isaiah

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[165] Carey, *Enquiry*, 7–13.

[166] Ibid., 12, n1.

[167] Stephen Neill missed this aspect of Carey's *Enquiry* when he said it was "free from eschatological speculation of the pietists." Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 222; De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 175–81.

[168] De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 178.

[169] Thus Carey contributed to securing their iconic status. He also mentioned John Wesley and Jonathan Edwards. See Carey, *Enquiry*, 11, 36–37, 69–71, 87.

60:9[170] a prophecy speaking of his own era of industrialism and colonialism: "In the time of the glorious increase of the church, in the latter days, (of which the whole chapter is undoubtedly a prophecy,) commerce shall subserve the spread of the gospel." Carey found the increased navigation and trade with unknown parts of the world in his own day as fulfilments of this prophecy. "The ships of Tarshish were trading vessels, which made voyages for traffic to various parts," Carey analyzed, "thus much therefore must be meant by it, that *navigation*, especially that which is *commercial*, shall be one great mean [*sic*] of carrying on the work of God; and perhaps it may imply that there shall be a very considerable appropriation of wealth to that purpose."[171] Like Edwards before him, Carey viewed the new navigation and commercial systems of imperial England as tools for missions, and perhaps Isaiah foresaw that there would even be a financial profit in spreading the gospel. Carey's interpretation of this passage clearly demonstrates not only Carey's understanding of the nature of prophecy but also his belief that he was possibly in the latter times when Isaiah's prophecies would be fulfilled.[172]

Carey poignantly construed a world of disorder in section three, nearly thirty pages of global statistics meant to demonstrate to "every considerate mind, what a vast proportion of the sons of Adam there are, who yet remain in the most deplorable state of heathen darkness."[173] These statistics illustrated to readers a world predominately captive

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[170] "Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first, to bring thy [Carey has "my"] sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, unto the name of the LORD thy God…" (Is 60:9 KJV)

[171] Carey, *Enquiry*, 68.

[172] Ibid., 12.

[173] Ibid., 62.

to Satanic darkness—burdensome proof of the dire need for Christian missions.[174] His exegesis of Matthew 28 coupled with this view of the world convicted many English-speaking Christians—whether clergy or laity, whether wealthy or poor—that their Lord laid an obligation on each and every one of them to contribute to making disciples of all nations. The remedy to global disorder was missions to the heathen.

Carey provided several proposals of means for people to contribute to evangelization of the heathen. First, the "fervent and united prayer" of all Christians would procure God's blessing. He interpreted Zechariah 12:10-14 to "teach that when there shall be an universal conjunction in fervent prayer, and all shall esteem Zion's welfare as their own, then copious influences of the Spirit shall be shed upon the churches, which like a purifying *fountain* shall cleanse the servants of the Lord."[175] In Carey's understanding, the "most glorious works of grace that have ever took place, have been in answer to prayer." Prayer as a means for converting the heathen also carried ecumenical weight. Carey argued that prayer was "perhaps the only thing which Christians of all denominations can cordially, and unreservedly unite; but in this we may all be one, and in this the strictest unanimity ought to prevail. Were the whole body thus animated by one soul, with what pleasure would Christians attend on all the duties of religion."[176] Prayer could unite Christians in desiring to fulfill one of their Christian duties and perhaps secure God's blessing upon the endeavor. Indeed, Carey believed the monthly prayer meetings for the success of the gospel had been successful and the

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[174] Religious symbols are often used to account for and help people cope with experiences such as global disorder. See Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 108.

[175] Carey, *Enquiry*, 78.

[176] Ibid., 81.

increase of civil and religious liberty with the decrease of "popery" would open the doors wider and wider. As evidence of success at the time of publishing, Carey cited an increase in calls to preach the gospel in places devoid of proclamation and efforts to "abolish the inhuman Slave-Trade."[177] One year later, as discussed below, Samuel Hopkins inextricably linked missions and abolition of the slave trade.

Second, Carey proposed a voluntary missionary society, which he likened to a trading company: "Suppose a company of serious Christians, ministers, and private persons, were to form themselves into a society, and make a number of rules respecting the regulation of the plan, and the persons who are to be employed as missionaries, the means of defraying the expence, etc." The society's membership would be selective, only open to those who were of "serious religion," whose "hearts are in the work," and who "possess a spirit of perseverance." The society would then form a committee which would procure information on missions, receive contributions, hire missionaries, and provide for the needs of the missionaries. Carey listed several ways in which the funds might be raised. The rich could give portions to the work. The common people could perhaps give one tenth of their annual income to the work, following what Carey saw as the ancient biblical and more recent Puritan practice. Congregations could open subscriptions of one penny or more per week and reserve it for the propagation of the gospel. If Christians and churches used these methods, there would be enough money to support ministers at home, "*village preaching* in our neighbourhoods," and missionaries

[177] Ibid., 79.

to the heathen world.[178] The missionary societies of the early missions culture used this basic method to create and run their voluntary societies like trading companies.

At the time of writing *Enquiry*, Carey did not envision an interdenominational missionary society. Instead, he proposed the society and committee be formed among his "*particular baptist denomination*." However, as Walls observed, Carey's proposal was based solely on practicality rather than on any theological reservation about an interdenominational missionary society.[179] Carey's proposal actually had an ecumenical premise. Carey explained,

> I do not mean by this, in any way to confine it to any one denomination of Christians. I wish with all my heart, that every one who loves our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, would in some way or other engage in it. But in the present divided state of Christendom, it would be more likely for good to be done by each denomination engaging separately in the work, than if they were to embark in it conjointly. There is room enough for us all, without interfering with each other; and if no unfriendly interference took place, each denomination would bear good will to the other, and wish, and pray for its success, considering it as upon the whole friendly to the great cause of true religion; but if all were intermingled it is likely their private discords might throw a damp upon their spirits, and much retard their public usefulness.[180]

Carey's perceptions of the situation had changed by 1806, no doubt encouraged by correspondence with organizers of the enormous cooperative endeavors of the London Missionary Society (1795) and other societies organized along interdenominational lines for tract and Bible production and missionary endeavors. In 1806, Carey proposed to Andrew Fuller, the secretary of the BMS, that they organize an interdenominational and international meeting in 1810 and every ten years afterward. The meetings would provide

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[178] Ibid., 81–87.

[179] Walls, "Missionary Societies and the Fortunate Subversion of the Church," 145–48.

[180] Carey, *Enquiry*, 84.

a space for missionaries and organizers to talk and understand what the others were doing more quickly than could be done through correspondence.[181] The meeting never happened, but Carey's proposal demonstrates that he warmed to cooperation, to some degree, by 1806. Carey's evangelical Christianity was the basis of his ecumenical sentiment. He spoke of Congregational, Methodist, Moravian, and other missionaries with complete approval. They worked on the mission field for conversion of the heathen, and that was the central goal of Christian mission, in Carey's estimation. Mission by Protestants trumped denominational affiliation as did new birth for Whitefield and many revivalists.

For Carey, a world overrun with the chaos and darkness of paganism could be made orderly if Christians would follow Jesus' command to go and make disciples of all nations, and Carey proposed means for Christians of all classes to participate in this great endeavor that would surely continue an outpouring of God's Spirit in what seemed to be the cusp of the last days. Backed by the Northamptonshire Baptist Association's encouragement, Carey's proposal for a voluntary society prompted the formation of the BMS in 1792. The BMS sent him to India in 1793, and he corresponded with numerous evangelicals to continue shaping the missions culture.[182]

Carey was not the only influential evangelical voice to link missions and abolition of the slave trade.[183] In the U.S., Congregational minister Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803),

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[181] Ruth Rouse, "William Carey's Pleasing Dream," *International Review of Mission* 38, no. 2 (1949): 181–92.

[182] Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1992*, chap. 1–2; Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 208–10.

[183] William Warren Sweet claimed Hopkins should be called the "Father of American Missions." Chaney said Sweet's assertion was an overstatement. See Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 74.

trained at Yale College and disciple of Jonathan Edwards, provided the new missionary movement with a key characteristic—disinterested benevolence. Disinterested benevolence went back to Edwards, though Hopkins did update the idea in *An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness* (1773). For Hopkins, holiness consisted of conforming to God's law, which was expressed in love. This love, or holiness, consisted of love of God and people; it was universal benevolence or friendly affection to all intelligent beings. Disinterested benevolence promoted selfless service for the kingdom of God, epitomized in God giving his Son to die for sinners. This selflessness for the sake of the kingdom and the glory of God was the highest good, characterizing the life of Christ and God's own holiness. The opposite of disinterested benevolence was selfishness. Missionaries like Brainerd could be portrayed as emulating Christ in giving themselves entirely and selflessly to save others. Therefore, the missionary became a picture of disinterested benevolence. Key Calvinist motives for mission—the glory of God and the salvation of humanity—were seemingly perfectly combined in the idea of disinterested benevolence.[184]

Hopkins combined disinterested benevolence with Edwardsian postmillennial eschatology, illustrated in *A Treatise on the Millennium* (1793), to form a moderate Calvinist apology for social reform. Hopkins became one of the earliest and most vocal abolitionists and missionary advocates. Missionaries used the idea of disinterested benevolence to test the genuineness of their commitment to the gospel, attempting to follow Brainerd as he faced physical hardships and even death in order to spread the

[184] Ibid., 82–83.

gospel (a chief means of loving humanity and glorifying God) to the Native Americans.[185]

Hopkins' theology of missions grew out of his understanding of disinterested benevolence and abolitionism. In 1773, he proposed sending black missionaries to Guinea in Western Africa, but the war and lack of general support precluded the proposal's success. Nonetheless, his three short publications against slavery disseminated his views on missions. The third piece against slavery is, in the estimation of Chaney, "one of the great missionary sermons of the Eighteenth Century and has been almost completely overlooked as such."[186] He gave this sermon at a Baptist church where the Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade met on May 17, 1793, less than a year after the publication of Carey's *Enquiry*. Hopkins continued Carey's interpretation of the Great Commission, though he took Mark 16:15 as his text: "Go, ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Hopkins said this command was an expression of the greatest benevolence to humanity and all Christians of all time were obliged to fulfill the command. If not called to preach, Christians should "assist those who are sent forth to this work, and do much to forward the propagation and spreading of Christianity; not only helping by their prayers, but by liberal contributions of their substance, and many other labours and exertions."[187] Christians were obligated to propagate the gospel to

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[185] Samuel Hopkins, *An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness* (Newport: Solomon Southwick, 1773); Samuel Hopkins, *A Treatise on the Millennium* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793); Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 74–84; J. R. Fitzmier, "Hopkins, Samuel (1721-1803)," ed. Daniel G. Reid et al., *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 553–54; Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 290, 313; Conforti, "Jonathan Edwards's Most Popular Work," 196–97; Hutchinson, *Errand to the World*, 49–51.

[186] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 78.

[187] Samuel Hopkins, *A Discourse upon the Slave-Trade, and the Slavery of the Africans* (Providence: J. Carter, 1793), 7.

creatures of all races and ethnicities, all nations, all classes, and all levels of civilization and education.

For Hopkins, the slave trade and slavery were instruments of Satan and obstacles to Christ's command to spread the gospel; therefore, he construed justice and benevolence as key motives for both abolition and missions.[188] Christians had committed a horrendous crime by ripping people from their homeland, separating them from their families, and subjugating them to slavery. Slave traders and supporters of slavery were the "emissaries of satan," even though some did not realize or believe they were servants of the evil one.[189] The slave trade was so wicked that Hopkins saw it as evidence that the sixth vial (see Apoc. 16) "has been running during this time."[190] It was clear to him that the gospel was suited to root out evils such as tyranny and slavery. Hopkins believed slavery would be wholly abolished in any place where the gospel was preached, received, and obeyed. He chided the British Parliament and the United States Congress for their delay in abolishing the slave trade. He also suggested that free blacks would not be treated equally in the United States because whites had such deep-seated racism. Therefore, he proposed colonization of black people in Africa, pointing to recent success of such endeavors in Sierra Leone. Such colonization should receive the support of the U.S. in reparation for its horrendous crimes against the Africans. Christians should prepare black missionaries so they could spread Christianity once the freed slaves

[188] Ibid., 21–22.

[189] Ibid., 11.

[190] Ibid., 14.

returned to Africa. In this way, Hopkins hoped that God planned to use the wickedness of slavery as a means of introducing the gospel among the nations in Africa.[191]

VII. The London Missionary Society and Its Transatlantic Influence

Carey's and Hopkins' pleas were heard throughout the Atlantic basin, and Carey especially became a major source of inspiration for evangelical missions. The missionary movement blossomed in the wake of his *Enquiry* with numerous magazines and societies devoted to the promotion of missions. As evident throughout this chapter thus far, evangelical missions had always been partly a cooperative endeavor, often across denominational and national lines. The London Missionary Society (LMS), founded in 1795, continued infusing Christian cooperation with eschatological meaning by connecting Christian unity (unity in constitutional organizations rather than simply uniting in prayer) to previous emphases of evangelical missions. Because the LMS was so influential on the evangelical missions culture during the period under study, and because it was the parent society of Thomas Campbell's Evangelical Society of Ulster, covered in Chapter Four, this section focuses on the formation of the LMS, its key characteristics, and its influence on transatlantic evangelicals.

Strategic use of media was crucial for the construction of an evangelical missions culture and for promoting and funding missionary societies. Although not always entirely accurate, and often run through a number of editors, the letters and other information recorded in evangelical publications became a major means of promoting the cause.[192]

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[191] Hopkins provided a six-page (unnumbered) Appendix on the proposal of colonization in Hopkins, *A Discourse upon the Slave-Trade, and the Slavery of the Africans*.

[192] David Arnold and Robert A. Bickers, "Introduction," in *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, ed. Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary E. Seton (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1996), 4.

The Evangelical Magazine was instrumental in the formation of the LMS and a crucial conduit of international evangelical news. Founded in 1793, *The Evangelical Magazine* aimed to utilize a periodical to offer news and spread "evangelical sentiments" to thousands of people who would read magazines but had no money to buy or time to peruse large volumes. The target audience was the "more than three hundred thousand Calvinists, and many others, savingly converted to God, who trust in the merits of Christ alone for salvation." The magazine would provide a wide array of religious information—history, philosophy, poetry, prose, autobiography, obituaries, book reviews, etc. It would also relate the "Progress of the Gospel throughout the kingdom," which was a "species of information entirely new, and very important."[193]

Twenty-four evangelicals agreed to supply information to readers and the magazine advertised these names on the front page of the volumes. These men were among the most important leaders who formed many of the evangelical societies of their day and nearly all of them played an important role in the foundation of the LMS—many were in the Whitefield Calvinist tradition.[194] Among the twenty-four were Northamptonshire Baptists John Ryland (1753-1825) and Andrew Fuller (1754-1815). English Congregationalist David Bogue (1750-1825), of Scottish birth and originally trained as minister in the Kirk, also wrote for the magazine and became a key promoter of interdenominational cooperation through voluntary societies.[195] English

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[193] "The Preface," *The Evangelical Magazine* 1 (1793): 1–5.

[194] For biographical information on these men, see John Morison, *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society: A Jubilee Memorial, Including a Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Institution* (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1844).

[195] J. H. Y. Briggs, "Bogue, David," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 1:115.

Congregationalist George Burder (1752-1832), who became known for his sympathies with evangelical Methodists and those in the Church of England, and whose 100 *Village Sermons* attained widespread Atlantic readership, also contributed to the magazine as editor and author. He was one of the founders of the Warwickshire Association for the Spread of the Gospel (1793), which sought to support foreign missions, and was instrumental in forming the major interdenominational missionary (i.e., LMS), Bible (i.e., BFBS), and tract (i.e., RTS) societies of the period.[196] Burder became secretary of the LMS in 1803 in succession to John Eyre (1754-1803), Anglican clergyman who served as *The Evangelical Magazine*'s first editor from 1793 to 1802. Lady Huntingdon sent Eyre to Trevecca College in the 1770s before he was ordained in the Church of England in 1779, and he became one of many Trevecca students contributing to the missionary explosion of the 1790s.[197] Eyre became a founding member and secretary of the LMS.[198] Also among the twenty-four was native Welsh Independent Edward Williams (1750-1813), who, with Andrew Fuller and Samuel Hopkins, was a founder of the moderate Calvinism in the tradition of Jonathan Edwards which refuted hyper Calvinism and provided a foundation for Calvinist missionary impetus.[199]

The Evangelical Magazine took a strong interdenominational approach—both in its constituency and its message—based on the primary Christian identity of saving faith.

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[196] Alan Argent, "Burder, George," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 1:168–69.

[197] At least six Trevecca students were founders of the LMS. See Brown, "Evangelicals and Education," 211–38, 282, 303, 305, 307, 313, 318.

[198] Edwin Welch, "Eyre, John," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 1:373; Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 208–9.

[199] W. T. Owen, "Williams, Edward," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 2:1194–95.

"Bigotry gradually diminishes," the preface of volume one declared, "and good men of all denominations, laying aside party distinctions, begin to embrace each other with fraternal affection; and we hope the present Work will accelerate the destruction of that contracted disposition, which checks the benevolent current of true godliness." The editors were "Churchmen and Dissenters of different denominations, uniting their efforts in one common cause." The magazine would follow the principles of the *Gospel Magazine*, "devoid of personality and acrimonious reflections on any sect of professing Christians; as errors of mind, like diseases of the body, are rather the subjects of pity than of scorn."[200] The *Gospel Magazine*'s title page read, "The Gospel Magazine, or Treasury of Divine Knowledge, Containing Original and Select Pieces, Designed to Promote Experimental Religion, and Calculated for All Denominations."[201]

Therefore, it should be no surprise that the evangelicals who started and contributed to *The Evangelical Magazine* promoted a missionary enterprise based on motives in the evangelical tradition, with united prayer as a chief support and millennialism as a key motive. But they also magnified the ecumenical emphasis. For example, an author described only as "Horatio" utilized Edwards' *An Humble Attempt* as a guide to the signs of the times and to encourage continuation of regular prayer meetings for missions. Horatio hoped that the seventh angel would soon pour out his vial (Apoc. 16:12), and he suspected the means by which the Lord would introduce that "desirable day" would be used gradually. He supposed the "*Lord will remove the* OBSTACLES *which lie in the way of the conversion of the heathen nations*." One obstacle was the

[200] "The Preface," 3.

[201] This is the title page at least for volumes eight (1781) and ten (1783). I have not been able to analyze any of its other volumes.

"*unhappy contentions and divisions which subsist among Christians*" because these damaged Christianity's witness to the world. Another major obstacle Horatio named was the cruelties committed by Christians, especially the slave trade, that "infamous commerce in human blood, which has disgraced this nation for more than two hundred years." Of course, a major obstacle was pagan ignorance of Christ, which could only be remedied by sending missionaries to these nations, "For how shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? or how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear, without a preacher? and how shall they preach, except they be sent?"[202] As Orchard perceptively noted, we see in the 1790s the "marching together of a millennial vision, 'The earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord,' and practical plans to bring it about."[203] Key to those plans for many evangelicals was cooperation across denominational lines.

Another key influence in the LMS's formation was Melville Horne's (c.1761-1841) *Letters on Missions: Addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches* (1794). Horne was an evangelical Anglican whom Wesley appointed an itinerant preacher in 1784 and a superintendent in 1787. He was the second chaplain in Sierra Leone in 1792 but his inability to acclimate forced his return in 1793, at which point he wrote his *Letters*—a book that influenced the formation of the LMS and Church Missionary Society.[204]

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[202] Citing Rom 10:12-15, which donned the title page of Carey's *Enquiry*. Horatio, "Remarks on the Prophesies and Promises Relating to the Glory of the Latter Day," *The Evangelical Magazine* 1 (September 1793): 157–67; Orchard, "Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening," 144.

[203] Orchard, "Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening," 139.

[204] He describes his reasons for leaving Africa at length in the preface. See Melvill Horne, *Letters on Missions: Addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches* (Bristol: Printed by Bulgin and

Beginning with approbation of Carey's *Enquiry*, *Letters* reiterated Carey's evangelical arguments for Protestant missions. He cited Carey's statistics to remind readers of the large part of the world under the darkness of paganism and Islam and to motivate disobedient Christians: "I charge you—I charge myself, with betraying the grand interests of our Maker, by refusing to propagate his gospel." He interpreted Matthew 28:19-20 as a command for all Christians and not just the apostles. Horne chided Christians for their lack of pity for the heathen, demonstrated by their lack of support for missions even though they had the ships, money, and ministers to make missionary work a reality. Furthermore, by neglecting the command of Christ, Horne confessed, "we [Christians] are chargeable with the perdition of all the poor Heathens whom our diligence might have saved."[205]

Horne pleaded for the establishment of missions based on the same evangelical motives covered thus far, but began his letters with a persuasive exhortation to interdenominational cooperation. His first letter, for example, said that for Protestants to bicker with one another about party preferences (which baptized partisan causes and thereby forsook the "*Christian Cause*, *the Common Interests* of mankind") was "to fight for Barabbas, and to crucify Jesus."[206] In another letter, he pleaded,

> Let us [ministers] fly to the succor of our best mother, the afflicted Church of Christ. O let us no more fall out by the way. Let liberal Churchmen and conscientious Dissenters, pious Calvinists and pious Arminians, embrace with fraternal arms. Let the press groan no longer with our controversies; and let the

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Rosser, 1794), iii–xii; W. R. Ward, "Horne, William," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 1:572–73.

[205] Horne, *Letters on Missions*, xii, 2–5, 11–16.

[206] Ibid., 2.

> remembrance of the petty interests we have contended for be buried in everlasting oblivion.[207]

Horne also advanced eschatological motives for missions: "the prophecies and promises, loudly declare the intention of God, that this last and most perfect dispensation of the everlasting gospel should be the religion of every tribe, and kindred, and tongue." Horne believed he lived in a special time that called for special measures of evangelism. "The night is far spent, and the day is at hand," he declared. "The latter ends of the world are fallen upon us, and we have many considerations to excite us, if it were possible, to more than apostolick labours." Like many evangelicals before and after him, Horne's eschatology attempted to make sense of Islamic rule over previously Christian lands, the Roman Church as Antichrist, and current wars (the French Revolution in Horne's case).[208] For Horne, the French Revolution's humbling of Rome was God's wrath on Antichrist and a clear harbinger of the "latter ends of the world."[209]

Horne's *Letters* received immediate attention from *The Evangelical Magazine* and prompted several people associated with the magazine to put forward donations for a missionary society that culminated in the founding of the LMS. In a review of *Letter on Missions*, *The Evangelical Magazine* praised Horne's book and proposals for missions. The review crescendoed into hopeful speculation and news of an interdenominational missionary society:

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[207] Ibid., 21–22.

[208] On the place of Roman Catholicism and Islam in American evangelical eschatology, see Thomas S Kidd, *American Christians and Islam: Evangelical Culture and Muslims from the Colonial Period to the Age of Terrorism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

[209] Horne, *Letters on Missions*, 11, 20–21; Orchard, "Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening," 144–45.

> Could a new society be formed for . . . promoting the Gospel, and those, who now as individuals long for it, be united together, without respect to different denominations of Christians, or repulsive distance arising from the points in dispute between Calvinists and Arminians. . . . Could such a society be formed upon Mr. Horne's large scale . . . we have pleasure to inform the Public, that one gentleman has pledged himself for an *hundred pounds*, and that we have *five hundred pounds* more engaged from another respectable minister, for the equipment of the first six persons who shall be willing to devote themselves, and be approved by such Society for a mission to the South Sea Islands.[210]

Although not noted in the review, the two contributors—Thomas Haweis and Samuel Greatheed—were among the twenty-four contributors to *The Evangelical Magazine*.[211] Greatheed became an influential advocate of Christian unity based on the church's essence as *one* diverse body which should practice rituals, such as communion, together.[212] Haweis was chaplain of Lady Huntington's chapel in Bath and one of the four executors of her estate upon her death in 1791.[213]

From that point on, an interdenominational missionary society became a real possibility to many evangelicals. Leaders of *The Evangelical Magazine* began meeting with people from different denominations in November 1794 to consider establishing a missionary society.[214] These meetings continued in the early months of 1795, promoted

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[210] "Review of *Letters on Missions*," *The Evangelical Magazine* 2 (November 1794): 478.

[211] Stephen Orchard discovered this in Greatheed's copy of the sermons preached at the foundation meeting of the LMS in 1795. Greatheed's notes in that book say that the references to contributors in Nov 1794 *Evangelical Magazine* were from Haweis (£500) and himself (£100), which they made after reading Horne's *Letters on Missions*. See Orchard, "Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening," 145 n.56; Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895* (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), 1:11–12.

[212] Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 30–31.

[213] Norman E. Thomas, *Missions and Unity: Lessons from History, 1792-2010*, American Society of Missiology 47 (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2010), 8.

[214] For the early history of the LMS, see Lovett, *History of the LMS*, 1:3–42; James L. Gorman, "European Roots of Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address*: The Evangelical Society of Ulster," *Restoration Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (2009): 131–33.

and perceived as eschatologically significant for their missionary aim and Christian unity. "It was unanimously determined," declared a 1795 publication documenting the formation of the LMS, "that all party names and inferior distinctions should, in the prosecution of this vast design, be absorbed into the great Christian name and cause."[215] Finally, in February 17, 1795, thirty-three signatories agreed,

> We whose names are here subscribed, declare our earnest desire to exert ourselves for promoting the great work of introducing the Gospel and its ordinances, to Heathen and other unenlightened countries, and unite together, purposing to use our best endeavors, that we may bring forward the formation of an extensive regularly organized Society, to consist of Evangelical Ministers and Lay Brethren of all denominations, the object of which Society shall be to concert and pursue the most effectual measures for accomplishing this important and glorious design.[216]

The LMS, originally called just the Missionary Society, was the culmination of the evangelical missions culture traced thus far: it synthesized emphases of the Great Commission, interdenominational cooperation in missions based on a core or essential evangelical message, and an optimistic eschatology which considered missions to the heathen and conversion of the world as significant events taking place in what seemed to be—with the political revolutions, social change accompanying the industrial revolution and urbanization, and the establishment of united Protestant missions—the latter days. At the core of the LMS was interdenominational cooperation in missions to work toward the latter day glory of Christ's millennial reign.[217]

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[215] Thomas Haweis et al., *Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the Missionary Society, September 22, 23, 24, 1795; To Which Are Prefixed, Memorials, Respecting the Establishment and First Attempts of That Society* (London: Printed and Sold by T. Chapman, 1795), x.

[216] Ibid., xi; Lovett, *History of the LMS*, 1:15–16.

[217] Lovett, *History of the LMS*, 1:12.

These themes permeated *The Evangelical Magazine* and early endeavors to organize an interdenominational missionary society in 1795.[218] The preface of *The Evangelical Magazine* in 1795 announced, "the Son of God seems to be preparing the course of events for her final triumph," evinced by revivals in America; missionary fervor in London, Germany, and Switzerland; and Christian unity. Indeed, the church was united in these latter days: "In the churches of Christ, Party Prejudice lies prostrate at the feet of Brotherly Love; and Bigotry, universally disowned, and almost universally disliked."[219]

Burder's circular letter in January of 1795, *An Address to the Serious and Zealous Professors of the Gospel, of Every Denomination, Respecting an Attempt to Evangelize the Heathen*, used the Great Commission to challenge people to respond to the Commission with the "primitive zeal" of the apostles. Burder passionately appealed to the revival of true religion over the last fifty years, Carey's *Enquiry*, Horne's *Letters*, new geographical and demographic knowledge, and a newfound desire to rectify Protestant apathy toward obeying the Great Commission as justification for doing something "immediately." Life was short and it was time to act. These appeals prompted meetings on September 21 to 24, 1795, when the LMS was founded and a number of evangelical personalities persuasively synthesized the evangelical missions culture that shaped transatlantic evangelicals over the next decades.[220]

Interdenominational cooperation for efficient missions in the last days was a key assumption permeating the sermons and reports of the September 1795 meetings.

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[218] For some examples, see *The Evangelical Magazine* 3 (1795): i-iv, 198-202, 291, and 334.

[219] "Preface," *The Evangelical Magazine* 3 (1795): i–iv.

[220] Lovett, *History of the LMS*, 1:18–24.

Baptists, Independents, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Anglicans came together on September 21 and representatives of churches and associations read letters of support for the missionary society endeavor.[221] Over two hundred ministers congregated at Spa Fields Chapel, which belonged to Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, on Tuesday morning, September 22, when Haweis preached on Mark 16:15-16, the first of six foundation sermons.[222] Appeals to unity and interdenominational cooperation for the propagation of the gospel were ubiquitous. After an opening prayer that beseeched God to bless "all the ministers of different denominations, that they may hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and, [be] conscious how much more important it is to spread the glorious Gospel of the ever blessed God, than to dispute about modes and forms," Haweis' sermon corroborated the ecumenical missionary message:

> The petty distinctions among us, of names, and forms; the diversities of administrations, and modes of church order, we agree, shall this day all be merged in the greater, nobler, and characteristic name of CHRISTIANS; and our one ambition be, to promote no partial interests, since Christ is not divided, but with united efforts to make known abroad, the glory of his person—the perfection of his work—the wonders of his grace—and the transcendent blessings of his redemption—where his adorable name hath never yet been heard.[223]

Rowland Hill proclaimed the old Wesley hymn to sum up his hatred of bigotry and desire to see it subsist no more: "Let names and sects and parties fall, And Jesus Christ be all in all."[224]

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[221] The LMS directors provided an account of the formation of the society and its Plan in Haweis et al., *Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the LMS*, iii–xxxii.

[222] The other five were George Burder (on Jonah to Nineveh), Samuel Greatheed (on the Great Commission as moral law, based on Lk 10:29), John Hey (on the fullness of the times, based on Eph 1:10), Rowland Hill (on Mt 24:14), David Bogue (on objections against missions to the heathen). Haweis et al., *Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the LMS.*

[223] Ibid., 3–6.

[224] Ibid., 114–15.

Bogue's sermon on Thursday evening expressed his awareness of how unprecedented the LMS was and proclaimed it had accomplished what Hill had only hoped for.

> We have now before us a pleasing spectacle, Christians of different denominations, although differing in points of church government, united in forming a society for propagating the Gospel among the heathen. This is a new thing in the Christian church. Some former societies have accepted donations from men of different denominations; but the government was confined to one. But here are Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Independents, all united in one society, all joining to form its laws, to regulate its institutions, and manage its various concerns. Behold us here assembled with one accord to attend the funeral of *bigotry*: And may she be buried so deep that not a particle of her dust may ever be thrown up on the face of the earth.[225]

The "death of bigotry" became a slogan of the interdenominational missions culture.

Christian unity had been a theme in evangelical missions from their inception, but the gathering of adherents from different denominations for worship, during which people performed meaningful rituals together, was an extraordinary experience for many. One person attended out of curiosity and a bit of skepticism but, after he experienced solemn religious assemblies with "Christians of almost every denomination . . . together animated by *one* and the same *spirit*," he renounced his prejudices against his Christian brothers and sisters and joined the interdenominational missionary cause. The same person composed a poem inspired by the "late meeting of ministers of different denominations" which highlighted themes of pity for the heathen, Christian unity, and the latter days.[226]

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[225] Ibid., 130.

[226] IOTA, "To the Editor," *The Evangelical Magazine* 3 (December 1795): 504–6; IOTA, "On the Late Meeting of Ministers of Different Denominations in London, for the Establishment of a MISSIONARY SOCIETY," *The Evangelical Magazine* 3 (November 1795): 480.

Another person recollected that epic week of September and described the gathering's response to Bogue's proclamation of bigotry's death.

> Another consideration that rendered these seasons unspeakably delightful, was the visible union of ministers and Christians of all denominations; who, for the first time, forgetting their party prejudices and partialities, assembled in the same place, sang the same hymns, united in the same prayers, and felt themselves one in Christ. This sentiment was so universal, that when Mr. Bogue, in the course of his sermon said, "we are called together this evening to *the funeral of bigotry*, and he hoped it would be buried so deep, as never to rise again," the whole vast body of people manifested their concurrence, and could scarcely refrain from one general shout of joy. Such a scene was, perhaps, never before beheld in our world, and afforded a glorious earnest of that nobler assembly, where we shall meet all the redeemed, and in the presence and before the throne of the Lamb shall sing, as in the last hymn of the service, *Crown Him, crown Him, crown Him Lord of All!*[227]

The reports and sermons were animated also by the imminent last days. A January 1795 circular letter from early organizers of the LMS meant to prompt Christians to join in the efforts to establish a missionary society reminded readers that God had often " 'appeared in his glory' to extend the kingdom of his dear Son," and that in their present era "the recent 'shaking of nations' has led not a few pious minds to anticipate those glorious days, when 'the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the whole earth.'"[228] John Hey's sermon at the foundation meetings in September, "The Fullness of Times," was a "classical exposition of evangelical eschatology in relation to the missionary movement."[229] Many of the preachers, attendees, and those who recorded the events of

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[227] "Missionary Society," *The Evangelical Magazine* 3 (October 1795): 425.

[228] Haweis et al., *Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the LMS*, xii.

[229] Orchard, "Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening," 147; Haweis et al., *Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the LMS*, 72–90.

that week in September hoped the foundation of the LMS marked a new epoch in the history of humanity and the kingdom of God.[230]

The details of the organization of the LMS, which were included not only in the LMS's publication of sermons almost immediately after the formation of the Society but in *The Evangelical Magazine* and other magazines, provided a guide for the formation and promotion of similar societies for years thereafter.[231] After Haweis' sermon, a portion of those gathered constituted the society and agreed upon a Plan which had been previously constructed. The LMS published that Plan with a story of the LMS formation and included the sermons preached at the foundation meetings—publication of the plan (a.k.a. constitution), address, and/or sermon at the foundational meetings became a common feature of missionary society organization and promotion. In October of 1795, Baptist John Rippon's *Baptist Annual Register* reported the news of the LMS foundation and Philadelphia printers W. Rogers and T. Ustick printed a pamphlet that reproduced the account with a short preface for American readers in February of 1796. The account praised *The Evangelical Magazine*, the September gathering for the LMS's foundation, and all the simultaneous concerts of prayer in America, Scotland, and England which were purportedly behind the LMS's success. It included the report of the gathering and the LMS Plan, as well as a number of missionary letters and a hymn.[232]

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[230] "Review of *Sermons Preached in London, at the Formation of the MISSIONARY SOCIETY*," *The Evangelical Magazine* 3 (December 1795): 514.

[231] Haweis et al., *Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the LMS*, iii–xxxii; "Missionary Society," 421–26; "Missionary Society," *The Evangelical Magazine* 3 (November 1795): 468–70.

[232] *An Account of the London Missionary Society, Extracted from Dr. Rippon's* Baptist Annual Register (Philadelphia: Printed by Lang & Ustick, 1796).

Publication of the LMS documents provided transatlantic evangelicals with a clear ideology and structure they could emulate to create their own interdenominational evangelical and missionary societies. The Plan was the basis on which people could agree to support the work. Individuals supported the work by putting their name on the subscription lists, agreeing to pay a certain amount of money per year. The Plan briefly constituted the essentials. Article I constituted the Society's name as "The Missionary Society." Article II stated the object: "The sole object is to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other enlightened nations." Article III laid out the various types of members and how much money they needed to subscribe annually to be members (e.g., individuals pay 1 guinea or more annually, benefactors pay £10 or more, executors pay £50 or more, ministers or congregational representatives pay £5 or more). Article IV delineated the general meeting schedule, which included at least an annual meeting in London in May at which at least one sermon would be preached and the various officers (Directors, Treasurer, Secretary, and Collectors) would be selected. News and matters discussed would be recorded in minutes.[233]

Article V described rules concerning the Directors, who were to be chosen every year. The first year's report and Article V documented that twenty-five Directors were chosen by a committee of attendees on the first year. Many of these Directors were associated with *The Evangelical Magazine*.[234] No more than three-fifths could be in or near London, where monthly Directors' meetings took place. At least seven Directors were needed to constitute a board. Directors were to create committees that ran basic

[233] Haweis et al., *Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the LMS*, xxxi.

[234] They are listed on Ibid., xxvi.

operations, such as "managing the funds, conducting the correspondence, making reports, examining missionaries, directing the missions, etc." but the committees' decisions were not final until ratified at a monthly meeting. Article VI described the submission of fund to the Treasurer and VII explained salaries—the Directors could give the Treasurer a salary but the Directors "shall transact the business of the society without any emolument."[235]

That first week also saw a determined and successful effort on the part of Haweis to persuade the LMS meeting to set its first sights on the islands in the South Sea. Haweis prefaced his recommendations, which he gave in Surrey Chapel on September 24, 1795, with a quick postmillennial message, proposing that the LMS meeting had assured him it was the latter days. "Methinks I see the great Angel of the covenant in the midst of us, pluming his wings, and ready to fly through the midst of Heaven, with his own everlasting Gospel, to every nation, and tribe, and tongue, and people. Rev. xiv. 6." The number of people crying out like the Macedonian, "Come over and help us!" had increased enormously, but "Of all the regions of the earth which are yet in heathen darkness, the South Sea Islands appear to combine the greatest prospect of success with the least difficulties to be necessarily surmounted." He laid out the necessities for the mission (e.g., ships) and the basic plan of working with the islanders to find a place to set up their mission. Haweis' talk reveals an ethnocentrism common in his day, and he was sure the islanders would be very happy to "find a body of men come to settle among them from England, purely to be a blessing to their country." Haweis even had a captain with an impressive resume who, by providential leading which Haweis recounted at length,

[235] Ibid., xxxi.

offered his services.[236] Haweis was persuasive; all agreed that the LMS's first efforts would be to the South Sea Islands and approved of captain Wilson's offer to take the missionaries.[237]

Haweis persuaded the attendees to commit to the islands of the South Sea as the LMS missionaries' first target, for which they set out in July 1796. After much deliberation of committees, the Directors decided the best option for conveying the missionaries was to purchase a ship, which would allow them to send thirty missionaries and their wives. They purchased a vessel called the *Duff* for £5,000.[238] The LMS Directors carefully examined candidates before choosing their missionaries. The Directors stated their intended plan for avoiding sending denominations or polities to the heathen. They would leave it to the converts to "search the scriptures for themselves, and to adopt such church order and discipline as shall appear most conformable to the Apostolic model, and most conducive to their own peace and edification."[239] They also noted in their proceedings of the second, third, and fourth meetings (1796-1798) that similar societies in correspondence with the LMS had formed in Edinburgh, Scotland, Paisley, Kelso, Aberdeen, Holland, Switzerland, Saxony, Ireland, New York, and

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[236] Thomas Haweis, "A Memoir of the Most Eligible Part to Begin a Mission, And the Most Probable Means of Accomplishing It," in *Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the Missionary Society, September 22, 23, 24, 1795; To Which Are Prefixed, Memorials, Respecting the Establishment and First Attempts of That Society* (London: Printed and Sold by T. Chapman, 1795), 160–84, quoted from 161, 163, 168, and 175.

[237] "The Proceedings of the Second General Meeting," in *Four Sermons, Preached in London at the Second General Meeting of the Missionary Society, May 11, 12, 13, 1796...To Which Are Prefixed, The Proceedings of the Meeting* (London: Sold by T. Chapman, 1796), viii–x.

[238] "The Report of the Directors, To the Members of the Missionary Society, Convened at the Third General Meeting," in *Four Sermons, Preached in London at the Third General Meeting of the Missionary Society, May 10, 11, 12, 1797...To Which Are Prefixed, The Proceedings of the Meeting, and the Report of the Directors* (London: Sold by T. Chapman, 1797), xix.

[239] "The Proceedings of the Second General Meeting," xviii.

Connecticut. On July 29, 1796, thousands attended a service to commission the twenty-nine approved missionaries who set out with a convoy of ships headed to the East Indies. The service was a spectacle of unity: "an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Seceder, an Independent, and a Methodist, united in the solemn designation of the Missionaries to their work."[240] The evening before the missionaries left, they all participated in the Lord's Supper. They managed this by predetermining that the oldest minister in attendance would lead the service. Participating in rituals like this with people of various denominations impacted participants. The Directors recalled of the interdenominational communion: "It was surely a little specimen of what the church, in the latter days, will be, when love, like death, will level all distinctions. It was even a foretaste of heaven."[241]

The LMS became an inspiration and a model to numerous societies in Europe and the Atlantic basin.[242] As news spread through evangelical magazines, church pulpits, and word of mouth, the ideas of Carey and Horne and the LMS captivated the evangelical imagination and caused what Chaney called "The Missionary Explosion" in the 1790s.[243] The revolutions and awakenings in the 1790s only added more eschatological

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[240] "The Report of the Directors at the Third General Meeting," xviii.

[241] Ibid., xv–xxix; quoted from xxii; "The Proceedings of the Second General Meeting," iii–xxiv; "Missionary Society," *The Evangelical Magazine* 4 (1796): 342; "The Report of the Directors to the Members of the Missionary Society, at the Fourth General Meeting, Held the Ninth Day of May, 1798," in *Four Sermons, Preached in London at the Fourth General Meeting of the Missionary Society, May 9, 10, 11, 1798...To Which Are Prefixed, The Proceedings of the Meeting, and the Report of the Directors; Also Are Added, A List of Subscribers* (London: Printed for T. Chapman, 1798), 9–36.

[242] Charles Maxfield, "The 'Reflex Influence' of Missions: The Domestic Operations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1850" (PhD diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1995), 58–62; Brown, "Movements of Christian Awakening in Revolutionary Europe, 1790-1815," 579–80; Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 156–57; Thomas, *Missions and Unity*, 14–15.

[243] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, chap. 5.

significance to the period.[244] As word of the LMS's interdenominational success spread, missionary advocates moved to emulate their pattern of organization and action, which included relaxed strictures on membership (compared to the NEC, SSPCK, etc.) and a focus on unity. Scholars often highlight the fact that the interdenominational aspect of these societies was short lived, as denominations slowly took control of the societies in the 1820s and 1830s. But it is a mistake to read the 1790s documents as if the later denominational model for missions was inevitable. For the LMS and many who emulated it in the next decades, interdenominational missions were not only sustainable, but they also carried eschatological significance of a united church in a new missionary era perhaps signaling the beginning of the latter days.

The New York Missionary Society (NYMS) was the first society in the U.S. to form on the LMS's interdenominational pattern.[245] Clergy and laity of the Presbyterian, Reformed Dutch, Associate Reformed, and Baptist churches met and constituted the NYMS in November 1796.[246] The NYMS took their theological, practical, and publishing cues from the LMS, as they immediately published and advertised *The Address and Constitution* of the NYMS and its founding sermon.[247] They were in awe of the LMS's

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[244] For basics on the most influential aspects and areas of these revivals, see Bret E. Carroll, *The Routledge Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 62–63.

[245] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 158–59.

[246] Several newspapers in New York and Massachusetts reported the event. See Centinel of Freedom, "[Last Tuesday]," *Centinel of Freedom* (Newark, New Jersey, November 9, 1796), sec. News/Opinion, 2. Other papers that printed a shorter version of the announcement included *Salem Gazette* in Salem, MA and *Medley* in New Bedford, MA.

[247] New-York Missionary Society, *The Address and Constitution of the New-York Missionary Society* (New York: Printed by T. and J. Swords, 1796); Alexander MacWhorter, *The Blessedness of the Liberal: A Sermon, Preached in the Middle Dutch Church, before the New-York Missionary Society, at Their First Institution, November 1, 1796* (New York: Printed by T. and J. Swords, 1796). Advertisements appeared in (at least) January and February 1797 in *The Herald* (New York, New York), *Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register* (New York, New York), and *The Minerva* (New York, New York).

design and success. They told readers, "With a magnanimity worthy of Christians they have sacrificed the bigotries of party on the altar of Apostolic zeal." In the estimation of the NYMS, "An harmony, unparalleled, perhaps, in the modern history of the church, reigns among those who, in every denomination, love the unadulterated gospel." The LMS's success (they cited unity among denominations to collect a substantial amount of money, which amount they listed, and their success in already sending twenty-nine missionaries to the South Seas on a ship the LMS owned) prompted the NYMS to start their society. After all, they wrote, "we are in the *habit* of praying that the kingdom of the Lord Jesus may come. But what *means* have we used for attaining the blessing?" They believed the "hearty concurrence of Christians of different denominations . . . will be a token for good, that the LORD is about to build up Zion, and to appear in his glory." They mentioned the missionary heroes (Mather, Elliot, Brainerd, and the Moravians), appealed to compassion and pity for the heathen Indians and frontier people without the gospel, and encouraged readers to form similar societies. Although it is clear they were more concerned to safeguard certain doctrines than the LMS, they still added in their constitution that "Persons may be admitted from all religious denominations indiscriminately" and saw interdenominational cooperation as key to the importance of the missionary enterprise of the time. Ultimately, the LMS's design and success was the major motivator behind the NYMS. The LMS immediately acknowledged the NYMS, reading its address at their 1797 general meeting and praising the NYMS again in 1798, which was one of many transnational missionary societies listed among the LMS's foreign Directors.[248]

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[248] New-York Missionary Society, *The Address and Constitution of the New-York Missionary Society*, 3–19, quoted at 3, 5, 10, 16; MacWhorter, *The Blessedness of the Liberal: A Sermon, Preached in*

Just as the press issued forth the NYMS's *Address and Constitution* and founding sermon to the general public, the Northern Missionary Society (NMS) announced it had established itself at a meeting in Lansinburgh, New York, on January 11, 1797. The NMS mentioned the interdenominational societies in Britain and the missionary heroes as inspiration, but they followed the NYMS (their "sister-society") plan and emphases. Although "Clergy and Laity, belonging to different denominations of Christians" constituted the Society, they emphasized correct "religious principles," outlined in the longest section of the NMS Constitution.[249] Early meetings occasioned sermons on Matthew 28:20 and Mark 6:10, the latter preached by President of Union College John Blair Smith.[250] Numerous advertisements and announcements about the exciting meeting of clergy and laity from the northern and western parts of New York filled the papers. One anonymous reporter engaged in typical hyperbole which reveals the degree of excitement with which many Christians met the interdenominational missions movement. The design of the institution was the "propagation of the glorious gospel of Christ" in frontier settlements and Indian tribes. "Perhaps on no occasion," the report estimated, "did the spirit of love, zeal, and unanimity so evidently appear, as among different denominations who were convened for the promotion and advancement of this pious and

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the Middle Dutch Church, before the New-York Missionary Society, at Their First Institution, November 1, 1796, 26–28, and quoted appendix at p. 26; "The Report of the Directors to the Members of the Missionary Society, at the Fourth General Meeting, Held the Ninth Day of May, 1798," 18, 36.

[249] Northern Missionary Society, *The Constitution of the Northern Missionary Society in the State of New-York: To Which Is Annexed the Address of the Society to the Public* (Schenectady: Printed by C. P. Wyckoff, 1797), see chapter 1, article 3, on pp. 3–5; Alexander Miller, *The Missionary's Short Catechism, for Children* (Albany: Printed by C.R. & G. Webster, n.d.), 16. Miller's catechism, whose title page said it was "Published by Order of the Board of Directors of the Northern Missionary Society," taught infant baptism. By the time this catechism was published, therefore, the term "interdenominational" was restricted for the NMS.

[250] David Bassett, "Notification," *The Albany Chronicle*, January 30, 1797; The New-Jersey Journal, "[Agreeably to a general notification…]," *The New-Jersey Journal*, February 1, 1797.

benevolent object."[251] Failed attempts to unite the NYMS and NMS did not hamper the eventual merging of them and other missionary societies into the United Foreign Missionary Society in 1817.[252]

Evangelical communities continued forming denominational and interdenominational missionary societies from the 1790s forward. Although the last sections of this chapter focused on Britain and the U.S., the missions culture also exploded in Scotland and Ireland (analyzed in the next chapter), including creation of the General Evangelical Society in Dublin (1787), Edinburgh Missionary Society (1796), Glasgow Missionary Society (1796), Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home (1798), and the Evangelical Society of Ulster (1798). All of these societies and their leaders were closely connected to the LMS. The missionary voluntary society was the new means by which evangelicals would take the gospel to the world. The LMS proved to evangelicals across the globe that it was possible to bring individuals of different denominations together to fund a worldwide mission. But other types of societies also followed the LMS's interdenominational organization, the most influential of which were the Religious Tract Society (1799), British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), and Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews (1809).[253]

Evangelicals in the following decades looked to the 1790s and their society formation as eschatologically and organizationally significant. Although ecclesiastical

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[251] *The Weekly Museum*, February 25, 1797.

[252] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, chap. 5.

[253] For these and the societies of the next two decades, see Wilbert R. Shenk, "Introduction," in *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 4; Brown, "Movements of Christian Awakening in Revolutionary Europe, 1790-1815," 579–80; Foster, *An Errand of Mercy*, 275–80; Martin, *Evangelicals United*; Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism*, 155–82.

bodies progressively incorporated missionary societies and their work in the nineteenth century, the interdenominational cooperation for missionary purposes in the 1790s made long-lasting impressions.[254] For example, Edward Dorr Griffin in his missionary sermon, "The Kingdom of Christ" (1805), said that some believed they already saw the "light purpling the east" as the "dawn of a better day" approached in the wake of the foundation of "numerous missionary societies . . . on both sides of the Atlantic."[255] Four years later, Samuel Worcester proclaimed to a meeting of the Massachusetts Missionary Society that September 21, 1795 "will long be held in grateful remembrance, as a distinguished epoch in the annals of Christendom." Worcester believed the institution of the LMS produced "an influence more grateful than the dew of Hermon, than the dew that descended on the mountains of Zion. The holy flame there lighted from the altar of heaven, spread with rapidity in all directions." He noted that numerous societies followed the path of the LMS and encouraged the MMS members to continue the important missions work of the Lord.[256]

VIII. Conclusion: Transatlantic Evangelical Missions Culture in the 1790s

The evangelical missionary movement of the late eighteenth century, although varied from one group to the next and from one decade to another, constructed a unique and identifiable religious culture by the 1790s. The culture's system of symbols that

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[254] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 166–74.

[255] Edward Dorr Griffin, *The Kingdom of Christ: A Missionary Sermon Preached before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, May 23, 1805* (Philadelphia: Printed by Jane Aitken, 1805), 25; Hutchinson, *Errand to the World*, 55.

[256] Samuel Worcester, "Sermon to the Massachusetts Missionary Society, May 1809," in *The Life and Labors of Rev. Samuel Worcester, D.D.*, ed. Samuel Melancthon Worcester (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1852), 2:72–73; Maxfield, "The 'Reflex Influence' of Missions," 58–59.

established powerful moods and motivations in participants, some of which have endured into the twenty-first century, did not craft an entirely new conception of the order of existence, as it retained the basic Protestant view of the world, but did elaborate a number of interrelated ideas that were extremely influential for the success of the missionary movement and which became foundational to the Campbell tradition. Certainly not all evangelicals in the 1790s agreed with all the aspects of the interdenominational missions culture summarized below, but it captivated many leaders and impacted the Campbells. Therefore, this section concludes the chapter with a summary of that culture.

Ideas foundational to the missions culture included (1) Christian cooperation in prayer and organization for missions, (2) a simple primitive gospel upon which all Christians could unite for missions, (3) pity for the heathen, and (4) millennialism as motive for missions. From the inception of Protestant missions, cooperation and Christian unity were central themes of missions advocates. Evangelical cooperation, influenced by Enlightenment religious and political toleration, was based on a simple evangelical gospel on which all agreed. Although evangelicals of the 1790s did not always agree on what this primitive core was (characterized as foundational "maxims" of scripture or new birth conversion or a primitive, simple, or apostolic gospel), most missions advocates agreed that there was a simple evangelical gospel that transcended or preceded church polities and theological systems. An analogy would be the primitive gospel as a tree trunk from which sprouted many branches (denominations). The denominational polities were historical additions to the core, but they all depended and elaborated on a basic evangelical gospel trunk upon which they all ostensibly agreed,

though the trunk's definition was amorphous in most writings.[257] This led missions advocates to develop primitivism and unity that set very different trajectories.

Unity and cooperation had early rhetorical and visible manifestations in the concert of prayer for revivals and missions in anticipation of the last days from the 1740s onward.[258] Evangelicals throughout the eighteenth century believed that a Christian community united in prayer and action for missions to damned heathens around the world really could "silence the clamour of parties [and] confirm the truth of our holy Religion."[259] Pity for lost souls that could be saved with the simple gospel of Christ (versus partyism) became a basic justification for interdenominational cooperation and motivation for missions. From Millar to Carey, evangelicals constructed a view of the world that saw "heathen" and "pagans" as people under the influence of Satan and headed to hell for eternal torment. The common view of indigenous and other world religions as evil provided powerful motivation for the missionary movement and, therefore, showed up in nearly every proposal for missionary action in the eighteenth century. For Carey, a disordered world overrun with the chaos and darkness of paganism could be made orderly if Christians would follow Jesus' command to go and make disciples of all nations. A pattern of persuasion which moved from pity for the doomed

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[257] Mather perhaps came the closest to identifying specific maxims of the primitive gospel upon which Christians could unite for missions, but even these were fairly broad in their condensed version. Some societies revealed their uneasiness about the unclear definition of an evangelical gospel by identifying "principles" members needed to believe. The more explicit these "principles" of the bottom-line gospel got, the more they took on the shape of new formularies and moved toward denominational societies.

[258] On the theme of unity and missions, see Thomas, *Missions and Unity*; Henry P. van Dusen, *One Great Ground of Hope: Christian Missions and Christian Unity* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961).

[259] Millar, *The History of the Propagation of Christianity and Overthrow of Paganism*, 2:371, 380, 394.

heathen to motivation for mission became a standard rhetorical device in the evangelical construction of religious meaning and duty. Converting heathen was such an important task that Christians not only could but should unite to accomplish it.

Unity was also linked to the millennialism of missions culture. Armed with an interpretation of Revelation 20 as a literal one-thousand year reign of Christ, Protestant missions drew significant motivation from millennialism. The correlation of missions and millennium was tied to interpretations of the Bible, including the assumption that all the Gentiles would be brought into the church and the Jews would be converted just before the millennium. Thus missions and millennium were intimately linked. Prayers for revival and cooperation transitioned naturally to prayers for conversion of heathen and for the millennial reign of Christ. Millennialism not only worked as motive for missions, but the establishment of missionary work served as a sure sign that the last days were not far off. Christian cooperation in prayer and missions harbingered the death of bigotry, worldwide missions, conversion of the world, and the millennium. The revolutionary period and Napoleonic wars only heightened the sense of eschatological significance of the period. Industrialism, colonialism, and the voluntary society were timely developments that seemed to answer prophetic utterances about means of converting the heathen and the last days.

Evangelical missions culture created and solidified webs of meaning through a number of organizational structures, most potently in the voluntary interdenominational societies that represented evangelical activism and the cooperative impulse. Founded upon emerging democratic and free-market ideals, voluntary societies provided a structure which allowed individuals to organize to accomplish a goal without the

strictures of state or denominational obstacles. This allowed creation of interdenominational membership and government, making the voluntary society a central vehicle of interdenominational cooperation. The societies utilized a number of methods for missions, especially itinerancy. Borrowing from the Methodists, evangelical missionary societies utilized itinerant ministers to reach areas lacking preachers and places of worship. These itinerants were missionaries at home and abroad.

Interdenominational and trans-national communication through publishing and correspondence, which provided networking channels and a sense of unity, also shaped evangelical identity and perception of the world. Periodicals such as *The Evangelical Magazine* concretized interdenominational cooperation in its constituency and its news sources. It also became a hub of a moderate evangelicalism that promoted the central ideas of the missions culture and the chief organ of LMS news. Publications such as Carey's *Enquiry* and Horne's *Letters* were widely disseminated and promoted in magazines. John Eliot, Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards, David Brainerd, the Moravians, and Zinzendorf took on legendary status and were frequently cited as the epitome of missionary action and disinterested benevolence. Publication of new societies' constitutions, addresses, and sermons became legitimizing symbols and a promotional technique. The voluntary societies and evangelical periodicals created a new reading public which leaders could steer toward various campaigns, such as those for morals, against the slave trade, for Sunday Schools, etc. The use of media to rally evangelical support for the missionary cause was crucial to missions culture.

A number of key rituals marked transatlantic evangelical missions culture. The height of ritual was the worship gathering at missionary society foundation and annual

meetings, where ecumenical rhetoric, Great Commission exposition, and postmillennial theology came together in founding sermons, prayers, and speeches. It was one thing to say or read that Christians should unite for action, but it was a surreal experience for Christians from different denominations to gather and perform together rituals of prayer, preaching, society creation, missionary sending, etc. It was in these rituals that the motifs and motives of evangelical missions culture took on a more intense and transformational character, as embodied experiences formed the participants' outlook on the world and understanding of Christian duty and action in it. Soaring reports of the LMS and NMS foundational meetings demonstrated how ritual action affected people. For many, experiencing these rituals with people of other denominations solidified the veracity of the missions culture and its worldwide errand.

The interdenominational evangelical missions culture spread across the transatlantic and constituted a formative religious experience for people such as Thomas and Alexander Campbell. The next chapter investigates the manifestation of evangelical missions culture in Ireland and Scotland, focusing on the streams which directly impacted the Campbells.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Campbells and Evangelical Missions Culture in Ireland and Scotland

I. Introduction

Thomas and Alexander Campbell encountered and embraced the evangelical missions culture that arose in Ireland and Scotland. Thomas Campbell began his ministry in the Seceder Presbyterian Church in Ireland in 1798 in the midst not only of political crisis but also—and more significantly for his life and the future movement he founded in America—during the rise of the evangelical missionary movement. Campbell embraced the ideals of the evangelical missions culture, as demonstrated by his co-founding the Evangelical Society of Ulster (ESU) (1798), one of the major early interdenominational voluntary missionary societies in Ireland. Although Campbell defended the principles of the missions culture as manifested in the ESU founding documents before his Synod in Ireland in 1799, the Synod still rejected the principles of the ESU as "latitudinarian." Thereafter, his connections with the networks and leaders of the missions culture became informal but frequent, as he turned attention to uniting the two Seceder (Burgher and Antiburgher) Synods in Ireland. Alexander Campbell accompanied his father to hear some of the most influential missions advocates in the British Isles at that time, including Rowland Hill, William Cooper, John Walker, Alexander Carson, James Haldane, John Gibson, and George Hamilton. Moreover, Alexander Campbell spent nearly a year (1809-1809) in Glasgow, Scotland, under the mentorship of Greville Ewing, one of Scotland's most influential advocates of the missions culture from the 1790s to the middle of the nineteenth century. Alexander Campbell also encountered the ideas of Robert and James

Haldane, who up to that point had worked with Greville Ewing to lead Scottish missions at home. Both Ewing and the Haldanes were integral parts of the larger evangelical missions culture, serving as directors of the London Missionary Society (LMS) as well as leaders in the Scottish missionary societies and *The Missionary Magazine*. The Campbells' time in Ireland and Scotland took place during the rise of the missionary movement, and they became part of this culture as its leaders, ideals, and practices deeply influenced them.

This chapter delineates the evangelical missions culture in Ireland and Scotland, focusing on the societies, individuals, and ideals that shaped the Campbells' theology and practices. The second section summarizes Ireland's context in which the early evangelical missions culture arose in the General Evangelical Society (1787) in Dublin. Section three analyzes the Evangelical Society of Ulster (1798), which worked with the society in Dublin, the LMS, and similar interdenominational societies. The section focuses on the theology and actions of the missions culture as manifested in sermons, constitutional documents, letters, books, and reports in evangelical magazines, and it analyzes the early negative responses from Presbyterian Synods. The fourth section turns to Scotland, delineating the thought and action of Greville Ewing and the Haldane brothers and noting their impact on Alexander Campbell.

II. Early Evangelical Missions Culture in Ireland: The General Evangelical Society

The Anglican Church of Ireland may have been the established church in the eighteenth century, but Catholics remained the majority and dissenting groups grew during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. England enacted laws throughout the

eighteenth century that attempted to confine political rights, public office, and ownership of land to members of the established church, but the laws were only intermittently enforced. Nonetheless, these laws made Roman Catholics and dissenters into second-class citizens in many areas.

The political and religious situation in Ireland as in all of western Europe underwent massive changes from 1790 to 1840. Political revolutions, the intellectual milieu of the Enlightenment, and socio-economic changes associated with the industrial revolution worked together to shake the foundations of state-established churches across Europe and the Americas. As Hugh McLeod put it, it was a period of transition between the old "officially enforced religious unity of the *ancien regime* and the pluralism of the present era."[1] Two of the patterns of change that McLeod highlights were important in Ireland and Scotland: (1) a conservative established church was pitted against a variety of dissenting forces and (2) religion provided the basis for the identity of a nation.[2] John Locke's defense of religious toleration permeated discussions about the relationship of church and state and the propriety of either church or state to compel religious belief.[3] Northern Ireland's social, economic, political, and religious context in the late-eighteenth century produced a turbulent time of challenge to traditional authorities. This context influenced the rise and reception of evangelical societies.

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[1] Hugh McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe 1789-1989*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 15.

[2] Ibid., 15–21.

[3] I. R. McBride, "'When Ulster Joined Ireland': Anti-Popery, Presbyterian Radicalism and Irish Republicanism in the 1790s," *Past & Present*, no. 157 (1997): 69–70.

Evangelicalism found a comfortable home in this complex social arrangement which provided a dramatic backdrop of uncertainty in which new religious ideas found room to flourish. Religious toleration of the Enlightenment saturated the evangelic missions culture, fostering cooperation across denominational lines. Even in this complex political arrangement, dissenting and establishment evangelicals in Ulster worked together for propagation of the gospel. The primitivism of the missionary movement sought Christian unity upon a simple apostolic gospel, encouraging tolerance and forbearance on matters of opinion, such as polity, where rights of individual conscience rather than civil or religious authorities governed. Evangelicalism appealed to many people in these anxious times, evinced by an increase of evangelical activity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[4]

Ireland experienced some revivalist piety among Scots-Irish settlers of the seventeenth century, but the first major proponents of evangelicalism did not arrive until the late 1740s.[5] Arriving in Ireland in 1746, John Cennick had a Calvinist Methodist background in the Whitefield tradition, but he joined the Moravians in 1745. For five years after arriving in 1746, Cennick itinerated throughout north and east Ireland, establishing over 200 Moravian societies by the early 1750s. At that time, there were

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[4] David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890* (London: Routledge, 1992), 3–44, quoted from 23; J. C. D. Clark, "Great Britain and Ireland," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume VII, Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 54–71.

[5] For this section, I rely on Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*; David Hempton, "Evangelicalism in English and Irish Society, 1780-1840," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond 1700-1900*, ed. Mark A. Noll, D. W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 156–76; Andrew R. Holmes, *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief and Practice, 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Andrew Holmes, "The Shaping of Irish Presbyterian Attitudes to Mission, 1790-1840," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57, no. 4 (2006): 711–37.

dozens of Moravian itinerants and ten chapels in Ulster. Some of these Moravian societies were interdenominational. For example, band leaders in Cennick's Moravian society in 1747 included thirteen Anglicans, eight Presbyterians, six Baptists, and five others. As Hempton and Hill put it, "Early evangelicalism had a knack of gathering up the flotsam and the jetsam of Ireland's Protestant past."[6] The first Secession Presbyterian minister to make his home in Ireland arrived in 1746, the same year as Cennick. Both Wesley and Whitefield made trips within the next five years. By the late eighteenth century, Ulster had a significant evangelical community.[7]

From the late 1740s onward, prominent evangelicals committed themselves to spreading "vital religion" to Ireland. John Wesley's first visit to Ireland in 1747 launched a long commitment to the country during which he visited twenty more times. Wesleyan Methodism grew rapidly in Ireland, with 14,000 members by 1790.[8] Methodism's focus on itinerancy, outdoor preaching, and voluntary societies became key means of evangelizing at home and abroad.[9] Calvinist Methodists also reached Ireland at this time, and they found more in common with Calvinist Presbyterians who made up large parts of Ulster society.[10] Leading Calvinist Methodist, Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon,

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[6] Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, 6–7; Peter J. Lineham, "Cennick, John," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 1:210.

[7] Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, chap. 1–2.

[8] Ibid., 11.

[9] Ibid., 31, 37.

[10] On Scottish immigrants, see Steve Murdoch and Esther Mijers, "Migrant Destinations, 1500-1750," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, ed. T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), accessed June 11, 2014, www.oxfordhandbooks.com; Patrick Fitzgerald, "The Seventeenth-Century Irish Connection," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern*

committed her resources to Ireland based on a common perception of Ireland's lacking spirituality. In a 1773 letter, she wrote, "Poor wicked Ireland, I trust, shall yet have a Gospel day. I can't yet see how or when—but it must be; and till I find that opportunity, my eye is only waiting darkly for its accomplishment."[11]

Hastings sent popular evangelical preachers to Ireland in the 1770s and 1780s, and her preachers were influential in the creation of the General Evangelical Society (GES), an interdenominational society founded in Dublin in 1787 to raise recruits and funds to evangelize Ireland. An early promoter of interdenominational evangelical missions culture in Ireland, the GES raised money in order to supply, in the words of G. K. Foster, a "succession of zealous and popular ministers of every denomination, who should be employed to preach occasionally wherever an opportunity should offer.'"[12] Anglican evangelicals Rev. John Walker and Rev. Dr. Benjamin McDowell (a.k.a. M'Dowall) took a leading role in the Dublin GES. In August 1797, Walker wrote to William Cooper requesting his ministerial labor in Ireland on behalf of the GES, which was "unconnected with any particular religious denomination."[13] In a meeting in June 1799, the GES made several resolutions that constituted its plan. Its goal was to send "Evangelical Preachers" with the "pure Gospel" to parts of Ireland that did not hear the

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Scottish History, ed. T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), accessed June 11, 2014, www.oxfordhandbooks.com.

[11] Letter from S. Huntingdon to Mr. Hawkesworth, October 13, 1773, in Jacob Kirkman Foster, *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon* (London: W.E. Painter, 1839), 169.

[12] Ibid., 2:207; Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, 15–16.

[13] J. Walker to William Cooper, August 12, 1797, in William Cooper, "Documentary Notices of the Dublin and Ulster Evangelical Societies," in *The Irish Congregational Record*, vol. 1 (Dublin: John Robertson and Company, 1834), 225.

gospel. Their preachers were not to spend more than one Sabbath in Dublin. The fifth resolution read, "That as it is earnestly desired that no party distinctions among real Christians should prevent their cooperation in the great work of advancing the kingdom of our common Lord, the annual meeting of the Society shall be held, and the sermon preached, in different places of Evangelical worship." Walker and McDowell were assigned to "write to the Missionary Society in England for ministerial supply."[14] Clearly, the GES embraced the evangelical missions culture and utilized the transatlantic networks perpetuating it.

One of the first preachers the GES solicited was Rowland Hill (1744-1833).[15] Hill had formed a religious society similar to the Holy Club at Oxford during his education at St John's College, Cambridge in the 1760s. Influenced by the Whitefield tradition, Hill began visiting prisoners and itinerant preaching in and around Cambridge and became a prominent evangelical Anglican in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and major promoter of interdenominational cooperation for missions. Despite his pamphlet war with Wesley and falling out with Hastings, Hill's advocacy of Christian unity on the basis of a simple gospel was key to his message, evinced by his work with the LMS and Surrey Chapel in England, the GES in Ireland, and with the Haldane brothers in Scotland. Hill used the prayer book at his chapels but allowed evangelicals of all types to preach. In comments about his intention for his St George's Fields chapel, he said, "Let none imagine that I mean to set up this Chapel to draw aside one individual from any other

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[14] Ibid., 227–28.

[15] Alan Frederick Munden, "Hill, Rowland ('Roly')," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 1:553–54.

church. No, God forbid! My desire is to see all churches united in the Lord."[16] Hill's Surrey Chapel in London was perhaps the most famous interdenominational chapel in the 1780s, as he had sermons delivered there from Baptists, Anglicans, and Independents.[17] Hill was one of the thirteen committee members chosen to construct the plan for the LMS and one of the six preachers during the LMS's foundation meetings in 1795—in that sermon he proclaimed the Wesleyan verse, "Let names and sects and parties fall, And Jesus Christ be all in all."[18] Hill met the Scottish evangelical Haldane brothers in 1796 and worked closely with them thereafter.[19] In his work with the GES, Hill visited Ireland in 1793, 1796, 1802, and 1808.[20] Thomas Campbell heard Hill on one of those trips.[21]

The GES supported ministers of many denominations and worked with other evangelical societies. GES itinerants (a.k.a. missionaries) included the "Rev. Dr. Jones, minister of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel in Edinburgh; the Rev. Dr. Rippon, of London; Rev. Samuel Medley, of Liverpool; Rev. Benjamin Francis, of Horsley; Rev. Isaac Birt,

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[16] Rowland Hill, *A Sermon, Preached by the Rev. Mr. Rowland Hill, on His Laying the First Stone of His Chapel, in St. George's Fields, June 24, 1782* (London: Printed for M. Folingsby, 1782), 8–9.

[17] Roger H. Martin, *Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre-Victorian Britain, 1795-1830* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1983), 13.

[18] Thomas Haweis et al., *Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the Missionary Society, September 22, 23, 24, 1795; To Which Are Prefixed, Memorials, Respecting the Establishment and First Attempts of That Society* (London: Printed and Sold by T. Chapman, 1795), 114–15. I examine that relationship, in which Hill often emphasized Christian unity and interdenominational cooperation, in section four below.

[19] Alexander Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of His Brother, James Alexander Haldane* (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1852), chap. 8–9.

[20] Foster, *The Life and Times of Selina*, 2:207–8, 225, 229.

[21] Lester G McAllister, *Thomas Campbell: Man of the Book* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1954), 47–48; Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 13; Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895* (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), 1:25, 30, 33; Lynn A. McMillon, *Restoration Roots* (Dallas: Gospel Teachers Publications, 1983), 81.

of Plymouth Dock; Rev. Samuel Pearce, of Birmingham; and again . . . Rev. Rowland Hill in 1796."[22] Baptists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists were among those associated with the GES. Samuel Pearce provided an account of his itinerancy in Ireland for the GES to John Rippon, editor of the *Baptist Register*. Rippon printed it in the *Baptist Register* and *The Missionary Magazine* in Scotland quickly reprinted the piece, illustrating the speed and efficiency of the transatlantic evangelical networks in the 1790s. Pearce lauded a 1793 statement of the GES' interdenominational principles. According to a 1795 letter Pearce received, which announced an upcoming meeting, the GES believed the best way to evangelize Ireland was a union of "preachers of the Gospel" in various denominations. They excluded "all distinctions of names and parties" at the meeting, exhibiting a remarkable level of tolerance:

> But as it must be expected, that there will be various differences of views, and that among those who attend this meeting, there will be persons differing in degrees of knowledge and experience, the exercise of mutual tenderness, forbearance, and love, is to be insisted on among all as most essentially requisite to their common edification, and most likely to cause all at length to be perfectly joined together, not only in one heart, but also in one mind and judgment.[23]

Pearce expressed heartfelt approval of this meeting and wrote, "the good effects of such union are already visible. O! that in England we could rejoice in similar associations." The Baptist rejoiced that McDowell (Presbyterian) and Hill (Anglican) were both employed by the GES and winning souls. The voluntary society provided a useful means

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[22] Foster, *The Life and Times of Selina*, 2:208.

[23] S[amuel] Pearce, "A Short Account of THE GENERAL EVANGELICAL SOCIETY in Dublin, and of the State of Religion in That Vicinity, in a Letter from Mr Pearce of Brimingham, to Dr Rippon [Extracted from the BAPTIST REGISTER]," *The Missionary Magazine* 1, no. 4 (October 1796): 166–70.

of interdenominational cooperation for preaching an evangelical gospel in Ireland by the 1790s.[24]

The GES and the other major Irish interdenominational evangelical society before the nineteenth century, the Evangelical Society of Ulster (ESU) (1798), worked together with the major British and Scottish evangelicals and their societies and thereby laid the foundations for a number of Irish evangelical societies in the nineteenth century.[25] Hempton and Hill adeptly note: "A new kind of associational, voluntaristic and non-creedal religion, serviced by itinerant preachers and committed to evangelism, had been established in Ireland" in the second half of the eighteenth century.[26] Like evangelicals elsewhere, the Irish who participated in the voluntary societies were excited to experience the rituals and activities in what, according to Hempton and Hill, "constituted a religious sub-culture which in the long term was more significant for the participants than for those to whom they reached out."[27] The rituals and messages at the gatherings of these societies seemed to break away from old church habits and envision a new and exciting version of

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[24] Ibid.

[25] The GES and ESU attempted to found an "Evangelical Academy" "for the purpose of training up young men for the work of Evangelists." The Academy would take men of "approved piety and christian [*sic*] experience, of promising gifts, and sufficient natural endowments." It would provide three years of education emphasizing Greek and Hebrew, study of Scripture, "systematic and controversial divinity," ecclesiastical history, and secondarily teach grammar, composition, logic, and other short courses. In other words, the GES and ESU were attempting to create an Irish version of schools—such as Lady Huntingdon's, the Haldanes' and Greville Ewing's—which trained evangelicals of many denominations in Wales, Scotland, England, and the U.S. to be itinerants and missionaries. See *Outlines of a Plan for the Formation of an Evangelical Academy* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.), 1–4, accessed May 20, 2014, Eighteenth Century Collection Online, Range 14564.

[26] Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, 3–19, quote from 19.

[27] Ibid., 61.

Christianity which made space for individual ministers and laypeople to be involved in activities not accessible in the ecclesiastical institutions of the time.

III. Ecumenical Visions of Ireland Missions: The Evangelical Society of Ulster and Thomas Campbell

The ESU and the GES were at the heart of Irish evangelical missions culture in the 1790s, acting in close connection with leaders of the LMS. Despite this fact, very little historical work has been completed on the ESU. An Irish version of the LMS, the ESU was significant in Christian history as one of the early interdenominational missionary societies in the Atlantic region. Furthermore, its structure and principles exerted tremendous influence not only on Irish Christianity but on U.S. Christianity when one of the ESU's founding members, Thomas Campbell, laid the foundations for a new religious movement in the U.S. that was indebted to the ESU's constitutional forms and principles. This second point prompted several scholarly studies of the ESU in the 1980s.[28] These scholarly contributions enhance historical understanding of the ESU, but much of the ESU's story remains untold. Those studies that focus on Ulster evangelicalism or Ulster Presbyterianism broadly have treated the ESU with brevity.[29] I am aware of no thorough history of the ESU.[30] In light of this lacuna, one goal of this

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[28] See chapter 1 for a discussion of the historiography. I am especially indebted to the discoveries of Hiram Lester and his careful collection of those materials in T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV, Archives and Special Collections, Hiram Lester Papers. For some of the sources he found and archived at Bethany, see Hiram Lester, "Alexander Campbell's Early Baptism in Ecumenicity and Sectarianism," *Restoration Quarterly* 30 (1988): 86 n.6.

[29] Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, 37–40, 70; Holmes, "The Shaping of Irish Presbyterian Attitudes to Mission, 1790-1840," passim; Holmes, *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief and Practice, 1770-1840*, 41, 117, 133, 153, 195–96.

[30] A useful guide from a scholar who helped Lester locate the constitution of the ESU is Joseph Thompson, "The Evangelical Society of Ulster," *The Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland*, no. 17 (March 1988): 1–29.

section is to construct a history of the ESU. The other major goal is to analyze the beliefs and actions found in the ESU's documents and activity in order to compare those with Thomas Campbell's later U.S. replica, the Christian Association of Washington (1809).

The ecclesiastical context in Ulster shaped and was shaped by the political and social world of the 1790s. In County Armagh in southern Ulster, the population was divided almost equally between Catholics and Protestants, and both groups had become economically empowered through the growing linen industry until population growth, land enclosure, and increasing rent payments led to the formation of secret societies that engaged in acts of intimidation and destruction in the 1780s and 1790s.[31] In Ulster, Presbyterians were diverse but the dominant dissenting group. The General Synod of Ulster had 180 congregations, the largest number in Ulster. Influenced by religious toleration as articulated by Locke, some General Synod ministers opposed requiring subscription to the *Westminster Confession of Faith* on grounds of the rights of individual conscience, liberty of mind, and the nature of church authority. These "New Lights" had control of two-thirds of the presbyteries (i.e., they did not require subscription) by the 1770s. Some New Lights used the same grounds of individual rights of conscience to refute the union of church and state in Ireland. At the other end of the spectrum, the two conservative Secession[32] Synods (Burgher and Antiburgher) and the tiny Reformed

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[31] Michael Staunton, *The Voice of the Irish: The Story of Christian Ireland* (Mahwah: HiddenSpring, 2003), chap. 6; Joseph Coohill, *Ireland: A Short History*, 4th ed. (Oneworld, 2014), chap. 2; John O'Beirne Ranelagh, *A Short History of Ireland*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), chap. 2.

[32] The General Assembly in the National Church of Scotland passed an act in 1730 which deprived members of congregations of choosing their ministers and gave that authority to people who were often Episcopalians. Four men were discontent with this act and subsequently established the Associate Presbytery (the Seceders). The Seceders further divided into Burgher and Antiburgher factions in 1747 because they disagreed about whether oaths required of burgesses in some Scottish cities, which bound

Presbytery (a.k.a., Covenanters), held rigidly to the formularies and typically opposed episcopacy and Erastianism.[33]

The 1780s and 1790s in Ulster saw heightened social conflict which culminated in the 1798 revolution or rebellion. On the one hand, anti-Catholic sentiment among Protestants grew as the Catholic community organized the Catholic Defenders, which demanded rights and relief for Roman Catholics ruled by the Anglican establishment. Many Protestants perceived Irish Catholicism as a serious threat, and all the more so when rumors circulated that the revolutionary French supported the Irish Catholics. On the other hand, even prejudiced Protestant reformers articulated a growing conviction of the injustice of excluding Irish Catholics from political life.[34] Despite Catholic Relief Acts, social unrest in the 1790s led to the Irish Rebellion of 1798, an Irish revolution against British rule and perceived oppression. "Of the minority of Presbyterian clergymen who made the transition from constitutional agitation to armed rebellion," McBride notes,

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them to support "the religion presently professed within the realm," were wrong. In April of 1747 the two groups separated and met in different places, each calling themselves the true "Associate Synod" and each perceiving the other as the divisive group. To the Antiburghers, the oath resembled the very thing the Seceders had fought against. This division among the Seceders was transported to Ireland even though the Burgher oath was not required there. David Stewart, *The Seceders in Ireland: With Annals of Their Congregations* (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1950), 42–53, 107–9, 193, 199–203; John M. Barkley, *A Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (Belfast: Publications Board, Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1959), 31–32; Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell: Embracing A View of the Origin, Progress and Principles of the Religious Reformation Which He Advocated*, vol. 1 (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1890), 51–58; David M. Thompson, "The Irish Background to Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address*," *Discipliana* 46 (1986): 25; Stewart J. Brown, "Religion and Society to c.1900," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, ed. T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), accessed April 4, 2014, oxfordhandbooks.com.

[33] McBride, "'When Ulster Joined Ireland,'" 63–93. Erastianism is the belief that the state should have supremacy in ecclesiastical matters.

[34] For example, the United Irishmen emerged in the wake of the French Revolution as a radical political coalition in which Catholics and Protestants cooperated for rights.

"the orthodox and latitudinarian [i.e., New Light] parties were present in roughly even numbers, with the Seceders once more isolated in their vocal loyalism."[35] Perhaps newly motivated by the 1780 repeal of the sacramental test for dissenters and the 1784 attainment of a share of the *regium donum* (i.e., a regular payment from the state to ministers), Seceder conservatism of the period led most ministers into political quietism more focused on inward evangelical religion than outward transformation of the state.[36] Britain crushed the Rebellion, and the Acts of Union in 1800 created the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.[37]

Historians have pointed to the political context of Ireland in the 1790s as a cause for the creation of the ESU, though this claim is at best only partially accurate. Hempton and Hill state that the ESU was "a direct response to the crisis of 1798" and that it was "founded by five Presbyterian Seceding ministers acting independently of their synod, and inspired by the evangelicals in America and Britain."[38] The ESU documents show that the founders were indeed inspired by transatlantic evangelical missions culture,

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[35] McBride, "'When Ulster Joined Ireland,'" 74.

[36] McBride argues, "although the overwhelming majority of Presbyterians were in favour of parliamentary reform, there were profound disagreements over the question of Catholic enfranchisement, and some Seceding ministers had even identified themselves publicly with the government" (Ibid., 73). Only two Seceders joined the conflict. Bebbington argues that evangelicalism during this period typically—with exceptions for their common liberal stances on anti-slavery and support of the American Revolution and religious liberty—blended political quietism and loyalism. Ibid., 73–85; David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1989), 72–74; Ian McBride, *Scripture Politics: Ulster Presbyterians and Irish Radicalism in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 108.

[37] McBride, "'When Ulster Joined Ireland,'" 63–93; James Kelly, "Inter-Denominational Relations and Religious Toleration in Late Eighteenth-Century Ireland: The 'Paper War' of 1786-88," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 3 (January 1, 1988): 39–67; McBride, *Scripture Politics*; Staunton, *The Voice of the Irish*, chap. 6; Coohill, *Ireland*, chap. 2.

[38] Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, 37–38.

especially the LMS, but the ESU was not a direct response to the crisis of 1798 and the foundational meeting was interdenominational. In fact, the founders were laypeople and ministers who belonged to three Presbyterian Synods (Synod of Ulster and both Seceder Synods) and the Anglican Church of Ireland. The ESU's documents reveal that it was a direct response to and perpetuation of the transatlantic evangelical missions culture.

The chief instigator behind the establishment of the ESU was a Burgher Presbyterian minister named George Hamilton. Hamilton received "the truth as it is in Jesus" when he heard Rowland Hill preach in 1793 during Hill's first itinerancy in Ireland for the GES. At that time, Hamilton was a probationer with the Burghers.[39] The LMS's fourth annual meeting proceedings in May 1798 mentioned the spark of missionary fervor in Ireland which the directors learned about from a letter Hamilton had written. His congregation in Armagh sent the LMS over £21 that year, and Hamilton was listed as one of four directors of the LMS in Ireland. Other Ireland directors included John Walker (Anglican at the time) and Benjamin McDowell (Presbyerian), two of the central architects of the late eighteenth century evangelical revival in Dublin.[40]

Hamilton shrewdly raised awareness and support needed for the success of an evangelical society in Ulster. On August 20, 1798, Hamilton and several ministers and

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[39] Cooper, "Documentary Notices of the Dublin and Ulster Evangelical Societies," 226.

[40] Besides serving as directors in Ireland for the LMS, McDowell and Walker supported the GES and Walker the ESU. See "The Proceedings of the Second General Meeting," in *Four Sermons, Preached in London at the Second General Meeting of the Missionary Society, May 11, 12, 13, 1796...To Which Are Prefixed, The Proceedings of the Meeting* (London: Sold by T. Chapman, 1796), xxiii–xxiv; Missionary Society, *Four Sermons, Preached in London at the Fourth General Meeting of the Missionary Society, May 9, 10, 11, 1798...To Which Are Prefixed, The Proceedings of the Meeting, and the Report of the Directors; Also Are Added, A List of Subscribers* (London: Printed for T. Chapman, 1798), 35, 169; Myrtle Hill, "McDowell, Benjamin," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 2:716–17; Timothy C. F. Stunt, "Walker, John," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography: 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 2:1151.

laypeople gathered on a sacramental occasion in Armagh and discussed methods of spreading the gospel. The group decided to establish a society at a future meeting to which they invited "Evangelical Ministers and private Christians of every denomination." They constructed a circular letter and sent it to "Evangelical Ministers, and private Christians of every denomination, requesting their attendance." They wanted to form a "Society for the purpose of having the Gospel preached in those Towns and Villages which are destitute of it." The circular letter averred the group's belief that spreading the "glorious Gospel of God our Saviour, in its genuine simplicity" would remedy the low ebb of religion in Ireland.[41]

In September 1798, Hamilton wrote a promotional letter to the Secretary of the LMS, John Eyre, which Eyre published in *The Evangelical Magazine*.[42] The letter told readers that "four Gospel Ministers have united with us, in calling a Meeting of Evangelical Ministers and private Christians . . . in order to form a society for the propagation of the gospel, both at home and abroad." Hamilton informed the Secretary that a short address which expressed the design of the society was "extensively circulated among Evangelical Ministers, and lay brethren of all denominations." The address had

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[41] The memorial of the founding, the circular letter, the plan of the society, and the foundation sermon are available in George Hamilton, *The Great Necessity of Itinerant Preaching: A Sermon Delivered in Armagh at the Formation of the Evangelical Society of Ulster, on Wednesday, 10th of Oct. 1798. With a Short Introductory Memorial, Respecting the Establishment and First Attempt of the Society* (Armagh: Printed and Sold by T. Stevenson, and by each Member of the Committee, 1799), iv–viii. I quote a copy available at Archives and Special Collections, T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV, Hiram Lester Papers, Folder 0304. My thanks also to Jean Cobb and, more recently, Sharon Monigold, for assistance with this and other documents in the Archives and Special Collections at Bethany.

[42] John Eyre was the founder of the magazine and editor from 1793 to 1802. He was also central in the establishment and operation of the LMS. In Eyre, Hamilton established connections that ran deep into the growing interdenominational evangelical missions culture. See Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 56, 208–9; Lovett, *History of the LMS*, 1:10–11.

requested the recipients' presence at a meeting in October to discuss the "low state of Religion in this country." Such a state could be remedied, the address stated, if the "glorious Gospel of God our Saviour, in its genuine simplicity [was] more extensively known." The address proposed that this Irish society would pursue goals similar to those of existing societies in America, England, and Scotland.[43] Hamilton's letter in *The Evangelical Magazine* sought prayers and financial support.[44] The editor placed a short preface to Hamilton's letter noting the pleasure many would have upon hearing the missionary spirit was kindling in Ireland.[45] *The Evangelical Magazine* allowed the news of the ESU to spread quickly throughout the evangelical community.

The meeting to establish the ESU took place on October 10, 1798 and it was no doubt an impressionable experience for those who worshipped with people from several denominations.[46] A number of laypeople as well as thirteen ministers from four denominations (Burgher, Antiburgher, Church of Ireland, and Synod of Ulster) attended the meeting. They had a time of worship together before the meeting began. Notable ministers who participated in the meeting included George Maunsell, Rector of Drumcree in the diocese of Armagh, who chaired.[47] Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, which

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[43] The address is provided in Hamilton, *The Great Necessity*, vii–viii.

[44] George Hamilton, "Letter from the Rev. G. Hamilton to the Secretary of the Missionary Society, Sept. 3, 1798," *The Evangelical Magazine* 6 (October 1798): 424.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Following the pattern of the LMS, Hamilton published the narrative of the Society's creation and its foundation sermon in Hamilton, *The Great Necessity*.

[47] Alan R. Acheson, "Maunsel, George," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography: 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 2:755.

Hempton and Hill call the "educational powerhouse of early Episcopalian evangelicalism in Ireland,"[48] Maunsell was an influential figure in Ireland who could garner prestige for the burgeoning ESU. Antiburgher minister at Ahorey, Thomas Campbell, was at the meeting and offered prayer during service. Maunsel and Campbell accounted for two of the four ministers who, with seven laypeople, were chosen as "members of Committee." Hamilton lists W. B. Mathias in attendance, but this is probably meant to be B. W. Mathias, another influential evangelical Anglican.[49]

At the foundation meeting, Hamilton preached a soaring sermon, *The Great Necessity of Itinerant Preaching*, which epitomized evangelical interdenominational missions culture by emphasizing itinerancy, ecumenism based on a simple and pure gospel devoid of sect and party promotion, the duty of evangelism, and millennialism. His text was Luke 14:23, the same text preached at David Brainerd's ordination in 1744 by Ebenezer Pemberton, chairman of the SSPCK correspondents in the middle colonies.[50] "And the lord said unto the servant," the Gospel of Luke declared, "Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel *them* to come in, that my house may be filled" (KJV). Hamilton allegorized the passage. Through the sufferings of Christ, God made a great and free feast (i.e., salvation through conversion) to all people and offered it in mount Zion (i.e., the church). The servant (i.e., evangelical missionaries, a.k.a. ministers and

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[48] Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, 15.

[49] Alan R. Acheson, "Mathias, B(enjamin) W(illiams)," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography: 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 2:753–54; Hamilton, *The Great Necessity*, ix–xi.

[50] Pemberton's sermon is available in R. Pierce Beaver, *Pioneers in Mission: The Early Missionary Ordination Sermons, Charges, and Instructions* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co, 1966), 111–24.

ambassadors of Christ) sent forth to invite the guests (i.e., poor sinners destined for eternal hellfire) was a singular "servant" "on account of the unity, or sameness of all their [i.e., ministers'] zealous endeavours. For, to whatever party or denomination they belong, whatever name they are distinguished by, their grand and primary aim, is to bring poor sinners acquainted with the dear Saviour." The fact that the master commanded the servant to go into the "streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind" (Luke 14:21, KJV) was justification for street-preaching and itinerancy. When the master told the servant to go into the "highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled," the clear analogy was that modern ministers should go into the "remotest and most distant part of the country" and beyond.[51] In this way, Hamilton was set up to discuss three things. First, the nature of the gospel ministers' compulsion was gospel persuasion rather than civil force. Second, the great aim of the servants who go out was to bring sinners into Christ's house by "thorough conversion." Third, Hamilton proposed Gospel ministers had the indispensable duty to preach in the remotest parts of the country to compel sinners to come into Christ's house, a claim he thought Mark 16:15 and Matthew 28:19-20 corroborated.

Among the most important themes of Hamilton's sermon and the foundation of the ESU was the necessity of an interdenominational approach to evangelizing Ireland and the world. For Hamilton, faithful ministers of Christ

> never preach for a party, or to promote the interest of any particular sect. In the name of their redeeming God, they display the banner of the all-conquering Cross; and for this standard alone, they are zealous in recruiting. Their language is,

[51] Hamilton, *The Great Necessity*, 3–7.

> Let names, and sects, and parties fall,
> And Jesus Christ be all in all.[52]

Hamilton argued that gospel ministers gained nothing by bringing someone to a party or set of opinions; he even argued that denominational proselytizing hindered the gospel. "No acquisition short of the saving conversion of sinners to the Lord Jesus" was adequately in accord with what Hamilton called the "divine institution of a Gospel ministry." In fact, the conversion of sinners to Christ was a task of such magnitude that it required "the united efforts, and most zealous exertions of all his faithful servants of every denomination, and in every part of the vineyard." Evangelical missions not only required unity but, "to labour for a party, or to promote the interest of any particular sect; must necessarily mar the success of the Gospel." Hamilton argued that many had forgotten their errand of bringing sinners to Christ's house by thorough conversion and instead tried to win sinners to denominations. Hamilton's undenominational message led some to challenge the ESU and ultimately led to his break from the Seceders. In essence, he was arguing for the necessity of a simple evangelical gospel because he believed denominationalism too often thwarted the simple gospel of Christ. "Let now the fire of brotherly love, and of pure christian [*sic*] zeal," he averred, "consume the hay and stubble of party distinctions."[53] It is not difficult to understand why some Presbyterians perceived the ESU to be "latitudinarian."

A second major theme of Hamilton's sermon was that pity for doomed sinners should motivate evangelical missions. The necessity of itinerant preaching throughout the country arose from a "consideration of the miserable, and dangerous situation in which

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[52] Ibid., 14–16.

[53] Ibid., 18, 29–35.

poor sinners are, while at a distance from Christ. O! how wretched, and deplorable the condition of such." Reflection on sinners' "present misery" and "future sufferings" should incite ministers to rescue them "from the consuming flames."[54] Gospel ministers were needed to go out and warn "sinners, to fly from the wrath to come, and to accept of Christ and his great salvation."[55] Hamilton's basic logic of pity for people doomed to eternal torment as motivation for itinerant missions was familiar to advocates of the transatlantic evangelical missions culture.

Third, Hamilton argued for the necessity of itinerant preaching as a means to reach the non-churched. "Look around, my brethren, even in this highly favoured Province, and see what vast number there are of poor thoughtless sinners, who remain at home on the Lord's day, and seldom, if ever, visit his house of prayer."[56] These people required street and field preaching because they would not come into the church—they were either ignorant, they needed the "Lord Jesus to save them from Hell," or were filled with enmity against the gospel. Hamilton admitted to the "zealous sticklers for ecclesiastical order" that taking the gospel to the highways and hedges was "disorderly and irregular," but he found a commission in God's word, which "we hold to be alone the rule of ministerial usefulness and exertion." If opponents of itinerancy wanted to eradicate it, they "must first strike my text, and many others of similar import, from the page of inspiration."[57] Hamilton trumped denominational rule with the primary "rule,"

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[54] Ibid., 12.

[55] Ibid., 11.

[56] On Presbyterian Sabbath attendance during this period, see Holmes, *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief and Practice, 1770-1840*, chap. 1.

[57] Hamilton, *The Great Necessity*, 21–24.

the New Testament. Itinerancy became a serious point of contention throughout the transatlantic and led many evangelicals into the Independent or Congregational movement.

Finally, Hamilton pointed to the signs of the times to invoke millennialism as a motive for missions and itinerant preaching. Hamilton cited Daniel 12:4 ("Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased") as scriptural support for his belief that itinerant preaching would be restored in "that happy period of reviving approaches, which is to introduce the latter day Glory." He admitted, "I fondly hope, we have seen the dawn of that happy day. There is at present, such a general movement in the camp of the Church, as seems to indicate, that the Lord is at hand." Furthermore, Hamilton pointed to the "memorable and glorious events of a numerous mission undertaken to the south seas, and to Africa, succeeded immediately, by a wonderful revolution in Italy" as accomplishments of scripture prophecies (he cited Apoc. 14:6, 8). "Behold, my brethren, the peculiar aspect of the present times! Does not the shaking of the nations indicate, that he is on his way to receive the heathen for his inheritance? . . . Are we not told, that in troubleous times, Zion shall be built up? And are not the present times of this very description?" He quoted Cotton Mather to persuade his readers to see with eschatological eyes: "I am well satisfied that if men had the wisdom to discern the signs of the times, every hand would be at work to spread the name of our adorable Jesus into all the corners of the earth." Hamilton's interpretation of prophecies in Scripture led him to see the political events, missions, and use of itinerancy as signs of the last days.[58]

[58] Ibid., 27, 34–35.

If the crisis of 1798 had a direct impact on the ESU, it was primarily in fueling millennial flames that permeated evangelical culture. Millennialism motivated evangelicals' work in Ireland, as Christians of many stripes were ready to give their time and money to the grand cause of evangelizing the world in what some believed to be the last days. Evangelicals viewed Ireland during these decades as especially important in the eschatological scheme; not only was the Catholic community substantial there, but political turmoil in the late eighteenth century made Ireland a place where millennial interpretations of the times made sense of recent history.[59] Hempton and Hill argue, "The breakdown of the old order was thus seen as prelude to spiritual regeneration on a worldwide basis, a perception boosted by the steady progress of evangelicalism and the apparent success of the proliferation of newly formed foreign missionary societies."[60] Hamilton was convinced he lived in a special time in which the united church should utilize all means for conversion of sinners.

After worship the committee read, adjusted, and approved the ESU's plan, which stated the ESU's goals and methods for achieving them in the second article: "The object is, to make the Gospel known in those Towns and other places where it may be judged necessary; by introducing the Preaching of the Word, setting up Prayer meetings, distributing Bibles and Evangelical tracts among the poor."[61] The plan stated that love was to be the prevailing principle in all controversies, whether political or religious.

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[59] Holmes, "The Shaping of Irish Presbyterian Attitudes to Mission, 1790-1840," 711–737; Stephen Orchard, "Evangelical Eschatology and the Missionary Awakening," *Journal of Religious History* 22, no. 2 (1998): 132–51.

[60] Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, 29.

[61] Hamilton, *The Great Necessity*, xv.

Every missionary employed by the Society was to furnish a narrative of their successes and difficulties attending their ministrations, demonstrating the ESU's savvy use of media. Membership dues were at least 5s 5d (about half a pound) per year. Two of the twelve articles clarify that the ESU would cooperate with the other missionary societies in Great Britain and elsewhere and "Unite with approved Evangelical Ministers, and private Christians, respectable in their moral conduct, and of every Denomination." The Society would use its first available funds to employ one or more itinerant preachers.[62] The ESU's plan and mission were similar to the LMS's—the ESU was a staunchly interdenominational effort to convert sinners to a nondenominational, primitive, evangelical gospel.[63]

The ESU quickly built a base of evangelical support and made plans to fund itinerant preachers. Hamilton sent the ESU's address and constitution to the LMS in January 1799 and requested that the LMS send two of its itinerant preachers to Ireland that spring. Hamilton's letter, reprinted in *The Evangelical Magazine* to garner more support, said that about twenty evangelical ministers were ESU members, and he was hopeful that annual subscriptions would soon total around £100. He assured the Directors of the LMS that Ireland's fields were "white unto harvest" but that the Irish church needed laborers.[64] Sometime between January and June 1799, the ESU published the

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[62] Ibid.

[63] The LMS's plan is provided in Lovett, *History of the LMS*, 1:30–32.

[64] George Hamilton, "Letter from Mr. Hamilton to the Secretary of the Missionary Society: Armagh, Jan. 2, 1799," *The Evangelical Magazine* 7 (March 1799): 126–27. This letter is housed at the Archives of London Missionary Society, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. A copy of the letter is in Archives and Special Collections, T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV, Hiram Lester Papers, Folder 0304.

documents that evangelical societies by this point commonly published, which included the foundation sermon by Hamilton, the ESU's plan, the story of how it came to be, and a list of subscribers with the amount of their subscriptions.[65] There were 115 subscribers at that point. According to Joseph Thompson's count, twenty-three of those subscribers were ministers: fifteen Burghers, four Church of Ireland, three Synod of Ulster, and two Antiburgher.[66] The total amount of all subscriptions was just over £80.

The ESU had experienced quick success, but the "Memorial," which recounted the early history of the ESU up to early 1799, also revealed early opposition and ESU rebuttals. "In the midst of considerable encouragement," Hamilton wrote, "we are indeed sorry to state, that a large number . . . still appear to stand at a distance, jealous of our association, and indulging many strange and ungrounded fears concerning it." Some feared the ESU was "inimical to the outward distinctions which prevail amongst us." Hamilton explained that those fearing such had not read the ESU's address carefully, because the members had "solemnly disclaimed all intention of interfering directly, or indirectly, with the internal arrangements, or distinguishing peculiarities of any Christian denomination." Yet he continued with words which no doubt prompted more of the same charges:

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[65] At the end of the list of subscribers, Hamilton requested for subscribers and prospective subscribers to pay their subscriptions "before the end of June next." The introduction notes that the ESU had already written to the LMS requesting two itinerant preachers, which means the document was published after January 2, 1799 but before June 1799. The most likely date for these figures (115 subscribers and £80) is late January 1799 for two reasons: (1) The plan says the committee will meet once per month and (2) the introduction to the document says the committee had met twice, the first meeting being the first Wednesday of December 1798 and the second presumably the first week of January. See Hamilton, *The Great Necessity*, 37–40, xi, xv.

[66] Thompson, "The Irish Background to Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address*," 10–11. Thompson only counts a total of 110 subscribers: 23 ministers and 87 men and women, but I count 115 subscribers.

> But be it so, that our association should set the wood, the hay, and the stubble [i.e., denominational peculiarities] in a blaze; what we would ask, are the sibboleths and shibboleths of sects and parties, compared with the extensive spread of the Gospel, and gathering of precious souls to the Lord Jesus. 'We seek not our own but the things of Christ; and if he be exalted, (says a pious Dissenter),[67] let forms crumble back into their original chaos, and distinctions among Christians be obliterated and forgotten.[68]

To those who asked how it was possible to associate with people of other denominations, Hamilton argued that the Presbyterian vows did not and should not preclude them from "doing the Lord's work in conjunction with his faithful servants, of other denominations." Furthermore, if there were any such "anti-scriptural vows" among the Presbyterians then "we refuse to recognize their obligation." For support, he quoted a 1797 sermon of Rev. Samuel Greatheed. The quote argued that if a party was constituted in a way that precluded its members from uniting with Christians of other communions, then "that party is certainly Anti-christian; for the disciples of Christ have but one master, and are all brethren." In fact, if members of every Christian denomination were compared, they would be able to unite to spread the gospel. The real problem was not the principles upon which denominations were constituted, but "deficiency of a Christian spirit, and the predominance of a carnal policy in the members of which they were composed." Thus opposition to the interdenominational approach existed already in early 1799, and Hamilton's responses did not appease opponents.[69]

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[67] Demonstrating the connections facilitated by publishing, this quote comes from Rev. George Lambert's sermon at the second LMS annual meeting in 1796. See Missionary Society, *Four Sermons, Preached in London at the Second General Meeting of the Missionary Society, May 11, 12, 13, 1796...To Which Are Prefixed, The Proceedings of the Meeting* (London: Sold by T. Chapman, 1796), 40–41.

[68] Hamilton, *The Great Necessity*, xii–xiii.

[69] Ibid., iii–xvii.

Hamilton attended the LMS's annual meeting in May 1799 at London, playing a leading role in the services. According to an extended account of the meeting printed in *The Evangelical Magazine*, Hamilton led prayer on Wednesday morning May 8 at Rowland Hill's Surrey Chapel.[70] Hamilton probably administered the wine at the Lord's Supper on Friday, along with William Cooper, LMS and future ESU missionary to Ireland.[71] The editor of the account noted that Hamilton represented the people of Ireland, "whose hearts, amid all the miseries of that distracted country, are panting for the prosperity of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, in all nations."[72] Hamilton carried subscriptions to the LMS from Armagh, Richhill, and Sligo, totaling £11.[73]

Two LMS itinerant preachers, William Cooper and J. J. Richards, accompanied Hamilton from the LMS meeting back to Ireland.[74] We know almost nothing about Richards but some information on Cooper is extant. Cooper had experienced conversion under the preaching of Thomas Haweis at Spafields Chapel in London and recorded in his diary as early as 1794 that he desired to be a missionary. Haweis became a celebrity in evangelical missions culture. He was chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon and one of the founders and directors of the LMS from 1795 to 1819. Haweis became Cooper's

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[70] "Missionary Society: Annual Meeting, 1799," *The Evangelical Magazine* 30 (June 1799): 250.

[71] Ibid., 252. The account only gives the last names of those who served, but no other Hamilton had been mentioned in the report up to that point. It is highly probable that it was George Hamilton and William Cooper.

[72] Ibid., 250.

[73] Ibid., 260.

[74] "Memoir of the Late Rev. William Cooper, of Dublin," *The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle* 30 (January 1852): 4; Lester, "Alexander Campbell's Early Baptism in Ecumenicity and Sectarianism," 90.

mentor, and Cooper's preaching had by late 1795 earned him an introduction to Lady Ann Erskine. With Haweis and Erskine as patrons, Cooper's popularity soared. He became known for his published sermons to the Jews, which garnered excitement about the possibility of their conversion in the last days.[75] His preaching drew large crowds in 1796 and 1797. Haweis ordained him in Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion in June 1797 at Zion Chapel, London. He supplied several chapels (Bath, Bristol, Canterbury, Birmingham, etc.) from that point forward. In 1798 and 1799, Cooper preached at Zion Chapel every Sabbath and at Spafields Chapel every Wednesday and at other places throughout the week. By 1799, Cooper was twenty-three, married, and well-known for his persuasive evangelical preaching.[76]

In March 1799, Cooper received a letter from Hamilton on behalf of the ESU inviting him to spend four months that summer itinerating in Ireland. Cooper decided to go to Ireland in 1799 after much deliberation led him to believe God willed it.[77] The quest was considered dangerous because the 1798 rebellion's smoke was still clearing and dissenter animosity was running high. Cooper's friends and family tried to persuade him not to go, but after serious reflection Cooper gave five reasons that led him to believe the preaching tour was providential. First, he had not sought Ireland but was sought for.

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[75] William Cooper, *The Promised Seed. A Sermon, Preached to God's Ancient Israel the Jews, at Sion-Chapel, Whitechapel, on Sunday Afternoon, August 28, 1796* (London: T. Chapman, 1796); William Cooper, *Daniel's Seventy Weeks. A Second Sermon Preached at Sion-Chapel, on Sunday Afternoon, September 18, 1796, to the Jews* (London: T. Chapman, 1796).

[76] "Memoir of William Cooper"; E. Dorothy Graham, "Erskine, Lady Anne Agnes," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed February 5, 2012, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/71064; Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 211–12.

[77] For an overview of this type of providence, see Holmes, *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief and Practice, 1770-1840*, 85–88.

Second, God would have prevented the trip if it was not God's will. Third, no one in London had stepped forward to offer their services to the ESU and thus, he continued, "it appears absolutely necessary, from the statements I have received of the gross darkness and ignorance reigning throughout the length and breadth of the country, that so important a field should not [*sic*] longer be neglected."[78] Fourth, God had made Cooper's name popular in Ireland and this appeared to him as evidence that God was preparing the way for his preaching there—John Walker had attempted to get Cooper to itinerate for the GES in 1797. Fifth, although his services were needed in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, Lady Anne Erskine had assured Cooper that she would find a fill-in while he was in Ireland. Thus assuming it was providentially ordained, Cooper left London with Hamilton and Richards in May 1799 after the LMS annual meeting.[79]

The missionary itinerants and Hamilton landed in Dublin on May 19, 1799, and they preached somewhere almost every day from that point until they left Ireland in October.[80] They had great success, even if Cooper's staggering numbers were exaggerated. On the first evening Cooper had an audience of 150; by the second night the audience had grown to thousands. He said he was preaching ten sermons and riding between fifty to more than eighty miles every week. Those who received Richards and

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[78] "Memoir of William Cooper," 4.

[79] Ibid., 3–4.

[80] This section relies on correspondence of the Cooper and Hamilton with John Eyre, Secretary of the LMS. The letters are available in the Archives of London Missionary Society, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. I am working from copies of these letters which are available at Archives and Special Collections, T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV, Hiram Lester Papers, Folder 0304. The letters include, William Cooper to John Eyre on June 20, 1799; George Hamilton to John Eyre on June 20, 1799; William Cooper to John Eyre on July 18, 1799; George Hamilton to John Eyre on October 9, 1799; John Lowry to John Eyre on October 10, 1799; and John Eyre to William Cooper, October 19, 1799. For context, also see Ibid., 1–7.

Cooper usually entreated them to return to the places they preached, occasionally three or four times within a month. The crowds varied in size, sometimes less than one hundred, but usually more. Cooper reported in a letter to Erye, Secretary of the LMS, "Hundreds, Yea Thousands flock to our Preaching as Doves to their Windows. In a Grove at the County Town of Monaghan my Congregation one Sunday evening amounted to about 10 thousand." He reported ten thousand in attendance at this grove near Monaghan one time in June and another time in July. Even upon short notice, crowds of three thousand gathered to hear his preaching, creating the excitement of revival but also opposition from some Seceders.[81]

Cooper and Richards preached wherever they could get an audience. "It is Indifferent to us where we preach," Cooper wrote. "Presbyterian, Seceding, Moravian & Quaker Meeting houses have been preached in by us—and in Barns, Houses, Malthouses, Storerooms, Lofts and Ball Rooms not a few. In General However, the Open Air is our Cathedrale, for Meeting Houses are in many places shut against us." They actually preferred the fields because "all Sects and Parties will give us a hearing there."[82]

Cooper preached a sermon, *The Flying Angel*, on May 27 at Hamilton's Armagh church before the committee of the ESU, and the sermon's publication in Ireland and England received attention.[83] Thomas Campbell was on the ESU committee at this point,

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[81] William Cooper to John Eyre on June 20, 1799, 2; William Cooper to John Eyre on July 18, 1799, 2.

[82] William Cooper to John Eyre on July 18, 1799, 2.

[83] William Cooper, *The Flying Angel: A Sermon, Delivered in the New Meeting House Armagh, Ireland, before the Committee of the Evangelical Society of Ulster, on Monday, the 27th of May, 1799* (London: Printed by S. Rousseau; for T. Chapman, 1799), 3.

and Alexander Campbell three decades later recalled, "When a lad, I listened with pleasure to Cooper and Richards, the evangelists of England, I think, of Lady Huntington's connexion."[84] Cooper's text was, "And I saw another Angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people" (Apoc. 14:6). Based on his understanding of Revelation as prophecy of "events which should take place in the church of Christ, from the first promulgation of the Gospel, down to the day of judgement," Cooper believed that "*now* the time is at hand" when this prophecy "shall be accomplished . . . in its fullness."[85]

Cooper interpreted the passage allegorically to make five points. First, the *angel* signified all messengers of all time who preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. That is, "angel" referred to the office rather than the nature of the being described. If the prophecy referred to one particular messenger, Cooper believed it must be George Whitefield, since he was the "greatest *itinerant*."[86] But he believed the angel represented all "TRUE *ministers* of JESUS CHRIST." Second, the angel flew "in the midst of heaven," where heaven signified the church. Third, the angel's flying represented the ministers' missionary zeal and activity. Cooper pointed to the LMS as a model of this type of flying which spread the gospel to the world and harbingered the last days.

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[84] Alexander Campbell, "Letter to William Jones, No. V.," *Millennial Harbinger* 6 (July 1835): 306.

[85] Cooper, *The Flying Angel*, 6.

[86] Cooper knew and listed the transatlantic activity of Whitefield, who he admired beyond even Martin Luther. See Ibid., 8–9.

> ‘The Lord shall give the word, and great shall be the company of preachers: many shall run to and fro [i.e., itinerate],[87] and knowledge shall be increased! The fullness of the Gentiles shall flow in and all Israel be turned unto the Lord: Yea, the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord and ALL shall know him, from the highest to the lowest!’
>
> O my Brethren! do not your hearts burn within you, while you contemplate these glorious promises? And see the day approaching! Surely, if we were to hold our peace, the very stones would cry out! Perhaps many of us shall live to see these golden days! Amen! O LORD! amen![88]

Cooper believed he preached in the last days, and his experiences in Ireland, which he recorded in a letter, confirmed it. He noted that nominal Protestants were waking from their slumber and even the “Catholick attend in Vast Numbers and are in General the most affected part of our audience.” The Catholic response furthered his belief that it was God’s time to convert Ireland. “Indeed If I am not too Sanguine (and from present Appearances I do Really think I am not)—I do think the set time is come for God in Mercy to Visit this Land.”[89]

Fourth, the angel preached the everlasting gospel, which meant ministers called by God should proclaim the good news with authority. The gospel, Cooper explained, was the good news that Christ’s blood saved lost sinners and Christ’s death satisfied God’s justice “for all the sins of the elect world.” The law was a “schoolmaster to bring us to CHRIST,” thus “good for the awakening of sinners” and also profitable for saints. The gospel’s “everlasting” quality meant it was ancient and unchanging. And the gospel was not word only but known “experimentally.” Therefore, Hamilton inquired, “Hath [the gospel] come unto thee, not in *word* only, but in *power*, and in demonstration of the

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[87] This parenthetical bracketed phrase is in the original.

[88] Cooper, *The Flying Angel*, 14–15.

[89] William Cooper to John Eyre on July 18, 1799, 2.

Spirit, and with much assurance?" Furthermore, preachers of this gospel should not simply read their sermons but should preach them in animated fashion. He also explained that God gave authority to preach: "No college, bishop, presbytery, or any man or set of men, can ever make *true* ministers of them who GOD hath not called to preach. *Unconverted* men, by preaching or pretending to preach GOD's Word, heap up vengeance and damnation on their own souls."[90]

Fifth, the angel preached the gospel to all who dwell upon the earth, which meant true ministers should preach especially to the unconverted all over the world. Preaching to the converted in churches was necessary, but Christian pity for "poor sinners dropping into hell" necessitated vigorous itinerant preaching outside of churches. To those who said, "Let every man keep to *his own parish*," Cooper replied, "Shew me, my Brethren, a map of the world, and I'll shew you a map of *my* parish. 'Go ye into *all the World*' is my commission."[91]

Cooper's sermon was a creative interpretation of an apocalyptic text utilized to promote transatlantic interdenominational evangelical missions culture. His evangelical message was caustic at points, revealing reasons he experienced opposition from some. He aggressively pitted the experientially converted against the unconverted. He ridiculed those who read sermons to audiences. He downplayed ecclesiastical ordination and derided opponents of itinerant preaching. It is not difficult to understand why Cooper turned down episcopal ordination in July 1801, even though Haweis and Dublin

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[90] Cooper, *The Flying Angel*, 19.

[91] Ibid., 18–21.

evangelicals encouraged him to accept a bishopric—the ordination he received from Haweis was scriptural and he needed no other ordination besides.[92] Cooper's postmillennialism provided a major motivation for his missionary fervor. His opposition to party zeal in favor of Christian union to spread an evangelical gospel also was a prevalent theme in his letters that summer. This LMS and ESU missionary embodied the evangelical missions culture of the 1790s.

Cooper and Hamilton corresponded with the LMS secretary (John Eyre) that summer and fall, almost always emphasizing the reign of bigotry in Ireland and how gospel preaching had started eroding it. "Religion in Ireland among all Parties is at a very low ebb," Cooper opined. In his perception, the prejudice and bigotry of the Irish Seceders outdid even that of the High Kirk of Scotland. Although he credited the Seceders for right doctrine, he critiqued the way they preached it as a "mere system" and lamented that they treated "Vital Religion . . . as the Vilest Enthusiasm." Party zeal reigned rather than zeal for the "Doctrines of Grace." Nonetheless, Cooper and Hamilton believed God was working. Hamilton observed a change in Ireland after only a month of the missionaries' preaching: "Bigotry begins to sicken . . . and a spirit of candor and liberality appears to spread."[93]

Hamilton and Cooper persistently urged Eyre to send more missionaries to Ireland. Despite emphasizing bigotry and party spirit, Cooper also had kind things to say about individuals in the various parties, and he was optimistic about the reception of the

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[92] "Memoir of William Cooper," 5–6.

[93] William Cooper to John Eyre on June 20, 1799, 1; George Hamilton to John Eyre on June 20, 1799, 1; William Cooper to John Eyre on July 18, 1799, 1; George Hamilton to John Eyre on October 9, 1799, 3.

gospel in Ireland—the whole country was "white for Harvest." Thousands flocked to hear his sermons, many coming from miles away. Cooper thought it was the beginning of a revival. He hoped the "Lord in his Good Providence will Open a Door for my Return here next summer and if so I hope 5 or 6 missionarys will Accompany me." The ESU committee instructed Hamilton to ask Eyre if the LMS would send two replacement itinerants after Cooper and Richards left. Hamilton promised another £15 and sent greetings to "Lady Ann" and "Doctor Haweis," promising to provide an account of the missionaries' affairs to Lady Ann. Cooper urged Eyre to encourage those so focused on the South Seas to think about their Sister Kingdom of Ireland.[94] He proposed that upcoming missionaries could garner experience in Ireland. "O pity your Sister Land—pity Millions of Poor Souls—under the same Government with Yourselves—who are Perishing for Lack of knowledge."[95] Cooper gathered money for the LMS as he itinerated. The treasurer of the LMS received over £54 from Ireland via Cooper between August and September of 1799.[96] The ESU also sent the LMS treasurer over £21 between September and October of 1799.[97] The transatlantic network of evangelical missions shared resources as if they drew from a large common pool.

By the time Cooper left Ireland in October of 1799, he did so with an earnest desire to return. In January 1800, John Walker in Dublin urged him to come back to

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[94] The first missionaries of the LMS went to the Polynesian islands (Tahiti, Moorea, Marquesas, and Tonga) and West Africa (Sierra Leone and Cape Colony) starting in 1797. For a list of these missionaries and their fields, see Lovett, *History of the LMS*, 1:793–802.

[95] William Cooper to John Eyre on June 20, 1799, 2-3; George Hamilton to John Eyre on June 20, 1799, 1-2; William Cooper to John Eyre on July 18, 1799, 4.

[96] *The Evangelical Magazine* 7 (1799): 433.

[97] *The Evangelical Magazine* 7 (1799): 475.

Ireland under the auspices of the GES in Dublin. Hamilton reiterated Walker's request and encouraged Cooper to bring two or three more workers with him. Cooper went back the next year and spent more time in southern Ireland. He eventually took a permanent pastorate at the Plunket-street Independent congregation in 1802, where he served for nearly twenty-six years until a stroke in 1828 took his ability to speak. His oratorical skills were remembered for decades after he stopped preaching, and those exciting years at the turn of the nineteenth century earned him the epithet, "THE EVANGELIST OF IRELAND."[98]

The activity of the ESU itinerants, Cooper and Richards, in the summer of 1799 prompted immediate response from both the Burgher and Antiburgher Synods. The Burgher Synod's Committee of Overtures transmitted two overtures to the Synod, both of which concerned the ESU. First, from the Presbytery of Down, "That the Synod institute an Enquiry into the Conduct of Revd. Messrs Henry & Hamilton, of whom it is reported that they are following a divisive Course from the Secession Testimony." [99] Second, from the Presbytery of Monaghan,

> Whereas several of our Community both Ministers, & private Christians have of late adopted a Plan, for the spreading as they call it of Evangelical Principles in a Method hitherto not practiced in our Community, the members of the Pby of Monaghan, before they pass any Judicial Determination desire to have the collective Judgment of this Synod, respecting the propriety of such Conduct.[100]

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[98] "Memoir of William Cooper," 4–7.

[99] *Minutes of the Associate (Burgher) Synod of Ireland* (1799), (unnumbered) page 4. For both the Burgher and Antiburgher *Minutes*, I quote from copies of the originals available at Archives and Special Collections, T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV, Hiram Lester Papers, Folder 0106. According to Hiram Lester's research, the Burgher and Antiburgher minute books are located in the library of Union Theological College in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Microfilms of the original manuscripts are available from the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland in Belfast. For some of the relevant Presbyterian minutes and further discussion on them, see Thompson, "The Evangelical Society of Ulster," 15–16, 24–29; Stewart, *The Seceders in Ireland*, 104–7.

[100] *Minutes of the Associate (Burgher) Synod of Ireland*, (1799), (unnumbered) pages 4-5.

Members of the Synod "spoke their Minds" about the ESU in both the morning and evening sessions on that Wednesday, July 3, though the minutes give no indication about the content of "their Minds" nor the character or tone of the speaking. The Synod created a committee to bring an overture on the matter. The next day, the Synod read and approved by vote the overture about the ESU. The overture reveals the Synod's concern was that participants in the ESU were spreading the gospel in a "Manner not consonant to Presbyterian Principles & Obligations." However, after the committee had spoken with the ESU participants, the committee members were persuaded of their sincerity and of the

> Purity of their Intercourse with Ministers and People of different Denominations, & of Evangelical Principles in private Ordinances such as Prayer Praise christian Conference & the like, & also whilst we allow the Expediency, in certain Circumstances, of Professors of Christ of different Denominations uniting in their Endeavour both secular & spiritual, in missioning forth Persons duly qualified to declare the common salvation to sinners in those Parts, where the Gospel is not known, Yet in Faithfulness to our Trust who are to confirm the Churches over which the Holy Ghost hath made us Overseers, we recommend it to the different Pbys under our Inspection to be cautious against Allowing any Infraction or Delirection [i.e., dereliction] of any Part of that scriptural Reformation to which thro' the Blessing of Christ our Head on us & our Forefathers, we have attained in on Form of Gospel Doctrine, Discipline & Worship, that we may mind the same Things & walk by the same Rule as being of one Mind & one Judgment.[101]

The overture reveals the Synod's attempt to manage the tension between its unique denominational formularies separating it from other denominations with the ideals of the evangelical missions culture which pushed for interdenominational cooperation. It might be expedient to cooperate among denominations, the overture declared, but the itinerants needed to be "duly qualified" and the Presbyteries should be cautious of ministers neglecting the formularies of the Burgher fellowship.

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[101] *Minutes of the Associate (Burgher) Synod of Ireland* (1799), (unnumbered) pages 6-7.

Cooper attended this Burgher Synod and wrote to Eyre explaining the Burgher opposition and Hamilton's able defense of the ESU's ideas and practices at the meeting. Cooper lamented the party spirit especially among Presbyterians: "I have found the High Kirk of Scotland . . . far less Biggotted than the Seceders." Although the minutes only mentioned that the moderator, John Reed, preached the opening sermon on 2 Cor 11:2-3,[102] Cooper explained how Reed used the passage to attack the ESU, which Cooper described to Eyre as "our Society."[103] Reed argued the "simplicity of Christ" in the passage represented Presbyterian polity and he "Proceeded to Show how we [i.e., LMS and ESU][,] as the Serpent Beguiled Eve thro his Subtillity[,] were Corrupting the Peoples minds from that Simplicity." Nonetheless, Hamilton's defense of the evangelical missions culture impressed Cooper. "I could hardly Refrain from tears when he stood up in the Midst of that August Assembly and Answered for himself with a firmness not to be described by my pen." Cooper continued, "He Evidently stood for the Defense of the Gospel, for never did I see the Armies of Heaven & Hell more Visibly Engaged and Struggling for Victory than on that Day." Although Cooper commended the Burgher's for their doctrine, he was convinced that the evangelical missions culture's stress on unity (or the death of bigotry) and a simple primitive gospel was God's tool for the evangelism of Ireland, and Hamilton had proved it. According to Cooper, the Synod's opposition actually worked for the good of the ESU; it resembled Acts 4, when the religious leaders

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[102] "For I am jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present *you as* a chaste virgin to Christ. But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ" (KJV).

[103] Throughout his letter to Eyre July 18, 1799, Cooper used "we" and "our" to refer to the ESU, demonstrating the inextricable connection between the ESU and LMS. For example, some Synod advocates slandered "our Little Society" and they debated the subject of "our Society."

imprisoned the apostles but the church still grew. Cooper's experience of Burgher opposition only fueled his zeal for the cause.[104]

The 1799 Antiburgher Synod rejected the ESU more decisively than the 1799 Burgher Synod, though only one Antiburgher minister was involved—Thomas Campbell (1763-1854). Rejecting what he perceived as the cold formality of the Anglicanism of his father, Cambpell was drawn to the Presbyterian Church. In his youth, he experienced evangelical conversion or "effectual calling" and eventually sought ordination with the Seceders.[105] He married Jane Corneigle in 1787 with whom he had seven children. Campbell completed the courses required for divinity from Glasgow University in 1792, where he imbibed the intellectual influences of the Scottish Enlightenment, and entered Divinity Hall in Whitburn, Scotland, an Antiburgher Presbyterian school run by Archibald Bruce. Campbell travelled there for an eight-week summer session per year for five consecutive years.[106] After successfully passing all the required exams he became a probationer until he received a position at the Ahorey congregation in 1798, which was

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[104] William Cooper to John Eyre on July 18, 1799, 1-4.

[105] Thomas experienced "effectual calling" as described in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (chapter 10). As Richardson put it, he "felt a divine peace suddenly diffuse itself throughout his soul, and the love of God seemed to be shed abroad in his heart as he had never before realized it. His doubts, anxieties and fears were at once dissipated, as if by enchantment. He was enabled to see and to trust in the merits of a crucified Christ, and to enjoy a divine sense of reconciliation, that filled him with rapture and seemed to determine his destiny for ever. From this moment he recognized himself as consecrated to God, and thought only how he might best appropriate his time and his abilities to his service." Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:23.

[106] Dates for Campbell's education are debated. Lester McAllister and Robert Richardson assume his education at the University of Glasgow was completed around 1786 and that he entered Divinity Hall in 1787. Eva Jean Rather argues for a later date, assuming Campbell completed courses at the University of Glasgow in 1792 just before he entered Divinity Hall in 1792. David Stewart has records that Thomas Campbell entered Divinity Hall in 1792 and Campbell was not ordained until 1798, making Wrather's argument more probable. See Ibid., 1:25–27; Stewart, *The Seceders in Ireland*, 437.

close to two major centers of ESU activity—three miles from Richhill and eight miles from Armagh.[107] At twenty-five years of age, Campbell had a traditional ministry but also embraced the evangelical missions culture by becoming a leader of the ESU.[108] However, the Antiburgher Synod decisively rejected the ESU's principles.

At the end of the second day of the Antiburgher Synod, which took place from July 30 to August 1, 1799, the Synod turned to two questions. First, "Is the Evangelical Society of Ulster constituted on Principles consistent with the Secession Testimony?" Second, "What shall be done with respect unto a Member of this court who took an Active part in forming that society & promoting its Interests?" The "Member" referred to in the second question was Thomas Campbell, whose 1798 ordination in Ahorey was recognized on the first day of the Synod that year, since the Synod did not meet in 1798 due to "Melancholy disturbances of the country."[109] In order to make well-founded judgments, the Synod read the printed ESU papers, including the August 1798 circular letter, Hamilton's *Great Necessity of Itinerant Preaching*, and a few other documents. The contents of these papers were "Illustrated at length" by Campbell, after which members of the Synod discussed their opinions as to the consistency of the ESU's

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[107] Measurements according to Google Maps (maps.google.com). One can find more information and pictures at http://www.therestorationmovement.com/_international/ireland/ahorey.htm.

[108] For bibliography of Campbell, see Lester G. McAllister, "Campbell, Thomas (1763-1854)," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 138–42; McAllister, *Thomas Campbell*; Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:passim; Eva Jean Wrather, *Alexander Campbell: Adventurer In Freedom: A Literary Biography*, ed. D. Duane Cummins, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Fort Worth: TCU Press and the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 2005).

[109] *Minutes of the Associate (Antiburgher) Synod of Ireland* (1799), 110.

principles with the Secession *Testimony*. The minutes state, "A charitable opinion of the Piety & Zeal of their Society was entertained," but the

> principles of their Constitution were completely Latitudinarian whereby the truth of the Gospel is in Danger of Being Destroyed & the practice of Godliness overthrown where they have been established in the providence of God so that while the zeal of this Society would carry them out to the Enlargement of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ on one side it eventually Destroyed & undermined it on Another.[110]

Like the Burghers, the Antiburghers disliked the aggressive anti-party spirit of the evangelical missions culture as illustrated in the ESU. This "latitudinarianism" undermined the Antiburgher understanding of the gospel.

"Latitudinarian" was first used as a pejorative description of Anglican clerics in the seventeenth century who practiced latitude in religious opinion to the point of seeming indifferent about forms of worship, polity, or creeds.[111] Similarly, the Synod used this term to describe their perception of the ESU's indifference to forms of worship, polity, and creeds. On one hand, it was a fair charge, since the ESU and its publications did explicitly argue that one's denominational peculiarities were historical additions to the simple evangelical gospel. On the other hand, these latitudinarians did indeed care very deeply about some essentials, such as experimental conversion, adherence to a non-denominational gospel, and other central evangelical doctrines. Regardless, the ESU's interdenominational message led the Antiburgher Synod to judge the ESU's principles inconsistent with the Secession *Testimony*.

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[110] *Minutes of the Associate (Antiburgher) Synod of Ireland* (1799), 117-18.

[111] See "latitudinarian," in *Oxford English Dictionary*.

It was late by the time they arrived at this decision, so the Synod established a committee to "converse with Rev Thos. Campble on the subject of his connexion with the Evangelical Society of Ulster." The Synod reconvened the next morning and got the report from the committee concerning the second question. Campbell drew up and subscribed to the following statement:

> I am willing to receive the advice of the Synod respecting my connexion with the Evangelical Society of Ulster to take it under my most serious consideration & to endeavor in all things to see eye to eye with the Revd. Synod—& in the meantime to desist from any official intercourse with the Society only remaining a simple subscriber.[112]

It was a carefully worded statement that conceded very little to the Synod. Although Campbell agreed to seriously consider the Synod's advice and endeavor to agree with their ruling, he clearly did not agree. Ironically, although he gave up his role as a member of the ESU Committee, he remained a subscriber—subscribers were the life source of the ESU, as without them the Society had no money to hire itinerants. So he committed himself to funding the ESU's operations when the Synod had just ruled that the ESU's principles were completely latitudinarian. Nonetheless, "after some conversation the foregoing Declaration was accepted as satisfactory."[113]

Despite this opposition from the both groups of Seceders in 1799, the ESU continued its work in 1800 when it and the GES secured William Cooper and a rising evangelical star named William Gregory as itinerant ministers for the summer. Cooper's claim to fame was his oratorical sophistication, numerous publications, and his success in Ireland in 1799. And Gregory was one of the first LMS missionaries. Gregory's trip to

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[112] *Minutes of the Associate (Antiburgher) Synod of Ireland* (1799), 119.

[113] Ibid., 120.

Ireland happened because he knew Cooper. Cooper was back in London after his successful 1799 tour when John Walker, the evangelical Anglican minister of Bethesda Chapel and leader of the GES, wrote Cooper requesting his return to Ireland under the direction of the GES. Hamilton also wrote Cooper and requested that he bring along two or three more itinerants. Like Cooper, Gregory was connected to the LMS and Lady Huntingdon's Connexion.[114] His service on the foreign mission field for the LMS gave him enough stories to fill the pages of his book, *Visible Display of Divine Providence, or, The Journal of a Captured Missionary* (1800).[115] Gregory and Cooper landed in Dublin on June 13, 1800, whence Cooper headed to southern Ireland to itinerate for the GES and Gregory went to Armagh to itinerate for the ESU in the territories Cooper had covered the year prior.[116]

Gregory published a journal of his Ireland tour and included it in the second edition of *Visible Display of Divine Providence* (1801).[117] Gregory's main headquarters were in Armagh at Hamilton's house, but he preached and road almost every day for four months straight. The longest he was away from Hamilton's was for twenty-three days, during which time he rode over 240 miles and preached thirty-two times in nineteen different towns. Like the itinerants the year before, Gregory preached in open fields,

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[114] Foster, *The Life and Times of Selina*, 226.

[115] William Gregory, *Visible Display of Divine Providence, Or, The Journal of a Captured Missionary Designated to the Southern Pacific Ocean, in the Second Voyage of the Ship Duff* (London: Printed by T. Gillet, 1800).

[116] "Memoir of William Cooper," 5.

[117] William Gregory, *Visible Display of Divine Providence, Or, The Journal of a Captured Missionary Designated to the Southern Pacific Ocean, in the Second Voyage of the Ship Duff*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed by J. Skirven, 1801), 163–71.

barns, mills, churches, town halls, and anywhere he could gain a hearing. He preached in Presbyterian, Methodist, Anglican, Quaker, and Catholic churches. He noted preaching at Richhill, near the Campbells' house.[118] Gregory utilized the bellman in most towns to announce where and when he would be preaching. Some of these meetings brought out hundreds, and many times his audience numbered in the thousands.

Gregory preached at several sacramental meetings, which appear to have been fairly common in Ireland at this time. "Sacramental occasions," as they were often called, provided the venue for emotional preaching and extended preparation for communion. They usually consisted of a Thursday fast or day of humiliation, Saturday sermons of preparation, Sunday preparatory services and celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Monday thanksgiving sermons. In the U.S. at this same time, Scots-Irish Presbyterians were conducting similar sacramental occasions that were evolving into the first camp meetings of the Second Great Awakening. Gregory described the meetings that he considered successful as those where the solemnity was greatest. Where Gregory discussed "solemnity," Cooper described "tears" and "weeping." For both, solemnity and weeping was a sign that the gospel was penetrating hearts and awakening sinners, a common occurrence at sacramental gatherings. Some hearts took longer than others—one of Gregory's Sunday field meetings at a sacramental occasion lasted five hours.[119]

Gregory also experienced opposition from various churches during his tour. He often recorded only that "the door was such against me there." It was usually

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[118] Ibid., 163.

[119] Ibid., 162; Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scotland and the Making of American Revivalism*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001).

Presbyterian churches that shut the door against him, but it was almost always Presbyterian elders in the same town who found him another place to preach. Field preaching was usually the preferred option because the crowds were almost always larger. He made many evangelical friends in all the denominations and converted many in Ireland.

Gregory attended the annual Burgher Associate Synod on July 1, 1800 at Banbridge, Ireland and "was happy to perceive that the violent opposition manifested at the last meeting against the Evangelical Society, had nearly subsided."[120] Indeed, the minutes that year do not mention the ESU, though the Burgher ministers associated with the ESU were active in that Synod meeting.

Gregory was much less sanguine about the Antiburgher Synod, whose annual meeting he also attended on July 31, 1800 at Newton Limavady. He noted, "Their usual Anti-Christian spirit was manifested in the proclamation of an address." In his estimation, the Synod was alarmed at the progress of itinerant preaching and their members hearing preaching from non-Antiburgher ministers. According to Gregory, the address claimed presbyterian government "Was the only form of Church Government delivered by Christ."[121] Months later in October, Gregory said that several Antiburgher members who had attended his preaching were denied communion. He continued, "From what I have seen abroad and in Ireland, of the Anti-Christian Church of Rome, the Anti-Burghers of Ireland appear to excel them in bigotry and prejudice."[122]

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[120] Gregory, *Visible Display*, 163.

[121] Ibid., 166.

[122] Ibid., 163, 166, 170.

In contrast to Gregory's perspective, the 1800 Synod actually had two overtures which sought to unite the Presbyterian Church. First, the members discussed the propriety of dissolving the connection between the Antiburgher Synod of Ireland and the General Associate (Antiburgher) Synod of Scotland (GASS), for "advancing the interest of Christ in this land." Second, they discussed the possibility of entering into "ministerial communion" with Burghers in Ireland, but decided they needed to wait until the "question concerning our present connection with the Gen. Associate Synod in Scotland be decided." The Synod declared that the "door should be left open for a union with the Burgher Synod." Clearly, the Antiburghers wanted to unite with the Burghers in Ireland because there was no Burgher oath as in Scotland, where the division originated, and therefore no practical reason for the Seceders to be divided. But their connection with the Scotland Synod precluded such action. Of course, all of this discussion about uniting for the cause of the gospel took place on July 30, before Gregory was present.[123] It is worth noting that Thomas Campbell, the Antiburgher minister who co-founded the ESU, eventually became the leader of union talks in Ireland and the ambassador to Scotland, discussed in more detail later.

Gregory's observation of Antiburgher antagonism, however, had legitimacy. Although the Synod was open to uniting with the Burghers, it was not as congenial with the ESU. Directly after discussion of the union overtures, the Synod "proceeded to consider a question of discipline, relating to the connection of some people of our communion with the Evangelical Society of Ulster." Given the Synod's judgment the previous year that the ESU's constitution and principles were not consistent with a

[123] *Minutes of the Associate (Antiburgher) Synod of Ireland* (1800), 129-30.

Secession *Testimony*, "it now became a question of Discipline, whether or not persons of our communion are unwarily engaged in a course of separation from their brethren, while they continue as members of praying societies under the inspection of said Evangelical Society of Ulster, and not under the pastors to whom they profess to adhere?" For the Antiburghers, ESU latitudinarianism sharply contradicted Presbyterian polity and ministerial authority. In fact, they viewed the ESU's practices as contrary to their endeavor to "keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of 'peace.'" The Synod had posed questions about the manner of dealing with members associated with the ESU and appointed a committee to "prepare an address to the people under our inspection, warning them of the danger of deserting the profession of their faith."[124]

The Synod decided "without a dissenting voice" that Antiburgher members involved in ESU praying societies were in fact engaged in an act of separation. Members who had joined such societies "should be tenderly dealt with, to bring them to a sense of their duty." They encouraged praying societies under the inspection of Antiburgher pastors, but members of "our communion should be admonished to withdraw from private religious societies which are not under our inspection." Furthermore, "they should undergo censure in case of obstinacy." The Synod tasked a committee to complete a pastoral address by the following morning, July 31, when Gregory attended.[125] The Synod approved of the pastoral address and ordered the printing of 1,000 copies to be distributed gratis.[126]

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[124] *Minutes of the Associate (Antiburgher) Synod of Ireland* (1800), 131-32.

[125] The committee did not include Thomas Campbell, likely because he had failed at the 1799 meeting to convince the Synod of the ESU's propriety.

[126] Ibid., 131-33.

A number of factors probably influenced Campbell to refrain from a second plea on behalf of the legitimacy of the ESU. Campbell's thorough defense of the ESU the previous year was his first Synod meeting as an ordained pastor and the 1800 Synod was his second. Although he was thirty-seven years of age, he was a neophyte in the ministry. Furthermore, a concern not to jeopardize his long road to ordained ministry combined with the unanimous Synod opinion against the ESU no doubt influenced his lack of opposition to the charges against a society he co-founded and against the evangelical missions culture principles he still valued. In addition, one can assume that, given Campbell's later leadership in the union efforts among the Irish Seceders, the possibilities of uniting with the Burghers provided hope and balanced his disappointment concerning the ESU. Whatever the case, after a member of the Synod motioned for the reading of the 1799 minutes concerning Campbell's connection with the ESU, Campbell "gave full satisfaction as to his seeing eye to eye with the Synod in this matter, having even declared that he had not paid the last year's subscriptions to that society."[127] Although Campbell would continue fraternizing with ESU leaders and traveling itinerants from various denominations, he was willing in 1800 to refrain from membership and official association with the ESU in order to retain his Antiburgher identity and pastorate at Ahorey.

The success of ESU itinerants and opposition to the ESU continued through the first half of the first decade of the nineteenth century. In 1801, a "Preacher sent to Ireland by the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home" (SPGH) sent two letters to *The Missionary Magazine* at the request of the ESU, one dated February 5, 1801, and the

[127] Ibid., 134.

other March 21, 1801. This preacher said he labored under the direction of the ESU, demonstrating the ESU's cooperation with the SPGH, an interdenominational missions organization discussed in section four below. The SPGH was an evangelical organization run by James and Robert Haldane, Scottish Presbyterians who were Independents by 1801. The letters praised the ESU for its denominational diversity and Ireland for its attentive audiences. The letter said that "they" (unclear as to who) were building a meeting house in Moy for the "reception of evangelical preachers, which is expected to be finished in the course of the summer." The author had preached there in late January which resulted in many tears and a much affected audience. He described similar responses in his March letter. Nonetheless, the author continued beating the drum of Ireland's need: "The people are perishing for lack of knowledge, and faithful labourers are few."[128] James Haldane eventually toured Ireland in September 1801 with the company of Hamilton.

Hamilton printed a "Plan of a Proposed Itinerancy" in Scotland's *Missionary Magazine* in August 1801. The object was "the Diffusion of Divine Truth, and the Revival of Practical Experimental Religion, among people of every denomination." The plan proposed to send out pious young ministers in regular circuits to read experimental sermons, read scripture, pray, and sing songs. Hamilton was trying to meet the needs of those areas without evangelical places of worship near Armagh. He said he currently had twenty-one engaged in the practice on Sabbath evenings and the services were well

[128] "Extracts of Letters from One of the Preachers Sent (by Request from the Evangelical Society) to Ireland, by the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. --Feb. 5, 1801," *The Missionary Magazine* 6 (June 15, 1801): 260–61.

attended.[129] James Haldane pointed to Hamilton's plan when he recorded the trip he made to Ireland, during which he met Hamilton and spoke highly of what was happening in his area.[130] The Haldanes must have held Hamilton and the ESU in high regard, as they had him teach at their Irish seminary which trained itinerant missionaries.[131]

As the ESU enjoyed famous itinerants and support from England and Scotland, the Burgher Synod continued questioning the ESU's methods in 1801 and 1802, leading ESU leaders to leave the Burgher Synod and become Independents or Congregationalists. In 1801, the Synod constructed a committee for a "friendly conference" with members of the ESU (Hamilton, Henry, Lowry, and Gibson). The committee and ESU members constructed three declarations to limit the actions of Burgher ministers in the ESU. First, the Synod would not give encouragement to lay preaching. James Haldane was a lay preacher and the SPGH with leading evangelicals in Scotland argued for its legitimacy. Second, the Synod disapproved of ESU preachers going into Burgher congregations without their consent. Third, the Synod would not "Countenance promiscuous Communion, in the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper."[132] The Synod voted to adopt the declarations, but seven ministers formally protested the adoption in 1801. The protest carried over to 1802, when the protestors presented six arguments to the Synod about

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[129] George Hamilton, "Plan of a Proposed Itinerancy from Mr. H----'S Church at Armagh," *The Missionary Magazine* 6 (August 17, 1801): 346–34.

[130] J[ames] H[aldane], "Journey to Ireland," *The Missionary Magazine* 6 (December 21, 1801): 505–7.

[131] Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert and James Alexander Haldane*, 329–32.

[132] *Minutes of the Associate (Burgher) Synod of Ireland* (1801), 8; Thompson, "The Evangelical Society of Ulster," 25; Holmes, *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief and Practice, 1770-1840*, 195–96.

why the declarations were too lenient in allowing ministers to fraternize with the ESU. These arguments pointed to lack of doctrinal standards, polity, ordination, and unity concerns similar to the Antiburgher opposition. The Burgher protestors conceived it "disengenious in [ESU members] to profess Presbyterian Principles, & at the same Time exert themselves in promoting Sectarian Measures to the Distraction of our Congregations, to the Infringement of Uniformity, & the Alienation of Christian Affection."[133] ESU members were supposed to respond in 1802, which was pushed back to 1803, but a response was never recorded probably because key leaders such as George Hamilton and John Gibson left the Burghers. The ESU's interdenominational missions culture argued for unity on a primitive gospel which preceded denominational confessions and disciplines, but for many Irish Seceders, the ESU seemed divisive and latitudinarian.

In the face of this kind of opposition, a number of transatlantic evangelicals broke from Presbyterianism after being influenced by the interdenominational and evangelical characteristics of the missions culture and opted for a less restricted congregational polity. Hamilton left the Burgher Synod in 1802. The minutes tersely record, "The Pby of Armagh reported that Mr Geo Hamilton had given his Declinature, which had been accepted."[134] Hamilton believed deeply in the principles of the ESU, clearly depicted in his sermon *The Great Necessity of Itinerant Preaching* and his leadership in disseminating the transatlantic evangelical missions culture in Ulster. Hamilton found the

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[133] *Minutes of the Associate (Burgher) Synod of Ireland* (1802), (unnumbered) page 5.

[134] *Minutes of the Associate (Burgher) Synod of Ireland* (1802), (unnumbered) page 2.

congregational form of church government a much better fit for his interdenominational cooperation for a united missions effort.[135] Minister John Gibson also exchanged Burgher Presbyterianism for Independent congregational polity in order to participate in interdenominational missions culture. In 1802, the Burgher Synod dealt with the Presbytery of Armagh's charge against Gibson for "holding Communion with Persons disaffected to the Presbyterian Form of Church Government." The Synod recognized this as a symptom of the deeper problem of Gibson's association with the ESU and, therefore, gave him an ultimatum:

> That Mr Gibson be allowed untill the next Meeting of the Pby to consider the Matter of his Connection with the Evangelical Society of Ulster, that be InJoined at that Meeting explicitly to renounce the Principles, and abandon the Connection of that Society, otherwise the Pby are authorized to declare him no Member of our Communion, & that at present he promise not to promote the Measures of that Society in the mean Time?[136]

The 1802 minutes give no more information, but the 1803 minutes include this brief note: "Received a Report from the Pby of Armagh, respecting their Proceedings concerning Mr. Gibson, whom, they according to the Overture of Synod, declared no longer a member of our Communion."[137] Hamilton and Gibson were only two of the many evangelicals in Ireland, Scotland, England, and the U.S. who followed a similar path out of the Presbyterian Church for freedom to work with all Christians to spread the simple apostolic gospel.

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[135] Stewart, *The Seceders in Ireland*, 187–90; James Seaton Reid and W. D. Killen, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland: Comprising the Civil History of the Province of Ulster, from the Accession of James the First*, New ed. (Belfast: William Mullan, Donegall Place, 1867), 3:416–17; Thomas Witherow, *Historical and Literary Memorials of Presbyterianism in Ireland* (London: William Mullan and Son, 1880), 310–11; Thompson, "The Evangelical Society of Ulster," 18.

[136] *Minutes of the Associate (Burgher) Synod of Ireland* (1802), (unnumbered) page 13.

[137] *Minutes of the Associate (Burgher) Synod of Ireland* (1803), (unnumbered) page 3.

Gibson became an Independent minister in Richhill and a friend of Thomas Campbell, who shared a love of interdenominational missions even though he remained in the Presbyterian fold in the midst of the ESU conflicts. As Campbell's early biographer noted, the Independents at Richhill knew Campbell well enough to give him a facetious nickname (i.e., they called him Nicodemus, "who came to Jesus by night," because Thomas usually arrived at the Independent congregation at night after he had completed services at his own church in Ahorey). Gibson's Richhill Independent congregation became a standard stop for evangelical itinerants, which allowed Campbell to hear Rowland Hill, James Haldane, John Walker, and others involved in developing and disseminating the evangelical missions culture. Like Gibson, Campbell would eventually start an independent congregation after ostracizing himself from a Presbyterian Synod in 1809 for practicing a more open invitation to communion.[138]

As many ESU members left their Presbyterian Synods and became Independents, the ESU remained an important link in the evangelical network of missionary societies through 1805. Not only did the LMS continue a strong relationship with the ESU, the SPGH sent itinerants to work under the ESU's direction. According to the SPGH report for January of 1802 to May of 1803, the SPGH sent fifteen missionaries to Ireland around the beginning of January 1802, the majority of whom were placed under the direction of the ESU.[139] In 1803 Hamilton sent a letter to Scotland's *Missionary Magazine* declaring that the last year's operations of the ESU throughout the north had been "crowned with

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[138] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:59–60.

[139] "Report by the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, from January 1802 to May 15, 1803," *The Missionary Magazine* 8 (July 18, 1803): 313–16.

remarkable success," noting work of itinerants, Sabbath schools, and prayer meeting but trying to convince readers that "many parts of Ireland are as destitute of the gospel as any heathen country."[140] Hamilton wrote a state-of-the-society letter in September of 1803 delineating the ESU's successes—ESU ministers supplied regular preaching in eight places, built a place of worship in one of those places and planned to build in three other places the ensuing summer, and the GES and ESU had distributed Bibles in Ireland which they acquired from the SPCK.[141] The ESU had big plans for the following year as well—it would employ seven ministers, as it had the past two years. However, the ESU needed money.[142] The most thorough and apologetic report the ESU published was in *The Missionary Magazine* for February 1804. The anonymous author (probably Hamilton) argued that the ESU was completing its goals but needed more money. It had brought members of denominations together, started many Sabbath schools, and continued to support seven preachers. Despite pledges of support from the LMS of £100, an Edinburgh collection of £100, and other financial and itinerant support from Scotland, the author said funds were exhausted and urged Christians to donate.[143] In 1804, Scotland's

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[140] George Hamilton, "Extract of the REPORT of the EVANGELICAL SOCIETY of Ulster, North of Ireland, March 12, 1803," *The Missionary Magazine* 8 (April 18, 1803): 190–91.

[141] *The Advocate of Revealed Truth, And Inspector of the Religious World* 4, no. 1 (1804): 189-92.

[142] George Hamilton, "Some Account of the Evangelical Society of Ulster in Ireland, in a Letter from Mr. Hamilton of Armagh, Dated 5th September 1803," *The Missionary Magazine* 8 (October 17, 1803): 479; D. C., "Extract of a Letter from One of the Preachers under the Ulster Society, to a Friend in Edinburgh, Dated 15th June 1803," *The Missionary Magazine* 8 (October 17, 1803): 479–80.

[143] The author provided a brief financial statement of the money received and expended from 1799 to 1803. The ESU raised more than £100 annually. During its most active period (Oct 1801 to March 1803), the Society received £358 and expended £416. In February of 1804, the Society had a balance of £28. See "Report of the Evangelical Society of Ulster in Ireland," *The Missionary Magazine* 9 (February 20, 1804): 81–86.

Missionary Magazine urged readers to support the ESU's Bible distribution in Ireland.[144] Later, Hamilton provided a statement dated January 1, 1805 to *The Missionary Magazine* reporting the substantial amount Scottish churches had given to the ESU the previous year. It was a substantial amount: Edinburgh Tabernacle gave over £100, Mr. Aikman's Chapel gave £53, Glasgow Tabernacle £44, Mr. Wardlaw's Chapel £30, and Tabernacles in Dundee, Perth, and Dunkel provided over £33.[145] At that point, Hamilton was Secretary and John Gibson was Chairman.[146] Hamilton was in Scotland in 1804 and in London at the May LMS meeting in 1805 where he served communion.[147]

Hamilton defended the ESU against a number of charges in 1804, but against one in particular: "We neither form churches, as a Society, nor settle ministers over them, as we have been slanderously reported." The Society had no "ecclesiastical dominion" over churches that formed in association with their preachers. He made clear that the ESU would not be associated with any new party. Hamilton had apparently become more convinced that undenominational Christianity was the true teaching of Christ. He asked rhetorically about the implication of asking people to start a new denomination: "would it not be to teach them practically to disobey the command of Christ, who calls his disciples

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[144] "Ulster Evangelical Society," *The Missionary Magazine* 9 (July 16, 1804): 333–35.

[145] These churches were affiliated with the Haldanes, the SPGH, and the missionary movement in Scotland. James Haldane ministered at the Edinburgh tabernacle and Greville Ewing at the Glasgow Tabernacle, both of which Robert Haldane owned. Aikman closely associated with the Haldanes and the SPGH from James Haldane's first itinerant preaching tour in 1797. See section four below for more on these connections.

[146] *The Missionary Magazine* 10 (1805): 47.

[147] *The Missionary Magazine* (1805): 47; "Missionary Society: The Eleventh General Meeting, Held in London, May 8, 9, and 10, 1805," *The Evangelical Magazine* 13 (June 1805): 280.

to come out from corrupt churches and ungodly ministers, and to be separated to him, in a state of pure scriptural communion?" The ESU would cooperate with denominations, but it would not start a new one. Hamilton's newfound independent church polity and primitivism seem to have won his heart by 1804.[148]

Although it appears neither the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster nor the Anglican Church of Ireland launched opposition to the ESU that was equivalent to that of the Seceders, individuals from both denominations were involved with the evangelical missions culture and some split from the denominations in favor of a congregational polity that allowed for more interdenominational cooperation and "promiscuous communion."[149] In this category, two of the most influential figures on evangelicalism in general and on the Campbells in particular were Alexander Carson and John Walker. Carson received his BA and MA from Glasgow University and was ordained in the Synod of Ulster in 1798. A former schoolmate and friend of Greville Ewing, who led the evangelical missions culture in Scotland with the Haldanes in the 1790s, Carson embraced the evangelical missions culture in Ireland. He met James Haldane when the lay preacher itinerated in Ireland in 1801, and Carson eventually taught for a Haldane seminary in Ireland.[150] Carson followed the route of the Haldanes and Ewing from Presbyterian to Independent polity, a route influenced by the interdenominational

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[148] "Report of the Evangelical Society of Ulster in Ireland," 81–86.

[149] The Synod of Ulster did pass restrictions on itinerant preachers in 1789, and in 1804 the Synod made membership a prerequisite to officiating in their congregations, though this did not necessarily preclude "occasional hearing" of ordained Protestant ministers. Thompson, "The Evangelical Society of Ulster," 16–17; *Records of the General Synod of Ulster: From 1691 to 1820* (Belfast: General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1898), 3:112, 279.

[150] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:170.

primitivism prevalent in evangelical missions culture. Carson's published defense for leaving, *Reasons for Separating from the General Synod of Ulster* (1805), likely influenced Thomas Campbell.[151] Yet Carson's primitivism, like that of the Haldanes and later the Campbells, eventually led him to a belief that the NT supported only believers' baptism, which in turn led all of them to affiliation with Baptists for at least a period of time. This shift illustrates only one point about church practice on which primitivists debated and disagreed. Carson was a lifelong friend of the Haldane brothers and an advocate of the Baptist Missionary Society, which invited him to give one of the four jubilee sermons at the 1842 BMS meeting at Surry Chapel, London.[152] The Campbells heard Carson in Ireland and knew of his theological positions then and later, when Alexander Campbell represented him kindly as late as the 1820s.[153]

John Walker, another central figure in Irish missions, retained his Anglican identity while leading evangelical missions in Dublin until 1804. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, the center of early Anglican evangelicalism in Ireland, Walker was one of the most influential evangelicals during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

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[151] Thompson, "The Irish Background to Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address*," 27.

[152] Mark Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys*, A History of Evangelicalism 1 (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 205–7; Martin, *Evangelicals United*, 210; Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert and James Alexander Haldane*, 301–4; Thompson, "The Evangelical Society of Ulster," 19; Joshua Thompson, "Carson, Alexander (1776–1844)," *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed June 10, 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4775; Thompson, "The Irish Background to Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address*," 27; George C. Moore, *The Life of Alexander Carson* (New York: Edward H. Fletcher, 1851), 97, 110, 151; Lynn A. McMillon, "The Quest for the Apostolic Church: A Study of Scottish Origins of American Restorationism" (PhD diss., Baylor University, 1972), 155–56; Joshua Thompson, "Carson, Alexander," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 1:202–3.

[153] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:60, 82, 183, 187; Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell: Embracing A View of the Origin, Progress and Principles of the Religious Reformation Which He Advocated*, vol. 2 (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1890), 132.

centuries. He served as chaplain of Bethesda Chapel in Dublin from 1793 until 1804. Bethesda was one of the chapels that served as a kind of voluntary system within the Anglican establishment through which evangelicalism spread. Walker took a leading role in the GES in Dublin, supported the ESU in Ulster, and served as an LMS director in Ireland. Like many others, the context of the 1790s and early 1800s led Walker to study the principles of Christian fellowship in the primitive church. This led him to separate from the Church of Ireland in 1804 because he concluded it was an erroneous departure from apostolic Christianity. Hempton and Hill note, "The tendency of 'bible' Christians to disregard the finer distinctions of their church in the wider interests of a gospel mission undermined both the hierarchical structure and the wider authority of the established church."[154] Jettisoning tradition and promoting cooperation for evangelism led some into a cooperative primitivism, but for others such as Walker, it led to a restorationism that sought a NT pattern for church order. When "precepts" about that pattern were viewed as positive laws from God, primitivism morphed from an ecumenical to a sectarian character. Walker and a small band of followers rejected church authority and discipline, calling themselves the Church of God.[155]

Walker wielded much influence on evangelicalism and the Campbells. Although evangelicals had remained friendly with the establishment up to that point, "Walker's

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[154] Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, 15, 65; quoted from 65.

[155] E. I. Carlyle and David Huddleston, "Walker, John (1769–1833)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed June 10, 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28502; Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, 15, 65; John Walker and Alexander Knox, *An Expostulatory Address to the Members of the Methodist Society in Ireland: Together with a Series of Letters to Alexander Knox, Esq. M.R.I.A.*, 4th ed. (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1806).

secession was not only a body-blow to that tradition, but made interdenominational cooperation among evangelicals far more difficult to defend" because he used "principled or doctrinaire arguments" rather than self-restraint and pragmatism of the earlier evangelicals.[156] Walker made "quite a strong impression on the mind of young Alexander [Campbell]," according to Campbell's biographer Robert Richardson.[157] The Campbells heard Walker preach at Gibson's Independent congregation in Richhill and enjoyed religious conversation with him at Gibson's house. Although evidence does not reveal why he was there, Thomas Campbell preached in Dublin in 1802 (on three different texts) and 1803, perhaps encountering Walker on those trips.[158] Alexander Campbell read three of Walker's works in 1811 and 1812, including his *Expostulatory Address to Members of the Methodist Society in Ireland* (1804).[159] In fact, Alexander recorded excerpts of this work in his 1809 journal. Walker instructed his hearers to take the "sacred scripture *alone* for the standard of . . . faith," though it would draw opposition "more or less from all sects and parties." Further, "the more clearly we maintain and exhibit the simplicity of the real Gospel of Christ, the more we shall be disliked and dispised by the world." "On Party names," Campbell recorded Walker as teaching, "I

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[156] Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, 65.

[157] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:60–61, 82.

[158] Campbell recorded the Scripture text of his sermons preached from 1800 to 1806, including the year and the place. Those are available at T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV, Archives and Special Collections, Campbell Papers, Part 14—Manuscripts, *Manuscript L*, pages 369-374. Also see Carisse Mickey Berryhill, "A Descriptive Guide to Eight Early Alexander Campbell Manuscripts," Research Paper (Memphis, 2000), 6–7, accessed June 29, 2015, http://web.archive.org/web/20120114232220/http://www.mun.ca/rels/restmov/texts/acampbell/acm/ACM00A.HTM.

[159] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:61, 82, 172, 177, 444–47; Walker and Knox, *An Expostulatory Address*.

observe that the scriptures positively testify against the practice of Christians calling them selves by their earthly leaders."[160] Ironically, Walker's exclusivist restorationism got its start in the irenic primitivism of the evangelical missions culture, which used a pragmatic primitivism for cooperation rather than exclusion. Interestingly, Walker's transition is not entirely unlike Alexander Campbells' transition in the 1810s and 1820s, discussed in the next chapter.

Although the ESU was clearly active through 1805, I have found no reference to the ESU after 1805 because it seems the Hibernian Society (1806) and other Hibernian auxiliaries practically replaced it. The ESU disappeared from London's *Evangelical Magazine* and Scotland's *Missionary Magazine*, both of which had promoted it, whereas the Hibernian Society became ubiquitous in these interdenominational magazines' pages.[161] As many of the same leading evangelicals and publications which had supported the ESU and GES began supporting the larger and well-supported Hibernian Society,[162] the Hibernian Society was able to bring efforts of local and regional societies

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[160] Alexander Campbell, *Manuscript B: Juvenile Essays on Various Subjects*, 158-59. Lester McAllister transcribed and published Manuscript B as Alexander Campbell and Lester G. McAllister, *Alexander Campbell at the University of Glasgow 1808-1809* (Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1971), 89–92; Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:444–47; Walker and Knox, *An Expostulatory Address*, ix–xii and 44. McAllister in the introduction to this journal assumed Campbell took notes when he heard Walker address the Methodists (p. 5), but Richardson correctly notes that Campbell was taking notes from Walker's book (1:444). The quotes in this paragraph come from Walker, ix-xii and 44.

[161] For example, see *The Evangelical Magazine* 13 (1805): 571-73; *The Evangelical Magazine* 14 (1806): 87-88, 231, 567-69, 574; *The Evangelical Magazine* 16 (1808): 93, 229-30, 269-70, 402-3, 448-49, 535-36; *The Evangelical Magazine* 17 (1809): 168, 260-62; *The Evangelical Magazine* 18 (1810): 39-40, 251-252, 254, 495; *The Missionary Magazine* 11 (1806): 514-517; *The Missionary Magazine* 12 (1807): 84, 206-9, 474; *The Missionary Magazine* 13 (1808): 81, 172, 295, 423-24, 474-75; *The Missionary Magazine* 14 (1809): 117-18; *The Missionary Magazine* 15 (1810): 233-34.

[162] Founded in 1806, the Hibernian Society sought information from knowledgeable evangelicals in Ireland, utilizing the advice of Hamilton and others. See *The Missionary Magazine* 12 (1807): 208.

into a central hub using the same individuals and networks in Ireland.[163] The ESU and GES had typically acted as a unified movement of people who were separated by location but shared resources such as LMS itinerants. The smaller societies sent funds to one another, to larger societies, and vice versa. They shared responsibility of Sunday schools, religious tract and Bible distribution, itinerancy, etc. When the interdenominational Hibernian Society emerged with powerful and wealthy donors in London and elsewhere who had the same goals and evangelical faith,[164] it was natural for the smaller societies to work closely with the Hibernian Society and share resources, a cooperative goal articulated in their constitutions. As Hempton and Hill note, 1800-1850 was a period during which major evangelical societies in London established Hibernian auxiliaries, permitting the use of London assets to "convert the Irish and civilize their country."[165] The Hibernian Society in 1806 was an important beginning to that process.

The Hibernian Society perpetuated the transatlantic evangelical missions culture. The Society sent a deputation to Ireland, which included LMS leader David Bogue, to survey the situation and need in Ireland. The deputation report—whose title page bore the familiar "Come over into Macedonia, and help us"—appealed to pity for support: "In the

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[163] For an example of funding, in 1808 the Hibernian Society received funds of nearly £1000. See *The Missionary Magazine* 14 (1809): 117-18.

[164] The Plan of the Hibernian Society stated its goals as the diffusion of religious knowledge in Ireland by means of the "Ministry of the Gospel, by the dispersion of the Holy Scriptures and Religious Tracts, by the formation and support of schools, and by every other lawful and prudent measure calculated to promote pure religion, morality, and loyalty." Committee members at the time of institution included some familiar names involved in the LMS, such as George Burder and Rowland Hill. Hibernian Society, *Report of a Deputation from the Hibernian Society, Respecting the Religious State of Ireland: To Which Is Annexed a Plan of the Society, Together with a List of Its Officers* (London: Printed for the Benefit of the Society by T. Rutt, 1807), 62, 64.

[165] Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, 47.

ear of christian pity, Ireland, if her spiritual wretchedness may be deemed her voice, cries, 'Give, give.'"[166] Interdenominational cooperation among "true" Christians (i.e., those who had "vital religion") for spreading an evangelical gospel was at the center of the Hibernian Society's goals.

> The Deputation, composed as they were of persons belonging to four distinct denominations, carried with them, from scene to scene, a pledge of forbearance and candour; and as for the Society, they represent, its object is, to associate real christians of different sects, for the purpose of diffusing that vital religion, which may be traced among them all, apart from which, no sect is worth upholding.[167]

The deputation members thought the Presbyterians would burst their current boundaries if they would get more evangelical preaching and embrace the "importance of uniting with other denominations in plans for propagating the gospel." The report noted the Seceder efforts to unite Burgher and Antiburgher factions in Ireland, which Thomas Campbell led, and that among Seceders "evangelical truth is tenaciously asserted."[168] The report also noted that Independents supported by Robert Haldane had "richly evangelical" preaching and evangelism, but their focus on "apostolic usage" and "command" tended to divide or separate rather than unify Christians. The deputation encouraged the adherents of these and other denominations to be tolerant of diversity and embrace the essential unity of Christians: "Why should diversity so often generate discord? At least, why should those who are essentially one, grieve each other, and gratify the common foe; by mutual surmises and provocations?"[169]

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[166] Hibernian Society, *Report of a Deputation from the Hibernian Society*, 59.

[167] Ibid., 17.

[168] Ibid., 31–32.

[169] Ibid., 35.

As the Hibernian Society perpetuated evangelical missions culture in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Thomas Campbell became the leading Antiburgher advocate for unity among Irish Seceders. Campbell had opted to remain in fellowship with Antiburgher Seceders instead of formally leading the ESU he co-founded, though he continued participating in the missions culture especially at Gibson's church and house in Richhill. A relatively new minister, Campbell invested himself in the work of uniting the Seceders. Seceders had split into Burgher and Antiburgher factions over the Scottish Burgher oath, which did not exist in Ireland, rendering the split superfluous in Ireland.[170] Conversations in Synods from 1800 led to a movement to (1) dissolve the Irish connection with the General Associate Synod of Scotland (GASS) and (2) unite the Irish Seceders.[171] The Burgher and Antiburgher Synods each appointed three men to committees which discussed union in October 1804 and March 1805. Campbell was one of the three Antiburgher representatives and addressed the Antiburgher Synod with the propositions the October 1804 committee had constructed. He described the Seceder division in Ireland as an "evil of no small magnitude" because it was "inconsistent with the genius and spirit of the Christian religion, which has union, unity, and communion in faith, hope, and love, for its grand object upon earth." The Seceder division produced a "party spirit" and was embarrassing because the "subject-matter of our difference is not to be found either in the Old or New Testament." One fourth of Campbell's address to the

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[170] Stewart, *The Seceders in Ireland*, 42–53, 107–9, 193, 199–203; Barkley, *A Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, 31–32; Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:51–58; Thompson, "The Irish Background to Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address*," 25; Brown, "Religion and Society to c.1900."

[171] *Minutes of the Associate (Antiburgher) Synod of Ireland* (1800), 129-130; Stewart, *The Seceders in Ireland*, 107, 193–94; Thompson, "The Evangelical Society of Ulster," 25.

Synod was a harangue against division, some of which he reiterated later in his *Declaration and Address* (1809), discussed in the next chapter. The address also included four propositions the committee constructed for both Seceders in Ireland and the GASS.[172]

Campbell was chosen to present the Antiburgher Seceders' case to the GASS in Glasgow in 1806, though he was as unable to convince the Scottish Synod of the propriety of Irish union as he was to convince the Irish Antiburghers of the propriety of the ESU's "latitudinarian" principles. At the Synod in Scotland, Campbell presented a compelling case, but he was outvoted.[173] The GASS was not ready to grant the Irish independence, and the Irish Seceders could not attain unity until they were independent from Scotland. Campbell was no doubt frustrated with his denomination. Finally, in 1818, 97 Burgher and Antiburgher congregations united into one Irish Seceder Synod. Less than twenty years had passed since the Seceders vehemently opposed the ESU, but the unified Secession Synod reflected its commitment to the evangelical missions culture by supporting the LMS and the Hibernian societies.[174] Campbell was not in Ireland to celebrate the union or Antiburgher support evangelical missions, for he had joined the Scots-Irish immigration to America on April 18, 1807, looking to improve his health and

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[172] Alexander Campbell, "Address of Thomas Campbell to the Synod of Ireland, Met at Belfast, County Down, A. D. 1804," in *Memoirs of Elder Thomas Campbell, Together with A Brief Memoir of Mrs. Jane Campbell* (Cincinnati: H. S. Bosworth, 1861), 210–14.

[173] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:58, see asterisk footnote.

[174] Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890*, 50, 70.

opportunity. His experiences in Ireland deeply impacted his course of action in the U.S., a story discussed in the next chapter.[175]

IV. Evangelical Missions Culture in Scotland: Greville Ewing and the Haldanes

The moderate party[176] in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland dominated the ecclesiastical context in Scotland until the 1830s, when the evangelicalism that had been growing throughout the eighteenth century finally constituted a majority in the General Assembly. After a chaotic sixteenth and seventeenth century, the Church of Scotland became Presbyterian in 1690 and has remained so since. Evangelicalism and the missions culture had some existence in Scotland from their inceptions, as discussed in chapter three. Whitefield and Wesley had itinerated in Scotland, and the Cambuslang Revival during the Great Awakening acquired international fame. John Erskine led evangelicals and the missionary movement in Scotland in the eighteenth century. Dissenting Baptists and Congregationalists began growing in the late eighteenth century, and Presbyterian

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[175] Stewart, *The Seceders in Ireland*, 42–53, 107–9, 193, 199–203; Barkley, *A Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, 31–32; Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:51–54; Thompson, "The Irish Background to Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address*," 25; Brown, "Religion and Society to c.1900."

[176] The moderate party in the Church of Scotland resembled the latitudinarians in the Church of England. The moderates dominated in the General Assembly by mid-eighteenth century. They supported political accommodation (e.g., supporting lay patronage) and intellectual respectability, yet they retained the doctrines in the *Westminster Confession*. Moderate control of education fostered the Scottish Enlightenment and a politically respectable version of Christianity which could appeal to the new cosmopolitan upper classes emerging from economic opportunities of the Industrial Revolution. Moderates typically favored tolerance, reasonableness, and other Enlightenment ideals, though an uneasy tension existed between Enlightenment openness and Westminster orthodoxy. Moderates were suspicious of dissent and "enthusiasm," so they were at odds with evangelicals in and out of the Church of Scotland. Evangelicals often viewed moderates as prioritizing reason over experience and piety, and dissenting evangelicals among the Seceders viewed lay patronage as abandoning the Presbyterian principle of honoring the will of local congregations. Camille K. Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists? The Careers of Robert and James Haldane in Cultural and Political Context" (PhD diss., Texas Christian University, 1999), chap. 1.

dissenting groups (Seceders and the Relief Church), who were often evangelical, also grew in the nineteenth century, making up one-third of the Christians in main cities by 1835. Numerous evangelicals in Scotland led by Greville Ewing and the Haldane brothers embraced the missions culture of the 1790s and early 1800s, joining the interdenominational networks to convert the heathen abroad and at home. Nonetheless, the missionary movement created serious conflict in the 1790s, illustrated by the General Assembly's rejection (by a small majority) of the missions culture in 1796 and the subsequent conflicts about missions within the establishment.[177]

The intellectual context in Scotland during the 1790s made the evangelical missions culture both appealing and controversial. Evangelicals and moderates both imbibed aspects of the Scottish Enlightenment which influenced the missions culture, though many moderates disliked evangelical approaches to missions, causing a decades-long debate in the General Assembly.[178] In the broader view, historian Brian Stanley argues that "the Enlightenment that did most to mold English-speaking evangelicalism in general and the missionary movement in particular was that in Scotland."[179] Likewise,

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[177] David Bebbington, "Evangelicalism," ed. Nigel M. de S. Cameron, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 306–7; John H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 261–333. Evangelicals did eventually come to dominate in the General Assembly in the 1830s under leadership of missionary advocates such as Thomas Chalmers. In the 1820s and 1830s throughout the transatlantic, denominations took over the missionary movement, changing its character from the interdenominational approach it had from its inception.

[178] Ian Douglas Maxwell, "Civilization or Christianity? The Scottish Debate on Mission Methods, 1750-1835," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 123–40; Hugh Miller, "The Debate on Missions," in *The Headship of Christ, and the Rights of the Christian People: A Collection of Essays, Historical and Descriptive Sketches, and Personal Portaitures* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1870), 144–99.

[179] Brian Stanley, "Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 17.

historian Camille Dean's analysis of the Haldane brothers in Scotland emphasizes the influence of the Enlightenment, radical social change, and revolutionary political ideas on the missionary movement.[180] Yet the Scottish Enlightenment had an ambivalent role on the missions culture because the Enlightenment ideals—like those of ecumenical primitivism—could develop in very different directions. Nonetheless, the intellectual milieu of Enlightenment was an important aspect of the culture of missions and it became a dominating influence in the Campbell Movement.[181]

In the wake of the LMS's founding in 1795, Scottish evangelicals continued the historically strong Scottish involvement in the evangelical missions culture—from 1795 to 1800, they produced about a dozen interdenominational voluntary missionary societies and *The Missionary Magazine* (1796). All of these missionary societies worked closely with the LMS, and twenty-eight Scots were LMS directors from 1796 to 1800, representing the Church of Scotland (14), Associate (Burgher) Synod (7), General Associate (Antiburgher) Synod (1), Independents (3), and the Relief Church (1). Most Presbyterian Synods and Assemblies eventually frowned upon or rejected the voluntary societies. The Antiburghers in Scotland judged the constitutions of the interdenominational societies to be "latitudinarian," just as their Irish colleagues

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[180] Dean explains each of these three influences. "The Enlightenment furnished evangelicals a wider worldview, a respect for other cultures and languages, and a less introspective, meliorist Calvinism that stressed gospel grace more than predestined reprobation. The widespread enunciation of political freedom and human rights translated to a conviction that all people have a right to hear the gospel." Camille Dean, "Robert and James Alexander Haldane in Scotland: Evangelicals or Restorationists?," *Restoration Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (2000): 101–2.

[181] David Bebbington, "Enlightenment," ed. Nigel M. de S. Cameron, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 294–95; Carisse Mickey Berryhill, "Common Sense Philosophy," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 230–31.

resolved.[182] Historian Camille Dean concludes that the Seceders were "out of step with the intellectual spirit of their times," but evangelicals in the Church of Scotland gained ground for their ability to adapt to new socio-intellectual contexts and appeal to popular evangelical piety.[183] Indeed, evangelicals in the Church of Scotland led the dissemination of the interdenominational missions culture in Scotland, though some left the establishment and became Independents in the face of opposition. In other words, the missions culture immediately took root among many Scottish evangelicals, but some denominations or groups within denominations (e.g., the moderates in the Church of Scotland and the Scottish Antiburghers) opposed missions and/or voluntary missionary societies. In Scotland as in other places throughout the transatlantic, the interdenominational societies conducted the overwhelming amount of missionary work until the denominations took over missions in the 1820s and 1830s.[184]

Scottish leaders of the evangelical missions culture who influenced the Campbells included Greville Ewing and Robert and James Haldane. Historians have noted the influence of both Ewing and the Haldanes on Campbell's primitivism, but viewing these

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[182] John Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers, Enthusiast for Mission: The Christian Good of Scotland and the Rise of the Missionary Movement*, Rutherford Studies in Historical Theology (Edinburgh: Published for Rutherford House by PaternosterPress, 1999), 170.

[183] Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 56, 59. On the contexts Dean has in mind, other than the Scottish Enlightenment: "By the end of the century, the course of industrialization and the democratizing influences of the American and French Revolutions reinforced a trend toward greater popular participation in both religion and politics in Scotland" (56). Dean capitalizes "Evangelical" when referring to evangelicals in the Church of Scotland.

[184] Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers*, chap. 9 and Appendices 6–7; James A. De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions, 1640-1810*, 2006 Reprint. (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1970), chap. 5; William Brown, *History of the Propagation of Christianity Among the Heathen Since the Reformation*, 3rd ed. (London: T. Baker, 1854), 415–503; Esther Breitenbach, "The Impact of the Victorian Empire," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, ed. T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), accessed April 4, 2014, oxfordhandbooks.com.

connections within the broader evangelical missions culture which defined the worldview of Ewing and the Haldanes provides fresh insight into the Campbells' early encounters of the broader missions culture which brought unity, missions, millennialism, and primitivism into a coherent view of the world and Christian activism in it. Ideas about missions, itinerancy, interdenominational cooperation, the church's essential unity in diversity, pity for the heathen, and millennialism amalgamated in these Scottish evangelical missions advocates just as it did throughout the transatlantic. The Scottish evangelicals who influenced the Campbells were involved in all the central evangelical networks and provided important missions culture impressions especially on Alexander Campbell's young mind when he lived in Glasgow under the mentorship of Ewing for nearly a year.

Greville Ewing (1767–1841) was perhaps the most influential leader of the interdenominational missions culture in Scotland in the 1790s. Ewing received a Scottish Enlightenment education at Edinburgh University and then trained for ministry. He was ordained in 1793 in the Church of Scotland as associate minister of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel in Edinburgh, where his homiletical skill quickly made him a popular preacher. Ewing read *The Evangelical Magazine* and even contributed an article under the pseudonym Onesimus which compared Arminianism and Calvinism in 1794, arguing that the two groups could disagree on the important doctrines at stake and yet cooperate for important work.[185] The editors of *The Evangelical Magazine* requested his address, and

[185] ONESIMUS, "A Comparative View of Calvinism and Arminianism," *The Evangelical Magazine* 2 (November 1794): 453–61; J. J. Matheson, *A Memoir of Greville Ewing, Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow* (London: John Snow, Paternoster Row, 1843), 623–29.

he responded with a letter offering his services.[186] This marked the beginning of a long relationship, as Ewing became a trustee listed on *The Evangelical Magazine* title page from 1804 until 1840 (the year before his death). In Scotland, Ewing held membership in the SSPCK, before which he preached a missionary sermon in 1796.[187] Also in 1796, he supported the establishment of the Edinburgh (later Scottish) Missionary Society and became its first secretary. With a Baptist named Charles Stuart, Ewing co-founded *The Missionary Magazine* in 1796, Scotland's first interdenominational missions periodical, and he served as editor for its first three years.[188] This new minister found his pastoral home at the center of the evangelical missions culture.

Formed in March of 1796, just half a year after the LMS, the Edinburgh Missionary Society (EMS) drew support from leading evangelicals in Scotland for interdenominational missions. It was fitting that seventy-five year old John Erskine (1721-1803) presided at the first meeting. Erskine had led the Scottish evangelical missions culture from the 1740s. While the Seceders condemned the Cambuslang Revival in the early 1740s, Erskine defended it.[189] He served as a director of the SSPCK, published and distributed the works of Jonathan Edwards, sent Edwards' *An Humble*

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[186] Greville Ewing to the Editors of the *Evangelical Magazine*, December 8, 1794, in J. Matheson, "Memoir of the Late Rev. Greville Ewing, of Glasgow," *The Evangelical Magazine, and Missionary Chronicle* 19 (October 1841): 54–55.

[187] Ibid., 123–24.

[188] For biography, see W. G. Blaikie and David Huddleston, "Ewing, Greville (1767–1841)," *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed May 21, 2014, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9018; Matheson, "Memoir of Greville Ewing"; Kenneth J. Stewart, "Ewing, Greville," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004); Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 4.

[189] Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 59.

Attempt to his English Baptist correspondents in Northamptonshire (Andrew Fuller and John Ryland, Jr.), starting a series of events which influenced the start of Baptist missions. Erskine and the SSPCK also nurtured the central leaders of the LMS.[190] Erskine represented evangelical missions at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1796, responding to the moderate party's opposition to missions proposals.[191] A few months before that General Assembly, Erskine presided at the first EMS meeting, but the younger Ewing became the EMS's first secretary. The EMS replicated the interdenominational nature and goals of the LMS and planned to cooperate with the SPG, SPCK, SSPCK, LMS, and other Scottish missionary societies. By February 1797, the EMS and LMS cooperated in a mission to West Africa, the EMS had given funds to the Baptist society for their translation of the Bible into Bengali, and the EMS supported the United Brethren Society in London.[192] The EMS sought interdenominational cooperation for missionary endeavors.

Ewing led the interdenominational missions culture not only through the missionary society in Edinburgh but also via Scotland's first interdenominational missions periodical, *The Missionary Magazine*, which he founded with Scotch Baptist Charles Stuart. The magazine's content reveals their ardent support for interdenominational cooperation for missions based upon primitive Christianity and

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[190] De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 166–98; Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 207–10; John R. McIntosh, "Erskine, John," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 1:363.

[191] Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers*, 169; Miller, "The Debate on Missions," 168; Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 90–91.

[192] Greville Ewing, *A Defence of Missions from Christian Societies to the Heathen World: A Sermon, Preached before the Edinburgh Missionary Society, on Thursday, Feb. 2, 1797* (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Ritchie, 1797), 81–84.

motivated by eschatology. The common evangelical missions eschatology donned the title page of *The Missionary Magazine*: "And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come. Mat. xxiv.14." The magazine revealed its ideology in a proposal to missionary societies which included translating the Bible, purchasing slaves (they sought to free slaves because slavery was wrong and an obstruction to the expansion of Christianity in Africa), converting the Jews ("Their conversion will perhaps precede the *fullness of the Gentiles*"), and "A fund for *premiums* to excite the discussion of Missionary subjects—the meaning of prophecies which relate to the progress of the Gospel—the signs of the times—obstructions to Christianity, &c. how to remove them, &c."[193] Like evangelicals throughout the transatlantic, eschatology motivated Scotland's missions culture and leaders sought to remove obstacles to heathen reception of the gospel.

Eschatology certainly motivated Scottish missions, but interdenominational cooperation, primitivism, and networking with the transatlantic missions culture were even more ubiquitous in *The Missionary Magazine*. The preface of the first volume announced the magazine belonged to private individuals who fiercely opposed the "industrious spirit of party" while hoping to procure "favour from the Friends of SIMPLE REVEALED TRUTH."[194] This cooperation among denominations for missions filled the magazine's pages, which reported on Baptist, Methodist, Moravian, Congregational, and Presbyterian missions efforts with impartiality, and printed letters and reports from missions leaders in many of these groups. The first issue in July 1796 reported the

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[193] "Proposals to Missionary Societies," *The Missionary Magazine* 1 (September 1796): 141

[194] "Preface," *The Missionary Magazine* 1 (July 1796): i-ii.

proceedings of the LMS's annual meeting with adulation, noting the numerous societies in the transatlantic which were joining the LMS or working for the same goals independently. The LMS and the Edinburgh and Glasgow missionary societies created a "spiritual union" more "perfect" than the political union, as the LMS allowed the Scottish societies to use its ship to take missionaries anywhere in the world. LMS news got as much space as anything in *The Missionary Magazine*, though news of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Societies and the SSPCK was commonplace. The magazine experienced quick success, selling 5,000-6,000 copies of each month's issue the first year.[195]

Sermons preached at the missionary society gatherings were among the most important rituals for bringing Christians of different denominations together to construct an interdenominational evangelical identity with the key motive of missions, and Ewing contributed his homiletical skills to these meaning-making events.[196] Ewing's *Defence of Missions from Christian Societies to the Heathen World*, preached before the EMS in 1797, provided a clear statement of how he shaped and was shaped by the missions culture. Taking Romans 10:11ff as his text, Ewing found similarities between the new interdenominational missions culture and Paul's audacious message that "there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek." Just as Paul's Jewish contemporaries saw it as "presumptuous in a young man . . . to depart from the beaten track of his brethren and

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[195] "Proceedings of Missionary Societies," *The Missionary Magazine* 1 (July 1796): 45-47; Matheson, "Memoir of Greville Ewing," footnote on 126.

[196] Some of these sermons were printed and sold in order to disseminate the culture to Christians and to raise funds for missions. See "Proceedings of Missionary Societies," *The Missionary Magazine* 1 (August 1796): 94.

fathers," so did Christians entrenched in partyism view the interdenominational efforts for missions. However, both Paul and the new missionary advocates discerned God's will correctly.[197]

Ewing's sermon sought to defend missions via interdenominational voluntary societies with five propositions. First, in a creative use of his passage, Ewing likened the fact that the gospel had no national distinctions with the idea that evangelicals in different denominations had no major distinctions that should keep them from cooperating for missions to the heathen. Just as nationalist patriotism could lead Christians wrongly to view people of other nations as natural enemies (i.e., Christians are citizens of the world and love all people regardless of nationality), so contentious denominations in the church wrongly led Christians to see one another as enemies rather than colleagues with whom to cooperate for the conversion of the heathen. Rather than acting like a Jew-Gentile distinction existed in the church, Christians who "obviously agreed respecting the great doctrines of grace" should work together for missions. Ewing quoted a passage from Horne's *Letters on Missions* which rebuked sectarian zeal and proposed that Christians "baptize our secular interests and evil tempers into the name of the disinterested and lowly Jesus." Ewing perceived the unitive effects of the missions culture's rituals, especially the powerful society meetings: "Being brought into contact with one another, and warmed by the same sentiment, [Christians of different denominations] irresistibly unite. While the men of the world are embroiled in the most furious contests, an harmony is arising among the people of Christ." Ewing viewed this "uncommon" harmony as a

[197] Ewing, *A Defence of Missions from Christian Societies*, 1–8.

"sign of the times." He believed prophecy unfolded before his eyes, as diverse Christians united in societies like the EMS to take the gospel to the whole world.[198]

Second, in a more straightforward application of his text, Ewing averred that sending missionaries to translate the Scriptures and preach the primitive gospel was the only way people all over the world could hear and have a chance to believe. He offered a rebuttal to those who argued that Christians should wait for more unanimity among the church before sending missionaries to heathen lands on grounds that the current diversity of belief and practice would confuse heathens and perhaps discredit the gospel. Ewing recognized the seriousness of diversity among Christian parties, and he knew that historical and geographical locations governed Christian differences and debates. But in this diversity he found justification for both primitivism and itinerancy. Because "all churches have professed to imitate the primitive model," yet they differ and debate peculiarities relative to their local manifestations, missionaries must "learn to keep close to the scriptures." Furthermore, because churches claimed to "imitate the primitive model," he recommended that all should support "a very conspicuous part of [the primitive model]"—itinerant preachers. Ewing chided the church for neglect of missions and itinerancy which created the necessity of voluntary societies:

> The zeal of individuals has often surpassed the zeal of the churches of Christ in their collective capacity; and let those churches beware of preferring cumbersome and lifeless forms of procedure to duties of real importance, which have been much neglected. Missionary societies were called for by the commanding voice of necessity. Let them be countenanced by the lovers of Jesus and of souls, until the church be restored to primitive harmony and vigour.[199]

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[198] Ibid., 9–18.

[199] Ibid., 18–37, block quote from 36.

Ironically, though it happened repeatedly to the advocates of interdenominational cooperation, Ewing's advocacy for liberality and itinerancy frustrated the established churches and led eventually to his resignation from the Church of Scotland.

Third, Ewing responded to critics who assailed the missionary societies for their lack of success in missions.[200] Fourth, he argued, "Missionaries shall certainly succeed so far, as to penetrate into every country upon earth." "The world itself is kept in existence, that missionaries may finish their appointed course," Ewing wrote, citing Matthew 24:14, the same passage quoted on the front page of *The Missionary Magazine*. He continued, "If, therefore, the very earth waits, and shall not pass away, until the work of the preachers of the gospel shall be completed, who, upon the face of the earth, shall ever be able to stop them in their progress?"[201] Fifth, Ewing launched many passages from Scripture at opponents to argue, "Heathens shall hear, and believe, and be saved, while many of those who have long enjoyed the means of grace are spoken to in vain." He did appeal to pity for the heathen, but he also chastised Christians for prejudicing heathens against Christianity through wicked invasions and slavery. Quoting Rev. Dr. Thomas Hardy's 1793 sermon before the SSPCK, Ewing argued, "Until the Christians abandon this monstrous system of outrage [i.e., slavery], Africa will never become Christian."[202] The rest of Ewing's sermon encouraged the attendees to give with the "liberality of

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[200] Ibid., 37–48; Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers*, 172.

[201] Ewing, *A Defence of Missions from Christian Societies*, 52–53.

[202] Ibid., 67–81; Thomas Hardy, *The Progress of the Christian Religion: A Sermon, Preached before the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, at Their Anniversary Meeting in the High Church of Edinburgh, Thursday, May 30, 1793* (Edinburgh: Printed by John Patterson, 1794); Emma Vincent MacLeod, "Hardy, Thomas (1748–1798)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed June 26, 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12290.

apostolic times," recruit "apostolic missionaries," and replace sectarian party zeal with apostolic cooperation for the greatest obligation—converting the heathen.

Ewing's involvement in the interdenominational missionary movement and his public advocacy of itinerant and field preaching even by lay people led to conflict and ultimately to his resignation from the Church of Scotland in 1798. In the midst of his advocacy for missions and itinerancy, his Church opposed these means of spreading the gospel. Despite Erskine's best efforts at the 1796 General Assembly, by a vote of 58 to 44, the moderate majority rejected the evangelical proposals to start missions in the Church of Scotland and to authorize a general collection to support the interdenominational missionary societies. Traditional moderates in the Church of Scotland typically rejected the burgeoning missionary movement and the two proposals in 1796 on one or more grounds—heathens must be civilized before assenting to truth, interdenominational cooperation and itinerancy were beyond the control of the Church's courts, and some linked missionary enthusiasts with radical politics. Ewing said these events and future opposition to itinerancy in Scotland weakened his attachment to the established church because they used their authority over ministers and congregations to stop people from preaching the gospel. In ways similar to evangelical Presbyterians in Ireland who committed themselves to the ideas and practices of the missions culture, Ewing and others traded their Presbyterian polity for a more flexible independent congregational polity.[203]

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[203] Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers*, 171; Maxwell, "Civilization or Christianity? The Scottish Debate on Mission Methods, 1750-1835," 123–40; Miller, "The Debate on Missions," 144–99; Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 90–91; Matheson, "Memoir of Greville Ewing," 159.

Ewing's move to a congregational polity created space for him to develop his relationship with the Haldane brothers, whom Ewing had known since the late 1770s when they attended the same high school in Edinburgh.[204] Robert Haldane (1764-1842) and James Haldane (1768–1851) were among the most committed supporters of the evangelical missions culture in the 1790s and early 1800s. The Haldanes were aristocrats who received education at Edinburgh University where Scottish Enlightenment thinkers left an indelible mark. Robert served in the Royal Navy from 1780 to 1783 and James worked for the East India Company from 1785 to 1794. Around the mid-1790s, both brothers committed to an evangelical faith. This happened under the influence of future LMS leader and Congregational minister David Bogue in Gosport, England. During stays in London, the Haldanes encountered Bogue, a family friend and expatriate Scot who produced in them empathy for dissenters from the early 1780s.[205] In Scotland, Bogue's missions influence on the Haldanes was redoubled by Ewing, Ewing's brother-in law, William Innes, John Erskine, John Campbell, and others. James Haldane met William Carey in India, and Carey's work inspired both brothers to join the missionary movement. Shortly after Bogue declared the funeral of bigotry at the LMS's initial meeting in 1795, the Haldanes began to devote their lives and fortune to the interdenominational missionary endeavor.[206] Robert Haldane served as a Scottish director

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[204] Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert and James Alexander Haldane*, 20.

[205] Ibid., 23.

[206] For biography of the Haldanes, see Deryck Lovegrove, "Haldane, Robert (1764–1842)," *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed June 24, 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11896; Deryck Lovegrove, "Haldane, James Alexander (1768–1851)," *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004),

of the LMS by 1796 and filled that role for the next nine years.[207] The first decade of the Haldanes' evangelicalism centered in the interdenominational evangelical missions culture, though, as historians have demonstrated, the Haldanes moved from interdenominational primitivism to a more exclusionary primitivism resembling Glasite restorationism and ultimately to a "restorationist evangelical synthesis."[208]

The Haldanes worked with the most influential evangelicals in the missions culture from the very start of their commitment to missions. In 1796, Robert Haldane conceived of a plan to sell his estate of Airthrey to defray the expenses of a mission to India. He invited Innes, Bogue, and Ewing, all of whom agreed, but the directors of the East India Company repeatedly refused Haldane's proposal for travel permission because of economic interests and the directors suspected Haldane's and other dissenting evangelicals' political leanings.[209] Instead of India, the Haldanes turned their attention to home missions in Scotland through the SPGH, educating itinerant preachers and missionaries, and building the Congregational movement in Scotland. James Haldane accompanied visiting Cambridge scholar, Charles Simeon (1759-1836), on a three-week

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accessed June 24, 2015, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11895; Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?"; Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert and James Alexander Haldane*.

[207] "The Proceedings of the Second General Meeting," xxiv; Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers*, 264.

[208] Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 2–3, 8; Dean, "Robert and James Alexander Haldane in Scotland," 100; Deryck W. Lovegrove, "Unity and Separation: Contrasting Elements in the Thought and Practice of Robert and James Alexander Haldane," in *The Stone-Campbell Movement: An International Religious Tradition*, ed. Michael W. Casey and Douglas A. Foster (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 520–43; Dyron Daughrity, "Glasite Versus Haldanite: Scottish Divergence on the Question of Missions," *Restoration Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2011): 65–79.

[209] The EMS focused on its Africa mission in which the Glasgow and London missionary societies partnered, so it could not support the Haldane-Innes-Ewing-Bogue mission. The East India Company did not support missions until forced by Parliament in 1811. Matheson, "Memoir of Greville Ewing," 2; Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 89.

itinerant preaching tour in the Highlands in 1796.[210] He also cooperated with evangelical leader in the Church of Scotland, John Campbell (1766-1840), to establish dozens of Sabbath schools for religious instruction to young and working-class people.[211] Campbell worked to form the Religious Tract Society in Edinburgh (1793), closely associated with the Haldanes, served as LMS Director for eight years, and as LMS inspector to South Africa on two occasions.[212]

James Haldane became president of the Edinburgh Missionary Society by 1797, the same year the layman preached his first sermon, and he and two other laymen (divinity student John Aikman and student from Bogue's Gosport academy, Joseph Rate) undertook an itinerant trip into the Highlands from July to November of that year.[213] Although they encountered much opposition to their itinerancy and lay preaching, they experienced great success, preaching to as many as 6,000 people on one occasion and distributing over 20,000 religious tracts.[214]

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[210] Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 92–93; Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert and James Alexander Haldane*, 132–40.

[211] At these Sabbath schools, people learned the catechism and Scripture, sung songs, heard exhortations, and prayed. Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 94–95; James Ross, *A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1900), 48.

[212] Andrew C. Ross, "Campbell, John," ed. Donald M. Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 1:189–90; Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers*, 262; Robert Philip, *The Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell* (London: John Snow, 1841), 119–21.

[213] Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 96–102; McMillon, "The Quest for the Apostolic Church," 147–48; Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert and James Alexander Haldane*, chap. 7; James Alexander Haldane, *Journal of a Tour through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Isles, in Autumn 1797: Undertaken with a View to Promote the Knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Ritchie, 1798).

[214] For the names of tracts and numbers distributed, see Haldane, *Journal of a Tour through the Northern Counties of Scotland*, 35.

Due to opposition, the three itinerants used the introduction of the published journal of the trip to defend lay and itinerant preaching and answer objections.[215] They argued "that it is not only lawful, but the bounden duty of every Christian to preach the gospel. . . . Whether a man declare those important truths to two or two hundred, he is in our opinion a preacher of the gospel, or one who declares the glad tidings of salvation, which is the precise meaning of the term *preach*."[216] They took issue with opponents who argued that Scripture said one needed a license or ordination to preach. Although they supported ordination, they also supported the "duty of Christians to exhort one another" as following "apostolic practice."[217] This included women, though propriety required they preach only to their own sex in private.[218] The great Reformers, they argued, had no license; just as necessity justified the Reformers' unlicensed preaching, so it justified "lay-preaching at present, when thousands are perishing for lack of knowledge."[219] Furthermore, they supported lay administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper, appealing to positive law hermeneutics and pointing to Acts 10:47-48 to argue that the apostles preached and commanded others (i.e., laypeople) to baptize.[220] It is worth

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[215] John Ritchie, early secretary of the SPGH, printed the journal for the benefit of the SPGH, as noted on the title page. Haldane, *Journal of a Tour through the Northern Counties of Scotland*.

[216] Ibid., 5–6.

[217] They cited Eph 4:15; Heb 3:13, 10:24-25; 1 Pet 4:10; Acts 18:25, and more throughout the introduction.

[218] Haldane, *Journal of a Tour through the Northern Counties of Scotland*, 12.

[219] Ibid., 14.

[220] One gets an idea of James Haldane's restorationism at this time from his argument that Scripture teaches "the Lord will have mercy and not sacrifice; that he prefers the benefit of his creatures to positive or ceremonial commands" (Ibid., 10). Nonetheless, he does use positive law to justify lay preaching. He also employed the Reformed regulative principle for publicly reproving open sinners or offences: "We have both apostolic precept and example in Scripture for publicly reproving open offenders"

mentioning that Alexander Campbell recorded reading James Haldane's *Journal of a Tour* in 1811 or 1812.[221]

Although their defense of itinerant lay preaching had a more acerbic tone, the three authors clearly embraced the interdenominational evangelical missions culture. Although critical of moderates in the Church of Scotland, they believed "the true church is not found in one sect or denomination, but scattered among all who have heard the gospel."[222] Christian charity and cooperation suggested the last days were upon them. The lack of bigotry and surplus of liberality and affection the itinerants encountered led them to "contemplate that glorious day of gospel-light, which we trust has begun to dawn, when Christians shall agree to differ in lesser matters, and shall cordially embrace in the arms of Christian affection all who hold the head [i.e., Christ]."[223] The authors twice appealed to Luke 14:23—the passage Hamilton took for his sermon on the necessity of itinerancy at the founding of the ESU in Ireland the same year—to justify missions by itinerancy, arguing that preachers could no longer simply expect people to

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(24). On Reformed and restorationist positive law as well as the regulative principle, see *Westminster Confession of Faith*, 1.6 and 21.1; John Mark Hicks, "The Gracious Separatist: Moral and Positive Law in the Theology of James A. Harding," *Restoration Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (2000): 129–47; Michael W Casey, "The Origins of the Hermeneutics of the Churches of Christ Part One: The Reformed Tradition," *Restoration Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (January 1, 1989): 75–91; Michael W Casey, "The Origins of the Hermeneutics of the Churches of Christ Part Two: The Philosophical Background," *Restoration Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (January 1, 1989): 193–206.

[221] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:443.

[222] Haldane, *Journal of a Tour through the Northern Counties of Scotland*, 25.

[223] Ibid., 30–31.

come into the church; rather, they had to proclaim the gospel in the fields and streets.[224] The Scots ought to replicate the English dissenters whose zeal drove them out of the churches and into the neighborhoods preaching the gospel. The authors hoped the journal would provoke others to join the work in Scotland, thus pity for the wretched state of religion and perishing Scots permeated the pages. "The people, almost in every place, seem willing to receive, and thankful for instruction," so more itinerants were needed to warn Scots to "flee from the wrath to come." The authors hoped readers would hear crying from these pages, "Come over and help us."[225]

Encouraged at the successes of their itinerant trip and the increasing number of Sabbath schools, the Haldanes, John Campbell, and twelve others met on December 20, 1797, to establish a voluntary society called the SPGH, adding to the more than thirty voluntary societies established in the U.K. in the 1790s.[226] *The Missionary Magazine* of 1797 had substantial articles on propagation of the gospel at home and use of the "Sunday School" or "Sabbath School." As with Christians throughout the transatlantic, some in Scotland argued that Scots "ought first to use means for the conversion of the Heathen at home" before focusing on the heathen abroad.[227] Sabbath schools were a key means of spreading the gospel at home, especially among the new industrial poor

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[224] They gained larger crowds by using drums and bells to announce they were preaching. Responding to charges that they disturbed the peace, they argued that more people came from curiosity than were offended by the disturbingly loud drums. Ibid., 28–29.

[225] Ibid., 94–95.

[226] Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, From Their Commencement, December 28, 1798, to May 16, 1799* (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1799), 6; Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 104.

[227] "To the Editor of the *Missionary Magazine*: [ON SUNDAY SCHOOLS]," *The Missionary Magazine* 2 (1797): 242-44, quoted from 242.

working class. Therefore, "many of the praying societies in various denominations in Edinburgh, and its neighbourhood, established a monthly meeting for prayer, for the revival of religion at home, and for the success of the Gospel abroad." They created societies to collect funds and garner financial support so children could attend for free. These Enlightened evangelicals were convinced that "Vice is the unavoidable consequence of ignorance," so education was a means of civilizing, moralizing, and evangelizing Scotland. By May of 1797, *The Missionary Magazine* reported schools in half a dozen towns and listed regulations people could use to start more of these schools. The first rule was that they "consist of serious people of every denomination."[228] The SPGH tapped into the interdenominational missions culture to reach uneducated heathens at home through Sunday schools.

Like other voluntary societies, the SPGH published a pamphlet with an account of the origin of the society, an address to readers and potential supporters, and the plan and rules of the society.[229] The documents reveal firm commitment to evangelical interdenominational missions culture, and the SPGH utilized evangelical networks to advertise their work. The SPGH "had no plan of forming a new sect, but wished that Christians of all denominations should join, in seeking to promote pure and undefiled religion."[230] The SPGH preached the "pure unadulterated doctrines of the gospel."

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[228] "SOCIETIES FOR SABBATH-EVENING SCHOOLS," *The Missionary Magazine* 2 (May 1797): 186-87

[229] Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, *An Account of the Proceedings of the SPGH*. This SPGH account also includes narratives of the SPGH's numerous itinerants (including Ewing's itinerancy from Dec 14 to 25, 1798, on pp. 71-76), catechists, letters of instruction to itinerant preachers and catechists, lists of SPGH tracts distributed, and financial reports.

[230] Ibid., 2.

Although the account critiqued the moderate party in the Church of Scotland and Church of England for what they perceived as preaching morality and works rather than evangelical atonement and activism, it also endorsed evangelicals in both those establishments, the Relief Church itinerants, Burgher itinerants, and others. Christians found common ground not according to denominational affiliation but according to true evangelical beliefs. Eschatological motives for missions undergirded Scottish missions of the time and do appear in the SPGH documents, but not as the main feature.[231] The SPGH appointed a committee to work out the documents including an "Address from the Society," which explained the SPGH's design and introduced the four-page "Plan and Rules of the Society," which secretary John Ritchie drew up and sent to the evangelical magazines.[232]

The plan's first item declared the SPGH "shall be composed of persons of every denomination, holding unity of faith in the leading doctrines of Christianity." Second, voluntary contributions would fund operations. Their means of promoting religious knowledge at home included employing itinerant preachers, encouraging Sabbath schools, promoting Scripture reading, circulating religious tracts, establishing libraries of books on practical religion, and corresponding with "any Societies or individuals who

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[231] The SPGH noted the "present eventful period," which they viewed as "the Lord coming out of his place to punish the nations." Hearing of "wars and rumors of wars" excited fear and perhaps eschatological expectation, but more pleasing were the "exertions which Christians are now making to spread the knowledge of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and which are unequalled in the annals of modern times." Due to charges wrongly linking the SPGH itinerants to republican liberalism, the documents and their rules are vehemently against political maneuvering, presenting the society as only an effort to spread the gospel. For eschatological motives, see Ibid., 7–8; De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 166–75.

[232] Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, *An Account of the Proceedings of the SPGH*, 7–15; Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, "Plan of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home," *The Missionary Magazine*, no. 3 (February 19, 1798): 57–63; "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Scotland," *The Evangelical Magazine*, no. 6 (February 1798): 73–74.

have the same object in view." The SPGH required itinerants to submit journals of their travels each month and catechists to make quarterly reports to the society. Furthermore, the plan prohibited catechists from speaking on politics in "public or private" and from showing "a preference to any denomination of Christians, either established or dissenting." Rather, they should "exhort the people to attend wherever the gospel is preached in purity" and to "discourage all bitter party spirit, wherever they discover it among Christians."[233] At the time of printing the pamphlet, the SPGH had fifteen full-time catechists, twenty four catechists who just embarked on six-week trips, distributed thousands of religious tracts, and supported many itinerants.[234]

The SPGH had several high profile itinerants, such as Ewing and Rowland Hill, who contributed to the growing success of and opposition to the SPGH. On December 24, 1797, Ewing preached *A Defence of Itinerancies and Field Preaching* before the Society for Gratis Sabbath Schools at Lady Glenorchy's Chapel. The sermon prompted opposition and made him a "marked man" in the establishment because Ewing supported lay itinerant preaching with numerous biblical justifications.[235] Ewing printed the sermon with a preface written in February 1799 intimating his surprise that the leading objection against his sermon came not from scripture but from the notion that "it was imprudent for any man in his situation, to preach such a sermon at all." Ewing disagreed with this reasoning, stating his primitivst position: "In all questions of Christianity, he [Ewing]

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[233] Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, *An Account of the Proceedings of the SPGH*, 11–15, 80–90. The SPGH unpacked the four rules for itinerants and catechists on p. 14 in two letters to itinerants and catechists on pp. 80-91.

[234] Ibid., 93–94.

[235] Matheson, "Memoir of Greville Ewing," 157.

deems it the first object to ascertain the doctrine of scripture, and the second, to declare that doctrine."[236]

Ewing's case for itinerancy justified by Scripture and opposed to ecclesiastical authority foreshadowed the conflict between evangelicals devoted to the new voluntary societies and the moderate establishment party. Taking Proverbs 1:20-21[237] as his text, Ewing argued that wisdom in the text (who "cries without" and "cries in the streets," i.e., not in church buildings), was a field preacher and street preacher. Sometimes wisdom was "unreasonable and intrusive with her lessons," yet she had been so from the beginning—Ewing provided an impressive list of Bible itinerants, including Enoch, Noah, Lot, Moses, Aaron, the prophets, Peter, Paul, Barnabas, and many more. Ewing's sermon explicitly critiqued the established church for opposing itinerants and likened its leaders to the rulers of the synagogues who, after corrupted, began throwing out the Apostles (i.e., the itinerants in the analogy). In fact, Ewing wrote, "It may be in general asserted, that in the primitive propagation of Christianity, especially as to the labours among the Gentiles, though the churches were commonly edified within doors, they were chiefly gathered by preaching without." In the second half of the sermon, Ewing provided NT passages supporting itinerancy and rebuttals to major objections to itinerancy. Ewing's case for itinerancy from a restorationist (rather than ecclesiastical) perspective

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[236] Greville Ewing, *A Defence of Itinerant and Field Preaching: A Sermon, Preached before the Society for Gratis Sabbath Schools, on the 24th of December 1797, in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Ritchie, 1799), vii–viii.

[237] "Wisdom crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets: she crieth in the chief place of concourse, in the openings of the gates: in the city she uttereth her words" (KJV, which Ewing cites).

and his censure of the establishment portended conflict on the horizon.[238] His support of the evangelical missions culture and even lay preaching led him to resign from the Presbytery of Edinburgh and the Church of Scotland in December 1798.[239]

Rowland Hill, another transatlantic advocate of the evangelical missions culture, made two preaching tours in Scotland for the SPGH which provoked sharp responses from Presbyterians and exacerbated the issue of itinerancy in Scotland. In August 1798, Hill conducted his first preaching tour of Scotland and published the journal in early 1799.[240] Ironically, the comments Hill made in his journal that most incensed his opponents emerged from his hostility to sectarian zeal and promotion of the "grace of love among serious Christians of every denomination." Hill told readers, "no ill design could have influenced my mind on the free remarks made on different parties; my only aim being to unite those who are separated. . . . I love all of my Master's family wherever I find them, and however unhappily disjointed and divided among themselves, . . . I ardently long for that day when the uniting spirit of the Gospel may constrain us to be all as one in him our 'living Head.'"[241] Nonetheless, Hill's rhetorical invective against the Solemn League and Covenant and churches which refused communion with Christians of other denominations provoked outrage. For example, in a letter to James Haldane,

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[238] Ewing, *A Defence of Itinerant and Field Preaching*, 2–58, quotes from 4 and 15.

[239] Resignation letter and germane correspondence provided in Matheson, *A Memoir of Greville Ewing, Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow*, 177–80.

[240] Rowland Hill, *Journal of a Tour through the North of England and Parts of Scotland: With Remarks on the Present State of the Established Church of Scotland and the Different Secessions Therefrom. Together with Reflections on Some Party Distinctions in England; Shewing the Origin of These Disputes, and the Causes of Their Separation. Designed to Promote Brotherly Love and Forbearance among Christians of All Denominations* (London: Printed by T. Gillet, 1799).

[241] Ibid., x–xii.

prefaced to the "Observations and Remarks" section, Hill combined primitivism, ecumenism, and missions to rebuke opposition to the missions culture:

> In preaching through England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, I always conceived *I stuck close to my parish*. We are to "preach the Gospel to every creature, even to the end of the world." Go on, my Sir, be the maul of bigotry, and of every sectarian spirit among all denominations; declare vengeance against the unscriptural innovations of narrow-minded bigots, who, finding the Word of God uncompliant to designs like theirs, have combined together to support their dogmas, according to certain rules of their own creating: and all these, as contrary to the sacred designs of God, that all Christians should be brethren, and love as such; as the designs of Christianity can be to those of Mahomet, the Pope, or the Devil.[242]

Obviously, Hill's comparison of opponents to Muslims, Catholics, and Satan provoked severe responses.[243]

Although the interdenominational missions culture garnered support from Christians across the denominational spectrum, itinerant preaching at home differed in category and repercussion from itinerant preaching in foreign places. Dissenting and establishment evangelicals could agree on missions to the heathen abroad, but itinerant preaching at home created problems for the establishment and other denominations such as the Seceding Presbyterians who regarded ordination and parish boundaries as important and sometimes even sacrosanct structures. But many of these lay itinerants not only preached the gospel; they also publicly rebuked moderate ministers who did not preach up to the pure-primitive-gospel standards of the evangelicals.

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[242] Ibid., 67–68; Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert and James Alexander Haldane*, 225–26.

[243] One published response to Hill's journal came from leading Edinburgh Antiburgher John Jameison in 1799, to which Hill responded the following year with *A Plea for Union and for a Free Propagation of the Gospel* (1800) addressed to the SPGH. See John Jamieson, *Remarks on the Rev. Rowland Hill's Journal, In a Letter to the Author, Including Reflections on Itinerant and Lay Preaching* (Edinburgh: Printed for J. Ogle, 1799); Rowland Hill, *A Plea for Union and for a Free Propagation of the Gospel: Being an Answer to Dr. Jamieson's Remarks on the Late Tour of the Rev. R. Hill, Addressed to the Scots' Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home* (London, 1800).

Furthermore, the moderate majority in the Church of Scotland perceived lay itinerancy as a political threat. The SPGH rules clearly prohibited public and even private conversations about politics, but lay itinerancy and a disregard for conservative establishments smacked of political liberalism in the perception of moderates seeking to preserve conservative establishments and hierarchies. The itinerants often drew converts from the poor and working class, whom the itinerants and catechists encouraged to read and think independently—all this lent credence to conservative suspicions of the political subversiveness of the SPGH. In politically conservative eyes, the transatlantic revolutions with their liberal ideology of the equality of all individuals and disregard for traditional authority was manifesting itself in lay itinerancy, lay catechists, and lay performance of the sacraments.[244] Thanks to evangelical publications such as *The Missionary Magazine* and frequent publications of itinerants' journals, the opposition could easily follow every move of the evangelicals.

By May 1799, the moderate majority in the Church of Scotland officially responded to perceived political and ecclesiastical threats of the SPGH. The General Assembly required Act XI, "Pastoral Admonition," to be read in every pulpit in the Church of Scotland.[245] The General Assembly argued that the activity of the itinerants fulfilled the prophecy "that in the last days perilous times were to come, when many false

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[244] Both Ewing and Robert Haldane published pamphlets on the Christian's duties to civil government, revealing their subservience to government. Matheson, *A Memoir of Greville Ewing, Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow*, 175.

[245] They also published an Act attacking the Sunday schools of the SPGH: General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, "XII. Report Concerning Vagrant Teachers and Sunday Schools," in *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Convened at Edinburgh, the 23d Day of May 1799: Collected and Extracted from the Records by the Clerk Thereof* (Edinburgh: Printed by James Dickson, 1799), 42–45.

teacher should arise, scoffers walking after their own lusts, and when men should turn away their ears from the truth."[246] The Pastoral Admonition pointed to the French Revolution's antichristian end and thus equated the "empty sound of Liberty" with tyranny in both civil and ecclesiastical governments. In doing so, the Pastoral Admonition connected the SPGH itinerants (who egregiously presumed to be universal "Missionaries") with innovation, disorder, tyranny, intrusion, and even sedition (noting that the Sunday schools had "secret meetings" and corresponded with other societies in the neighborhood). The Act combined ad hominem attacks with appeals to the tradition and formularies of the Church of Scotland and its careful rules for ordination to convey to parishioners that it hoped to protect them from false teachers "in these giddy times," when too many were deceived by the "spirit of innovation" to break away from established forms in civil and ecclesiastical matters.[247]

After the May 1799 General Assembly's Acts against itinerancy and Sunday schools, many evangelicals embracing the missions culture as manifested in the SPGH broke away from the established church and adopted Independent or Congregational polity, though Ewing had left the Church six months earlier. Dean notes concerning the establishment, "The Evangelical party in the Established Church of Scotland, and even the Relief Church, joined the dominant Moderate party in opposing lay preaching and

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[246] Apparently combining 1 Tm 3:1, 4:4, and 2 Pt 3:3.

[247] General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, "XI. Pastoral Admonition, Addressed by the GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, Met at Edinburgh, May 23, 1799, to All the People under Their Charge," in *The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Convened at Edinburgh, the 23d Day of May 1799: Collected and Extracted from the Records by the Clerk Thereof* (Edinburgh: Printed by James Dickson, 1799), 38–42; Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 113.

condemning its practice by the Haldanes."[248] Dissenters largely took over field and street preaching in Scotland. Ewing, Innes, the Haldanes, and many others left the established church for new horizons in Independent Congregational churches.[249]

Independent and inspired, Ewing, the Haldanes, and others embracing the evangelical missions culture in Scotland produced new networks and structures to disseminate the missions culture and propagate the gospel at home. The Haldanes built large venues called "tabernacles" or "missionary" churches in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee, where James Haldane, Ewing, and Innes became ministers. Haldane adopted the "tabernacle" scheme from George Whitefield's plan, having "large places of worship, where as great variety as possible is kept up in the preaching, by employing different ministers, in order to excite and maintain attention to the gospel, especially in such as are living in open neglect of religion."[250] The Haldanes saw the tabernacles more as missionary centers for gospel preaching in the Whitefieldite tradition than churches of either a new sect or indigenous Scottish Independents (Glasites or Old Scots Independents). For example, James Haldane said the Edinburgh Tabernacle, "in fact, was no separation from the Establishment. It was merely opening another place of worship for preaching the Gospel without regard to *forms* of external arrangement of Church order, and where the pastor and many of the members showed their catholic spirit by going to

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[248] Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 108.

[249] Ross, *A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland*, 57–58.

[250] Robert Haldane, *Address to the Public, Concerning Political Opinions, and Plans Lately Adopted to Promote Religion in Scotland* (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1800), 69–70; Ross, *A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland*, 56–57, 64–65; McMillon, "The Quest for the Apostolic Church," 151.

the Sacrament in the Established Church."[251] The Haldanes had preachers from Congregational (Bogue), Baptist (Fuller), and Anglican (Hill) fellowships at the interdenominational tabernacles. Nonetheless, the tabernacles naturally seemed Congregationalists in as much as they held to local congregational autonomy and the gathered church of disciplined believers (rather than of all citizens). Ewing drew up a statement of principles for the tabernacles which attempted to do everything according to the Scriptures.[252]

The Haldanes also patronized seminaries to provide well-trained itinerant preachers for Scotland and abroad. Ewing taught the first class of thirty students, which began in Edinburgh in January 1799. He moved to Glasgow in May 1799 where he ministered at the Glasgow Tabernacle. Innes also taught students along with his responsibilities as minister at the Dundee Tabernacle. Numerous others in Scotland were involved, and George Hamilton (Thomas Campbell's friend and ESU co-founder) also taught a cohort in Armagh, Ireland. The last of more than ten cohorts in the Haldane

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[251] Quoted in Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert and James Alexander Haldane*, 352.

[252] These principles eventually included NT authority, plurality of elders, deacons to administer a weekly collection to the poor, and weekly Lord's Supper. Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 129–33; Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert and James Alexander Haldane*, 214–17; McMillon, "The Quest for the Apostolic Church," 150–51; Matheson, *A Memoir of Greville Ewing, Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow*, 171, 194–220; Greville Ewing and Robert Haldane, *Facts and Documents Respecting the Connections Which Have Subsisted between Robert Haldane, Esq. and Greville Ewing, Laid before the Public, in Consequence of Letters Which the Former Has Addressed to the Latter, Respecting the Tabernacle at Glasgow* (Glasgow: Printed by James Hedderwick, 1809), 15, 64; Ross, *A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland*, chap. 6; Lynn A. McMillon, "Ewing, Greville (1767-1841)," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 324.

seminaries completed their studies in 1808, together totaling more than 300 students trained for evangelical missons at home and abroad.[253]

Despite their comradery in Scotland's interdenominational missionary movement during the late 1790s and early 1800s, Ewing and the Haldanes grew apart and eventually parted ways due to numerous disagreements and conflicts rooted in the Haldanes' shifting theology and practice. Historian Camille Dean analyzes the "successive transmutations" of the Haldane connection, which "demonstrated the complementary, yet often conflicting, nature of evangelical, separatist, and restorationist ideals." Historian Deryk Lovegrove unpacks the Haldanes' transition from unitive evangelism within the establishment in the 1790s to a strict restorationism and embrace of separation of church and state by 1808, a transformation which explains the diverse historiography—one end of the spectrum paints the Haldanes as advocates of ecumenical Christianity and the other end as innovators whose critical spirit led to division, disappointment, and failure.[254] The research above demonstrates that the Haldanes' 1790s characteristics of unity for evangelism were indebted to the evangelical missions culture as was the seed of primitivism that morphed into an exclusive restorationism. Drawing on Lovegrove's essay, Dean recounts the Haldanes' "transformation from Enlightenment-era aristocrats, to lay evangelists, to leaders of a new Scottish Independency, to implementers of

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[253] Haldane, *Address to the Public, Concerning Political Opinions, and Plans Lately Adopted to Promote Religion in Scotland*, 82–85; McMillon, "The Quest for the Apostolic Church," 151–53; Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert and James Alexander Haldane*, 329–32.

[254] Lovegrove, "Unity and Separation," 520–43; Deryck W. Lovegrove, "Unity and Separation: Contrasting Elements in the Thought and Practice of Robert and James Alexander Haldane," in *Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America c 1750-c 1950: Essays in Honour of W. R. Ward* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 153–77.

restorationist church order and advocates of believers' baptism."[255] Historian Lynn McMillon points to the explanation Ewing provided for the Haldanes' shift: inspired by the works of John Glas and Robert Sandeman, they moved toward a more exclusivist restorationism.[256] McMillon demonstrates that James Haldane's reliance on Glas emerges clearly in *A View of Social Worship and Ordinance Observed by the First Christians* (1805).[257]

The Haldanes' restorationism that sought to create a facsimile of the NT church, combined with practical and personal disagreements, exacerbated differences between them and Ewing which led to an official break in 1808 among the eighty-five churches in the Scottish Congregationalist network. Although Ewing had advocated for lay itinerancy, he disagreed with the Haldanes' growing disregard for distinctions between laity and a trained clergy. Furthermore, problems arose regarding Robert Haldane's ability to relinquish control of his investments in the Congregational churches. By 1809, this led Ewing to rebuke Robert Haldane as the "POPE of independents."[258] Finally,

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[255] Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 1–2.

[256] On Glas and Sandeman, see McMillon, "The Quest for the Apostolic Church," 3–4; McMillon, *Restoration Roots*, chap. 3–5; Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 5.

[257] James Alexander Haldane, *A View of the Social Worship and Ordinances Observed by the First Christians: Drawn from the Sacred Scriptures Alone, Being an Attempt to Enforce Their Divine Obligation and to Represent the Guilt and Evil Consequences of Neglecting Them* (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Ritchie, 1805); McMillon, "The Quest for the Apostolic Church," 152–55; Daughrity, "Glasite Versus Haldanite," 65–79; Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 159–76. McMillon notes the similarities between Haldane and Glas—absolute authority of scripture, restoration of NT model or pattern for Christian worship, local congregational autonomy, plurality of elders with no distinction between teaching and ruling elders, deacons and lay ministers in each local congregation, civil authority had no authority over God's church, and weekly Lord's Supper. Differences included Haldane's more charitable dealing with those of other theological persuasions and more evangelistic zeal.

[258] Ewing and Haldane, *Facts and Documents*, 249.

when the Haldanes accepted believers' baptism in 1808, James Haldane produced a thorough defense of his change in position.[259] Although he apparently intended to continue ministering at the Edinburgh Tabernacle after this decision, viewing the change as secondary in importance and assuming those who adhered to believers' and infant baptism could worship together in forbearance, the majority of the congregation left, and longtime supporters such as John Aikman started new congregations. Rejection from the Congregational movement that the Haldanes co-built and had largely funded, whether by paying itinerants or owning church buildings, led to bitter financial disputes. The Haldanes joined Scotch Baptists and Ewing led the Congregational churches after the division. Numerous publications from both sides attempted to explain their positions.[260]

Although Ewing and the Haldanes vehemently debated about church polity and baptism, both remained committed to the evangelistic endeavor for the rest of their lives. In the case of Ewing, for example, the same year he published *Facts and Documents* (1809) representing his and the Haldanes' history and split, he also wrote a book at the request of the directors of the LMS.[261] Furthermore, from 1804 until 1840 (the year before he died), *The Evangelical Magazine* listed Ewing on the title page among the "Trustees and Stated Contributors," a veritable all-star list in the interdenominational missions culture which included David Bogue, George Burder, William Cooper, Andrew

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[259] James Alexander Haldane, *Reasons of a Change of Sentiment and Practice on the Subject of Baptism: Containing A Plain View of the Signification of the Word, and of the Persons for Whom the Ordinance Is Appointed; Together with a Full Consideration of the Covenant Made with Abraham, and Its Supposed Connexion with Baptism* (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Ritchie, 1809).

[260] Dean, "Robert and James Alexander Haldane in Scotland," 6.

[261] *The Evangelical Magazine* 17 (1809): 124. The work was on the Jews and the law, which was reviewed in *The Evangelical Magazine* 17 (1809): 339.

Fuller, Thomas Haweis, Rowland Hill, Alexander Waugh, and two dozen more. His portrait appeared at the beginning of the February 1806 *Evangelical Magazine*, and upon his death in 1841, the magazine venerated him in a biography constituting the first seven pages of the October issue. Ewing served as a director for the LMS twenty-four different years, more years than any of the other 155 Scottish LMS directors from 1796 to 1842.[262] After the breakup of Haldanite seminaries, Ewing founded Glasgow Theological Academy in 1811, "perhaps the most influential of the seminaries that trained missionaries for the LMS" after Bogue's Gosport Academy (Bogue's Academy trained 40% of the LMS missionaries sent out the first thirty years).[263] Despite their new advocacy of separation and focus on restoring primitive church order, which created tension with their earlier emphasis on unity, the Haldanes remained committed to evangelism and the missionary movement.[264]

V. Alexander Campbell's Encounter with Scottish Evangelical Missions Culture

In October 1808, Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) and the rest of the Campbell family embarked on a journey to join Thomas Campbell in the U.S., but took an unexpected detour through Glasgow. Although Alexander Campbell was only twenty at this time, he had gained an excellent reputation as a teacher at the school his father

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[262] Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers*, 261–67.

[263] Stanley, "Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation," 18–19. Bogue and Ewing were conduits of the Scottish Enlightenment's influence on missions.

[264] Blaikie and Huddleston, "Ewing, Greville (1767–1841)"; Stewart, "Ewing, Greville"; Dean, "Evangelicals or Restorationists?," 1, 7–8; Daughrity, "Glasite Versus Haldanite," 76–77; Matheson, "Memoir of Greville Ewing," 477–83; Dean, "Robert and James Alexander Haldane in Scotland," 106–8; Lovegrove, "Unity and Separation," 520–43.

started in Richhill in 1804. Alexander assisted from the age of seventeen and controlled the school after his father's departure to the U.S. He received most of his education at the feet of his father and his own rigorous study of Scripture, languages, moral philosophy, and poetry. Like his father, Campbell experienced Reformed conversion—at that time a central characteristic in evangelical culture—in his late teens during his teaching years.[265] He then became a member of the Ahorey Presbyterian Church, started studying for the ministry, and kept teaching at Richhill until the family migrated to the U.S. As the family set sail on the ship *Hibernia* in 1808, their journey became nearly fatal when the ship ran upon some rocks off the coast of Scotland.[266] However, everyone made it ashore and they even managed to save some luggage. In the following weeks, the Campbell family made their way to Glasgow where they would pass the winter and Alexander would attend Glasgow University.

In Glasgow, Campbell immediately sought out Greville Ewing, who became his mentor during the family's ten-month stay in Glasgow. He went to Ewing first because one of his hosts during the journey from the shipwreck to Glasgow gave him a letter of

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[265] Alexander recalled that this involved a period of struggle and distress "under the awakenings of a guilty conscience. . . . I was enabled to put my trust in the Saviour of sinners, and to *feel* my reliance on him as the only Saviour of Sinners. From the moment I was able to feel this reliance on the Lord Jesus Christ, I obtained and enjoyed peace of mind." Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:1:49; Leroy Garrett, "Campbell, Alexander (1788-1866)," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 116–18.

[266] Alexander recorded the events in a journal, stating that "The vessel was almost on her side & for a little me thought the drowning flood must be the inevitable fate of every soul on board." See Alexander Campbell, *Manuscript D*, page 21. All the manuscripts of Alexander Campbell used in this dissertation are available at Archives and Special Collections, T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV, Campbell Papers, Part 14—Manuscripts.

introduction to Ewing.[267] Ewing introduced Campbell to some of the professors at Glasgow University, where Campbell gained entrance to classes that were beginning in November, and Ewing helped the Campbell family acquire lodgings.[268] Campbell took courses in Greek, literature, French, and philosophy.[269] George Jardine, disciple of Thomas Reid, taught both Alexander and Thomas Campbell the Common Sense Philosophy that made the Scottish Enlightenment so popular among transatlantic evangelicals.[270] Campbell said the family did not attend the same place of worship regularly, but visited numerous places: "We heard Mr. Mittes for the most part, Mr. Ewing frequently, Mr. Mitchel sometimes, Mr. Balfore, and Dr. Hat once, with a number of probationers in all the churches."[271] "Mr. Balfore" in Campbell's journal is probably Robert Balfour, a leader in Glasgow's evangelical missions culture. Balfour delivered missionary sermons before the SSPCK and the LMS. When opponents of the missionary endeavor launched their common charge that the "time for the conversion of the heathen is not yet come, because the Millennium" is still at a distance, Balfour pointed them to

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[267] Campbell recorded getting letters of introduction from Mr. George Fulton to Rev. Greville Ewing in Glasgow, from Mr. Hector Simson to William Harley, a manufacturer in Glasgow, and from Rev. Mr. McKintosh to Rev. Mackinzie in Glasgow. See Alexander Campbell, *Manuscript D*, page 29.

[268] Alexander Campbell, *Manuscript D*, page 36.

[269] Campbell attended Glasgow University from November 1808 to May 1809. Alexander Campbell, *Manuscript B*, includes Campbell's notes and journal from his study at Glasgow. See Campbell and McAllister, *Alexander Campbell at the University of Glasgow 1808-1809*.

[270] Berryhill, "Common Sense Philosophy," 231.

[271] Alexander Campbell, *Manuscript D*, page 38.

David Bogue's 1795 LMS sermon which provided a postmillennial answer motivated by the Great Commission and pity for the heathen.[272]

Campbell's biographer, Robert Richardson, claimed that Campbell's stay in Glasgow worked an "entire revolution in his views and feelings in respect to the existing denominations," and that this revolution "seems to have been occasioned chiefly through his intimacy with Greville Ewing." Campbell "frequently" had dinner or tea at Ewing's house and "formed many agreeable intimacies with the guests . . . , and acquired . . . an intimate knowledge of Mr. Ewing's previous religious history, and that of his coadjutors, the Haldanes and others." All of this produced a "lasting effect upon his mind." Richardson ascribed extraordinary influence on Ewing as a "cause" of Campbell's non-denominationalism. Richardson said the movement in Scotland "may be justly regarded, indeed, as the *first phase* of that religious reformation which he subsequently carried out."[273] Richardson also noted that Campbell took great interest in the Haldanes' reformation. Although Campbell apparently believed Ewing was in the wrong for wanting Robert Haldane to give over the Glasgow Tabernacle, he remained impressed with Ewing and resolved that Ewing's Congregationalism was better than Presbyterianism. According to Richardson, Campbell could not even partake in the semi-annual communion with the Seceders in Scotland due to this conviction.[274]

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[272] De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 173–74, 187; David Bogue, "Objections Against A Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," in *Sermons, Preached in London, at the Formation of the Missionary Society, September 22, 23, 24, 1795; To Which Are Prefixed, Memorials, Respecting the Establishment and First Attempts of That Society* (London: Printed and Sold by T. Chapman, 1795), 126–27.

[273] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:147–149; McMillon, "The Quest for the Apostolic Church," 155–60.

[274] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1:186–190.

Campbell's time in Glasgow exposed him to more of the evangelical culture which shaped his actions in the U.S. In Glasgow, he lived in an urban and unfamiliar context in which he was able to visit many churches and have conversations with leading evangelicals and academics in Ewing's house and Glasgow University. Furthermore, his close association with Ewing, a leader of the new missions culture not just in Scotland but the entire U.K., must have been exhilarating for a twenty-year-old person living in the midst of these monumental shifts in the Christian understanding of voluntary missions that did not rely on denominational structures. Ewing had become something of an international celebrity for his role in evangelical missionary movement and as a leader of Congregationalism in Scotland. Although historians have largely focused on the restorationism of the Haldanes and Ewing, both of which were clearly influential on the Campbells, it is clear that the larger missions culture that produced both Ewing and the Haldanes provides a more holistic context that explains not just the Campbells' restorationism but also their interdenominational promotion of simple evangelical Christianity for the propagation of the gospel. Lessons at Glasgow University finished in May and the Campbell family made preparations to complete their voyage to the U.S., finally arriving to their father's embrace in the U.S. in the autumn of 1809.

VI. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that the evangelical missions culture which emerged in Scotland and Ireland in the 1790s was inextricably connected to the LMS and the broader interdenominational movement, and this context is the most helpful for understanding the origins of the Campbell movement. The missions culture which shaped the Campbells in Scotland and Ireland promoted cooperation among Christians of various denominations

through voluntary societies for the expansion of a simple evangelical. The basis upon which "true," "real," or converted Christians of different denominations could cooperate was a primitive or apostolic gospel, which was more pure and simple than confessional Christianity as developed in the Protestant traditions. The intellectual milieu of the Enlightenment fostered the toleration and forbearance undergirding the missions culture, and it lauded attempts to jettison tradition for a pure, apostolic, primitive Christianity. In both Ireland and Scotland, however, some advocates of this missions culture transformed its pragmatic primitivism for the end of ecumenical cooperation to a sectarian primitivism for the end of a restored NT church—this was partly the case with Walker, Carson, the Haldanes, and eventually the Campbells in the U.S. The interdenominational missions culture had a pragmatic primitivism and ecumenism that could be worked to very different ends, depending on the individual leaders and their divergent contexts.

The transatlantic evangelical missions culture in Ireland and Scotland wielded enormous influence on the Campbells. Although this is a fresh historiographical perspective, the basic conclusion is not entirely new. Robert Richardson identified the key concepts that united all the Independents and Baptists who influenced the Campbells at this time. After discussing the ideas and practices of Carson, Gibson, Walker, the Haldanes, Ewing, and others, Richardson made an insightful conclusion:

> Thus it was that, during this eventful period, many individuals, not altogether coinciding in their views upon all points, were nevertheless co-operating with each other in the effort to spread simpler views of the gospel, and awaken men to a true sense of religion. Through the intercourse, personal or epistolary, which existed among them, their knowledge of the Bible, which was practically regarded by them all as the only true guide in religion, was greatly increased, and their views of many questions were changed or modified.[275]

[275] Ibid., 1:172.

In conclusion, what Richardson found from a close reading of his sources is what I have found in the sources in general of the larger missionary movement that arose throughout the eighteenth century and exploded in the 1790s. All of these people, including the Campbells, were riding a wave of missionary enthusiasm that led them to attempt minimizing differences so they could cooperate to spread a primitive and simple evangelical gospel at home and abroad. They formed voluntary societies which cooperated to spread this gospel via itinerant preaching, Bible and tract distribution, Christian education through Sabbath schools, prayer meetings, and many society meetings where excitement soared with impassioned preaching about unity, the Great Commission, converting the heathen, and the last days. Numerous contextual factors made this cooperation easier, such as toleration influenced by the Enlightenment era, evangelical identity as the "converted" rather than membership in a particular denomination, and the voluntary society as the means for diverse individuals to organize and accomplish goals. Theological cooperation could, in theory, happen around agreement on a pure and primitive apostolic gospel that was stripped of the historical additions of Christian tradition. The pure and primitive gospel, however, could become divisive when proponents moved in a restorationist direction, moving from an ecumenical to a patternist impetus for primitivism. Therefore, tensions emerged as the evangelical missions culture dealt with unity, tolerance, separatism, restoration, missions, itinerancy, and millennialism. These tensions were as significant on the American frontier as they were in Ireland and Scotland, though the unique democratic American context provided a different type of fertile soil in which the evangelical missions culture could grow. I turn to that story in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Campbells and Evangelical Missions Culture in the U.S. (1807-1830)

I. Introduction

This chapter analyzes the missions history of the Campbells in the U.S. through 1830, demonstrating that the Campbells not only supported the evangelical missions culture in their early U.S. years, but that its ideas, practices, and forms were at the center of the Campbell movement's earliest organization, documents, principles, and actions. However, the chapter also demonstrates that Alexander Campbell made a drastic change when he opposed missionary societies in 1823. The chapter explains the reasons for that shift while revising the historiography of missions in the SCM, which has primarily assumed the 1820s anti-missionary-society Alexander was the first Alexander.[1] In fact, the rise of the Campbell movement had its origins in the evangelical missions culture.

The chapter describes the rise of the Campbell movement, focusing on the influence of evangelical missions culture in chronological phases of the Campbell movement's growth. The second section describes the U.S. context and Thomas Campbell's break from the Presbyterian Church, which followed patterns similar to Irish and Scottish evangelicals. The heart of the chapter, section three, details Thomas' role in creating a voluntary evangelical missionary society—the Christian Association of

[1] As detailed in chapter two, historical accounts of SCM missions usually begin with Alexander's anti-missionary-society arguments recorded in *The Christian Baptist* starting in 1823. Therefore, historians have almost completely neglected the Campbells' missions history before 1823. The previous chapters of this dissertation demonstrate the Campbells were active participants in the missionary enterprise by 1798 and that major influences on the Campbells were at the center of transatlantic evangelical missions culture.

Washington—similar to the one he co-founded in Ireland. It compares his society's organization, ideas, practices, and overall motivations with those of the transatlantic evangelical missions culture, demonstrating the culture's profound impact on him. Section four recounts the Campbells' continued support of missions, as they helped fund the new national Baptist missionary society from 1816 to at least 1821. It also discusses Alexander's negative experiences with moral societies, which helps explain his abrupt change in the early 1820s. The fifth section analyzes and explains Alexander's major shift from support to vehement opposition of missionary societies. This chapter completes this dissertation's historiographical revision of Campbell movement origins and SCM missions.

II. The U.S. Context and Thomas Campbell's Break from the Presbyterian Church

When Thomas Campbell arrived in the U.S. in 1807, the transatlantic evangelical missions culture was as vibrant as it had been in the U.K. As discussed in chapter three, the excitement of the interdenominational LMS captivated the evangelical imagination and caused what Chaney calls "The Missionary Explosion" in the 1790s. From the founding of the LMS (1795) to the establishment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission (1810), American church leaders spread the missions culture through sermons, periodicals, concerts for prayer, interdenominational voluntary societies, and biographies that portrayed the missionary as the symbol of disinterested benevolence. Inspired by the LMS, new missionary societies such as the New York Missionary Society (1796) and the Northern Missionary Society (1797) praised the interdenominational efforts as eschatologically significant, remembered the missionary heroes (Mather, Elliot, Brainerd, and the Moravians), appealed to compassion and pity

for heathen Indians and frontier people without the gospel, and encouraged readers to form similar societies. Societies for missions, Bibles, tracts, and education developed into what historian Charles Foster calls a "united front" which generated a benevolent empire in America that was still largely interdenominational in the late 1820s, though denominations took over many of the missionary societies in the 1820s and 1830s.[2]

Although transatlantic connections remained influential, the U.S. context created some unique characteristics for Christianity and missions. The U.S. had just gained its independence and created a democracy that also relinquished a national established church. A wave of awakenings known as the Second Great Awakening created religious excitement leading to new worship experiences and new religious movements. Furthermore, movement in the 1790s and 1800s created an ever-expanding western frontier. These contexts fostered revivalism and democratization of Christianity in an expansive and religiously unregulated nation, and encouraged missions at home rather than abroad. In fact, the numerous missionary societies created in the U.S. before 1810 were devoted to home missions; the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810) was the first U.S. society devoted to foreign missions. Some of the societies were interdenominational and others denominational, but they typically focused

[2] Charles Maxfield, "The 'Reflex Influence' of Missions: The Domestic Operations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1850" (PhD diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1995), 58–62; Stewart J. Brown, "Movements of Christian Awakening in Revolutionary Europe, 1790-1815," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume VII, Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 579–80; Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America* (South Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1976), chap. 4–6; Norman E. Thomas, *Missions and Unity: Lessons from History, 1792-2010*, American Society of Missiology 47 (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2010), 14–15; Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 121–24, 275–80; James A. De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions, 1640-1810*, 2006 Reprint (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1970), chap. 6.

on evangelizing frontier populations, Indians, and blacks. The Edwardsean New Divinity led the missions efforts in many areas around the turn of the century. Although many people practiced interdenominational cooperation in regional missionary societies and in the Plan of Union (1801), which encouraged forbearance on polity for the sake of cooperation to evangelize the frontier, missionary schemes became more denominational in the U.S. after 1800. The unique American context allowed for a great deal of diversity, so the evangelical missions culture experienced vibrant growth even as some Americans opposed it on grounds similar to those articulated in the U.K.[3]

Campbell arrived in Philadelphia in May 1807 and immediately received a ministerial assignment with the Chartiers Presbytery in western Pennsylvania. He arrived when the Associate Synod of North America (ASNA) was in session. Presenting letters from his Irish Presbytery and Ahorey Church,[4] he was by no means an uncommon case, as Irish immigrants and their families constituted one-fourth of the white population in Pennsylvania by the 1790s. The ASNA assigned him the Chartiers Presbytery, an area including Washington, PA, where a number of his friends from Ireland had settled and where he made his residence.[5]

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[3] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, chap. 5; De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 199–204; Wilbert R. Shenk, "Introduction," in *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 1–8; Thomas, *Missions and Unity*, 21; A. C. Guelzo, "New England Theology (1750-1850)," ed. Daniel G. Reid et al., *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 810–12; R. W. Pointer, "Plan of Union," ed. Daniel G. Reid et al., *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 911.

[4] The letter from his Presbytery is provided in Alexander Campbell and Thomas Campbell, *Memoirs of Elder Thomas Campbell, Together with A Brief Memoir of Mrs. Jane Campbell* (Cincinnati: H. S. Bosworth, 1861), 20–21.

[5] D. Newell Williams, Douglas A. Foster, and Paul M. Blowers, eds., *The Stone-Campbell Movement: A Global History* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2013), 18; William Herbert Hanna, *Thomas Campbell: Seceder and Christian Union Advocate*, Reprint (Joplin: College Press, 1986), 26–30; Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell: Embracing A View of the Origin, Progress and Principles of*

Within months of starting his ministry, Campbell came into conflict with members of the Chartiers Presbytery. On a preaching trip in August 1807 with fellow-minister William Wilson, Campbell had invited all Presbyterians to take the Lord's Supper. Wilson later charged that he heard Campbell articulate a number of controversial views in a communion sermon, including challenges to (1) the divine authority of confessions, testimonies, and typical practices such as fasting before administering the Lord's Supper and (2) the Presbyterian view of experiential faith and appropriation of Christ. Wilson reported this to John Anderson and other ministers in the Presbytery, and Anderson refused to fulfill his appointment to "assist Mr. Campbel in dispensing the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Buffaloe." Anderson could not accompany Campbell because he believed Campbell's teachings "were inconsistent with some articles of our testimony."[6] The Presbytery meeting in October voted that Anderson's actions were justified, and Campbell angrily left the meeting the next day. The Presbytery created a committee to investigate Campbell's teachings and submit charges in the form of a libel at the next meeting. The committee also agreed not to give Campbell any preaching appointments "on account of his disorderly behavior."[7]

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the Religious Reformation Which He Advocated, vol. 1 (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1890), 1:78–86, 222–23.

[6] Both the *Records of the Associate Presbytery of Chartiers* and the *Acts and Proceedings of the Associate Synod of North America* are available at the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, PA, MF 1353 and MF 9, respectively. Large excerpts are transcribed in Hanna, *Thomas Campbell*, chap. 2–5; Charles F. Brazell, Jr., "Reluctant Restorationist: Thomas Campbell's Trial and Its Role in His Legacy" (PhD diss., The University of Texas at Arlington, 2007), chap. 4–5. The quotes here are from *Records of the Associate Presbytery of Chartiers*, Oct 27, 1807, 123, in Brazell, Jr., "Reluctant Restorationist," 119-20.

[7] *Records of the Associate Presbytery of Chartiers*, Oct 29, 1807, 128-29, in Brazell, Jr., "Reluctant Restorationist," 122.

In January 1808, the committee had expanded the two counts to seven libel charges against Campbell. Each of the seven charges began with, "It is erroneous and contrary to the Holy Scriptures and our subordinate standards" to assert or teach something Campbell allegedly taught. The committee offered evidence from Scripture and confessions to support their points. The Presbytery gave Campbell a month to construct formal responses. In the charges, Campbell's responses, and the Presbytery's rulings, the major conflict centered on Campbell's challenge to Presbyterian authority by disregarding rules and doctrines based on his primitivist individual interpretation.

The Presbytery first charged Campbell for having a wrong view of saving faith because he maintained faith was a natural response to evidence which did not need to be proved by an emotional experience. The second charge rehearsed the common tensions between authority, primitivism, and confessions, as also reflected in the subscription controversies throughout the transatlantic. The Presbytery found it erroneous to "assert that a church has no divine warrant for holding Confessions of Faith as terms of communion." Third, Campbell approved of elders praying and exhorting publicly when no minister was present, and the Presbytery disapproved because this practice did not preserve distinctions between the duties of the teaching and ruling elders. The fourth claimed Campbell erroneously taught "that it is warrantable for the people of our communion to hear ministers that are in a state of opposition to our testimony." Campbell had always listened to ministers of many denominations (a.k.a. occasional hearing) in Ireland, and he defended the practice in his response with a careful caveat: it was lawful if Christians had no opportunity to hear a minister of their own party. Regardless, the Chartiers Presbytery found this unacceptable. Fifth, the Presbytery did not think

Campbell adhered to thoroughgoing substitutionary atonement. Sixth, the committee charged that Campbell erroneously asserted a person "is able in this life to live without sinning in thought, word, and deed." Seventh, it was against the Holy Scriptures and "the rules of presbyterial church government for a minister of our communion to preach in a congregation where any of our ministers are settled without any regular call or appointment." The charge concerned a settled minister in Canonsburg. Campbell admitted to preaching at Cannonsburg but argued that people had called him to preach there and he had not preached in a congregation where a minister was settled. The Presbytery found two of Campbell's responses at least partially satisfactory (charges five and six), but the others as either evasive or admitting to the charge. They voted to censure him and suspend his ministerial standing.[8]

Campbell appealed to the May 1808 ASNA, which reversed Campbell's suspension, but continued opposition from the Presbytery eventually led to division. The Synod called the Chartiers Presbytery's handling of Campbell "irregular," and therefore it reversed Campbell's suspension. Nonetheless, it still found him guilty of several of the libel charges. The Synod concluded Campbell's responses to the Presbytery were evasive and equivocal, and thus it voted to censure Campbell with a rebuke and admonition. Campbell protested in a letter to the Synod, which it read aloud Friday morning. According to the Synod minutes, the letter contained "grievous charges against the Synod . . . of partiality and injustice," and in it Campbell declined the Synod's authority. Campbell responded to a summons and eventually yielded to the Synod's decision, but he

[8] The germane *Records of the Associate Presbytery of Chartiers* and commentary are provided in Ibid., 116–40; Hanna, *Thomas Campbell*, 39–67; Lester G McAllister, *Thomas Campbell: Man of the Book* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1954), 72–84.

handed in a declaration "that his submission should be understood to mean no more . . . than an act of deference to the judgment of the court, that, by so doing, he might not give offence to his brethren by manifesting a refractory spirit."[9] After Campbell submitted to censure, the Synod gave him preaching assignments in Philadelphia for two months, after which time he was to return to Washington and preach under Chartiers Presbytery. Upon return, however, Chartiers Presbytery had not given him preaching assignments. At the September meeting, Campbell and the Presbytery had their final dispute, as Campbell eventually submitted a letter[10] declining the authority of the Presbytery and the ASNA after the Presbytery refused to give him preaching assignments.[11] As historian Charles Brazell has noted, Campbell left the Seceders and Presbyterians reluctantly.[12]

Campbell's break from Presbyterianism shared many similarities with transatlantic evangelicals who left their denominations. Authority became the key contention between Campbell and the ASNA and his Presbytery. His primitivism led him to see his individual interpretation of the Bible as a more significant authority for his beliefs and actions than the Presbytery's or Synod's interpretations and rulings. When the disagreement seemed unresolvable, Campbell chose to see himself as a minister ordained

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[9] As quoted in Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 1:229.

[10] This letter is no longer extant. See Brazell, Jr., "Reluctant Restorationist," 147–48; Hanna, *Thomas Campbell*, 110.

[11] This paragraph relies on *Acts and Proceedings of the Associate Synod of North America*, Monday, May 23 through Friday, May 27, 1808, 170- 200, as provided with commentary in Brazell, Jr., "Reluctant Restorationist," chap. 4.

[12] Ibid.; McAllister, *Thomas Campbell*, 140–44. Campbell wanted to remain with the Presbyterians, demonstrated not only by his persistence with Seceders but by his application to the Pittsburgh Synod of the Presbyterian Church in 1810. By that time, his views on biblical authority and against ecclesiastical authority were simply beyond the threshold of Presbyterian forbearance.

by God (rather than the Presbytery) under the "divine standard" of Scripture (rather than the *Testimony*, etc.). He knew these notions well from his experiences in the evangelical missions culture and his Independent acquaintances. Like transatlantic evangelicals he knew, Campbell was the object of either informal resentment or formal libels for several beliefs and practices: open communion and a liberality that implied latitudinarianism, disruption through itinerant preaching, valuing primitivism over subscription to denominational standards, practicing primitivism that challenged church order, erroneous beliefs, and anti-sectarianism. The evangelical missions culture sometimes produced ecumenism, primitivism, toleration, and sometimes a combination of them that led individuals out of what they perceived to be bigoted denominations and into Independent congregations and voluntary societies to accomplish their goals. Campbell eventually got pushed onto the path out of Presbyterianism which he watched many of his friends and acquaintances travel in the U.K. The ideas and practices that got him pushed onto that path as well as the route he took once on the path had their origins in the evangelical missions culture.

III. Thomas Campbell and Evangelical Missions Culture in the U.S.: The Christian Association of Washington

Campbell never stopped preaching during the Presbyterian trials, and it was not long before he created structures to disseminate the evangelical missions culture around Washington, Pennsylvania. Ideals and practices of the evangelical missions culture proved popular, as Campbell won support from new and old friends preaching in fields

and houses about Christian unity upon a simple evangelical Christianity.[13] In early summer of 1809, a group of diverse Christians met at Abraham Altars' house where Campbell offered a sermon on the evils of sectarianism and the propriety of Christian cooperation and union on the basis of the simple gospel. He concluded with what became a principle of the SCM, even if it proved impossible to practice: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent."[14] Due to the restorationist axiom and the experiences of those present, the gathering discussed the issue of infant baptism, a contentious issue in transatlantic primitivism. Although some such as James Foster—previous leader in John Gibson's Independent church in Richhill, Ireland—already concluded infant baptism had no scriptural justification, the group left the issue open ended and chose to focus on forbearance for the end of their interdenominational evangelical goals.

The group met again in August 17, 1809 and chose to create an interdenominational voluntary society called the Christian Association of Washington (CAW), following the custom of naming evangelical societies by regional location. The group appointed twenty-one members to confer together and, with the assistance of Campbell, "to determine upon the proper means to carry into effect the important ends of

[13] For example, the Acheson brothers who had lived in Markethill, James Foster who was a leader at John Gibson's Independent church in Richhill, and others were among his Old World friends in the area. See Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 1:78–86, 231; McAllister, *Thomas Campbell*, 96.

[14] Richardson marked this meeting and this statement as the "*formal and actual commencement of the Reformation*." Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 1:237.

their association."[15] They built a log building they called the "cross-roads"[16] meeting house which doubled as a common school—two typical methods of evangelical societies. The committee appointed Campbell to prepare a plan and address for the CAW, which the committee approved for publication in September 1809 after it was read aloud at a meeting.[17]

Campbell titled the CAW's publication the *Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington* (1809), and it became probably the most influential of the foundational documents of the Stone-Campbell Movement. The *Declaration and Address* consisted of fifty-six pages organized into three major parts plus a paragraph introduction to the formation of the CAW at the beginning and a two-page "Postscript" at the end. The first major part, the "Declaration," summarized the context and reasons for founding the CAW and provided the plan or constitution of the CAW in nine items. An eighteen-page "Address" to "all that love our Lord Jesus Christ . . . throughout all the Churches" constituted the second part, the heart of which consists of thirteen propositions which summarize the imperative of Christian unity, voluntary association, and restorationism. The "Appendix" represents the last, longest, and most unique section. It anticipated objections which were already circulating by clarifying major points in the

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[15] Thomas Campbell, *Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington* (Washington: Printed by Brown & Sample, 1809), 2.

[16] They built it on the Sinclair farm at the crossing of a road to Canonsburg and another road to Washington. Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 1:241.

[17] Williams, Foster, and Blowers, *The Stone-Campbell Movement: A Global History*, 20; Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 1:234–42; McAllister, *Thomas Campbell*, 95–104; Campbell and Campbell, *Memoirs of Thomas Campbell*, 18–20.

other sections and defending the CAW against the charges of divisiveness and latitudinarianism.[18]

The evangelical missions culture exudes from nearly every page of the *Declaration and Address*. The CAW's plan resembles the plans of the ESU, LMS, SPGH, and other evangelical societies.[19] The first item announced that the group established the CAW "for the sole purpose of promoting simple evangelical christianity, free from all mixture of human opinions and inventions of men." The CAW would promote this simple evangelical Christianity by charging membership dues that would support itinerant ministers to "preach at considerable distances" and supply the poor with Bibles. The gospel itinerants the CAW supported would promote "a pure evangelical reformation, by the simple preaching of the everlasting gospel, and the administration of its ordinances in an exact conformity to the Divine Standard." The plan averred it a "duty" of the CAW to encourage the formation of and cooperation with similar evangelical societies. The plan noted that the CAW was not a church but a collection of "voluntary advocates for church reformation." The plan established that the officers (secretary and treasurer) and committee would be chosen annually, when the bi-annual

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[18] Berryhill notes about the Appendix, "The length, the complexity, indeed the very existence of this portion of the document bear witness to the depth of the wounds that he had suffered in trying to reconcile religious strife in Ireland and in America." Carisse Mickey Berryhill, "Scottish Rhetoric and the *Declaration and Address*," in *The Quest for Christian Unity, Peace, and Purity in Thomas Campbell's* Declaration and Address*: Text and Studies*, ed. Thomas H. Olbricht and Hans Rollmann, ATLA Monograph Series 46 (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 202.

[19] Hiram J. Lester, "The Form and Function of the *Declaration and Address*," in *The Quest for Christian Unity, Peace, and Purity in Thomas Campbell's* Declaration and Address*: Text and Studies*, ed. Thomas H. Olbricht and Hans Rollmann, ATLA Monograph Series 46 (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 173–92; David M. Thompson, "The Irish Background to Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address*," *Discipliana* 46 (1986): 23–27; David M. Thompson, "The Irish Background to Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address*," *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society* 3, no. 6 (1985): 215–25.

meetings would take place, and how funds would be collected.[20] In the Postscript, the CAW informed the public of its plans—beyond sending itinerants and distributing Bibles—for two publications.[21] All of these goals and methods of achieving them were typical of evangelical societies. In other words, Campbell constituted the CAW with a plan, organization, and activities characteristic of other transatlantic evangelical missionary societies.[22]

Like other evangelical societies, Campbell's CAW vehemently opposed religious division. Members of the CAW were "tired and sick of the bitter jarrings and janglings of a party spirit." The "diversity and rancour of party contentions" and the "clashing of human opinions" had completely destroyed the original "unity, peace, and purity" of the primitive church. Campbell argued that division was "anti-christian" because it divided Christ's body, "anti-scriptural" because it violated God's "express command," and "anti-natural" because it encouraged Christians to condemn and oppose those who were divinely obligated to love one another as Christ loved them. Division is the "deadly enemy, that is sheathing its sword in the very bowels of [Christ's] church, rending and mangling his mystical body into pieces" and advancing Satan's kingdom.[23]

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[20] Campbell, *Declaration and Address*, 4–5.

[21] First, the *Christian Catechism* would be a "catechetical exhibition of the fullness and precision of the holy scriptures upon the entire subject of Christianity." Second, *The Christian Monitor* would be a monthly periodical "for the express purpose of detecting and exposing the various anti-christian enormities, innovations and corruptions, which infect the christian church." Ibid., 55–56.

[22] However, many societies avoided administering ordinances because denominations typically required ordained clergy for such. Although Campbell did not want the CAW to be a church, with its itinerants offering all the functions of settled churches (preaching, baptism, and the Lord's Supper), it took the shape of an Independent congregation.

[23] Campbell, *Declaration and Address*, 3, 8, 12, 17–18.

Campbell opposed division because of its deleterious effects within and without the church. Division caused reproach, backbiting, angry contentions, excommunications, persecutions, and broken congregations. Division brought the punishment of God upon Christians because they had perverted the gospel of peace—thus God either withheld his "gracious influential presence from his ordinances," gave up the authors of discord to fall into scandals, "or visits them with judgments, as he did the house of Eli." Furthermore, divisions deprived people of gospel ordinances on the frontier, where "large settlements, and tracts of country, remain to this day entirely destitute of a gospel ministry; many of them in little better than a state of heathenism." This sectarianism even deprived people of the Lord's Supper, "that great ordinance of unity and love." Division obstructed the spread of the gospel not only on the frontier but also to Jews, Muslims, and pagans. Campbell related an 1805 letter from Seneca chiefs to a missionary to demonstrate how division in the church thwarted evangelism and discredited the gospel. The chiefs found nothing in the witness of bickering Christian communities that looked better than the religion they had received form their ancestors. Division precluded conversion but unity would foster it. Campbell believed that restoring the church's "original constitutional unity and purity" would cause the church to "be exalted to the enjoyment of her promised prosperity—that the Jews may be speedily converted and the fullness of the Gentiles brought in."[24]

Christians could no longer continue in division because, Campbell explained, it went against the very design of Christianity. He believed all Christians agreed "THAT it is the grand design, and native tendency, of our holy religion, to reconcile and unite men

[24] Ibid., 6–7, 20, 29–30, 53–54.

to God, and to each other, in truth and love, to the glory of God, and their own present and eternal good." Therefore, the glory of God and happiness of people correlated to the degree that "holy unity and unanimity of love is attained." Moreover, "the church of Christ upon earth is essentially, intentionally, and constitutionally one; consisting of all those in every place that profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him in all things according to the scriptures." Although the church existed in local congregations and associations, it should never be divided. Christian unity was not merely a good idea but a Christian duty. Campbell repeatedly referred to John 17 and Jesus' prayer for the unity of his followers as clear evidence that Christ wanted believers to unite. The Savior's "dying commands, his last and ardent prayers, for the visible unity of his professing people, will not suffer you to be indifferent in this matter. You will not, you cannot, be silent, upon a subject of such vast importance to his personal glory and the happiness of his people—consistently you cannot; for silence gives consent." Campbell assumed the apostolic church walked in unity and peace and the "rubbish of the ages" had replaced that unity with bigotry. Although Campbell believed bigotry was on the decline, it would continue animating divisive Christians until a reformation focused on restoring unity began. For Campbell, to neglect unity was to neglect the design and constitution of Christianity, the "Greatest Commandments," and Christ's dying wish.[25]

Campbell urged Christians to cooperate across denominational lines through voluntary associations to spread the gospel and foster Christian unity. The cause of Christian unity, Campbell argued, was not the cause of a party or sect but the "cause of

[25] Ibid., 6–7, 11–13, 16, 19, 22–23. Campbell cited Malachi 2:1-10 (where God cursed the people and their offspring because they did not bring glory to God's name) to argue that God would curse Christians continuing in the status quo of division and not striving for unity (13).

Christ and our brethren of all denominations." This unity would not happen through the denominational structures but through voluntary associations. Therefore, Campbell viewed association as a Christian duty:

> Till you associate, consult, and advise together; and in a friendly and christian manner explore the subject, nothing can be done. We would therefore . . . call the attention of our brethren to the obvious and important duty of association. Unite with us in the common cause of simple evangelical christianity—In this glorious cause we are ready to unite with you—United we shall prevail. It is the cause of Christ, and of our brethren throughout all the churches, of catholic unity, peace, and purity—a cause that must finally prosper in spite of all opposition. Let us unite to promote it.[26]

Like all evangelical missions advocates, Campbell urged Christians to associate with the CAW or start associations of their own if they were too far away to join the CAW, and he guaranteed the CAW would work with similar societies. Surely the power of embodied unity in worship and preaching at society meetings had not escaped him, thus he pushed for such physical encounters that had shaped evangelical missions culture. He was trying to set up a network like those that worked so well in the U.K. He encouraged these voluntary associations of Christians from all denominations to meet at least once each month to pray for the Lord to end the divisions and restore the church's "original constitutional unity and purity."[27] Campbell believed that the CAW and similar societies constituted on voluntary individual membership would foster Christian unity as diverse Christians came together in formative prayer for evangelical causes.[28]

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[26] Ibid., 14.

[27] Ibid., 20.

[28] Ibid., 13–14.

Campbell provided a number of justifications for the CAW's pursuit of Christian unity at that particular time and place in history. First, Campbell considered America a "highly favored country" in which to procure Christian unity because "the sword of the civil magistrate has not as yet learned to serve at the altar." A nation with religious freedom provided the best opportunity for the church to "resume that original unity, peace, and purity, which belongs to its constitution, and constitutes its glory." Campbell's eschatology and reading of the times influenced his understanding of America's unique opportunities juxtaposed to the "baneful influence" of Europe's civil establishments of Christianity, which Campbell describes in apocalyptic language that is not specific, without commentary, and thus uncertain in meaning.[29] What is clear about his language of America as a "highly favored country" is that he saw civil establishments of Christianity as thwarting God's plans as well as the objects of God's eventual wrath, from which America had gained an exemption due to disestablishment.[30]

Second, Campbell's embrace of the eschatological views common in the transatlantic evangelical missions culture persuaded him that the "auspicious phenomena of the times" proved "that our dutiful and pious endeavors shall not be in vain in the Lord." It was eschatological time for the CAW's activism to restore NT unity and remove obstructions to evangelism. Among these "auspicious phenomena" were the French

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[29] For the possible meanings, see Hans Rollmann, "The Eschatology of the *Declaration and Address*," in *The Quest for Christian Unity, Peace, and Purity in Thomas Campbell's* Declaration and Address*: Text and Studies*, ed. Thomas H. Olbricht and Hans Rollmann, ATLA Monograph Series 46 (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 341–60.

[30] Campbell, *Declaration and Address*, 7–8; Rollmann, "The Eschatology of the *Declaration and Address*," 341–60.

Revolution and the two central components of evangelical missions culture of the 1790s—advances in missions and Christian unity:

> Is it not the day of the Lord's vengeance upon the anti-christian world; the year of recompences for the controversy of Zion? Surely then the time to favour her is come; even the set time. And is it not said that Zion shall be built in troublous times? Have not greater efforts been made, and more done, for the promulgation of the gospel among the nations, since the commencement of the French revolution, than had been for many centuries, prior to that event? And have not the churches both in Europe and America, since that period, discovered a more than usual concern for the removal of contentions, for the healing of divisions, for the restoration of a christian and brotherly intercourse one with another, and for the promotion of each others spiritual good; as the printed documents, upon those subjects, amply testify?[31]

Campbell believed the "troublous times" were indicative also of hopeful times, when the ecumenical missionary movement set the stage for restoring a simple evangelical Christianity with primitive unity at its center.[32]

The eschatology of evangelical missions culture provided Campbell's understanding of the CAW's goals. Responding to opponents of the missionary movement who often claimed that the time had not yet come for missions, Campbell urged readers not to be "lulled asleep by that siren song of the slothful and reluctant professor, 'The time is not yet come—the time is not come—saith he,—the time that the Lord's house should be built.' Believe him not.—Do ye not discern the signs of the times?" Campbell provided a list of vague references to apocalyptic events that were ostensibly signs that the time had indeed come for the CAW and societies like it. Although it is impossible to identify exactly what Campbell had in mind for his numerous references to apocalyptic events, it is clear that all the declarations of divine judgment

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[31] Campbell, *Declaration and Address*, 8.

[32] Ibid., 6, 8–10.

served primarily to demonstrate the "troublous times" during which Zion would be built were occurring in Campbell's day.[33]

The idea that Zion would be built in these "troublous times" (Dan 9:25) had deep roots in evangelical missions culture, which followed the NT authors in using "Zion" allegorically to signify the eschatological church.[34] William Carey interpreted Zechariah 12:10-14 to "teach that when there shall be an universal conjunction in fervent prayer, and all shall esteem Zion's welfare as their own, then copious influences of the Spirit shall be shed upon the churches, which like a purifying *fountain* shall cleanse the servants of the Lord."[35] The New York Missionary Society viewed interdenominational cooperation as a "sign that the LORD is about to build up Zion, and to appear in his glory."[36] George Hamilton utilized the concept in the ESU's founding sermon—a sermon Campbell knew very well as he defended it before his Synod one decade before he wrote the *Declaration and Address*. Hamilton preached, "Behold, my brethren, the peculiar aspect of the present times! Does not the shaking of the nations indicate, that he is on his way to receive the heathen for his inheritance? . . . Are we not told, that in troubleous

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[33] Historian Hans Rollman, who provides an analysis of eschatology in the *Declaration and Address*, notes that "All the other apocalyptic signs from the Bible—the Great Earthquake, lightning, thunderings, voices, and hail—can be interpreted either as natural events of symbolic value . . . or as symbolic signifiers of historical and political events reshaping at the time the European continent and significantly affecting the ecclesiastical establishment." Rollmann, "The Eschatology of the *Declaration and Address*," 348; Frederick Doyle Kershner, *The Christian Union Overture: An Interpretation of the Declaration and Address of Thomas Campbell* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1923), 57–59; Brazell, Jr., "Reluctant Restorationist," 198–99.

[34] Rollman argues that "Zion" in the *Declaration and Address* means the "eschatologically triumphant church." See Rollmann, "The Eschatology of the *Declaration and Address*," 352.

[35] William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (Leicester: Printed and Sold by Ann Ireland, 1792), 78.

[36] New-York Missionary Society, *The Address and Constitution of the New-York Missionary Society* (New York: Printed by T. and J. Swords, 1796), 10.

times, Zion shall be built up? And are not the present times of this very description?" Hamilton quoted Cotton Mather to persuade his readers to see the signs and evangelize the world: "I am well satisfied that if men had the wisdom to discern the signs of the times, every hand would be at work to spread the name of our adorable Jesus into all the corners of the earth."[37] Evangelical missions culture viewed the world through eschatological lenses which envisioned the events of the late eighteenth century—especially unity, missions, and revolutions—as "auspicious." Therefore, Campbell's use of Zion twelve times in the *Declaration and Address* in ways exactly like Hamilton and transatlantic evangelicals is no surprise.[38] Campbell wrote that it was not time "to sit still in our corruptions and divisions," but time to work for Christian unity and the spread of simple evangelical Christianity: "Awake, awake; put on thy strength, O Zion, put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city. . . . Shake thyself from the dust, O Jerusalem; arise, loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion"[39] Evangelical missions culture provided Campbell an eschatological motive for missions and interdenominational cooperation.

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[37] George Hamilton, *The Great Necessity of Itinerant Preaching: A Sermon Delivered in Armagh at the Formation of the Evangelical Society of Ulster, on Wednesday, 10th of Oct. 1798. With a Short Introductory Memorial, Respecting the Establishment and First Attempt of the Society* (Armagh: Printed and Sold by T. Stevenson, and by each Member of the Committee, 1799), 27, 34–35.

[38] Christopher Hutson explains Campbell's use of Scripture in the *Declaration and Address*: "He makes use of oracles about the restoration of Jerusalem to anticipate a glorious outcome for the enterprise he is undertaking. For this purpose, he reads the prophets eschatologically, applying their language about Jerusalem to the church in the end times, which he identifies with his own day." Christopher R. Hutson, "Thomas Campbell's Use of Scripture in the *Declaration and Address*," in *The Quest for Christian Unity, Peace, and Purity in Thomas Campbell's* Declaration and Address*: Text and Studies*, ed. Thomas H. Olbricht and Hans Rollmann, ATLA Monograph Series 46 (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 213.

[39] Campbell, *Declaration and Address*, 14.

Campbell provided a more detailed method of identifying and restoring "simple evangelical Christianity" than most of his evangelical counterparts. In fact, whereas most of the evangelical missions culture advocates promoted a pragmatic ecumenism for the sake of cooperating in voluntary societies for missionary endeavors, Campbell focused on achieving Christian unity through restoring a NT church that had no division because it preceded the human traditions (i.e., creeds, confessions, catechisms, disciplines, courts) that had divided Christianity. The church should "resume that original unity, peace, and purity, which belongs to its constitution, and constitutes its glory."[40] Campbell's "simple evangelical Christianity" was actually a proposal for Christian communion based on agreement of only the clear beliefs and practices in the NT. His method of restorationism or his restoration hermeneutic was indebted to the Reformed tradition and the intellectual milieu of the Scottish Enlightenment, and he assumed it was something upon which every Christian on the planet could unite.

Campbell's restorationism began with the typical assumption of the interdenominational missions culture that historical Christian traditions had added to the NT, though he explained these precisely as additions to the "express" (a.k.a., "simple" or clear) "doctrine, worship, discipline, and government" of the "original" (a.k.a. "primitive" or "apostolic") church. His restoration agenda partly offered a response to his experience with Presbyteries and Synods who made historical "standards" (confessions, creeds, and disciplines) "terms of communion." Campbell was not opposed to confessions and testimonies as aids in understanding Scripture—he called them "highly expedient." Instead, he opposed using them as terms of communion because they were

[40] Ibid., 10.

full of "human opinions" (a.k.a. "inferences," "human reasoning," or "deductions"). Campbell believed using historical standards as terms of communion created the opposite effect of their intentions because they decisively and permanently divided the church with confessions full of what Campbell perceived to be human opinions. His solution to the division was to require only the clear statements of the NT—rather than human opinions—as terms of communion. He believed two things had caused the divisions in the church: (1) "a partial neglect of the expressly revealed will of God" and (2) "an assumed authority for making the approbation of human opinions, and human inventions, a term of communion, by introducing them into the constitution, faith, or worship, of the church." These two things "are, and have been, the immediate, obvious, and universally acknowledged causes, of all the corruptions and divisions that ever have taken place in the church of God."[41] For Campbell, as for many evangelicals in the early missions culture, the force of the argument that Christians should unite on the apostolic gospel and not later traditions seemed irrefutable.

Campbell's restoration hermeneutic relied on the idea of "express" statements in Scripture—some form of the word "express" appears over one hundred times in the *Declaration and Address*, usually in conjunction with commands or terms in Scripture. "Express commands" or things expressly declared in Scripture were the hinge of Campbell's entire restoration and unity programs. The term "expressly" means clearly, explicitly, directly, definitely, or positively.[42] He used the term in the sense of clarity—a command or declaration in the NT that is universal and irrefutable and, therefore, the

[41] Ibid., 17–18, 38–39.

[42] See "expressly, *adv*.," in *Oxford English Dictionary*.

basis of apostolic unity, is one that is "express." Campbell was firmly within the Reformed Westminster interpretive guidelines up to this point—he adhered to the Reformed principle that Scripture regulates beliefs and practices, as codified in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* 1.6[43] and 21.1[44], particularly in regard to things "expressly set down."[45] However, Campbell opposed using "good and necessary" deductions (i.e., "inferences" and "human opinions" in Campbell's thinking) as authoritative—this is where he parted company with Westminster hermeneutics. Campbell saw good and necessary deductions or inferences as expedient or useful, but they should not be made terms of communion due to their lack of certainty. Express commands were clearly understood by all, but inferences were not. Campbell also added to things "expressly set down" the category of "approved precedents" or apostolic "examples," which had origins in early Protestant traditions of interpretation.[46] Therefore, Campbell's restorationism depended upon the hermeneutical device of "express

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[43] "The whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary for His own glory, man's salvation, faith and life, is either *expressly set down* in Scripture, or *by good and necessary consequence may be deduced* from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men. Nevertheless, we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word" (italics mine).

[44] "The acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by Himself, and so limited by His own revealed will, that He may not be worshipped according to the imaginations and devices of men, or the suggestions of Satan, under any visible representation, or *any other way not prescribed in the holy Scripture*" (italics mine).

[45] Michael W Casey, "The Origins of the Hermeneutics of the Churches of Christ Part One: The Reformed Tradition," *Restoration Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (January 1, 1989): 75–91; Michael W Casey, "The Origins of the Hermeneutics of the Churches of Christ Part Two: The Philosophical Background," *Restoration Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (January 1, 1989): 193–206.

[46] Thomas H. Olbricht, "Hermeneutics and the *Declaration and Address*," in *The Quest for Christian Unity, Peace, and Purity in Thomas Campbell's* Declaration and Address*: Text and Studies*, ed. Thomas H. Olbricht and Hans Rollmann, ATLA Monograph Series 46 (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 246–47; Thomas H. Olbricht, "Hermeneutics," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 387.

commands" and "approved precedents." His unity program assumed all could agree on these express commands and precedents, and that all would be willing to practice forbearance in regard to inferences or deductions which were not expressly set down in the NT. The holy precepts and "approved and imitable examples, would unite the Christian church in a holy sameness of profession and practice, throughout the whole world"[47]

Campbell's hermeneutical proposal for restoring an apostolic church and primitive unity utilized the Reformed tradition of interpretation but modified it based on British empiricism. Campbell argued that inferences should not be made terms of communion, which was a departure from Westminster hermeneutics and theology. Historian Michael Casey argued that John Locke's empiricism, which undergirded British toleration, partly explains Campbell's rejection of necessary inferences as authoritative. John Locke proposed Christian unity based on clear commands in the Bible in *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689):

> *Schism* then, for the same reasons that have already been alledged, is nothing else but a Separation made in the Communion of the Church, upon account of something in Divine Worship, or Ecclesiastical Discipline, that is not any necessary part of it. Now nothing in Worship or Discipline can be necessary to Christian Communion, but what Christ our Legislator, or the Apostles, by Inspiration of the Holy Spirit, have commanded in express words.[48]

If a truth required logical argumentation because it was not expressly stated, it occupied secondary status for Locke. Campbell's proposal in the *Declaration and Address* is basically that of Locke, except he added "approved precedents." Casey also points to

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[47] Campbell, *Declaration and Address*, 36.

[48] John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (London: Printed for Awnsham Churchill, at the Black Swan at Amen-Corner, 1689), 61.

Scottish Common Sense philosophers, Thomas Reid and George Jardine (Campbell's teacher), as another key source for Campbell's rejection of "necessary inference" as authoritative. Reid argued that necessary inference came from Aristotelian syllogism,[49] and Jardine followed Reid in viewing Baconian induction as a more effectual method of reasoning. Therefore, when Christians made inferences into terms of communion, they violated individual liberty of opinion in interpretation, the Christian virtues of forbearance and charity, and inductive reasoning.[50] These violations led to the evil divisions in the church. In contrast, agreement upon the "solid basis of universally acknowledged, and self-evident truths, must have the happiest tendency to enlighten and conciliate."[51] Thus the *Westminster Confession* and British empiricism, especially as manifested in Scottish Common Sense Philosophy, constituted the hermeneutical and intellectual foundations of Campbell's view of Christian unity upon a simple or "clear" NT.[52] These intellectual foundations animated many leaders in the transatlantic evangelical missions culture on both unity and restoration.

Campbell's optimism in the ability of human common sense to acquire—and for people to agree on—the clear statements in Scripture and thereby "exhibit a complete conformity to the Apostolick church" was exceeded only by his optimism in the NT's

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[49] That is, two premises lead logically to a necessarily inferred conclusion.

[50] Campbell saw inferences and opinions in confessions as "expedients," useful for unpacking complex ideas but not authorities that should determine who was in and out of the Christian fold.

[51] Campbell, *Declaration and Address*, 12.

[52] Michael W. Casey, "The Theory of Logic and Inference in the *Declaration and Address*," in *The Quest for Christian Unity, Peace, and Purity in Thomas Campbell's* Declaration and Address*: Text and Studies*, ed. Thomas H. Olbricht and Hans Rollmann, ATLA Monograph Series 46 (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 223–42.

ability to deliver a monolithic, fixed, certain, and perfect standard for doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the modern church. "Truth is something certain and definite," Campbell averred, and "this [i.e., defining truth] we suppose God has sufficiently done already in his Holy Word." Campbell believed the NT was "a fixed and certain standard of divine original" in which the wisdom of God revealed and determined everything in a "perfect constitution" for the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church. The NT was a "divinely inspired rule" and "original pattern" which, if restored, would create primitive unity. Campbell knew he was assuming the idea that the NT had a perfect original pattern, but he believed all "rational professors" had to agree that the NT was all-sufficient in all these areas—the only other option for him was to say Scripture was insufficient. Following the NT "pattern" would "infallibly" lead the church to the eradication of division, establishment of primitive unity, and removal of obstructions to evangelization.[53] This optimism had roots in Scottish intellectual traditions. Campbell posited, "it is high time for us not only to think, but also to act for ourselves; to see with our own eyes, and to take all our measures directly and immediately from the Divine Standard." He thought that when people read the Bible, they received the "impressions" that the Bible "must necessarily produce upon the receptive mind."[54] As historian Carisse Berryhill notes,

> An "impression" in Scottish psychology is the imprint of a stimulus on an appropriate receptor. The analogy is of pressure, as in printing, or as in pressing a seal into wax. So when TC says they intend to "take all our measures directly and immediately from the Divine Standard," he means that reading the Bible will stamp into the reader's mind a replica of the idea signified. His word "immediate" carries the force similar to our "unmediated." This unmediated interaction with

[53] Campbell, *Declaration and Address*, 10–11, 19, 46–50.

[54] Ibid., 3, 37.

> the text is his best hope for an exact duplication of the original community of the church.[55]

Campbell believed the Bible impressed its truths in all people in all places at all times because it spoke in plain and obvious ways, presenting obvious truths and facts to the common sense of the reader.[56] Campbell's Reformed Protestant tradition told him Scripture provided a rule for doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, while his intellectual inheritance from the Scottish Enlightenment gave him great confidence in the ability of individuals to receive the impressions of clear Scripture statements without the mediation of church authorities. Although he periodically reminded readers that the whole process required the Holy Spirit's guidance, Campbell believed that individuals would receive the same objective impressions of the express statements in Scripture, thereby agree on "simple evangelical Christianity," produce primitive unity upon NT doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, and remove obstacles to world evangelization.

Campbell's Enlightenment training not only funded his hermeneutic but fostered his seemingly liberal program for unity, which led Campbell to defend the CAW against the charge of latitudinarianism and deflect the charge toward his opponents. Opponents could see latitudinarianism in Campbell's disregard for "inferences" and church traditions as authorities and tests of communion as well as his individualistic and liberal basis for Christian unity. Campbell spent a great deal of time at the 1799 Antiburgher Synod in Ireland explaining the ESU documents, but the Synod concluded the principles of the

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[55] Berryhill, "Scottish Rhetoric and the *Declaration and Address*," 200.

[56] Ibid., 203.

ESU were "completely Latitudinarian whereby the truth of the Gospel is in Danger of Being Destroyed & the practice of Godliness overthrown."[57] Again a decade later, Campbell spent a significant portion of the Appendix defending the CAW against those who "impeach us with the vague charge of Latitudinarianism (let none be startled at this gigantic term)." If latitudinarianism meant "we take no greater latitude than the divine law allows, either in judging of persons, or doctrines—either in profession, or practice," then the church needed more of it. But if the word meant something bad, "it better belongs to those that brandish it so unmercifully at their neighbors; especially if they take a greater latitude than their neighbours do; or than the divine law allows." In this way, Campbell reversed the charge. The "truly latitudinarian principle and practice, which is the bitter root of almost all our divisions . . . [is] the imposing of our private opinions upon each other, as articles of faith or duty; introducing them into the public profession and practice of the church, and acting upon them, as if they were the express law of Christ, by judging and rejecting our brethren that differ with us in those things." Campbell defended the CAW against latitudinarianism and deflected the charge at his opponents for allowing too much latitude (i.e., inference and human opinion) in running the church—rather than "simple evangelical Christianity," they practiced a convoluted confessional Christianity.[58]

Campbell's CAW and *Declaration and Address* shared many similarities with typical transatlantic evangelical missionary societies and sermons, demonstrating this

[57] *Minutes of the Associate (Antiburgher) Synod of Ireland* (1799), 117-18.

[58] Campbell, *Declaration and Address*, 30–35. A form of latitude or latitudinarian occurs twenty times in the *Declaration and Address* Appendix.

culture is the best context for understanding the origins of the Campbell movement. The most blatant similarity included the structure of a voluntary society, designed not to promote a party or a church but to promote interdenominational cooperation. Also similar were the society's goals of practicing "simple evangelical Christianity" through sending itinerant preachers to distant places with a primitive gospel that all Christians could agree upon and through Bible distribution. Itinerancy and Bible distribution were the two most common functions of the early evangelical and missionary societies. The CAW's plan and address were written and published in typical evangelical format, although the CAW's Appendix was a unique feature.[59] Campbell's critique of sectarian bigotry or party zeal and his desire for Christian cooperation upon a simple, primitive, evangelical gospel were the most prominent characteristics of the early evangelical missions culture. Campbell shared with the evangelical missions culture the assumption that the practices and beliefs in the NT provided an earlier and more pristine version of Christianity than what one found in the later Protestant confessional traditions. The intellectual milieu of the Enlightenment provided diverse resources that transatlantic people utilized for divergent agendas, and evangelicals found much they liked. Campbell's experience in the Scottish intellectual world at Glasgow University provided the framework for his appropriation of the evangelical missions culture, especially how he understood unity and restoration in the *Declaration and Address*. He shared the idea that events such as the revolutions and developments in Christianity—particularly interdenominational cooperation and missionary endeavors—constituted "signs of the times." His

[59] Defense against objections to the missions culture had been a common part of publications, though they were not typically included in the plan and sermon pamphlet.

postmillennial eschatology was similar to transatlantic evangelical missions advocates in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—they saw interdenominational prayer, Christian unity, and the missionary movement as precursors to conversion of the Jews and the fullness of the Gentiles coming in. In short, the transatlantic evangelical missions culture provides the context for understanding Campbell's *Declaration and Address* and the CAW.

Campbell also had peculiarities that distinguished his reform proposals in the *Declaration and Address* from some interdenominational missions advocates. Campbell's experiences with Seceder Presbyterianism in Ireland and especially the U.S. led him to see Christian unity as more than a pragmatic means to evangelism; rather, unity was both a goal and a means to an end. He held to the evangelical missions culture idea that a united Christianity would lead to conversion of the heathen. However, he focused as much on division precluding expansion as he did on unity fostering it. Campbell assumed that the NT church walked united without division and to restore that primitive unity to the modern church was a worthy goal in itself. Although Campbell explicitly said that this unity would serve an evangelistic end, since Christ said the world would convert when the church was united and the CAW existed to send out itinerant missionaries, his focus throughout the *Declaration and Address* was more on restoring an ostensible apostolic unity through restoration than on attaining pragmatic unity for the sake of missions. Furthermore, his framing of divisions as evil and against the very design of Christianity waged war on sectarianism in more vehement ways than many other missionary advocates. To be sure, the missions culture produced fiery opponents of sectarianism, such as Rowland Hill who itinerated in Ireland numerous times when

Campbell lived there. Nonetheless, Campbell set up Christian unity as not only a better option to sectarian bigotry but also as an end in itself because the church was essentially and constitutionally one. Campbell's restorationism also set a different course concerning ecclesiology than that which had supported evangelical cooperation for missions since the early eighteenth century. Pietists and their evangelical heirs constructed ecclesiological unity based on experiential new birth—those who were born again made up the invisible, spiritual church which reached beyond the historical and concrete denominations. Campbell demoted experiential new birth as the basis of invisible unity across denominations and replaced it with visible unity in congregations and between congregations based on a restored NT church. These distinguished the CAW and its Address from many other missionary and evangelical societies and their founding addresses. It also set a trajectory for many in the Campbell movement to see restoration not only of NT unity but also of NT doctrine and practice as an end goal.

This restoration trajectory was similar to that of the Haldanes, Alexander Carson, and John Walker, Christians who were, like Campbell, indelibly influenced by the evangelical missions culture but who eventually focused less on unity and more on restoration of NT doctrine, worship, discipline, and government. This emphasis runs throughout the *Declaration and Address*, though always with an end goal of primitive unity for the glory of God, the happiness of Christians, and the evangelization of the world. Campbell offered a constructive hermeneutical proposal for restoring the NT church. No one read this document without understanding that the plan for unity was Christian communion and cooperation upon the beliefs and practices of the NT as found in either express terms or approved precedents. Although much was left unsaid, Campbell

provided a clearer restoration hermeneutic than typical missions culture advocates. Typically, "simple evangelical gospel" was not specifically defined and was used mostly as a justification of Reformed-leaning denominations working together despite their different polities. Missions advocates in the 1790s certainly believed it meant more than that eschatologically and ecclesiologically, but it was practically a means of Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Anglicans working together for missions. Even the CAW's proposal for a monthly periodical, *The Christian Monitor*, exposed the restorationism that would eventually become sectarian rather than ecumenical. Although it was common for missionary societies to establish their own periodicals, *The Christian Monitor* planned to be more of a restoration watchdog calling out people who used creeds and confessions as terms of communion than performing the typical tasks of evangelical missions magazines, which mostly focused on missions reports, reports of interdenominational meetings and sermons, reports of itinerant preaching tours, reports on Bible and tract distribution, and some doctrinal articles. The *Declaration and Address* defined "simple evangelical Christianity" as express NT beliefs and practices, and it laid out a hermeneutic for restoring them.[60] That restoration project eventually looked more like the Haldanes or Walker than the LMS, though all were permanently influenced by the motives and practices of the 1790s evangelical missions culture.

The *Declaration and Address* came off the press at the end of 1809 at the same time the Campbell family finally arrived from Scotland, and Alexander immediately embraced the goals of the *Declaration and Address*, resolving "to consecrate his life to

[60] This is why Mark Noll calls the document an "early manifesto of American Restorationism." See Mark A Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 380.

the advocacy of the principles which it presented."[61] Alexander turned down a generous offer to run a nearby school because he wanted to devote all his efforts to the CAW and its proposed reformation. Pleased with his son's decision, Thomas arranged for Alexander to devote at least six months to intensive study of the NT. His daily studies included Greek, Latin, Hebrew, church history, the Bible with Henry and Scott's notes on practical observations, Scripture memorization, and from 1810 to 1811 he read books by John Walker, the Haldanes, Robert Sandeman, and many more.[62] In July 1810, Alexander preached his first sermon at a preaching stand in a grove. He preached over one hundred sermons in his first year of ministry for the CAW, preaching in private houses, in outdoor preaching stands, at the CAW's "cross-roads" meeting-house, and at the CAW's second meeting house built in the valley of Brush Run. Both Campbells were active itinerants for the CAW, preaching not just the Word but the evangelical missions culture in its unique Washington manifestation.[63]

Motivated by requests from Presbyterians and worried that the CAW was becoming a new party, Thomas applied for "christian and ministerial communion" to the Synod of Pittsburgh in the Presbyterian Church in the Unites States of America (PCUSA) in October 1810.[64] The minutes describe Campbell as formerly in connection with the Associate Synod but now "representing himself as in some relation to a society called the

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[61] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 1:274–75.

[62] Ibid., 1:442–43.

[63] Ibid., 1:274–80, 311–24.

[64] According to Richardson, Thomas applied to the Synod of Pittsburgh for two reasons. First, the CAW under the ministration of both Campbells began to take on the characteristics of a distinct religious body and Thomas did not want to form another "party." Second, Presbyterians had solicited him to take such action, believing the Synod would embrace him and the CAW. See Ibid., 1:324–27.

Christian Society of Washington." After hearing Campbell "at length," the Synod explained its rejection of the CAW and similar societies:

> The Synod unanimously resolved, that however specious the plan of that christian association, and however seducing its professions, as experience of the effects of similar projects, in other parts, has evinced their baneful tendency, and destructive operations on the whole interests of religion, by promoting division, instead of union, by degrading the ministerial characters, by providing free admission to any errors in doctrine, and to any corruption in discipline, whilst a nominal approbation of the scriptures as the only standard of truth may be professed, the Synod are constrained, by the most solemn considerations to disapprove the plan and its native effects.
>
> And farther, for the above and many other important reasons, it was resolved that Mr. Campbell's request to be received into christian and ministerial communion can not be granted.[65]

The Synod knew of evangelical societies like the CAW and found them destructive for their alleged deception and divisiveness. Beyond that, the Synod had established itself as the Western Missionary Society (WMS) at its foundational meeting in 1802 and thus already had means for missions. The object of this synodical missionary society was "to diffuse the knowledge of the Gospel among the inhabitants of the new settlements, the Indian Tribes, and if need be, among some of the interior inhabitants, where they are not able to support the gospel."[66] The WMS appointed a person to preach an annual missionary sermon at the Synod meeting, which in 1810 raised considerable funds for the missions. Therefore, the Presbyterian Synod had already created denominational structures that fulfilled one of the major tasks for which the CAW and societies like it existed (i.e., itinerant missions). Campbell requested an explanation of the "many other

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[65] Synod of Pittsburgh, *Records of the Synod of Pittsburgh: From Its First Organization, September 29, 1802 to October 1832 Inclusive* (Pittsburgh: Published by Luke Loomis, Agent, 1852), 71–72.

[66] Ibid., 11; Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 173–74.

important reasons" it rejected receiving him into communion, which the Synod eventually provided, and to which Campbell responded.[67] The CAW's proposal for an interdenominational evangelical missionary endeavor, founded on the simple NT gospel, was no more acceptable to the PCUSA than it was the Associate Synods in the U.S. or U.K.[68]

Alexander responded to the Synod's charges and defended evangelical missions culture in a sermon at the CAW's semi-annual meeting in November 1810.[69] He publicized the CAW's meeting in Washington's *The Reporter*, inviting all to hear his discourse which would illustrate the "principles and design" of the CAW and respond to "certain mistakes and objections which ignorance or willful opposition has attached to the humble and well-meant attempts of the Society to promote a scriptural reformation, as testified in their address to the friends and lovers of peace and truth throughout all the

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[67] The Synod rejected Campbell's teachings that the *Westminster Confession* included opinions not found in the Bible, the NT did not have precept or example supporting infant baptism which made it a matter of indifference, encouraging his son to preach the gospel without "regular authority," "for opposing creeds and confessions as injurious to the interest of religion," and simply because the Presbyterian Church did not regulate the formation of connections with ministers, churches, or associations. Synod of Pittsburgh, *Records of the Synod of Pittsburgh*, 75.

[68] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 1:324–34; McAllister, *Thomas Campbell*, 140–44; Williams, Foster, and Blowers, *The Stone-Campbell Movement: A Global History*, 21–22.

[69] This section relies on the sermon text as provided in Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 1:335–47. The first part of the sermon is available in T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV, Archives and Special Collections, Campbell Papers, Part 14—Manuscripts, *Manuscript C* transcription from microfilm, "Sermon Propounded at the Semiannual Meeting of the Christian Association, 1810 Nov. 1," pages 66-68. Unfortunately, this tiny portion of the sermon constitutes only the introduction of his biblical texts.

Churches."[70] Alexander took Isaiah 57:14[71] and 62:10[72] as his sermon texts on the cause of Zion as represented in the CAW and similar evangelical societies. Campbell argued that Christians should expect that the glorious day when the "'heathen' shall be given to King Jesus 'for his inheritance,' and 'the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession;' when the 'Gentiles shall see Zion's righteousness'" was not far off because of the "many noble exertions that have been made, and are at this day making, for the conversion of the heathen. Rapid progress is making in the translation of the Scriptures into every language under heaven." In this 1810 sermon, Campbell explicitly described the CAW as a recent attempt of the transatlantic evangelical missionary endeavor for Zion.[73]

Campbell's creative Bible interpretation argued that the CAW had performed the duties allegorically instructed in the Isaiah texts. He said the texts instructed the church to separate from Babylon (assuming Babylonian exile as context) in order to "go through the gates" to Zion. The church needed to "prepare the way" for a permanent reformation by taking up the "stumbling block out of the road of my people." This stumbling block and the stones that needed gathered out of the way of God's people were analogous to "human opinions and inventions of men" that had replaced Scripture. In order to "cast up the highway," the church needed to "'disencumber the Scriptures from the traditions of

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[70] Quoted in Ibid., 1:335.

[71] "Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way, take up the stumblingblock out of the road of my people." This is Alexander Campbell's rendering of the text in *Manuscript C*, 66. The KJV has "way" instead of "road."

[72] "Go through the gates, go through the gates; prepare the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people" (as in Campbell, *Manuscript C*, 66).

[73] Alexander Campbell, "Sermon Propounded at the Semiannual Meeting of the Christian Association, 1810 Nov. 1," in Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 1:336–38.

men, and exhibit them in a simple and perspicuous manner,' as they are the only authorized highway from Babylon to Zion, or from this world to heaven." Therefore, to "lift up a standard for the people" meant lifting up the true standard, which was the testimony of Jesus Christ in Scripture. The CAW had fulfilled the duties suggested in the OT text:

> 1. By endeavoring to remove the stumbling-block of making the private opinions of men a term of communion. 2. By gathering out of the way the stumbling-stones of human invention. 3. By pointing to the good old way, and maintaining that it is perfect, infallible, and sufficient. 4. By lifting up as our standard and maintaining that the New Testament is as perfect a constitution for the worship, discipline and government of the New Testament Church, and as perfect a rule for the particular duties of its members, as the Old Testament was for its members.[74]

Campbell believed the CAW's proposed reformation offered solutions for the church that were analogous to Isaiah's directions to the OT "church."

The rest of Campbell's sermon at the CAW meeting offered rebuttals to each specific charges from the Synod of Pittsburgh and other charges as well, referring to various sections of the *Declaration and Address* to justify each rebuttal. To the charge that the CAW increased division and would create a new party, he said it could be a new party "only in the same sense that the primitive Christians became a new party." The Synod charged that the CAW tended to "degrade the ministerial character." Campbell pointed to the fifth resolution of the Address which made the NT the standard for its ministerial principles; if NT principles degraded something, then it needed degraded. Campbell flatly denied the charge that the CAW's plan opened the door to corruption in discipline, citing several passages from the *Declaration and Address*. On the charge that

[74]Alexander Campbell, "Sermon Propounded at the Semiannual Meeting of the Christian Association, 1810 Nov. 1," in Ibid., 1:341.

the CAW's principles excluded infant baptism, he explained that the CAW's position was actually that it should be a matter of forbearance analogous to Paul's policy on circumcision, since there was no express precept or example for the practice of infant baptism in the NT. On the charge that the CAW's plan tended to establish independent church government, Campbell agreed the church was independent under the "government of her glorious Head," ruled by "elders and deacons." Local churches were independent but should be in "brotherly relation to each other," but the CAW found no evidence in Scripture that the churches at Corinth, Antioch, and Pisidia were "governed by their rulers *in conjunction with one another*" or by votes in "*superior* and *inferior* courts"; thus the members of the CAW were "*scriptural* Presbyterians." On lay preaching, Campbell appealed to resolution twelve of the Address which stated the CAW's ministers were "duly and scripturally qualified"—if lay preachers were those "duly and scripturally qualified," then "let us have a number of them."[75] This portion of the sermon demonstrates that by the end of 1810, the Campbells and the CAW had publicly articulated views that made their membership limited. Unlike the LMS, which consistently attempted not to discuss polity in order to maintain cooperation among Independents, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Anglicans, Alexander's sermon in the wake of the Synod of Pittsburgh's public condemnation of the CAW and his father excluded all but congregational polity as scripturally legitimate.

The next extant evidence of CAW activity comes from Alexander's itinerant preaching tour for the CAW in Ohio beginning on May 16, 1811, which he narrated in

[75] Alexander Campbell, "Sermon Propounded at the Semiannual Meeting of the Christian Association, 1810 Nov. 1," in Ibid., 1:341–47.

"Account of My Circuit on My First Mission over the Ohio—1811." On this mission, he engaged numerous people in debate on the "principles which we advocate," preached in churches, a courthouse, and in houses before Presbyterians, Methodists, and others. Among his sermon texts were a favorite missions text (Mark 16:15-16) and a text suggesting the all-sufficiency of Scripture (John 5:39). He also preached on Is 57:14 and 62:10, probably making the same points noted above when he preached these texts at the CAW meeting in November 1810 (i.e., he placed the CAW in the evangelical missions culture as one of the auspicious endeavors of the "times"). The "Account" ends abruptly on his third Sunday out, at which point he had been itinerating eighteen days and had preached eleven times.[76]

Also in the summer of 1811, the CAW formed an Independent congregation. According to Richardson, Thomas decided to do this "on account of the continued hostility of the different parties." The CAW "should assume the character of an independent Church, in order to the enjoyment of those privileges and the performance of those duties which belong to the Church relation."[77] Thomas was appointed elder, four deacons were chosen, and Alexander was licensed to preach the gospel. Their first meeting as a church was on May 5, 1811, when they held their first communion. After several did not participate because they had never been baptized, Thomas performed the

[76] Alexander Campbell, "Account of My Circuit on My First Mission over the Ohio—1811," in *Manuscript C*, 72-73. Richardson notes that he returned home, preaching twice more on the way. See Ibid., 1:371.

[77] Ibid., 1:366–67.

first three immersions.[78] The Independent congregation met alternately at the two CAW buildings—cross-roads and Brush Run.

Despite the typical historical narrative,[79] the CAW did not disband when it formed an Independent congregation nor was it then called the Brush Run Church. Rather, the Independent congregation sometimes identified as the "first Church" of the CAW and continued meeting at both the cross-roads and Brush Run log buildings—one church in two CAW locations. For example, there is a document dated January 29, 1812 in Alexander's *Manuscript 332*, titled "3 Questions proposed for [illegible word] respecting the principles practices and progress of the Christian Association of Washington." Answers to the first two questions provide passages from Scripture and the *Declaration and Address* to affirm the CAW's principles and practices, demonstrating that the Campbells still worked under the name of the CAW in early 1812, long after they had established an Independent congregation. For another example, when the Independent congregation ordained Alexander on January 1, 1812,[80] Thomas signed Alexander's ordination certificate on September 21, 1812 as "Thomas Campbell, Senior Minr. of the first Church of the Christian association of Washington meeting at Crossroads & Brushrun Washington County, Pensylvania [sic]" along with signatures of

[78] Alexander Campbell and Thomas Campbell, "3 Questions proposed for [illegible word] respecting the principles practices and progress of the Christian Association of Washington," in *Manuscript 332*, 156-59.

[79] That is, the CAW disbanded and became the Brush Run Church.

[80] For Alexander's beliefs and thoughts about ordination, see his "A Review of Religious Principles," Jan. 1, 1812, in *Manuscript 332*, 114-17.

four "Deacons of the said Church."[81] Despite the fact that the congregation adopted believers' immersion in June 1812, three months later it still identified as a congregation of the CAW. The key point is that as late as September 1812, the Campbells' Independent congregation is more accurately described as the "First Church of the CAW" than the "Brush Run Church," as historical narratives usually have it.

The CAW was an evangelical missions society that provided the central framework for the self-understanding of the Campbells and the emergence of their movement or "reformation," as they called it. Although the typical narrative of the CAW in historical surveys of the SCM is mostly limited to analysis of the *Declaration and Address* with little on the society other than its "failure," it was the society under whose name the Campbell movement emerged and operated from 1809 through late 1812. And although the ideals in the *Declaration and Address* became the most influential aspect of the CAW for the development of the SCM, members involved in its founding and early history certainly did not foresee that conclusion. In their minds, the society itself was a manifestation of the missionary endeavor that people viewed as a "sign of the times"—Thomas recognized this in his *Declaration and Address* and Alexander in his sermons on Isaiah in 1810 and 1811. Some of the CAW members had seen internationally famous itinerant preachers in Ireland, witnessed thousands receive Bibles, and knew of people who received Christian education through the work of regional evangelical societies constituted exactly like their CAW. Their society would provide the means of Christian cooperation for spreading the gospel in their area. The Campbells defended the principles

[81] This ordination certificate provided to Brooke County is available in T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV, Archives and Special Collections, Campbell Papers, Part 18—Ordination, No. 1. Deed Book E, p. 123.

of the CAW to the PCUSA Synod of Pittsburgh and to numerous religious people on their itinerant journeys. Their Independent congregation was the "first Church of the CAW" until at least September 1812. The CAW and *Declaration and Address* were manifestations of the transatlantic evangelical missions culture the Campbells encountered in the U.K. Their self-understanding as Christians and their identity as reformers in the earliest years was inextricably tied to the transatlantic evangelical missions culture.

For a number of reasons, the CAW did not experience success comparable to the ESU or GES in Ireland or the SPGH in Scotland. September 1812 is the last reference I have found to the Campbells identifying with the CAW. Its proposed publications never materialized, and no sister associations were formed. A number of factors help explain its relatively brief, though influential, existence. First, a sparsely settled frontier with long distances between settlements with small populations, unlike the U.K., created a more difficult context for success. Second, the CAW was in the heart of Presbyterian settlement in the U.S., a denomination which often opposed voluntary evangelical societies which could undermine parish and clerical order. Beyond the practical concept of itinerant preachers, the idea that the CAW itinerants would "administer the ordinances according to the Divine Standard" would have gone further in subverting the settled congregations' functions, which made membership in the society less tenable for those in non-congregational denominations (this official stance had to severely limit the CAW's draw more so than societies whose itinerants only preached). Third, the CAW had no magazine with a readership from which they could draw support. Fourth, some denominations already had means for missionary involvement on the frontier, nullifying

the contextual need that made the ESU, GES, LMS, and SPGH so necessary and then successful. Finally, the Campbells' acceptance of believers' baptism in 1812 limited their sphere of influence from that time largely to the Baptist community.

IV. The Campbells and Missions During the Early Baptist Years (1812-1823)

The Campbells naturally began considering affiliation with Baptists in 1812, after they concluded believers' immersion was an express and positive divine command in the NT. Alexander married Margaret Brown in 1811 and they had their first child in March 1812, which precipitated a careful study of infant baptism and believers' immersion. The Campbells were well aware of the views of evangelical missions advocates such as the Haldanes, Carson, and others who adopted believers' baptism and became Baptists after embracing a more patternist primitivism. They concluded similarly and had a local Baptist, Matthias Luce, baptize five members of the Campbell family and two members of the CAW's Independent church in June 1812. In the subsequent meetings of the congregation, most of the others were either baptized or left the CAW. The public stance on believers' immersion proved polarizing because it was a move from the CAW's previous position of forbearance on an unclear NT practice (which fostered cooperation among Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists in the CAW) to their new position that it was a positive divine ordinance (which caused those who believed in infant baptism to leave).[82]

From 1812 to 1830, the Campbells retained some type of acquaintance or association with Baptists. On December 28, 1812, a certificate for Alexander to celebrate

[82] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 1:395–405.

the rites of matrimony from Brooke County said he "produced credentials of his ordination, and also of his being in regular communion with the Regular Baptist Church of Brush Run."[83] From as early as December 1812, then, Campbell was apparently willing to identify as Baptist. After numerous conversations with local Baptists, the Independent congregation that became known as Brush Run Church joined the Redstone Baptist Association in 1815 "on the ground that no terms of union or communion other than the Holy Scriptures should be required."[84] However, the Campbells' view of unity and restoration of NT Christianity created the problems of, on the one hand, aversion to becoming a new party and, on the other hand, opposition to the seeming divisiveness of joining a denomination. In December 1815, in a letter to his uncle in Ireland, Alexander reported his drastic religious changes and some of his major influences.

> In the first place, I became a Scotch Independent next a Sandemanian then a Separatist with John Walker. Then a Baptist and am now an Independent in church government, a Sandemanian in faith or rather if there is any difference of that faith and view of the gospel exhibited in John Walker of letters to Alexander Knox, and a Baptist in so far as respects Baptism. . . . But yet notwithstanding I am in Connexion with the Regular Baptist Church in this country, and am now on

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[83] T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV, Archives and Special Collections, Campbell Papers, Part 18—Ordination, No. 2. Certificate to Celebrate the Rites of Matrimony, Brooke County.

[84] Many historians take 1813 as the date Brush Run joined the Redstone Baptist Association because Alexander misremembered that date as early as 1825 and continued to do so thereafter, but the Redstone minutes record the Brush Run Church's entry in 1815. See Gary L. Lee, "Background to *The Christian Baptist*," in *The Christian Baptist* (Joplin: College Press, 1983), 5, n.15; Alexander Campbell, "An Address to the Public," *The Christian Baptist* 2, no. 2 (September 6, 1824): 92; The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association, Held by Appointment, At Big Redstone, Fayette County, Penn.: September 1st, 2d, and 3d, 1815* (Pittsburgh: Printed by S. Engles, 1815), 5. Redstone Baptist Association minutes are quoted from *Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association, 1804-1836* (s.l.: M.F. Cottrell, 1964) and the much fuller personal collections of Dale Broadhurst, to whom I am grateful for sending me images of the original minutes in good condition. I am also indebted to Carisse Berryhill and her staff at Abilene Christian University, Brown Library, Center for Restoration Studies, for providing me a copy of the Redstone minutes as published by M. F. Cottrell.

> a tour preaching in all the Baptist churches in the cities of Philadelphia New York—Baltimore Washington &c.[85]

Despite the uneasy connection, the Campbells remained active in Redstone and other Baptist associations until 1830, when the tenuous relationship ended.[86]

Baptists were pioneers of the great missionary societies of the nineteenth century, and the leaders of the Redstone Baptist Association were exhilarated by the missionary efforts taking place around the globe and in their own territory.[87] The Baptist Board of Foreign Missions was founded in 1814.[88] As a result, zeal for missions escalated around the time the Brush Run Church joined Redstone in 1815. In the 1815 Redstone meeting, just a few moments after the admittance of the Brush Run Church, article 10 recorded: "This association resolves itself into a Missionary Society, auxiliary to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions; and for the future, the society shall consist of the Elders and Messengers of every church, who shall collect and forward to the Treasurer of this society annually, at least five dollars."[89] During these years, Baptist associations often

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[85] Alexander Campbell to Archibald Campbell, December 28, 1815, p. 2, T. W. Phillips Memorial Library, Bethany College, Bethany, WV, Archives and Special Collections, Campbell Papers, Part 01. I quote from Jeanne Cobb's March 13, 2003 transcription, available in the same folder.

[86] The rocky relationship finally ended from 1829 to 1830, when the distinctions between traditional Baptist theology and the Campbells' theology warranted a division that was enacted through the printing of associations' charges and censures. Errett Gates, *The Early Relation and Separation of Baptists and Disciples* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1904); James L. Gorman, "From Burning to Blessing: Baptist Reception of Alexander Campbell's New Translation," *Stone-Campbell Journal* 16, no. 2 (2013): 179–89; Anthony J. Springer, "Baptists," *Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 67–69.

[87] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 163, 196–99.

[88] Ibid., 196–199; C. Douglas Weaver, *In Search of the New Testament Church: The Baptist Story*, 1st ed. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2008), 90–92; American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, *Proceedings of the Baptist Convention for Missionary Purposes - Held in Philadelphia, in May, 1814* (Philadelphia: Printed for the Convention, by Ann Coles, 1814).

[89] The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes (1815)*, 5.

either became missionary societies or substantially supported missions.[90] The Association recommended the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine "to the churches as a valuable source of missionary and other religious information." The following year opened with a sermon on the missionary text Mark 16:15 and the association revised article 10 from the previous year, resolving instead,

> That all the churches in this Association consider it their duty and privilege to contribute annually to propagate the gospel among the heathen, and that the churches henceforth forward their contributions by their messengers, and mention the sum in their letter to the Association. The amount received from each church shall be published in the minutes and the moderator shall forward the contributions to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, and produce a receipt of the next Association.[91]

Historian of missions Charles Chaney notes, by the late 1810s, "the missionary cause had become the great passion of the American churches."[92] Clearly, this was true of the Campbells' Redstone Baptist Association.[93]

The Campbells continued supporting the missionary movement until at least 1821 through their association with the Baptists. The Brush Run Church gave approximately $80 to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions from 1816 to 1821, a larger sum than the

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[90] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 170–72.

[91] The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association, Held by Appointment, At Cross-Creek, Brooke County, VA.: August 30th, 31st, and Sept, 1st, 1816* (Washington, (Pa.): Printed by William Sample, 1816), 3, 6.

[92] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 174, 192.

[93] For info on Baptist Associationalism and Alexander's discussions about it, see H. Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage* (Nashville: Broadman, 1987), 239–46; Walter B. Shurden, "The Authority of a Baptist Association," *Baptist History and Heritage* 40, no. 1 (2005): 6–7; Hugh Wamble, "Beginning of Associationalism Among English Baptists," *Review & Expositor* 54, no. 4 (October 1957): 544–59; Alexander Campbell, "Remarks on the Communion of Churches," *The Christian Baptist* 4, no. 1 (August 7, 1826): 261–63; Alexander Campbell, "Ecclesiastical Tyranny," *The Christian Baptist* 4, no. 3 (October 2, 1826): 275–77; Alexander Campbell, "A New Association," *The Christian Baptist* 4, no. 3 (October 2, 1826): 277–78..

average contribution of most member churches.[94] In 1820 Redstone's "Circular Letter" to its congregations urged churches to contribute to the worthy causes of Bible translation, missions to the heathen, and the societies that supported such activity.[95] This was possibly a response to the decline of member-church giving in 1819 and 1820.[96] If so, it did not work—Redstone's member-church giving plummeted in 1821 to $38, $10 of which the Brush Run Church gave. Redstone's 1821 "Corresponding Letter" to other associations assured readers that the low collection that year for foreign missions was "owing to the pecuniary embarrassments of the country and not to a disregard to that great and important object."[97] During the 1821 Redstone meeting Alexander preached on Matthew 28:18-20, a passage stressing missions to all nations. The 1822 minutes did not list the missionary fund, but included a short note on "Missionary Business" which formed a committee of five people, including Alexander, "to settle with all persons on that subject."[98] The 1822 "Corresponding Letter" noted excitement at the recent activity

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[94] The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes (1816)*, 7; The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association, Held by Appointment, At Peter's Creek, Washington County, (Pa.): September 2d, 3d & 4th, 1817* (Washington, Pa.: Printed by William Sample, 1817), 6; The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association, Held at Connelsville, Fayette County, (Pa.): September 1st, 2d & 3d, 1818* (Washington, Pa.: Printed by William Sample, 1818), 5; The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association, Held at the Horseshoe, Washington County, (Pa.): September 3d. 4th. & 5th. 1819* (Washington, Pa.: Printed by Samuel Workman, 1819), 5; The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association, Held at Plum Run, Washington County, (Pa.): September 1, 2, & 3, 1820* (n.p.: n.p., 1820), 4; The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association, Held at Ruff's Creek, Greene County, Pa.: August 31 and September 1st and 2nd, 1821* (n.p.: n.p., 1821), 3; Lee, "Background to *The Christian Baptist*," 28–29.

[95] The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes (1820)*, 5–7.

[96] 1816 - $288; 1817 - $245; 1818 – $222; 1819 - $124; 1820 - $112.

[97] The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes (1821)*, 8.

[98] The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association, Held at Washington, Washington County, Pa.: August 31, and September 1 and 2, 1822* (n.p.: n.p., 1822), 4.

of American Baptist churches in foreign and domestic missions, but says nothing more.[99] The Association collected $40 in 1822, but the minutes do not indicate which churches gave the money.[100] The 1823 minutes say nothing of that year's missions giving and the Campbells' relationship with Redstone came to an end in 1824. The main point to take from this information is that the Campbells financially supported the Baptist missionary society until at least 1821.

A contributing factor leading to Alexander's 1823 great reversal on missionary societies comes from 1820 to 1822, when he wrote a series of articles in Washington's *The Reporter* that opposed the moral society of West Middletown, one of many moral societies during this period whose purpose was to enforce morality and keep the Christian Sabbath (i.e., Sunday) holy.[101] In the tradition of Wilberforce's society for suppressing vice and promoting good morals,[102] moral societies were an outgrowth of evangelical activism through voluntary societies intended to Christianize culture.[103] In Pennsylvania, moral societies enforced legislation such as "An Act for the Prevention of Vice and

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[99] Ibid., 12.

[100] The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Redstone Baptist Association, Held at Pittsburgh, Allegheny County, Pa.: September 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1823* (n.p.: n.p., 1823), 3; The Redstone Baptist Association, *Minutes (1821)*, 3.

[101] I rely on Keith Huey's transcriptions of *The Reporter* articles and his introduction, available online: Alexander Campbell and Keith B. Huey, *The Candidus Essays By Alexander Campbell: First Published in* The Reporter*, Washington, Pa., 1820-1822*, ed. Keith B. Huey (n.p.: Keith B. Huey, 2001), http://web.archive.org/web/20120114230913/http://www.mun.ca/rels/restmov/texts/acampbell/ce/CE00A.HTM.

[102] Foster, *An Errand of Mercy*, 133.

[103] On the evangelical impulse to Christianize culture, as inherited from the magisterial Reformations, see Richard T. Hughes, "Why Restorationists Don't Fit the Evangelical Mold; Why Churches of Christ Increasingly Do," in *Re-Forming the Center: American Protestantism, 1900 to the Present*, ed. Douglas Jacobsen and William Vance Trollinger (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 194–213.

Immorality, and of Unlawful Gaming, and to Restrain Disorderly Sports and Dissipation" (1794). This Pennsylvania Act outlawed "worldly employment," "unlawful game, hunting, shooting, sport or diversion whatsoever" on "the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday."[104] Keeping Sunday holy meant that even if people did not attend church, they would revere the "Sabbath" and appease God by following the Christian laws.[105] In Pennsylvania, the fines for violation of Sunday rules and other laws enforcing morality included fines and imprisonment.[106] According to Richardson, the moral society Campbell opposed had constituted itself in 1815 "for the suppression of vice and immorality," especially on the Sabbath.[107]

Under the pen name Candidus, Alexander rejected the propriety of the moral societies and the Act of 1794 in thirty-one articles published in *The Reporter* from April 1820 to February 1822.[108] Campbell argued that the moral societies were "anti-evangelical" and "anti-constitutional"; a moral evil, they were "subversive of the

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[104] James Tyndale Mitchell et al., eds., "An Act for the Prevention of Vice and Immorality, and of Unlawful Gaming, and to Restrain Disorderly Sports and Dissipation," in *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, vol. 15 (Harrisburg: Clarence M. Busch, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1911), 110; Campbell and Huey, *The Candidus Essays*, Introduction.

[105] Campbell and Huey, *The Candidus Essays*, Introduction.

[106] Mitchell et al., "An Act for the Prevention of Vice and Immorality," 110–18.

[107] Richardson provides portions of what he calls the "Washington Moral Society" founding documents and goals, in Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 1:516–17. In the Candidus articles, Campbell opposed the moral societies in general and the one in West Middletown in particular. I am uncertain if Richardson had the West Middletown constitution or another of the apparently several moral societies in the county, since he quoted it as the "Washington Moral Society." In its "Constitution" and its "Address," it encouraged the formation of similar associations and assumed all agreed on the correctness of its goals.

[108] Campbell and Huey, *The Candidus Essays*, Introduction.

principles of true religion and civil liberty."[109] Campbell's "first principle," the "pole star of my course," was that the Bible provided the only system of morality, and "consequently it must point out the only sure and efficient means of encouraging and promoting it. To suppose the contrary, would be a reproach to its author."[110] Therefore, moral societies were anti-evangelical (i.e., anti-scriptural) because no such societies existed in the OT or NT, making them a modern invention.[111] He used passages in Scripture to argue that the biblical ideal precluded the imposition of Christian morality upon broader society—Sabbath observance was not a civil or moral matter but a religious matter and thus a matter of conscience.[112] For Campbell, the moral societies were unconstitutional because they violated liberty of conscience and religious liberty. Campbell distinguished between what he saw as "moral positives" which should govern the church and "moral natural precepts" which should govern all society. The church and society were two distinct institutions and the one should not control members of the other.[113] Campbell as Candidus engaged several opponents in *The Reporter* on this issue.

In the moral societies, Campbell experienced an unpalatable aspect of the benevolent empire closely related to the evangelical missions culture, and this experience

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[109] Candidus, "For the Reporter. No. I.," *The Reporter*, April 17, 1820, 1; Candidus, "For the Reporter. No. II.," *The Reporter*, May 22, 1820, 1–2.

[110] Candidus, "For the Reporter. No. IV.," *The Reporter*, June 19, 1820, 1.

[111] Candidus, "For the Reporter. No. II.," 1–2.

[112] For example, Campbell argued that "no precept was ever more definite, more authoritative, or more perspicuous than" that in 1 Cor. 5:12 which he interpreted to mean Christians should judge Christians but not people outside the church. See Candidus, "For the Reporter. No. III.," *The Reporter*, June 5, 1820, 1.

[113] Candidus, "For the Reporter. No. VI.," *The Reporter*, August 21, 1820, 1; Candidus, "For the Reporter. No. 10.," *The Reporter*, March 19, 1821, 1.

influenced his forthcoming opposition to missionary societies. In the moral societies, evangelicals attempted to Christianize culture, and Campbell's religio-political philosophy made this perspective untenable. More importantly, he articulated opposition to societies on grounds that they had no example in the NT—he later opposed missionary societies on the same grounds. While the two kinds of societies (moral and missions) were different, he would eventually see hegemonic tendencies in both. The fact that he said moral societies lacked support in Scripture while simultaneously giving money to the national Baptist missionary society demonstrates he had not yet worked out a complete theory on societies. The Candidus essays were one of Campbell's early written protests against political and religious practices, but they were not his last.

V. The Anti-Missionary Society Years (1823-1830)

Religious journalism in America became more interesting in 1823 when Alexander started a monthly periodical called *The Christian Baptist*, in which his position on missionary societies completely changed.[114] *The Christian Baptist*'s purpose was "the eviction of truth and the exposing of error in doctrine and practice."[115] Its character was satirical, iconoclastic, lively, and blunt. Campbell's most vitriolic attacks of confessional

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[114] For general information on the *Christian Baptist*, see Lee Snyder, "Christian Baptist, The," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); Lee, "Background to *The Christian Baptist*," 1–36; Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell: Embracing A View of the Origin, Progress and Principles of the Religious Reformation Which He Advocated*, vol. 2 (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1890), 43–51.. We do not know the exact number of subscribers, but by Robert Richardson's calculation, Alexander issued no less than 46,000 volumes of his own works during the *Christian Baptist*'s life, from 1823 to 1830, and Gary Lee notes that the income for the final year was $1,200.

[115] Alexander Campbell, "PROSPECTUS OF THE CHRISTIAN BAPTIST," *The Christian Baptist* 1, no. 1 (July 4, 1823): iv. This quote comes from the first edition (PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY A. CAMPBELL, AT THE BUFFALOE PRINTING-OFFICE, 1827). Unless otherwise noted, *The Christian Baptist* quotations in this paper are from Alexander Campbell and D. S. Burnet, eds., *The Christian Baptist*, 15th ed. (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company, 1889).

Christianity, clergy, and societies (missionary, Bible, etc.) appeared in the earliest issues of *The Christian Baptist*. This anti-missionary-society "Campbell" is typically viewed as the "first Campbell" juxtaposed to the "second Campbell" who became president of the SCM's national missionary society in 1849. The previous research demonstrates there was an earlier Campbell—the earliest Campbell who, with his father, supported missionary societies for two decades, a second who opposed them in *The Christian Baptist*, and a third who eventually affirmed them. This section is concerned with explaining the transition from the Campbells of the evangelical missions culture to the anti-missionary society phase of the second Alexander.

From the earliest issues of *The Christian Baptist*, Alexander spilled a great deal of ink vehemently critiquing missionary societies and enumerating the abuses that pricked his conscience.[116] Campbell's opposition to missionary societies coincided with the larger antimissions movement among Baptists in the U.S. and U.K.[117] Eventually called "primitive" or "hard-shell" Baptists, representative individuals of this group such as John Taylor and Daniel Parker critiqued the growing missionary enterprise—often associated with denominational centralization—from the 1810s on grounds of greed, hegemonic authority, sectionalism, and theology. Historian Douglas Weaver notes that Taylor's *Thoughts on Missions* (1819) critiqued famous missionaries such as Luther Rice and

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[116] Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 2:49–68; Bill J. Humble, "The Missionary Society Controversy in the Restoration Movement (1823-1875)" (PhD diss., The University of Iowa, 1964), 33–43; William J. Richardson, "Alexander Campbell's Conception of Mission," in *Unto the Uttermost: Missions in the Christian Churches/Churches of Christ*, ed. Doug Priest (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1984), 95–115.

[117] Weaver, *In Search of the New Testament Church*, 89–96; David W. Bebbington, *Baptists Through the Centuries: A History of a Global People* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2010), 87–91; McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 371–377.

Adoniram Judson, claiming that they were motivated by money, power, and prestige.[118] Campbell later used invective similar to Taylor's assault on the "*New England Rat*." Constant appeals for money caused some churches and associations to shut their doors to missions preachers.[119] Some Baptists also took issue with regional and national hierarchical organization that undergirded the missionary endeavor. A primitivist impulse partly animated this ecclesiological critique, as some Baptists opposed "extra-church" efforts on the grounds that they were "inventions of men" and had no evidence from NT examples.[120] The sectional critique came from western suspicion of the educated elite on the eastern coast and what seemed to be imperial sectional elitism. Some easterners viewed western frontier people as uneducated, inferior, and in need of eastern aid. Some westerners perceived the missionary societies as supporting eastern elitism and challenging western democratic populism of the frontier. Furthermore, easterners sometimes looked west and south to acquire new areas of influence to replace what they were losing in their recently disestablished areas.[121] Finally, some Baptists opposed the moderate Calvinism that propelled Reformed missions. The Baptist antimissions movement certainly influenced the Campbells.

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[118] Weaver, *In Search of the New Testament Church*, 93; John Taylor, *Thoughts on Missions* (Franklin County, Kentucky: n. p., 1819), http://baptiststudiesonline.com/wp-content/uploads/2007/02/thoughts-on-missions.pdf.

[119] Bebbington, *Baptists Through the Centuries: A History of a Global People*, 87–88.

[120] McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 374; Weaver, *In Search of the New Testament Church*, 93–95; Bebbington, *Baptists Through the Centuries: A History of a Global People*, 90.

[121] James R Mathis, *The Making of the Primitive Baptists: A Cultural and Intellectual History of the Antimission Movement, 1800-1840* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 9.

Although Campbell did not cite leading Baptist antimissions advocates, he articulated many of the same arguments against the missionary, Bible, and other societies that his fellow-Baptists had articulated in the 1810s, when Campbell's Brush Run Church was still supporting the national Baptists missionary society. Nonetheless, in one of the first issues of *The Christian Baptist*, Campbell articulated his opposition to eastern missionary societies, their choice of missionaries with elite theological training, their focus on foreign rather than home missions, the substantial funds raised for these missionary endeavors, and their failure to follow the NT example for missions. After a report of a Baptist missionary meeting and a satirical account of how the meeting was not like the NT examples, Campbell pleaded, "It is much to be desired that the Baptists in the western country will not imitate these precedents of pompous vanity, so consecrated to the east."[122]

One of Campbell's major critiques concerned the wealth and mentality of the missionary societies. In 1824 he reminded readers, "I did contribute my mite and my efforts to the popular missionary cause, until my conscience forbade me from an acquaintance with the abuses of the principle."[123] He told stories of the large sums of money missionaries made, like one who came to Pittsburgh and collected $40 for preaching four sermons.[124] He also disliked the large expense of the missionary

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[122] Alexander Campbell, "Note by the Editor [about 'Missionaries to Burma'],'' *The Christian Baptist* 1, no. 2 (September 1, 1823): 17.

[123] ["the Bishop of a Respectable Church"], "[Letter to the Editor],'' *The Christian Baptist* 1, no. 11 (June 7, 1824): 69–70; Alexander Campbell, "[Reply to 'the Bishop of a Respectable Church'],'' *The Christian Baptist* 1, no. 11 (June 7, 1824): 70–72.

[124] Alexander Campbell, "To Mr. Robert Cautious,'' *The Christian Baptist* 1, no. 8 (March 1, 1824): 53–54.

enterprise. He frequently printed the annual income of societies and noted what he believed to be a disproportionate number of converts.[125] For an example of how quickly the evangelical missions culture grew into a "benevolent empire," Charles Foster notes that U. S. government expenditures for internal improvements from 1789 to 1828 totaled $3,585,534, while during the same period the thirteen largest benevolent societies had revenues of $2,813,550.[126] The Baptist Board of Foreign Missions had the eighth highest income of the benevolent societies for the fiscal year 1826-1827.[127] In 1826 Alexander said the popular mentality about missions was "that if the church had the bank of the United States, that of London, and Paris, it could, in twenty years, convert the whole world. . . . While such is the spirit breathed from the pulpit and from the press," he stated, "there exist ten thousand good reasons for lifting up our voices like a trumpet, crying aloud, and sparing not."[128]

Like his Baptist counterparts, Campbell opposed missionary societies because they were not "authorized" in the New Testament. Historian Michael Casey traced the development of the Campbells' hermeneutic as they worked out the restoration implications of the *Declaration and Address*. As Alexander developed his patternist hermeneutic during his 1820 and 1823 debates and his publication of the *Christian Baptist* (1823ff.), he focused on a restoration of only those beliefs and practices found in

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[125] For general information on the enormity of the enterprise, see Foster, *An Errand of Mercy*; Shenk, "Introduction," 4, n.8..

[126] Foster, *An Errand of Mercy*, 121, 275–79.

[127] Ibid., 121–22.

[128] Alexander Campbell, "A Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things--No. XII.: The Bishop's Office--No.I.," *The Christian Baptist* 3, no. 9 (April 3, 1826): 232.

the NT.[129] Although the *Declaration and Address* did suggest silence in the NT was prohibitive, it was a minor emphasis.[130] In *The Christian Baptist*, Campbell usually (though not always) argued that Scripture's silence on a practice meant it should be prohibited.[131] As he concluded for moral societies by 1820, he eventually concluded for missionary societies also: their absence in the NT meant they were unauthorized for the church.[132] Campbell's development in hermeneutics goes a long way in explaining his change from approbation to disapproval of missionary societies.

Among the most persistent of Alexander's contentions with missionary societies was his belief that they perpetuated sectarianism and subsequently hindered Christian unity and the conversion of the world. Like many evangelical missions culture writings, Thomas' *Declaration and Address* argued that divisions among Christians were evil and they hindered Christianity's witness to the world.[133] As already noted about the *Declaration and Address*, the Campbells envisioned something like a three-piece domino effect: restore primitive Christianity – Christian unity would ensue – then the conversion

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[129] Michael W Casey, *The Battle Over Hermeneutics in the Stone-Campbell Movement, 1800-1870* (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1998), 263–264. Alexander reprinted an article that argued, "[the primitive Christians'] example is as the law to Christians of all ages; for they acted under the eye and instruction of the apostles, to whom the Lord Jesus said, 'He that hears you hears me.'" "Abuses of Christianity," *The Christian Baptist* 1, no. 4 (November 3, 1823): 28.

[130] Campbell, *Declaration and Address*, 16–17; Olbricht, "Hermeneutics and the *Declaration and Address*," 248.

[131] Casey, *The Battle Over Hermeneutics*, 51–96; Humble, "The Missionary Society Controversy in the Restoration Movement (1823-1875)," 27–33. In 1825, Alexander wrote, "it belongs to every individual and to every congregation of individuals to discard from their faith and their practice every thing that is not found written in the New Testament…and to believe and practice whatever is there enjoined. This done, and every thing is done which ought to be done." See Alexander Campbell, "A Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things--No. II," *The Christian Baptist* 2, no. 8 (March 7, 1825): 133.

[132] Casey, *The Battle Over Hermeneutics*, 263–64; Alexander Campbell, "The Christian Religion," *The Christian Baptist* 1, no. 1 (August 3, 1823): 5–8; Campbell, "To Mr. Robert Cautious," 53–54.

[133] Campbell, *Declaration and Address*, 53–54.

of the world would follow.[134] Alexander believed this simple system was clear in John 17:20-21.

> "Neither pray I for these (the Apostles) alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word, that they may be one; as you, Father, are in me and I to you, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that you have sent me." *John* xvii. 20, 21 This is God's plan for union and for the conversion of the world. . . . We are constantly praying and laboring for the conversion of sinners among us, and for the conversion of the heathen; but as long as we retain our sectarian divisions, God is bound to his Son, as far as these divisions are concerned, not to hear our prayers nor bless our exertions…. Should our prayers and exertions be heard, and blessed, in the present state of division and disunion…the Lord Jesus Christ would be dishonored, his truth would fail.[135]

Campbell interpreted John 17 to mean that God's plan—the only valid plan—for the conversion of the world was Christian unity. Missionary societies worked against Christian unity because they were spreading denominationalism rather than working toward Christian unity.[136] Consequently, they were opposed to the Lord's plan for the conversion of the world and were futile.[137] The shift away from interdenominational societies like the LMS, ESU, and CAW to predominately denominational missionary societies took place across the transatlantic in the 1820s and 1830s—the Campbells

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[134] Richard T. Hughes and C. Leonard Allen, *Illusions of Innocence: Protestant Primitivism in America, 1630-1875* (Abilene: ACU Press, 2008), 109; Hiram Van Kirk, *A History of the Theology of the Disciples of Christ* (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company, 1907), 109–24.

[135] Christian Union, "Christian Union - No. II.," *The Christian Baptist* 3, no. 1 (August 1, 1825): 173.

[136] It is important to note here that, according to Foster, only four of the top fourteen benevolent societies at this time were under denominational control. The ten that were not associated with a denomination accounted for 91% of the total revenues of the top fourteen—so the interdenominational voluntary society continued in popularity at this time, even if denominations took over the missionary wing of Protestantism. See Foster, *An Errand of Mercy*, 122.

[137] Alexander Campbell, "The Conversion of the World," *The Christian Baptist* 1, no. 6 (January 5, 1824): 42; Campbell, "A Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things--No. II," 135..

encountered these denominational societies in the 1810s and 1820s, and Alexander concluded they were means to sectarian division rather than unity.

Although the Campbells stressed that Christian unity was the means to conversion of the world, Alexander did offer a patternist proposal for foreign missions. The proper way to spread the gospel to the world, Campbell argued, was through the local church, as it was "the only institution of God left on earth to illuminate and reform the world."[138] He suggested that, if a church of twenty people immigrated to a heathen land,

> where they would support themselves like the natives, wear the same garb, adopt the country as their own . . . ; should such a society sit down and hold forth in word and deed the saving truth, not deriding the gods nor the religion of the natives, but allowing their own works and example to speak for their religion . . . ; we are persuaded that, in process of time a more solid foundation for the conversion of the natives would be laid, and more actual success resulting, than from all the missionaries employed for twenty-five years. Such a course would have some warrant from scripture; but the present has proved itself to be all human.[139]

Campbell thought Christianity was a social religion and, therefore, pagan cultures were unlikely to accept it through the missionary model of sending one or two people. Rather, when the pagans saw the congregational church in their midst, then they would more likely understand and accept Christianity. But Campbell was not always consistent on this point. For example, just four months after this proposal of congregational missions,

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[138] Alexander Campbell, "Remarks on Missionaries," *The Christian Baptist* 1, no. 2 (September 1, 1823): 13–17. This conclusion of Alexander's was based on a long line of reasoning about cessation of miraculous gifts: (1) biblical missionaries had miraculous gifts that accredited their mission as of divine origin; (2) those gifts ceased and were no longer necessary because the gospel was preached to the whole world by the end of the apostolic age; (3) modern missionaries were unauthorized because they lacked miracles and success; (4) the local church is "the only institution of God left on earth to illuminate and reform the world."

[139] Ibid., 16–17; Alexander Campbell, "[Reply to Mr. Robert Cautious]," *The Christian Baptist* 1, no. 5 (December 1, 1823): 34.. In the latter article, Campbell suggested the same thing for distributing Bibles—it should be done by local churches rather than associations of churches because only the local church could illumine the world.

he published a short article that implied individual missionaries could be legitimate, that they were called by God as long as they were successful and did not ask for permission or financial support from any board of missions.[140] He was susceptible to such inconsistencies in a short span of time because his writings were situational rather than systematic. Regardless of inconsistencies, Campbell made clear his distaste for the missionary enterprise in numerous *Christian Baptist* articles from 1823 to 1827.

In 1827 the Campbell-led Mahoning Baptist Association made its most important contribution to missions practices when it hired Walter Scott as an itinerant preacher. The Campbells had been acquainted with leaders of the Mahoning Association since at least 1821, and Alexander's Wellsburg Church became a member in 1824, after he had a falling out with the Redstone Baptist Association.[141] Walter Scott was a good friend of the Campbells and a leader of the Campbell movement in Pittsburg and Ohio. At the 1827 Mahoning meeting, one of the churches made a typical request that the Association consider employing "an evangelical preacher…to travel and teach among the churches."[142] The Association chose Walter Scott for the job, and requested for member churches to make "voluntary and liberal contributions…for creating a fund for his support."[143] Alexander reported the news in the *Christian Baptist*:

> The Mahoning Regular Baptist Association…agreed to support…a messenger of the churches, who is to labor every day for one entire year…in the word and doctrine, amongst the churches in the Association. He is to proclaim the word to

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[140] Alexander Campbell, "Queries," *The Christian Baptist* 1, no. 8 (March 1, 1824): 54.

[141] *Minutes of the Mahoning Baptist Association* in Mary Agnes Monroe Smith, "A History of the Mahoning Baptist Association" (master's thesis, West Virginia University, 1943), Appendix C, p. 24.

[142] Ibid., Appendix C, p. 37.

[143] Ibid., Appendix C, p. 38–39.

> those without, and to teach those within to walk in the Lord. Brother Walter Scott, who is now in the field, accepted of the appointment.[144]

Scott's identity in Campbell's mind as a home missionary "in the field" becomes clearer later in the same article. Campbell critiqued the amount of resources used on foreign missions "while millions at home demand more energies than all now employed to ameliorate their condition."[145] Scott was a home missionary proclaiming "the word to those without" the church. The Mahoning minutes reveal that Alexander was a primary leader of the Mahoning Baptist Association by 1827, and the above *Christian Baptist* article discloses his support of the Association's action. Nonetheless, Campbell had come to see an "evangelist" as a NT officer supported by one or more congregations to preach the gospel, baptize converts, organize congregations, and teach assembled Christians until they could elect elders.[146] Although hiring Scott as a frontier "messenger" employed by the Association was normal for Baptist associational missions,[147] it was a significant step toward extra-congregational missionary efforts in the Campbell movement.

Scott's evangelistic tool, the five-finger exercise, was influential on the Campbell movements' missions practices, overall expansion, and their soteriology. Scott is credited with packaging the Campbells' ideas about faith as rational belief in testimony and

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[144] Alexander Campbell, "Miscellaneous Letters--No. I," *The Christian Baptist* 5, no. 3 (October 1, 1827): 382.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Williams, Foster, and Blowers, *The Stone-Campbell Movement: A Global History*, 24; Campbell, "A Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things--No. XII.: The Bishop's Office--No.I.," 231–33; Alexander Campbell, "A Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things, No. XIX. The Deacon's Office.," *The Christian Baptist* 4, no. 10 (May 7, 1827): 335–36; Alexander Campbell, "A Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things. No. XXXII. Official Names and Titles.," *The Christian Baptist* 7, no. 2 (September 7, 1829): 585–86.

[147] Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, 170–72.

baptism for the remission of sins into a memorable "plan of salvation" or, as it came to be known, the five-finger exercise: have faith, repent, be baptized, receive remission of sins, and receive the gift of the Holy Spirit and eternal life.[148] Scott's concise formula for conversion was well received by frontier people looking for assurance of salvation through their own personal decisions. The Campbell movement's view of faith, conversion, and sacramental view of Baptism distanced them from the evangelical new birth experience they had earlier embraced and experienced.[149] Scott baptized around 1,000 people that first year as an evangelist. He continued such industrious evangelism throughout his life and the Campbell movement expanded rapidly thereafter.[150]

In the 1820s, the Campbells had made an one-hundred-and-eighty degree turn from their earlier interdenominational approach of the evangelical missions culture to an anti-denominational approach of *The Christian Baptist*. The Campbells' take on Christian unity made proselytization of Christians in denominations a prominent feature of their evangelization. If conversion of the world depended on Christians assenting to the Campbells' NT pattern of Christianity, persuading other Christians to join them was

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[148] Peter M. Morgan, "Five Finger Exercise," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 338–39; M. Eugene Boring, *Disciples and the Bible: A History of Disciples Biblical Interpretation in North America* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 1997), 41.

[149] The Campbell movement's understanding of faith and baptism was another reasons later historians have missed the evangelical missionary movement origins. In the 1820s, when Alexander began debating in public and publishing the *Christian Baptist*, he had moved far away from both evangelicalism and its missionary movement. It is little wonder Alexander forgot the influence and misdirected later historians as well.

[150] Williams, Foster, and Blowers, *The Stone-Campbell Movement: A Global History*, 25; Thomas H. Olbricht, "Missions and Evangelization Prior to 1848," *Discipliana* 58, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 77; A. S. Hayden, *Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio; with Biographical Sketches of the Principal Agents in Their Religious Movement* (Cincinnati: Chase & Hall Publishers, 1875), 72–87; Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, 1890, 2:173–76.

crucial. Baptists became one of the primary targets as the Campbells had made many friends among Baptists in Pittsburg, Philadelphia, New Jersey, New York, and all over the western frontier.[151] But whether Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, or other denomination, the Campbells and their followers proselytized anyone willing to listen to what they saw as an irrefutable system of Christianity based only on the NT. Scott's packaging of the gospel in five fingers and subsequent success was unprecedented in the Campbell movement. To members of the movement, the accomplishments were a sign of God's blessing on the new ideas and practices. But those ideas and practices had transformed into something far different from their beginnings in the transatlantic evangelical missions culture.

A number of religious, political, and economic issues help explain the Campbells' rejection of missionary societies in the 1820s. The Campbells were one part of a larger antimissions movement concentrated among Baptists. The development of the Campbells' restoration hermeneutic took center stage following the CAW years. As the Campbells moved in a patternist direction like some of their earlier evangelical acquaintances had done, they usually viewed silence as prohibitive. Therefore, they eventually rejected missionary societies because they were not authorized in the NT. Furthermore, Alexander's public writing to promote a NT reformation in the genre of *The*

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[151] The Campbell movement and Stone's "Christians" probably made proselytes of at least 10,000 Baptists before 1830. For example, they stole John Rogers from the Baptists, then John Rogers by 1828 had "capsized" 1500 more Baptists and continued proselytizing them. Bill Humble claims that by 1830, the Campbell "movement had churches scattered over several states with 12,000 to 20,000 members, most of them ex-Baptists." See Humble, "The Missionary Society Controversy in the Restoration Movement (1823-1875)," 16; Thomas Campbell, "Constitution of a Congregation in Ohio," *The Christian Baptist* 5, no. 12 (July 7, 1828): 457; Lee, "Background to *The Christian Baptist*," 15–21; Mark G. Toulouse, "Christian Century, The," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

Christian Baptist pushed his message in an iconoclastic and critical direction. As the missionary enterprise became gigantic and promoted the spread of denominational Christianity rather than NT Christianity, the vitriolic pages of *The Christian Baptist* were destined to attack it.

Other important influences and developments that led the Campbells to change their position on missionary societies included (1) the "anti-evangelical" and "anti-constitutional" moral societies, (2) the large amount of money being raised by the missionary societies and their seemingly disproportionate numerical success, (3) the mentality that more money was the answer to successful missions, (4) the focus on foreign missions to the neglect of home needs, (5) alleged irresponsible behavior of home and foreign missionaries, (6) missionary societies perpetuated denominational sectarian division and thus the opposite of unity, and (7) the Campbells' belief that the conversion of the world would be a direct result of Christian unity. The Campbells consistently promoted what Thomas articulated in the *Declaration and Address*: if Christians united, then the church's witness as a united body would stimulate the conversion of the world. They arrived at this conclusion from the influence of the evangelical missions culture and their interpretation of Jesus' prayer in John 17:20-21. About these verses, Alexander said, "This is God's plan for union and for the conversion of the world." The Campbells concluded that the missionary societies worked against Christian unity because they perpetuated sectarianism and, therefore, obstructed the Lord's plan for converting the world.

However, the Campbells started their journey back toward supporting missionary societies in 1827 and set the stage for a historiography of omitting the early evangelical

missions influence on the Campbells. The need for ministers on the frontier led the Campbells and the Mahoning Baptist Society to hire Scott as a home missionary. Scott's success made adherents believe their NT Christianity was the means to Christian unity and the conversion of the world. This success in extra-congregational cooperation led Alexander to write at length in the 1830s and 1840s about the legitimacy of extra-congregational cooperation which he seemed to oppose in *The Christian Baptist*. The Campbells' missions ideas oscillated from their early support of missionary societies to Alexander's rejection of them and back to circumspect support of cooperative home missions, making the Campbells missions history in the U. S. a history of ambivalence. As irony, pragmatism, and ambivalence would have it, in 1849, just twenty years after the end of this study, Alexander became the president of the American Christian Missionary Society (ACMS), the SCM's own national missionary society for world evangelization. The ACMS eventually became one of the major causes of the first division in the SCM, as some adherents looked to *The Christian Baptist* opposition of "unauthorized" missionary societies while others pointed to Campbell as president of the ACMS and viewed missionary societies as expedient. Due to this scenario, the history of missions in the SCM became a story from 1823 forward, which neglected the previous two decades of significant missions history.[152]

[152] Doug Priest, "Missionary Societies, Controversy Over," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 534–36; Dennis W. Helsabeck, "Societies," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 691–92; William J. Nottingham, "American Christian Missionary Society," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 24–26; Paul Allen Williams, "Missions, Missiology," ed. Douglas A. Foster et al., *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 537–42.

VI. Conclusion

The Campbell movement in the U. S. had its origins in the transatlantic evangelical missions culture. Thomas desired to remain a Presbyterian, but his interdenominational perspective gained from the evangelical missions culture proved too latitudinarian for Presbyterians in Ireland and the U. S. When Campbell's relationship with Presbyterians finally ended, he started the CAW, a voluntary evangelical missionary society constituted exactly like the one he co-founded in Ireland. Although Campbell's packaging of ideas and emphases were at times unique in the *Declaration and Address*, the overall thrust of Christians uniting on a simple evangelical gospel for itinerant missions and Bible distribution that would lead to the conversion of the world came from formative experiences in the evangelical missions culture. After a mentorship lasting nearly one year with Greville Ewing, one of Scotland's most influential leaders of the transatlantic evangelical missions culture, Alexander heartily devoted himself the CAW's goals. Both Campbells perceived the CAW to be one of the eschatologically significant evangelical efforts for united missions founded on a simple primitive gospel. These interdenominational voluntary associations seemed to harbinger the coming conversion of the world and millennial reign of Christ. Therefore, this chapter and dissertation offers a historiographical revision of Campbellian origins.

Developments in the 1810s and early 1820s caused the Campbells to join other Baptists in rejecting missionary societies for a period of time in the 1820s, which has misled historians of SCM missions. The Campbells supported missions into the early 1820s, but numerous factors led to a complete turnaround in 1823. Alexander rejected missionary societies in *The Christian Baptist*, explaining that he changed his position

because he encountered abuses of what had become an enormous system running on the assumption that money rather than unity would lead to world conversion. Furthermore, a hermeneutic that authorized only those beliefs and practices for which there were NT commands or examples eventually highlighted silence as prohibitive. This prohibition led Alexander to oppose moral societies by 1820 and missionary and other societies by 1823. The Campbells believed John 17:20-21 provided God's plan for Christian unity as the prerequisite to the conversion of the world. As denominations took over the missionary societies, the Campbells argued that they disseminated denominational sectarianism rather than pure and united NT Christianity. The 1820s writings against missionary societies became a tradition which later adherents invoked to support their view that missionary societies were unauthorized. Historians have focused on this 1820s period as a first Campbell and asked: "Why did Campbell change from anti-missionary society in the 1820s to pro-missionary society in the 1840s?" This chapter has answered an earlier question: "Why did Campbell change from pro-missions to anti-missionary society?" Therefore, this chapter and dissertation also offers a historiographical revision of Campbellian missions history.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion: Campbell Movement Origins in Transatlantic Evangelical Missions Culture

This dissertation has argued that the context explaining the emergence of the Campbell movement in the U.S. in 1809 was the transatlantic evangelical missions culture that emerged throughout the eighteenth century and solidified in the 1790s interdenominational voluntary missionary societies. Although not monolithic, the evangelical missionary movement of the late-eighteenth century constructed a unique and identifiable religious culture by the 1790s. This culture's system of symbols established powerful moods and motivations that proved extremely influential in the success of the missionary movement and the origins of the Campbell movement. Ideas and practices at the center of this missions culture included Christian cooperation in prayer and organization for missions, a simple primitive gospel upon which all Christians could unite for missions, pity for the heathen, and millennialism as motive for missions.

Interdenominational cooperation among Christians in various denominations was a major feature from the beginning of the Protestant missionary movement. Missions advocates were able to cooperate for a number of reasons. The novelty of Protestant missions of the early endeavor created an exciting atmosphere charged with eschatological meaning and a tightknit community of mission-minded people. Furthermore, many came to view missions as the primary goal of Christians living in a world that needed a simple gospel shorn of bigotry. The common view of indigenous heathen and other world religions as evil provided powerful motivation for the missionary movement. Postmillennial eschatology directly connected Christian unity,

world missions, pity for the heathen, and the eschaton: united missions to the heathen were obvious signs that participants lived in the last days. Early missions advocates utilized Protestant agreement on the idea that Scripture was superior to later traditions, which provided space for Christians affiliated with diverse Protestant traditions to cooperate for the spread of a primitive evangelical gospel. Missionary advocates did not always agree on what this primitive core was and some did not define it. Some evangelicals utilized the primitive gospel ideal to endorse a pragmatic ecumenism for missions, whereas others—such as John Walker, the Haldanes, and the Campbells—developed missions primitivism into a patternist restorationism. The latter group often became Independents (a.k.a., Congregationalists) or Baptists, though each individual and group developed primitivism in different ways, depending on innumerable contextual variables in each case.

The evangelical revival, inextricably connected to the rise of the Protestant missionary movement, provided another rallying point and justification for cooperation based on the idea of new birth experience as the fundamental marker of a "real" Christian and of primitive Christianity. Evangelicals also created the interdenominational concerts of prayer for missions, a structure that ignited missions fervor and provided formative, embodied, ritual experiences that shaped the conscious and subconscious of individuals and groups. Finally, many drew on Enlightenment thinkers' ideas of toleration as grounds for cooperation on the primitive gospel. New economic models and Enlightenment thinkers provided the justification of the voluntary society, which became the structure through which evangelicals across denominations cooperated to transform Christianity and transatlantic culture through its "united front" or "benevolent empire" in the

nineteenth century. One or some combination of these grounds for interdenominational cooperation, all of which permeated evangelical missions culture, made cooperation legitimate for many people; Thomas Campbell even argued that it was a Christian duty.

Thomas and Alexander Campbell founded an evangelical missionary society in the U.S. (i.e., the CAW) based on the evangelical societies and advocates that influenced them in Ireland and Scotland. They participated in the creation and perpetuation of evangelical missions culture in nearby areas of Armagh and Richhill, Ireland, which were centers of missions culture. Thomas co-founded one of the most influence evangelical societies in Ireland during the 1790s (i.e., the ESU) and defended its legitimacy before his Antiburgher Presbyterian Synod. Thomas and Alexander heard famous U.K. evangelicals preach in Ireland and Scotland and held private religious conversation with some of them. Thomas founded the CAW in 1809 on the model and with the goals of the evangelical societies. Thomas' vision did have unique features planted in a unique context, both of which led the Campbell movement in a particular restorationist direction. Alexander eagerly joined in the CAW's mission after spending over half a year under the mentorship of Greville Ewing, one of Scotland's leading evangelical missions advocates, and acquired from Glasgow University the scholarly tools that aided his work as an itinerant for the CAW and later leadership of the Campbell movement.

From 1809 to the 1820s, the missions culture and some of its major advocates influenced the development of the Campbell movement. Many of the restorationists in the missions culture were key influences on Alexander's attempts to flesh out the patternist restorationism articulated in the *Declaration and Address*. He drew especially on John Walker, the Haldanes, and other Scottish sources that the missionary schools of

Ewing and the Haldanes utilized, such as Sandeman and Glas. All these influences planted in the context of the Pennsylvania frontier led the Campbells to associate eventually with the Baptists, following a path similar to evangelical missions advocates such as the Haldanes and Alexander Carson. The Campbells' restorationism led them to accept believers' baptism by immersion and to associate with the Baptists for a turbulent period from 1812 to 1830. The Campbells continued supporting missions until at least 1821, but similar to a number of Baptists, Alexander launched vigorous opposition to missionary societies in 1823.

The transatlantic evangelical missions culture provides the clear context for understanding the emergence of the Campbell movement in 1809 as manifested in the CAW and its *Declaration and Address*. This context not only illuminates historical explanations for the CAW and *Declaration and Address*, but it also brings together the various historiographical tributaries of Campbell movement origins into one contextual river. The CAW's focus on unity, anti-sectarianism, restoration, mission, millennialism, Enlightenment tolerance, individual interpretation, itinerant preaching, Bible distribution, and voluntary societies were key parts of the culture. Both Campbells absorbed a particular, historical, contextual version of evangelical Christianity in Ireland and Scotland and planted it in the U.S. This transatlantic perspective need not diminish the importance of the frontier and democratic context in which the Campbell's planted their evangelical missionary movement heritage nor dictate the Campbell movement's development in that context. Instead, the evangelical missions culture illuminates the vision of the world and of Christianity with which the Campbell movement began in the U.S. The Presbyterian conflicts, the frontier, and democratic contexts of western

Pennsylvania in the early nineteenth century proved immeasurably important in the early shaping of the Campbell movement. Nonetheless, when the Campbell movement began in earnest, with the foundation of the CAW and publication of the *Declaration and Address*, the movement was a child of the transatlantic evangelical missions culture. The Campbells early writings evince that they were at least partly aware of their heritage.

New perspectives such as transatlantic rather than only national history and evangelical rather than only denominational history shine light on the early Campbell movement's context, which I have called the "transatlantic evangelical missions culture." The transatlantic evangelical missions culture in Ireland and Scotland wielded enormous influence on the Campbells: although this is a new historiographical perspective, the basic conclusion is not entirely new. Robert Richardson identified the key concepts that united those Independents, Baptists, Anglicans, and Presbyterians who influenced the Campbells at this time, noting that they cooperated to spread a simpler view of the gospel based on the Bible. As noted in chapter two, it has taken a century of historiography either moving away from Richardson's insights or moving in other directions to forget the memory of the evangelical missionary movement's impact on the rise of the Campbell movement.

Historians have more typically followed the vein of Alexander Campbell's version of origins more than Robert Richardson's. When Alexander began looking back on the history of the Campbell movement to tell its story, his sight was obstructed by developments in the 1820s when the Campbell movement began its most public intimations for restoration in *The Christian Baptist*. He saw restoration and unity as the key contributions of the Campbell movement; in his mind, these contributions could not

have come from the evangelical missionary movement. He had opposed the missionary societies in the 1820s because they were not "authorized" in Scripture, they perpetuated denominationalism, and thus subverted Christian unity. Furthermore, the Campbells' 1820s soteriology packaged in Walter Scott's five-finger exercise developed a view of the salvation process quite different from evangelical new birth experience. Quite unlike his intimations in his 1810 and 1811 sermons on Isaiah, which followed the *Declaration and Address* in placing the CAW firmly within the evangelical missionary efforts of the last days, Alexander's estimation of the evangelical missionary movement's impact on him had changed after many years as the leader of a successful restoration movement. Despite Richardson's careful detailing of some of the evangelical missionary movement's influence on the Campbells, historians have misunderstood the transatlantic evangelical missions context of the early Campbell movement. This is a result not only of Alexander's historiography, but of historical events in the SCM. As missionary societies became a major cause of SCM division in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, opponents justified opposition to missionary societies by pointing to *The Christian Baptist* heritage. Ironically, the "unity" movement divided and missionary societies were a key source of the division, so historiography of the SCM and missions has fixated on accounting for the shift from 1820s' opposition to later approval of missionary societies. Inadvertently, historians have missed the earlier evangelical missionary influences shaping the origins of the Campbell movement.

In conclusion, the Campbells with all the people who were part of the missionary movement that arose throughout the eighteenth century and exploded in the 1790s were riding a wave of eschatological missionary enthusiasm that led them to attempt

minimizing differences so they could cooperate to spread a primitive and simple evangelical gospel at home and abroad. The Campbells' CAW and *Declaration and Address* were firmly rooted in this evangelical missions culture. Historical analysis of that culture illuminates the early Campbell tradition and provides an overdue historiographical revision of Campbell origins.

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