

JAMES MADISON PENDLETON: A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY

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**A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the School of Theology
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Theology**

**by
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May 1962**

APPROVAL SHEET

James Madison Pendleton: A Critical Biography

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DEDICATION

This Work Is Sincerely and Affectionately Dedicated
to the Following Persons:

The author's wife, Velva,
without whose encouragement and sacrifice
this work would never have been undertaken

His son, John Mark,
who was denied during the preparation of this study
many of the attentions which a father owes a child

and

His mother, Mrs. Clyde Huddleston,
whose understanding and faith through the years
have meant more than she will ever know

My object has been to be an accomplished debater;
claiming nothing unjust, yielding to nothing
unjust. My grand supreme purpose has been the
establishment of truth.

--James Madison Pendleton, Reminiscences of a Long Life.

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INTRODUCTION

To undertake the presentation of a critical biography is one of the most rewarding and, at the same time, most demanding of all historical studies. It is rewarding in that it gives one a clearer view of the meaning of history than can be found at any other place. History, in its simplest terms, is the "actions of human beings that have been done in the past."¹ Thus, to understand history necessitates the understanding of the individuals who make up the historical events. While it is true that biography is not always as interpretative a study as some related historical pursuits, it nevertheless lays the groundwork from which other such undertakings must emanate.

Now the very facts which make biography such a rewarding study also tend to make it a highly complex and demanding undertaking. "Biography," as James T. Shotwell reminds us, "becomes history when it considers the individual in his setting; it is not history in so far as it deals exclusively with a single life."² Therefore, to begin a biographical study is to engage, to some degree, in a consideration of

¹R. G. Collingwood, The Idea of History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 9.

²James T. Shotwell, The History of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 7.

both the age which produced the individual and the social factors resulting from the impact of a particular life. This means that any such study is, by its very nature, highly selective and, therefore, greatly limited as to the degree of its objectivity.

With these preliminary considerations in mind, an inquiry must now be made as to the need for a study of the particular life herein presented.

That such a need exists is evidenced by three main areas of consideration. First, the life span of the subject, 1811-1891, embraces one of the most momentous eras of American Baptist history. It was the age which saw the formation of the Triennial Convention and the birth of the American foreign missionary movement; it was also the period marked by such bitter and consequential controversies as the anti-missionary uprising, the Campbellite cleavage, the abolition movement, and the denominational division into Northern and Southern Baptist camps; and finally, this was the day of certain doctrinal formulations which were destined to play a major role in shaping the course of Baptist history during the twentieth century.

J. M. Pendleton not only lived during these eventful years, but was also an outstanding figure in Baptist life during much of this time. His active ministry covered a period of more than fifty years during which he exerted a

wide influence as pastor, author, teacher, and theologian. A contemporary described him as "one of the brightest lights of our [Baptist] denomination."³ He was noteworthy as having been "the first man in southern Kentucky who abjured avocations, giving himself wholly to the ministry."⁴ Also, he was one of the delegates to the dedication of the first Baptist church erected in the Republic of Mexico.⁵

A second significant factor which warrants a careful study of this man's life is the rich written heritage which he left behind. His writings are voluminous and afford a unique cross-section of both Northern and Southern Baptist thought during this critical period. One author who lived during this period offered the following evaluation of Pendleton as an author:

From 1838, to the present time [1886], he has probably written more for the periodical press than any other man who has regularly filled the pastoral office; and, yet, he has never published an article that did not evince calm thought and mature deliberation.⁶

T. T. Eaton, editor of the Western Recorder, commented at

³T. T. Eaton, James Madison Pendleton, D.D. (Louisville, Kentucky: Baptist Book Concern, 1904), p. 20.

⁴Leo T. Crismon and Harold Stephens, "Pendleton, James Madison," Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1958), II, 1082.

⁵Ibid., p. 1083.

⁶J. H. Spencer, A History of Kentucky Baptists (Cincinnati, Ohio: J. R. Baumes, 1886), II, 524.

the time of Pendleton's death that

as a writer he stood in the front rank. Clear and simple in style, the people could always understand him; and believing in his purity of heart and in his knowledge of the Bible they trusted him as few men have ever been trusted. His articles were eagerly read and seldom failed to enlighten and to convince the reader. His books have had a wide circulation and have been blessings to the cause of truth.⁷

A third, and final, reason for the significance of James Madison Pendleton is to be found in the leading role which he played in the founding of the Landmark Baptist theology. W. W. Barnes, in his history of the Southern Baptist Convention, notes:

J. R. Graves, J. M. Pendleton, and A. C. Dayton composed the triumvirate that led in formulating and giving momentum to the Baptist type of high-churchism. Pendleton was the prophet, Graves the warrior, and Dayton the sword-bearer in the new campaign.⁸

Thus, if only in the light of the tremendous influence which the Landmark Baptists have had upon Baptists in America, particularly Southern Baptists, any serious consideration of American Baptist history cannot afford to ignore so prominent an individual.

However, in spite of the above considerations, the fact remains that J. M. Pendleton has been largely ignored

⁷T. T. Eaton, "J. M. Pendleton," Western Recorder, March 12, 1891, p. 4.

⁸W. W. Barnes, The Southern Baptist Convention 1845-1953 (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1954), p. 103.

by twentieth century historians. The author of the present study has been unable to locate even one critical biography dealing with this man. Indeed, apart from Pendleton's autobiography,⁹ an oration delivered at a memorial service following his death,¹⁰ several encyclopedia articles,¹¹ some newspaper reviews,¹² a biographical sketch,¹³ and general studies dealing with the Landmark movement, there seems to be nothing in print which deals with his life per se. Nor does one find a great deal of material in this area when he turns to a consideration of the unpublished sources. There is one brief memorial resolution attached to the minutes of the First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky.¹⁴ Other

⁹J. M. Pendleton, Reminiscences of a Long Life (Louisville, Kentucky: Baptist Book Concern, 1891). This is a very helpful volume which was completed only a month before his death. Henceforth, it shall be referred to in this study under the title Reminiscences.

¹⁰Eaton, James Madison Pendleton, D.D.

¹¹William Cathcart, "Pendleton, James Madison, D.D.," The Baptist Encyclopedia (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1883), I, 897-98; Crismon and Stephens, op. cit.

¹²T. T. Eaton, "J. M. Pendleton," Western Recorder, March 12, 1891, p. 4; J. C. L., "J. M. Pendleton," National Baptist, March 19, 1891, p. 2.

¹³Ben M. Bogard, Pillars of Orthodoxy, or Defenders of the Faith (Louisville, Kentucky: Baptist Book Concern, 1900), pp. 253-311.

¹⁴Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, March 4, 1891. The committee responsible for drawing up this statement consisted of J. W. Wilkins, W. F. Perry, and R. J. Hill.

than this, one is limited to a graduate thesis which deals only with one phase of Pendleton's thought.¹⁵ An example of the extent to which the man has been ignored, even by those acquainted with him, can be seen in the following experience:

Upon the death of Mr. B. F. Procter, the son-in-law in whose home Dr. Pendleton died in Bowling Green, Kentucky, the estate was sold at public auction. Among the articles to be sold was a large oil painting of Rev. Pendleton. The director of the auction informed the First Baptist Church of Bowling Green that he was willing for this painting to become the property of the church. The only provision was that a representative of the church was to be present at the sale and offer a token bid. However, no such representative appeared and the portrait was sold for the value of the frame. It is assumed that the picture was destroyed.¹⁶

It is difficult to understand why this state of affairs should exist. However, in this connection, it must be remembered that the greatest part of Pendleton's significance lies in his relationship to the Landmark movement, and most of the attention given to the individuals involved in this movement has centered upon the editor of the Tennessee Baptist, J. R. Graves. And it is not unusual that this should be the case. Graves was a far more dynamic personality than either Pendleton or Dayton. Also, Graves remained in the

¹⁵James E. Hill, Jr., "James Madison Pendleton's Theology of Baptism" (unpublished Master's thesis, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1958).

¹⁶This incident was related to the author during an interview held with Miss Annie Barclay and Miss Virginia Evans, Pendleton's niece and grand-niece, at Bowling Green, Kentucky, March 2, 1962.

heat of battle long after both of his co-editors had taken up other considerations. Again, Pendleton left the South, while Graves remained within the area most affected by "Old Landmarkism."

However, this eclipse of Pendleton by J. R. Graves is not the only factor in explaining the absence of studies dealing with the former's life. One should not forget that the entire area of the Landmark controversy is still, to some degree, a pioneer field in the study of Baptist history. Thus, there are several factors to consider here. First, the entire movement is still a comparatively young event in terms of historical data. The full impact of its thesis upon Baptist life is less than a century old, and, for this reason, there has been relatively little time for the production of really competent, evaluative studies in this area. Also, the basic tenets of Landmarkism are still very much a part of the thinking of many Southern Baptists, and many historians have hesitated, for reasons of propriety, to enter into a serious consideration of so controversial a subject. Finally, there has been in recent years, under the impact of a philosophy of pragmatic[✓]ism, a tendency to neglect many doctrinal matters.¹⁷

¹⁷A careful reading of the Western Recorder from the 1920's to the present will clearly show this trend.

Therefore, on the basis of these considerations, it is the purpose of the present study to set forth, as objectively as possible, a biography of J. M. Pendleton. It is hoped that this study will facilitate, in some small measure, the appearance of more detailed studies of the age during which Pendleton lived, the movement which he assisted in creating, and the denomination which still bears many of the marks of his thought.

The author is acutely aware of both the assets and the weaknesses governing this particular study. Personal experience has led the writer to a close association with the Landmark theology and, therefore, aids in his understanding of the movement. A number of his relatives and friends are members of Landmark Baptist churches, and he has, upon numerous occasions, had the opportunity to enter into serious doctrinal discussions with these people. Also, he was reared in a Southern Baptist church which held many of the basic views of Landmarkism. Again, the theological sections of his college studies advocated many of these same doctrines. Also, this work has been greatly enhanced by the availability of all the volumes from the pen of Pendleton and a large number of his periodical articles. Finally, the author was able to examine the complete historical records of the First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, and, while visiting in Bowling Green, to interview Pendleton's

niece, Miss Annie Barclay, and grand-niece, Miss Virginia Evans. Both of these ladies were most gracious in the giving of their time and in the lending of certain personal papers which greatly added to the study.

It is only fair, however, that an additional statement be made at this point to indicate the weaknesses which are reflected in this work. It is obvious from the limitations prescribed for the study, both in subject selected and in space requirements, that no really comprehensive consideration can herein be afforded the Landmark movement. This is an unavoidable omission, but it does, nevertheless, hamper a full consideration of the impact of Pendleton's theology. Also, there were several periodical articles written by Pendleton which the present author was unable to consult. Such articles are known to have been published, but their source was either unknown or they were unavailable to the present writer.¹⁸ A third weakness in this study is the fact that in preparing this work the time element prevented the author from undertaking an extensive examination of the church records of Pendleton's pastorates at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, Hamilton, Ohio, and Upland, Pennsylvania. Finally, the student's background of subjection to and reaction to the

¹⁸The articles are known primarily by references found in Pendleton's writings and by clippings contained in a scrapbook belonging to Mrs. B. F. Procter, Pendleton's daughter.

doctrines of Landmarkism, has made it exceedingly difficult for him to remain as objective throughout the study as he would desire. It is sincerely hoped that where such prejudices are evident they will be taken into proper consideration.

The approach of this study will be to present the subject's life in three major periods. The first period, 1811-1852, will be considered chiefly in terms of the basic formative influences which helped to shape Pendleton's life and thought. The second period, 1853-1865, will present Pendleton's role in the development of several major theological and social controversies. Finally, the years of 1866 through 1891 will be dealt with so as to picture Pendleton as a theologian and reflective thinker. In conclusion, an effort will be made to evaluate the abiding influence of the man, particularly in regard to the final outcome of his relationship with Landmarkism.

It is fitting to speak a word of special appreciation to those who have assisted in the preparation of this work. The author is especially indebted to the following persons: Dr. W. Morgan Patterson, Associate Professor of Church History at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, for his many helpful suggestions and very able supervision of the study; Dr. Eric C. Rust, Professor of Christian Philosophy at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, for first

awakening within the author an understanding of the theological significance of historical studies; Rev. J. William Loving, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Hartsville, Tennessee, at whose suggestion Pendleton was first considered as a subject for thesis study; Dr. Leo T. Crismon, Librarian at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, and his staff, for their patient and helpful assistance in locating needed materials; Rev. Othar Smith, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, who made available and assisted in examining the records of the Bowling Green Church; Miss Annie Barclay and Miss Virginia Evans, niece and grand-niece of the subject, for their helpful interviews and permission to use Pendleton's private papers; and to all those others who, across the years, have aided in this writer's quest to understand better the meaning of truth.

William C. Huddleston

Louisville, Kentucky

May, 1962

CHAPTER I

THE FORMATIVE YEARS: 1811-1852

The Frontier. Near the close of the nineteenth century, Frederick Jackson Turner advanced the thesis that "the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward explain American development."¹ It is not the purpose of this study to debate the merit of the "Frontier Thesis" and the interpretations which may be drawn from it. However, it should be noted that there is no unanimity among scholars regarding the validity of Turner's position. As one writer has expressed it:

This definition of the frontier, or one akin to it, is tenable. The difficulty with Turner's thesis arises when he says that the frontier can "explain American development." What the frontier was, is a fact. What its significance, if any, was and is in the "American development" is an interpretation of this fact. . . . Precisely how this fact should be interpreted--i.e., what consequences, if any, came out of this involvement and how these consequences are related to factors other than the frontier--is a matter on which there are widely differing views.²

Nevertheless, regardless of the position one takes in regard

¹George Rogers Taylor (ed.), The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1956), p. 1. *Secondary source*

²Penrose St. Amant, "Frontier, Baptists and the American," Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1958), I, 510.

to Turner's thesis, it cannot be denied that the frontier did exert a great deal of influence upon the lives of the American people. This fact was particularly true in the case of the individuals who found themselves to be a living part of that rapidly advancing phenomenon. "It was clear from the start that, while the settler was destined to transform the frontier, in an equally real sense he would be transformed by it."³ This transformation is especially evident in two areas of frontier life. First, the vastness of the frontier tended to produce, in any person who truly experienced it, a strong sense of individualism and self-reliance. In a situation where a man saw his neighbors only a few times a year, it was only natural that he should become convinced that he could live very well, in the normal events of life, without the help of others. Second, the rigorous demands of frontier life tended to produce a strong sense of the heroic. This is not to say that the frontier made every man into a hero; it did not. However, under the pressures of frontier life, many individuals showed qualities of greatness which might never have appeared in more secure surroundings. And even those who did not respond to the challenge of the heroic themselves came to have the deepest appreciation for those

³Dixon Wecter, "Instruments of Culture on the Frontier," The Yale Review, XXXVI (September, 1946), 242-56.

of their countrymen who dared to go beyond the bounds of ordinary courage. In the realm of religion, this call to heroism is one of the more important explanations for the amazing success which the Christian Church experienced on the frontier. From the missionary evangelist and circuit rider, whom death found "boldly proclaiming the duty of the East to Christianize the West, and triumphantly prophesying that some day the task would be accomplished,"⁴ to the numerous small sects which made their way into the undeveloped West, on every side individuals were offering themselves as sacrifices to meet the challenge of the frontier. In short, many of those whose primary motivation was religion were attracted to the new lands by the compelling conviction that here they were truly "marching to Zion."

In the autumn of 1812, John Pendleton, his wife, their two daughters and one son left Virginia and settled in Christian County, Kentucky. The son, James Madison Pendleton, had been born the year before, November 20, 1811, at Spotsylvania in County, Virginia. Thus, being only an infant when his parents reached their new Kentucky home, Pendleton's earliest recollections were in terms of frontier life. Years later, in his autobiography, Pendleton described the impressions of this environment.

Kentucky was then considered a distant land. . . . The "red men of the forest" were objects of terror even to

⁴Peter G. Mode, The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), pp. 178-79.

grown persons, and the most effectual way of quieting the noise made by children was to tell them that Indians were probably near. Emigrants were often plundered and some were killed. . . . I remember hearing it said that it was sometimes necessary to descend hills so steep that the ordinary locking of wheels was not sufficient, but that branches of trees were fastened to the wagons to make their descent safe.⁵

Along with these descriptions of the perils of frontier life, there were also numerous accounts of the loneliness of this existence.

My father had bought a tract of land, three hundred acres, with an unfinished dwelling house. . . . I think I must have been nine or ten years old when I first went to school, though I had learned a little at home [his father was the teacher of this school]. . . . In company I was greatly embarrassed and was almost startled at the sound of my own voice. I can remember when I would go out of my way rather than meet a person to whom I would have to speak. . . . In looking back to my boyhood, I think of spells of sickness I sometimes had. There was no doctor in less than ten miles, and my mother administered medicine.⁶

In this sometimes perilous and often lonely existence, it was only natural that Pendleton's life would come to reflect something of the aforementioned characteristics of the frontier mind.⁷ It should be noted that this statement is in no way intended to reflect derogatorily upon the value of Pendleton's thought. The question of the relative worth

⁵Pendleton, Reminiscences, pp. 12-13.

⁶Ibid., pp. 13, 15, 17, 18.

⁷The spirit of individualism is reflected in his acceptance of the Landmark theology (cf. W. Morgan Patterson, "Landmarkism," Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists [Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1958], II, 752); the sense of the heroic is manifested in his stand for the abolition of slavery while a pastor in the South (infra, pp. 54-65).

of the subject's contribution to Christian theology will have to be dealt with in another place. However, the thinking processes of Pendleton, as those of any other man, were molded by the environment which produced him. In Pendleton's case, this environment was the American frontier.

Formal Educational Influences. The formal education of J. M. Pendleton was extremely limited. Not before his ninth birthday did Pendleton receive any formal training, save what little tutoring his parents were able to give him. During his early teens he attended the neighborhood schools for several years, when the farming would permit, and here he learned sparingly of reading, arithmetic, geography, and grammar. He describes the rigors of such education in recalling some of the details regarding the first school which he attended.

It was built of rough logs, the chinks between which were imperfectly filled and daubed with red clay. There were no windows worthy of the name, but parts of logs were cut out to let in the light and panes of glass were so adjusted as to keep out the cold. The floor was of dirt and the chimney had a fire-place six feet wide and four feet deep. The benches were made of slabs and these were the outsides of sawed logs. There were no backs to the benches, and everything seemed to be so arranged as to keep the feet of small children from reaching the floor. This, though not so designed, was the refinement of cruelty. Not less than six hours a day were spent in school, and during that time the small children had no support for their backs and feet.⁸

⁸Pendleton, Reminiscences, pp. 14-15.

In October, 1831, he went to Russellville, Kentucky, and became the pupil of the Reverend Robert T. Anderson in the Academy which he conducted in that city. During this time of study, Pendleton came to acquire a good knowledge of Latin. His abilities were so obvious in this capacity that he was soon employed as the assistant teacher of a Female Academy in Russellville. In 1833, a call came from Hopkinsville, Kentucky, offering the young scholar the pastorate of two churches.⁹ He accepted this call and for the next three years served in these positions. While in Hopkinsville Pendleton became a student in the Academy of Mr. James D. Rumsey. During this period of training he enhanced his knowledge of Latin and acquired a good foundation in the study of Greek.

In 1836, Pendleton became pastor of the First Baptist Church in Bowling Green, Kentucky, and his formal educational studies came to an end. It would appear that what training he had received was too sporadic and inadequate to prepare a man for extensive scholarly pursuits. However, Pendleton's inquiring mind and native mental abilities had received sufficient scholastic tools in these years of study to enable

⁹These churches were the Bethel Baptist Church, a few miles west of Hopkinsville, and the First Baptist Church of Hopkinsville. (It was the Bethel Church which licensed and the Hopkinsville Church which ordained Pendleton. Cf. infra, pp. 24-26.)

him to undertake a lifelong program of serious study which qualified him to serve as theologian for the Landmark movement.

But Pendleton's formal education did more than merely make it possible for him to set forth the thoughts of his Landmark theology. It also determined, to some degree, the direction in which those thoughts would travel. There are two areas of his training where this fact is seen most clearly. Pendleton's theology is one which is built upon a firm belief in the verbal inspiration of the Bible. He writes:

In opposition to the views of Deists, Rationalists, and all kindred errorists, I maintain that the Bible is a super-human production--that it is the book of God, properly so called, because it contains a revelation from him.¹⁰

.....
If the Bible is the word of God, its authority cannot be questioned. There must be no cavilings as to its teachings. What it says must be received as true, and its words must be candidly and faithfully interpreted.¹¹

There will be no attempt here to say whether this view is valid, but it certainly must be pointed out that much of Pendleton's early training was responsible for this position. Both of his parents were strongly influenced by a conservative

¹⁰J. M. Pendleton, Christian Doctrines: A Compendium of Theology (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1878), pp. 24-25.

¹¹Ibid., p. 41.

theology. John Pendleton had been the student of Andrew Broaddus before leaving Virginia, and on one occasion this conservative Baptist minister visited in the Pendleton's Kentucky home.¹² From the glowing accounts of John Pendleton's admiration for Broaddus,¹³ it is evident that the influence of this man upon the Pendleton household was considerable. Nor was this an unnatural development. Andrew Broaddus was a highly magnetic personality. At the time of his funeral one speaker remarked:

He seems to have had at command graces of elocution, both natural and acquired, but more especially the former, which gave him a power over his audience, which but few men possess. . . . He was devotedly attached to the cause in behalf of which he labored.¹⁴

It was only natural that most people would be impressed by such a man, but particularly young James Pendleton. This was, to a boy of his age, a great man. But what is more important, this was the teacher of his father. It must not be forgotten that Pendleton fairly idolized his father. In the last month of his life, Pendleton wrote of his parent:

My father was a man of vigorous intellect, the

¹²For an account of the Calvinistic theology of Broaddus cf. A. Broaddus, The Sermons and Other Writings of the Rev. Andrew Broaddus (New York: Lewis Colby, 1852).

¹³Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 4.

¹⁴J. B. Jeter, "Funeral Sermon of Rev. Andrew Broaddus," The Southern Baptist Review, I (March and April, 1849), 123.

distinctive peculiarity of which was its logical strength. He had read much and possessed large information. He was distinguished for an ample share of common sense, a very sound judgment, and often expressed himself in sentences so remarkable for their wisdom as to remind me of the Proverbs of Solomon.¹⁵

And upon the occasion of his father's death the son's deep admiration was expressed as follows:

I stood by the grave of my father and prayed that I might follow him as he followed Christ, and hear at last those words of commendation, "Well done, good and faithful servant."¹⁶

Frances Pendleton, like her husband, had a simple faith that had been nurtured in a Calvinistic background,¹⁷ and her influence upon her son was even greater than that of the father. Pendleton readily admitted this fact.

My first impressions as to the importance of Christianity were made by my mother. She was more accessible than my father, who was somewhat stern and, whether intentionally or not, kept his children at a distance. I could approach my mother, and even when I had a request of my father, it was generally done through her. She talked to me about Christ and salvation.¹⁸

.....
I shall never know how much I owe to the prayers of my mother.¹⁹

The uncritical spirit of these untrained people can be seen in the fact that on one occasion Pendleton recalled that they were "not troubled with doubts."²⁰ In such an environment,

¹⁵Pendleton, Reminiscences, pp. 55-56.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 5-8.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 34.

²⁰Ibid., p. 8.

there is little wonder that Pendleton remembered, with almost superstitious enthusiasm, that the first thing he ever bought with money he earned himself was a Bible.²¹

A second effect which Pendleton's formal education had upon his thought was the deep respect for antiquity which it instilled in him. One biographer writes that his library was made up largely of "history, biography, and philosophy."²² These particular tastes in literature reflect the Classical training which he received at both Russellville and Hopkinsville. But what is more important to this study, a deep respect for the authority of the ancients is reflected throughout his thought. This concern with antiquities was one of the factors which made much of the thought of J. R. Graves regarding "church succession" very attractive to Pendleton's mind. Graves summarized his position when he wrote:

The sense in which any existing Baptist church is the successor of the Baptist Church of Judea--the model and pattern of all--is the same as that existing between any regular Masonic Lodge and the first Lodge that was ever instituted. Ten thousand local Lodges may have existed and passed away, but this fact in nowise affects the continuity of Masonry. . . . Thus it has been with the institution called the kingdom of Christ; it has had a continuous existence, or the words of Christ have failed; and therefore, there has been no need of originating it,

²¹Ibid., p. 22.

²²William Cathcart, "James Madison Pendleton, D.D.," The Baptist Encyclopedia, I, 898.

de novo, and no unbaptized man ever had any authority to originate baptism, or a church, de novo. (Nor can our opposers prove that a Baptist church exists today started in this way.)²³

Pendleton caught this same spirit and set forth the thesis in different words.

The sentiment was once fearfully prevalent that Baptists were more worthy of prisons, fagots and death, than of pulpits and communion tables. What country has not witnessed their martyr-sufferings? They have been persecuted by Rome Pagan and by Rome Papal; for the latter inherited all the cruelty of the former.²⁴

In the case of his formal education, therefore, as in the case of the frontier environment, it once again becomes evident that the thought of J. M. Pendleton was not the product of sudden inspiration so much as it was the response of his personality to many complicated social factors.

Church Affiliations. During the period under consideration in this chapter, Pendleton was affiliated with no less than four Baptist churches. All of these congregations were marked by a simplicity of spirit and a literalistic interpretation of the Scriptures,²⁵ and each of them played an important role in shaping the course of Pendleton's future

²³J. R. Graves, Old Landmarkism: What Is It? (Memphis, Tennessee: Baptist Book House, 1881), pp. 123-24.

²⁴J. M. Pendleton et al., Landmarkism, Liberalism and the Invisible Church (Fulton, Kentucky: National Baptist Publishing House, 1899), p. 17.

²⁵Cf. Church Minutes, Bethel Baptist Church, Hopkinsville, Kentucky; Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Bowling

thought.²⁶ It was in this environment that many of the conservative elements of his past training were crystallized and put into a definite system. Also, it was here that he experienced his first abiding relationships with other Baptist ministers and, thus, formed strong mutual ties from which he never separated.²⁷ Finally, it was from this background that he took his wife, Miss Catherine Garnett, who for more than half a century would be the central interest of his life.

The small congregation which met at Salubria Spring, Kentucky, afforded the first church-related experiences in Pendleton's religious development. This was a typical frontier Baptist church, with meetings which were very informal.²⁸ In this atmosphere, Pendleton developed a suspicion for the more formal and better organized denominations (which he never completely overcame) This suspicion can be detected throughout his writings, but one passage will suffice to illustrate. "And nothing but New Testament authority will ever satisfy Baptists. It is the greatest folly to talk to them of tradition."²⁹ Also, this same environment led him

Green, Kentucky; Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Hopkinsville, Kentucky; Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 14.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 14; William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 217.

²⁹James Madison Pendleton, Three Reasons Why I Am a Baptist (Cincinnati, Ohio: Moore, Anderson & Company, 1853), p. 70.

to an extreme position in regard to the authority for Christian discipline. In 1878, he wrote:

. . . can there be no appeal to an association or presbytery or conference or convention? No; there is no appeal. Shall any kind of organization put the offender back in church fellowship when the church by its action classed him with heathen men and publicans? This is too absurd.³⁰

When he was seventeen years old, after two years of anxious concern over his spiritual condition, J. M. Pendleton made a public profession of faith. This action took place in the Bethel Baptist Church, which was located near Hopkinsville, Kentucky. Some weeks before this event, young Pendleton had gone through a conversion experience upon the reading of a sermon written by Rev. Samuel Davies dealing with I Corinthians 1:22-24. But it was several days later, in talking with Rev. John S. Wilson, that the young man made up his mind to unite with a local congregation. Since Wilson was a member of the Bethel church, which was in the same county as the Pendleton farm, James decided he would become a member of this same fellowship. It was upon the second Sunday in April, 1829, that he so acted upon this decision.³¹

The following February this church licensed Pendleton to preach. This action came as quite a surprise to the young

³⁰Pendleton, Christian Doctrines: A Compendium of Theology, p. 341.

³¹Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 29.

man as his only previous public speaking had been in the form of exhortations that he sometimes made, along with other members of the church, at the close of the regular sermon. But Pendleton accepted this decision as a call from God and resolved to do his best to fulfill the high expectations which his fellow church members had for him. In all fairness, however, it should be noted that many who heard him speak in those early days did not share the sentiments of the Bethel brethren. During the years of 1831 and 1832, Pendleton accompanied various ministers on preaching tours, and years later he recalled some of the comments of these men regarding his first sermons.

One of them, in referring to my attempts to preach, said, "You certainly could do better if you would try." Another said, "You are scarcely earning your salt." The language of a third brother was, "You say some pretty good things, but your preaching is neither adapted to comfort the saint nor alarm the sinner."³²

Nor were these observations limited to fellow ministers. "It was a layman, of whom I heard afterward, that said, 'As God is omnipotent he of course can make a preacher of that young man.'³³

In spite of these limitations in the realm of preaching, Pendleton was so respected for his sincerity of purpose

³²Ibid., pp. 36-37.

³³Ibid., p. 37.

that in January, 1833, both the Bethel and Hopkinsville Baptist churches extended to him the call to become pastor of the two fellowships on a half-time basis.³⁴ Both of these churches were marked by a highly conservative theology,³⁵ and Pendleton's outlook was further turned in this direction by his association with them. In fact, these early impressions were so strong that even forty years later they were clearly evident in his writings.

If the Bible is the Word of God, its authority cannot be questioned. There must be no questioning as to its teachings. What it says must be received as true, and its words must be candidly and faithfully interpreted. There must be docility of spirit--a willingness to "be taught of God," which will express itself in the language of the child Samuel: "Speak Lord, for thy servant heareth."³⁶

Again, in the heat of controversy he betrays the assumed infallibility of the true conservative. "You say, 'We think Brother P. [Pendleton] must be mistaken.' Let me say, once for all, that when I state a fact it is a fact."³⁷

³⁴The Hopkinsville church ordained him on November 2, 1833. (Cf. Reminiscences, p. 42.)

³⁵This can be seen by a survey of the records of these churches.

³⁶Pendleton, Christian Doctrines: A Compendium of Theology, p. 41.

³⁷J. M. Pendleton, "A Letter to Brother S. H. Ford," Western Recorder, XXII (January 31, 1855), 1. (This letter is in reply to an article in the Western Recorder, January 10, 1855, entitled, "Elder J. M. Pendleton and High Churchism.")

In the minutes of the First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, for "the third Sabbath in August, 1836," there is recorded the following resolution: "Resolved that the church call Bro. Pendleton to the Pastoral duties of the same granting him the privileges he requested in an address [ress] to this Church this day."³⁸ These minutes go on to say that the resolution passed unanimously. The "privileges" referred to indicate the desire of Pendleton to preach at least one Sunday per month at the Bethel church.³⁹ Thus, under these conditions, there began what proved to be the longest continuous pastorate of Pendleton's life⁴⁰ and, until the present time, the longest single pastorate in the Bowling Green Church.

On January 1, 1837, Pendleton began his duties as pastor at Bowling Green. The salary he received was considered fantastic for the times--four hundred dollars per year. Indeed, there were some members of the church who felt that such a salary was out of place in a Christian church. According to the custom in most churches,

³⁸Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, August, 1836.

³⁹Pendleton's relationship with these churches remained on this half-time basis throughout his ministry in Bowling Green.

⁴⁰This pastorate was broken by Pendleton's resignation in 1852, but this resignation was revoked after a few months.

preachers . . . lived on farms or taught school. Five days in the week they devoted to their farming operations, or were found in their school-rooms. They preached Saturday and Sunday, and there were some narrow-minded brethren who said that it took them as long to hear a sermon as it did the preacher to preach it, and that therefore they came out even at the close of the discourse.⁴¹

The attitude of many who heard about the arrangement between Pendleton and the Bowling Green church was "that it indicated the near approach of the millennium."⁴²

the In August of his first year at Bowling Green, Pendleton accompanied Rev. John Waller to Columbia for the meeting of the Russell Creek Association. It was necessary to spend *the* night before completing this trip, and the two men chose to stop at the home of Elder Richard Garnett in Glasgow. This was an exceedingly fortunate choice for the Bowling Green pastor, for it was at this time that he first met the Garnett's only daughter, Catherine. The following morning it was decided that this young lady, her brother, Joseph, and a gentleman friend would accompany the two ministers to the meeting. J. M. Pendleton greatly enjoyed the presence of all these companions, but Miss Garnett particularly impressed him *to stay overnight* with the excellences of her character and her

⁴¹William H. Whitsitt et al. (Committee of Publication), Memorial Volume of Jubilee of the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky (Louisville, Kentucky: John P. Morton and Company, 1888), pp. 9-10.

⁴²Ibid., p. 11.

general intelligence.⁴³

The following October the General Association of Kentucky Baptists was formed in Louisville. Pendleton was elected secretary, pro tempore, of this body. However, his mind was not entirely on the proceedings of this solemn occasion; for, at the Jubilee meeting of this same group, he testified:

Having performed my little part in the formation of the General Association in 1837 I decided to do something toward forming a particular association. I therefore, in returning to my home in Bowling Green, went by Glasgow and made proposals of marriage to Miss Catherine S. Garnett, whom I had known for a few months.⁴⁴

The following March 13 they were married in Glasgow by the Rev. Jacob Locke, pastor of the Baptist church in that city.⁴⁵

The next dozen years were very busy and happy ones for the young couple, and several times they experienced the blessings of parenthood. On January 8, 1839, the first child, a daughter named Letitia, was born into the Pendleton home. The following year, on May 5, a second child, John Malcolm, was born at Glasgow.⁴⁶ Their third child, Fannie,

⁴³Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 52.

⁴⁴Whitsitt et al., op. cit., p. 15.

⁴⁵Their wedding trip is described on pages 58 and 59 of Pendleton's Reminiscences. The trip was made by horseback to Louisville, and the small wooden box in which Mrs. Pendleton carried her trousseau may still be seen at the home of Miss Virginia Evans, 1417 State Street, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

⁴⁶Mrs. Pendleton had been called home some weeks earlier by the death of her mother.

was born March 11, 1844.⁴⁷

For the next five years events proceeded smoothly in the life of the Bowling Green church and that of its pastor. However, in April of 1849, Pendleton attended the Emancipation Convention at Frankfort. He was a very outspoken delegate at this meeting; and, as a result of his sentiments in this area, controversy arose within the fellowship of the church at Bowling Green. Finally, with the adoption of a new state constitution, in 1850, which favored slavery, Pendleton resigned his pastorate and made plans to remove from Kentucky.

*inconsistency
of dates?*

It was in the Summer of 1849 that I resigned the care of the church in Bowling Green. I thought it best to do, as I supposed that my views of Emancipation were not acceptable to some of the members.⁴⁸

The church clerk recorded the proceedings as follows:

After sermon Bro. Pendleton handed in a letter to the church explaining his determination to leave the Pastoral duties of this church and left the house.⁴⁹

In response, the church unanimously passed the following resolution:

Resolved, that it is the earnest wish of this church that Bro. James M. Pendleton remain in the Pastoral care

⁴⁷Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 122.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 94.

⁴⁹Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, May 19, 1849.

of this church if it be convenient with his feelings and that a comm.[itte]e of three be appointed to confer with Bro. Pendleton and report at as early a period as possible.⁵⁰

At the end of the year the situation was still very much unsettled, and Pendleton left Bowling Green to accept the pastorate of the church at Russellville, Kentucky.

While serving in Russellville, Pendleton was active in the founding of a "High School" under the sponsorship of the Bethel Association. This school later became Bethel Baptist College.⁵¹ It was also during this year, on August 25, that the Pendletons became parents of a fourth child, Lila.

The new pastor found the Russellville environment very pleasant, but the whole family was dissatisfied with the condition of the parsonage there. In such a situation, it was only natural that they often found themselves thinking wishfully of the comfortable house which they still owned in Bowling Green.⁵² Thus, when it was learned that the dissension within the Bowling Green fellowship had largely disappeared, after a stay of only a few months in Russellville, the Pendletons returned to Bowling Green at the close of 1851. Pendleton remained there for the next six years.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 100.

⁵²Ibid.

The years spent at Bowling Green were not greatly different, theologically speaking, from the experiences in the former churches with which Pendleton had been associated. The informal approach to religion is clearly discernible in a survey of the records of the Bowling Green church for this period.⁵³ Also, it is interesting that although the Bowling Green church was strong enough to afford a full-time minister it remained on a half-time basis throughout Pendleton's twenty years as its pastor.⁵⁴ The conservative theology is evidenced again and again in cases of church discipline which appear on almost every page of the church minutes during this period. Such offenses as "profane swearing," "Sabbath desecration," "playing cards for amusement," and "theater attendance" were strictly forbidden for all church members.⁵⁵ In the light of this last prohibition, it is interesting to note an article written by Pendleton during his retirement.

But what about the attendance at theaters of students in the Theological Seminary at Louisville? The thing is bad enough to take away one's breath. Surely the Faculty must look with righteous indignation on the matter. A theater-going theological student has no claim to the respect of saint or sinner. If such a student does not see the evil of his course, if he does not repent, and

⁵³Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, 1837-1857.

⁵⁴Ibid. (Cf. financial records of the church for this period.)

⁵⁵Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, 1837-1840.

make ample confession, he ought at once to abandon the ministry. . . . It would be better to have no preaching than to have it from men who do not keep themselves "unspotted from the world."⁵⁶

The significance of the Bowling Green pastorate lies in the fact that during this long period the thoughts of the man had time to form themselves into an orderly system. Also, as pastor of one of Kentucky's leading churches, Pendleton's views came to be respected and, therefore, it was during this time that his first articles began to appear in various Baptist periodicals. It was at Bowling Green that the stage was set for the systematic presentation of the thinking which had been shaped in Pendleton by the experiences of these formative years.

James Robinson Graves. While the influences of the frontier, his family, the formal educational experiences, and his church affiliations had all served in helping to lay the foundation for Pendleton's theology, the immediate impetus for his entering into the Landmark camp, the experience of his life for which he is best remembered, came from quite another source. In February, 1852, James Robinson Graves, who had been editor of the Tennessee Baptist since 1848, arrived in Bowling Green to begin a month-long revival meeting

⁵⁶J. M. P.[endleton], "The 'Christian Observer' on Church Discipline," Western Recorder, LXIV (May 29, 1890), 1.

with Pendleton's church. Pendleton later wrote the following description of that meeting:

Thus the meeting went on from day to day and from week to week until about seventy-five persons, young and old, were baptized and added to the church. Truly it was a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.⁵⁷

Pendleton probably did not realize it at the time, but those weeks proved to be more than just a successful revival meeting; they were to help determine the course of the remainder of his life.

Graves and Pendleton had not met before 1852, but each had known the other's writings. Graves declared later, upon the occasion of Pendleton's resignation from the staff of the Tennessee Baptist in 1861, that Pendleton had not only known his writings, but had also earlier opposed his thought.

. . . Bro. P.[endleton] has not in the six years of our editorial association advanced more than two or three propositions that did not meet our hearty approval. We are not aware that we differ touching any matter of religious faith and practice, though for several years before an editor or contributor he was a strong opposer of Old Landmarkism when we were its sole public advocate.⁵⁸

The account of their first meeting has been described by one who knew them both.

So Dr. Graves loaded his carriage with books (for there were no railroads from Nashville to Bowling Green

⁵⁷Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 102.

⁵⁸G.[raves], "Our Associate," Tennessee Baptist, XVII (July 13, 1861), 2.

then) and drove through the country so as to reach Bowling Green on Saturday afternoon. In conference with Dr. Pendleton he discovered that Dr. Pendleton was accustomed to receiving alien immersion. He therefore said to Dr. Pendleton: "Dr. Pendleton, I am afraid you have sent for the wrong man. I do not believe that Baptists ought to receive alien immersion. I preach otherwise, but I do not believe that a visiting minister should preach from the pulpit of a pastor doctrine contrary to those held by that pastor. So the best thing for you and me to do is for you to let me get in my carriage tomorrow morning and drive back to Nashville. You make the most satisfactory explanation you can and go ahead and hold your own meeting. Dr. Pendleton replied: "No, you will not either. You will stay right here, and preach right on through the meeting and preach the doctrine as you believe it. I have never given the matter of alien immersion a thorough study and I shall be glad to hear you preach on that subject."

So they entered the meeting, which was a great success, and at the end of the meeting Dr. Pendleton announced that he wholly agreed with Dr. Graves' view on alien immersion.⁵⁹

In this way, the future theological direction of Pendleton's life was determined.

One may be prone to question Pendleton's sincerity in so readily accepting the views which Graves presented during this meeting. However, it should be remembered that Pendleton's experiences up to this point had prepared him for just such a decision. Also, one must not fail to remember that J. R. Graves was a very persuasive individual. Pendleton's own impression of him was "that no man ever conducted a meeting more judiciously. His sermons were able and instructive,

⁵⁹O. L. Hailey, J. R. Graves Life, Times and Teachings (Nashville, Tennessee: O. L. Hailey, 1929), p. 73.

his exhortations were powerful, and his advice to inquirers and young converts just what it should be."⁶⁰ It is interesting that Pendleton's autobiography nowhere mentions the fact of his own theological "conversion" during this meeting. However, it is to be noted that these words were written near the end of Pendleton's life, and there is good indication that by this time "he apparently could not affiliate with Dr. Graves' advancing rigid system."⁶¹ A more eulogistic description of Graves is to be found in The Baptist Encyclopedia.

He is a great preacher, following unusual lines of thought. He is pre-eminently doctrinal, yet Christ crucified is the soul of every sermon. He is lengthy, yet he holds the attention of his audience to the last. He insists strongly upon the form, rights, and duties of the true church, and yet he always places Christ before the church, and upon water baptism, and baptism properly administered, yet he places the blood of Christ before water. In power of illustration, in earnestness of denunciation, in force of logic, in boldness of thought, and, at times, in tenderness of soul, he has few peers. His eloquence is sometimes overwhelming.⁶²

Such was the impression which Graves made upon the majority of the people who heard him speak. And it may well be that one of the crucial factors in Pendleton's decision to align

⁶⁰Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 102.

⁶¹Barnes, The Southern Baptist Convention 1845-1953, p. 105.

⁶²William Cathcart, "Graves, J. R., LL.D.," The Baptist Encyclopaedia (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1883), I, 467.

himself with the Landmark cause was the fact that he had been overwhelmed by the personality of J. R. Graves.

Whatever the factors involved in Pendleton's decision to accept the Landmark theology, it is a fact that once he openly declared himself to be in agreement with Graves' thinking he was readily accepted into the Landmark camp and soon given a position of great importance. Indeed, according to Graves' biographer, as soon as Pendleton declared himself to be in opposition to the reception of alien immersion, the Nashville editor commissioned him to become the theologian of the movement. The words of that commission were:

Dr. Pendleton, you are the very man I have been looking for--a man of ability who has gone through with this question and has reached his own satisfactory conclusions with respect to alien immersion, and that Baptists should not receive it. I, therefore, want you to write a tract that will set forth the differences between Baptists and Pedo-Baptists, showing why we cannot consistently fellowship with Pedo-Baptists as regular churches of Jesus Christ, nor receive their immersion, nor recognize their ministers as scripturally ordained ministers of the gospel.⁶³

In this way, Graves crystallized the decision which Pendleton had made during the Bowling Green meeting. This is not to imply in any way that J. R. Graves was unscrupulous in his

⁶³Hailey, *op. cit.*, p. 74. The letter from Pendleton to Bro. Dobbs, dated July 5, 1877 (cf. Appendix A for a copy of this letter), denies the details of this account. However, it is not to be denied that Pendleton did begin to write articles for the Tennessee Baptist soon after the meeting was concluded.

dealings with Pendleton. In fact, he was a man of the highest principles. Nevertheless, by enlisting the Bowling Green pastor for an important role in the movement, Graves made certain that Pendleton was not led astray by other teachings once he had returned to Nashville. The effectiveness of this move cannot be overestimated. As has already been pointed out, there are good indications that Pendleton began to disagree with many of his more extreme Landmark brethren in later years. But the fact that he failed to speak out strongly on these disagreements may well stem from a situation which is described in his Reminiscences.

From the time of the meeting above referred to [Bowling Green], I became a regular contributor to the Tennessee Baptist, a weekly sheet published in Nashville, J. R. Graves, editor. I wrote on various subjects and was requested to write several articles on this question: "Ought Baptists to Recognize Pedobaptist Preachers as Gospel Ministers?" I answered in the negative, and wrote four articles which were afterward published in pamphlet form under the title, "An Old Landmark Re-set."⁶⁴

Once a man has expressed himself in print he is usually more careful in changing his views than he would be if those views had been merely expressed orally. The fact that Pendleton wrote so much concerning the Landmark theology during this period may have led him to hesitate to be as critical of that position in later years as he might have been. This experience certainly tied him very close to the Landmark camp.

⁶⁴Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 103.

It has now been seen that the thought of James Madison Pendleton was the product of many factors, and that prominent among these were the frontier environment, the influences of his family and his formal education, the outlook of the churches with which he was affiliated, and, finally, the personality and leadership which he encountered in J. R. Graves. Thus, an attempt has been made to acquaint the reader with the type of outlook which Pendleton had as he entered the second, and most controversial, period of his life.

CHAPTER II

THE CONTROVERSIAL YEARS: 1853-1865

The middle years of the nineteenth century were marked by a spirit of controversy and schism on the American scene. It was an age which produced an environment that made it very difficult for any man to remain neutral, particularly those men who were possessed by such deep convictions as was James Pendleton. This was the period which saw the fruition of "high-churchism" among the various denominations. In the Baptist expression of this theology, Landmarkism, Pendleton played a leading role.

Also, this was a time of great social revolution. The questions of suffrage for women and the abolition of slavery were debated in every section of the country. In both of these matters, Pendleton's convictions led him to take what was often an unpopular stand, but it was a stand which he considered to be the only position tenable for a Christian. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to present Pendleton as a tireless crusader for those causes which he considered to be the fullest expressions of truth and justice for his day.

I. THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

The Landmark Controversy. "Landmarkism" is a term used to describe a position in Baptist theology which

advocates a form of "high-church" ecclesiology. The supporters of this position contend that the local congregation is the only valid ecclesiastical structure, and that it is an infallible source of authority in all matters of faith.

Further, those who accept the Landmark theology maintain that only Baptist churches are true gospel churches because they alone can trace their history to the New Testament period.¹

Thus, Landmark Baptists have been defined as "those Baptists who zealously advocate Baptist apostolic ["church" is the proper term] succession; who insist on properly authorized administrators of baptism to the validity of the ordinance and who reject pedo-baptist organizations as churches."²

Historically speaking, the trend toward a high-church, which may be detected very early in Baptist thought, did not crystallize into a general movement until the middle of the nineteenth century. The great impact which this theology made upon the Southern Baptist Convention in the initial years of that organization's life is well known to any student of Baptist history. Through the genius of its leader, J. R. Graves, the Landmark theology swept the Convention

¹Barnes, The Southern Baptist Convention 1845-1953, pp. 103-5.

²David O. Moore, "The Landmark Baptists and Their Attack upon the Southern Baptist Convention Historically Analyzed" (unpublished Doctor's thesis, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1949), pp. 9-10.

during the 1850's, and even before the Civil War, the Landmarkers had come to control such important Convention agencies as the Bible Board and the Southern Baptist Sunday School Union. So strong was Graves' position that during the Convention which met at Richmond, Virginia, in 1859, he nearly succeeded in preventing the election of his arch-foe, R. B. C. Howell, as president of the body. While it is true that Howell was elected in spite of Graves' opposition, the issue was so heated that Howell felt constrained to resign his position for the sake of the Convention's unity. The controversy continued to be a living issue within the Convention until the turn of the century, at which time the more radical Landmark elements withdrew and formed a new organization. However, the influence of Landmarkism is still strongly felt by the Convention and continues to be a motivating factor in many Southern Baptist churches.³

Defense of J. R. Graves. On June 24, 1851, a meeting was held at Cotton Grove, Tennessee, at which time J. R. Graves set forth five questions regarding the relationship of Baptist churches and pedobaptist "societies." These questions were:

- 1st. Can Baptists, consistently with their principles or the Scriptures, recognize those societies not

³Duke K. McCall (ed.), What Is the Church? (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1958), pp. 143-47.

organized according to the pattern of the Jerusalem Church, but possessing different governments, different officers, a different class of members, different ordinances, doctrines and practices, as churches of Christ?

2nd. Ought they to be called gospel churches, or churches in a religious sense?

3rd. Can we consistently recognize the ministers of such irregular and unscriptural bodies as gospel ministers?

4th. Is it not virtually recognizing them as official ministers to invite them into our pulpits, or by any other act that would or could be construed into such a recognition?

5th. Can we consistently address as brethren those professing Christianity, who not only have not the doctrine of Christ and walk not according to his commandments, but are arrayed in direct and bitter opposition to them?⁴

The delegates at this meeting overwhelmingly answered in the negative ~~to~~ all of these questions. Thus, the famous "Cotton Grove Resolutions" came into existence.

When Graves arrived in Bowling Green for the aforementioned revival meeting, these resolutions were the center of conversation throughout the South. Baptists and pedobaptists alike were sharply divided, and it was, therefore, not strange that there arose considerable criticism of the revival meeting held in Pendleton's church. The meeting was highly successful, and Pendleton was greatly impressed by the

⁴Graves, Old Landmarkism: What Is It? pp. xi-xii.

sincerity and profundity of Graves. Therefore, the natural reaction of the host pastor was to defend the visiting evangelist. In June, 1852, Pendleton wrote to the editor of the Tennessee Baptist explaining his actions.

And here is to say once for all, that when a minister visits this place at my solicitation, as you did, and conducts a meeting on principles which meet my hearty approbation, as you did, if after his departure, he is calumniated and persecuted, as you have been, I will defend him, though I hear a thousand thunders rolling through the Pedobaptist heavens.⁵

One wonders if the whole course of Pendleton's life might not have been different if he had not been drawn into this controversy. However, the fact remains that he did throw himself into the midst of this debate and became a regular contributor to the Tennessee Baptist.

The first stage of the debate involved another citizen of Bowling Green, Mr. W. Randolph, pastor of the Methodist church in that city. Randolph had made several disparaging remarks from his pulpit regarding the doctrinal position of Graves, his character, and his alleged misuse of the Methodist Discipline during the Bowling Green meeting. Pendleton replied to these charges by challenging the Methodist pastor to a public debate. As a result of this debate, Randolph wrote several letters to the Christian Advocate of Nashville

⁵J. M. Pendleton, "Letter to Brother Graves," Tennessee Baptist, June 5, 1852, p. 1.

(Methodist) and to the Nashville and Louisville Advocate (Presbyterian), in which he reiterated the charges he had made previously at Bowling Green. Pendleton sought to clarify the situation with an explanatory letter to the Western Recorder. In particular, Pendleton wanted to explain why he had refused to give a blanket approval to all that Graves had said during the meeting. "Now, to require one man to endorse every sentence and phrase that another uses in four weeks of ardent extemporaneous preaching is non-sensical."⁶ Randolph mistakenly interpreted this hesitancy on Pendleton's part as a sign of weakness, and pressed his attack. The Baptist pastor quickly replied with a very forceful and cutting letter, which he published in the Tennessee Baptist.

Mr. R. kindly informs us that "communion" is derived from the Latin word "communio," and that "close" comes from "clausas" (clausus, is it not?) and means "shut fast." Well, we must receive the information with gratitude; for it is right to be thankful for small favors.

Now if Mr. R. remembered what I said and wrote he probably would not have made the superfluous yet harmless allusions to my deficiency of intellect, &c.--If he possesses an "eminent, super-eminent, transcendental, paramount" mind, and my intellectual faculties are weak almost approaching imbecility, he ought to pity me in my destitution of talent, and not exult majestically in his triumphant superiority to me.

spells

⁶J. M. Pendleton, "To the Public," Western Recorder, May 26, 1852.

But he does not prove anything except that he is advocating a bad cause. He quotes the language of Christ, "Drink ye all of it," "i.e. all christians are to drink of it." Are unbaptized christians to drink of it? This is "begging the question" indeed. Listen to what follows: "I wonder they (the Baptists) do not say this means all of the wine, and not all of the people of God." Do you "wonder" Mr. R.? But I am not prepared to reply to this sentence; for I have not learned whether there is a single room finished in the Lunatic Asylum at Hopkingsville.⁷

The heat generated by this debate was of such a nature that it tended to involve many others within the conflict. Soon Pendleton found himself debating not only pedobaptists, but also his own Baptist brethren. Within a few months following the publication of this letter to Randolph, Pendleton was engaged in a written debate with the editors of the Western Recorder regarding the attitude of Baptists toward pedobaptist ministers. In an article for the Tennessee Baptist, Pendleton wrote:

Where there is no baptism, there are no visible churches. There is no baptism among Pedo-baptists: Therefore, there are no visible churches. Where there are no visible churches, there is no gospel authority to preach: There are no visible churches among Pedo-baptists: Therefore, there is no gospel authority to preach.⁸

S. H. Ford, associate editor of the Western Recorder, replied by saying that pedobaptists should be recognized as "preachers,"

⁷J. M. Pendleton, "Letter to Brother Graves," Tennessee Baptist, June 5, 1852, p. 1.

⁸J. M. Pendleton, "Letter to Dr. Hill, Editor of the Presbyterian Herald," Tennessee Baptist, September 2, 1854, p. 2.

but not as "gospel ministers."⁹ Pendleton's answer was:

A man may proclaim the gospel and yet not have authority, according to the gospel, to do so. God calls men to preach, but there is unquestionably an authority that comes through a gospel church. No Pedobaptist Society is a gospel church. It cannot, therefore, in accordance with the gospel, confer authority to preach.¹⁰

In the early stages of the debate, there was little hostility to be seen on either side. All of Pendleton's early articles show a marked courtesy toward his brethren in Louisville, and Ford describes the Bowling Green pastor as "a man whom we highly esteem for his talents, his integrity, and piety, and with whom we are sorry to have to differ."¹¹ But as the debate continued, relations between the two papers deteriorated to the point of open animosity. The degree of bitterness which existed can be seen from the following article which appeared in the Western Recorder, October, 1855.

Brethren Graves and Pendleton have each taken their position and shown their hand in answer to the call we made upon them to cease fanning the fires of strife in our denomination. Bro. Graves, it seems, is to do the fighting, and Bro. Pendleton the ridiculing. They both seem determined on war, but each in a different way. Bro. G. grows abusive; Bro. P. sarcastic. Bro. G. is furious; Bro. P. is witty. Bro. G. is boisterous;

⁹S. H. Ford, "Editorial," Western Recorder, November 15, 1854, p. 2.

¹⁰J. M. P.[endleton], "Ought Baptists to Recognize Pedobaptist Preachers as Gospel Preachers?" Tennessee Baptist, December 16, 1854, p. 3.

¹¹S. H. Ford, "Elder J. M. Pendleton and High Churchism," Western Recorder, January 10, 1855, p. 2.

Bro. P. gentle. Bro. G. turbulent; Bro. P. serene. Bro. G. defiant; Bro. P. plausible. Bro. G. threatening; Bro. P. funny--for, strange as it may seem, Bro. P. is sometimes a very funny man--funny in his wit, funny in his criticisms, funny in his logic, and funny to think of, because he is so funny. But neither of them seem inclined for peace, and they both assume that they are assailed. This we deny. They are not assailed, and have not been in the Recorder; unless defending ourselves against unjust attacks made upon us by the Tennessee Baptist can be so construed.¹²

Thus, a cleavage developed, and Pendleton took up residence solidly within the Landmark camp.

Association with the Tennessee Baptist. On May 15, 1858, the Tennessee Baptist announced that Pendleton and A. C. Dayton would join with Graves as associate editors of the paper. This announcement marked the apex of Pendleton's career as an author during his life in the South. Before 1853, Pendleton's attempts at writing had been limited to letters which he wrote to various periodicals and an exceptionally fine article entitled, "An Able Ministry," published in the Western Recorder.¹³ However, Graves had recognized that the Bowling Green pastor possessed considerable talent for writing, and in the year following their famous revival together, he commissioned Pendleton to do a series of articles for the Tennessee Baptist. These articles became more

¹²Unsigned editorial, "The Tennessee Baptist Irreconcilable," Western Recorder, October 31, 1855, p. 2.

¹³J. M. Pendleton, "An Able Ministry," Western Recorder, June 11, 1851, p. 97.

and more frequent until, in 1858, he was employed as associate editor for the paper. Also, during this time three books from Pendleton's pen were published,¹⁴ and as associate editor of the Southern Baptist Review, he wrote numerous articles during the three years of that journal's existence. But perhaps the most significant contribution among Pendleton's writings was a small tract published in 1854 entitled "An Old Landmark Reset."¹⁵ It was from this writing that the name "Landmark" came to be associated with the movement. It was originally entitled "Ought Baptists to Recognize Pedobaptist Preachers as Gospel Ministers?" and was given its more popular title by the publisher, J. R. Graves.¹⁶ Many years later, Graves claimed that he had commissioned Pendleton to write this tract "some weeks after" the Bowling Green revival, rather than nearly two years later, as was the case. This became a point of contention between the two men.¹⁷

¹⁴J. M. Pendleton, Three Reasons Why I Am a Baptist (Cincinnati, Ohio: Moore, Anderson & Company, 1853); Thoughts on Christian Duty (Nashville, Tennessee: Southwestern Publishing House, 1857); Questions to the Impenitent (Nashville, Tennessee: Graves, Marks & Company, 1857). The former work was an enlargement of a sermon preached at Liberty Baptist Church, Logan County, Kentucky, in 1852.

¹⁵J. M. Pendleton, An Old Landmark Reset (Nashville, Tennessee: Southwestern Publishing House, 1854).

¹⁶Graves, Old Landmarkism: What Is It? pp. xii-xiii.

¹⁷Cf. Pendleton's "Letter to Bro. Dobbs," Appendix A.

Conflict with Pedobaptists. During the years he was affiliated with the Tennessee Baptist, Pendleton engaged in a number of heated controversies with pedobaptist authors. His basic attitude toward the pedobaptist organizations was clearly set forth in 1855.

I verily believe that every Pedobaptist society under heaven is a human organization; that is to say, an organization without divine, gospel authority. This I had supposed was the belief of Baptists. If so, how can they believe that any such society can constitute a man a minister?¹⁸

Such statements as the above were an open challenge to all pedobaptist authors, and the challenge did not go unheeded. Dr. Hill, editor of the Presbyterian Herald, in dealing with the value of an Italian translation of the Scriptures by one Dr. Achill, directs several remarks at Pendleton and the Baptists for their rigid insistence upon immersion. Pendleton's reply reflects the intensity of his convictions in regard to the pedobaptist question and the bitterness it often provoked.

Dr. Hill and not Dr. Achill is the dogmatist. I must hereafter look on dogmatism as a Hillish [italicized in the original] thing. (The Editor of the Herald made an adjective out of my name a few weeks ago. I now return the compliment.)

.
Dr. H. will please accept my thanks for the "great regard" he has for Baptists, and for the satisfactory proof he here gives of that regard! It is like the

¹⁸J. M. Pendleton, "A Letter to Brother S. H. Ford," Western Recorder, January 31, 1855, p. 1.

regard of the vulture for the dove--it is like the regard of the wolf for the lamb. It is a "great regard" which would lead to the destruction of the object regarded!¹⁹

In 1854, a Dr. Parsons wrote an article for the Christian Advocate (Methodist) telling of a meeting of the Methodist Conference in Russellville, Kentucky. In this article, he attacks Pendleton's position regarding Baptist ministers as the only valid gospel ministers. His argument is that God is obviously with many pedobaptist ministers, as evidenced by the spiritual power which they possess. He then cites Isaac Watts as an example of pedobaptist power. Dr. Parsons further states that at the recent Methodist meeting in Russellville, Kentucky, there was such power manifested that the Baptists refused to attend the meeting for fear of the "effect of Methodist preaching." Pendleton did not hesitate to reply to these charges. He wrote:

As to singing Watts' Hymns I have only to say that, so far as I know, church action is not necessary to authorize a man to make Hymns; but church action is necessary to authorize a man to preach. Where is the analogy between the two cases? It cannot be seen with a Microscope. Nor is church action requisite in the appointment of Sunday School Teachers, Colporteurs, &c. Some things intended as illustrations fail to illustrate.²⁰

¹⁹J. M. P.[endleton], "Drs. Achill and Hill," Tennessee Baptist, February 10, 1855, p. 2.

²⁰J. M. P.[endleton], "Ought Baptists to Recognize Pedobaptist Preachers as Gospel Preachers?" Tennessee Baptist, December 16, 1854, p. 3.

He continued by saying that Baptists have no business attending services led by Methodist preachers, for they are not true gospel ministers. But Pendleton wanted it made clear that Baptists did not absent themselves out of fear.

The intimation that the brethren "departed" through fear of the effect of "Methodist preaching" would be ridiculous if it were not contemptible. Its contemptibleness certainly overbears and neutralizes its ridiculousness.²¹

J. M. Pendleton was engaged in numerous other controversies during the eight years that he was actively affiliated with the Tennessee Baptist. His opponents during these years included, in addition to numerous Baptist and Protestant pedobaptist authors, Roman Catholics²² and Alexander Campbell.²³ The pages of the Tennessee paper abound with accounts of these conflicts, and offer a very fascinating study. However, enough has already been written upon this subject to indicate the intensity of reply which this opposition called forth from Pendleton, an intensity which made it

²¹J. M. P.[endleton], "Dr. Parsons and the Christian Advocate," Tennessee Baptist, December 16, 1854, p. 1. ✓

²²J. M. P.[endleton], "What Romanists Mean by Liberty of Conscience," Tennessee Baptist, August 5, 1854, p. 2; "Reprint of Letter of J. M. Pendleton to Dr. Hill," Tennessee Baptist, September 2, 1854, p. 2.

²³Eaton, James Madison Pendleton, D.D., p. 27; Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 114; J. M. P.[endleton], "Reply to Mr. Campbell's May Notice," Tennessee Baptist, June 10, 1854, p. 3.

very difficult for him, in future years, to seek objectively another theological position.

II. SOCIAL QUESTIONS

Basic Convictions. While Pendleton labored in behalf of a very popular and influential theological movement, he stood almost alone, during the same period, in regard to his social convictions. There were, in particular, two major points on which he stood opposed to the opinion of a majority of the Southerners of his day. The first position was female education. In a day when many were crying that a woman's place was in the home and not in the school, Pendleton threw his support behind every effort to afford women an adequate education. Following a highly successful revival meeting which he conducted with the First Baptist Church, Nashville, Tennessee, in the spring of 1854, he proceeded, with his eldest daughter, to Mary Sharpe College, Winchester, Tennessee, where he enrolled her as a first year student. He then wrote a letter to the Tennessee Baptist plainly declaring his convictions in the matter:

A better day is dawning, and, I trust, Winchester will do much in convincing the public that young ladies should be as thoroughly educated as possible.--Having recently visited Mary Sharpe College and having had an opportunity of making personal observation, I have been prompted by my interest in the cause of female education to write these lines for the Tennessee Baptist.²⁴

²⁴J. M. P.[endleton], "Letter Entitled, 'Mary Sharpe

Two years later, in the Southern Baptist Review and Eclectic, he published a provoking article dealing with the same question. Among the reasons he gave for thorough female education were the following:

1. The Creator in giving to woman intellectual powers lays her under obligation to improve, as thoroughly as possible, those powers.

2. The female mind is in all essential respects equal to that of the other sex, and this fact furnishes a strong argument for as thorough female as male education.

3. What Christianity does for woman furnishes an argument in favor of thorough female education.

4. I observe, lastly, that woman's influence on the world's interests supplies a strong argument in favor of female education.²⁵

But as admirable as was his stand on this question, it was quite another matter which received his greatest attention, and, in turn, evoked the greatest influence upon his life. Throughout most of his life, Pendleton was convinced that the institution of slavery was wrong on both moral and spiritual grounds. In 1886, he wrote:

When slavery existed in some of the States of this Union, there were many bad things in the system, but nothing so bad as the power of one man to sell another, to sell mothers and children, thus perpetuating bondage.²⁶

College, Winchester, Tenn.,' "Tennessee Baptist, April 1, 1854, p. 2.

²⁵J. M. Pendleton, "Plea for Thorough Female Education," Southern Baptist Review and Eclectic, II (July and August, 1856), 371-80.

²⁶J. M. Pendleton, Notes of Sermons (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1886), p. 191.

Again, at the very eve of the Civil War, he declared:

To deny that Negroes are of Adam's descent is virtually to deny the truth of the Bible. He who makes this denial may be expected to embrace very soon the principles of infidelity.²⁷

Just when Pendleton first advocated the abolition of slavery is difficult to say. It is obvious that, in the earliest days of his Bowling Green ministry, he regarded Negroes as fit subjects for membership in that predominantly white church. As early as 1838, there are records of the church receiving into its membership Negro slaves.²⁸ However, this was not an uncommon practice among the antebellum churches. The church records for 1839 reveal that in February of that year "it was agreed by the church that the persons of color shall have the privilege of holding their meetings in this house on the evening of the first sabbath in every month."²⁹ While these early references do not indicate the extent of Pendleton's feeling in regard to the abolition of slavery, they certainly show that he was leading a church which was becoming sympathetic to the Negro's needs. In April, 1849, Pendleton declared himself to be completely

²⁷P.[endleton], "How Extremes Meet," Tennessee Baptist, April 6, 1861, p. 2.

²⁸Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, March, 1838.

²⁹Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, February, 1839.

with the cause of emancipation, by attending, as a delegate, the Emancipation Convention which met at Frankfort, Kentucky. The Baptist Banner took issue with the deliberations of this Convention. Pendleton replied with a letter to the editor.

I am not a slave-holder. I would rather utter this declaration than sit on a Monarch's throne and wear a Monarch's crown.

Nothing, in my judgement, but infatuation can account for the determination of the people of Kentucky to perpetuate slavery. This determination wrings my heart with anguish. Every one ought to know that slavery is a violation of the natural rights of man. It exists by legal right, that is to say, it is the creature of positive, local law. Man's natural right to liberty God has given. The "legal right" which one man has to make a slave of another is of human origin. The natural right to liberty which God has established, comes into collision with the legal right to take away liberty which man has established. Surely the right which is of human creation should yield to the right which is of divine origin.³⁰

Nor did Pendleton recant his convictions when the opposition to his position began to grow more fierce. In 1850, he wrote a reply to an editorial in the Baptist Banner.

You say, "We do not fear that, in any respectable quarter, an individual will be found to gainsay our position." I do not know whether you will consider me in a "respectable quarter" or not; but I do respectfully, and energetically, and, if you please, indignantly, repudiate your interpretation of the objects of the Emancipationists of Kentucky.³¹

³⁰J. M. Pendleton, "Correction," Baptist Banner, October 3, 1849, p. 2.

³¹J. M. Pendleton, "Letter to the Editor," Baptist Banner, September 25, 1850, p. 2.

This letter was written from Russellville, Kentucky, where Pendleton settled, as has already been pointed out, following a serious controversy in the Bowling Green church over the question of slavery. His return to Bowling Green at the close of 1850 did not in any way indicate a modification of his position on this matter. For the next six years, he continued to speak openly of his convictions regarding the evils of slavery.

Removal to Murfreesboro, Tennessee. In December, 1856, the following announcement appeared in the Tennessee Baptist:

At a recent meeting of the Trustees, Elder J. M. Pendleton, of Bowling Green, Kentucky was unanimously elected to the Chair of Theology in the University [This is a reference to Union University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.], brother Crawford having declined in favor of a position in the University of Mississippi. The upmost unanimity prevailed among the Trustees and Faculty. He is regarded by both as preeminently the man for the position. He is a model sermonizer, and not only ripe but a sound theological scholar. More than ten years ago, he was pronounced by the late J. L. Waller as the "Andrew Fuller" of Kentucky--and ten years of patient study have added many feet to his intellectual stature. We feel confident that the denomination in Tennessee and the South West will receive the intelligence that Brother Pendleton enters upon the duties of his chair, on the 1st January, with unmingled satisfaction, and that the friends and patrons of the University will endorse the act by a prompt and generous endowment of the Chair.³²

³²Unsigned announcement, "Theological Chair at Union University," Tennessee Baptist, December 6, 1856, p. 3.

Thus, it was on January 1, 1857, that Pendleton and his family³³ left Bowling Green and Kentucky for their new home in Tennessee. Upon this occasion, which was mingled with joy and sorrow, Pendleton sought to put his feelings on paper.

Regarding his beloved pastorate, he wrote:

What shall I say of the church in Bowling Green? Twenty years have passed away since I was settled its Pastor

God bless this church! Its prosperity will always contribute to my happiness, and its trials, should trials be its lot, will touch a sympathetic cord in my heart. I leave this church without an unkind feeling toward any member . . .

Farewell to Bowling Green--the place I shall never forget!³⁴

And to his fellow ministers in the Commonwealth, he spoke these words:

My ministerial associations in the State have been pleasant. Occasionally I have been thrown into controversial collisions with some of my brethren, but all the wounds inflicted on me are healed and I hope all the wounds inflicted by me are healed also. I love my ministerial brethren in Kentucky, and if any of them dislike me I am happily ignorant of it. I leave them imploring the blessing of God on their labors, and shall cherish pleasant remembrances of their many excellencies.³⁵

The next four years were very busy ones for Pendleton. Along with his duties as professor at Union and pastor of the

³³A fifth, and final, child, Garnett, had been born at Bowling Green, May 24, 1855.

³⁴J. M. P.[endleton], "Leaving Kentucky," Tennessee Baptist, January 10, 1857, p. 2.

³⁵Ibid.

Baptist church in Murfreesboro,³⁶ he was co-editor of the Tennessee Baptist and the Southern Baptist Review, a busy author,³⁷ and a small scale farmer.³⁸ Added to this already overworked schedule, upon the untimely death of Dr. Joseph H. Eaton, President of the University, in January, 1859, it fell Pendleton's lot to become Chairman of the Faculty and Acting President.

However, these busy days were not destined to last even another year. With the close of the eventful decade of the 1850's, dark clouds hung over the entire Southland, and bitter feelings, in regard to the question of slavery, prevailed throughout the nation. Since Pendleton had never made any secret of his feelings in regard to the matter of slavery, his popularity began to wane. Graves and Dayton both saw what was taking place, and urged Pendleton to change his position in the matter. In his autobiography, he describes one of the visits made by Graves for this purpose.

³⁶He had been called to this pastorate in conjunction with his duties at Union.

³⁷In addition to numerous periodical articles, he published two books during the period: A Sermon on the Death of J. H. Eaton, LL.D. (Nashville, Tennessee: Southwestern Publishing House, 1859); Short Sermons on Important Subjects (St. Louis, Missouri; Baptist Publishing Company, 1859).

³⁸The family lived on a small farm outside of Murfreesboro, and Pendleton worked there in the afternoons.

My friend Graves visited me and spent hours in trying to persuade me to declare myself in favor of the Confederacy. He thought my influence and usefulness would be greatly increased if I would do so, and would be ruined if I did not. I told him that if the Confederacy established itself I would either obey its laws or remove from its jurisdiction. This was not satisfactory, and after saying many things he asked me if I could not say that I preferred the Confederate Government to that of the United States? My answer was, "I can't lie." This closed our interview.³⁹

One cannot speak with certainty, but this very issue may well have played a key role in the dismissal of Pendleton as an editor of the Tennessee Baptist. Graves was a strong supporter of secession. At the beginning of 1861, he employed Rev. Thornton Stringfellow, of Culpepper County, Virginia, to write a series of articles supporting the institution of slavery. These articles, which ran in every issue of the Baptist for three months, began with this statement:

My purpose thus far [following introductory remarks] has been to show that African Slavery in the United States is a social, and political necessity, and to show that it is just to the African, as it accords to him in a form best adapted to his nature, more than an equivalent for his service and labor--and that it is in accordance with the obligations to "do good to all men"--and to "do to others as we would they should do unto us."⁴⁰

Quite significantly, Pendleton did not contribute to the paper during the time that these articles were being published.

³⁹Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 119.

⁴⁰Thornton Stringfellow, "Slavery: Its Origin, Nature and History: Its Relations to Society, to Government, and to True Religion, to Human Happiness and Divine Glory, Considered in the Light of Bible Teachings, Moral Justice and Political Wisdom," Tennessee Baptist, January 26, 1861, p. 1.

Then, a short time after these articles appeared, Graves returned to Nashville from a revival meeting and published an open letter to Pendleton. One significant passage in this letter declares:

We rejoice to see the change the political mind of Tennessee is undergoing--Nashville is overwhelmingly for secession today [italized in the original]. All the men I left Union men, I find now thinking with me, save one [italized in the original]--i.e. all I have yet conversed with.⁴¹

Three months later, the following announcement appeared in the paper:

It will be seen from the last issue of this paper that the Publishers, owing to the financial embarrassment of the country have "resolved" to dispense with the services of the Associate Editor.⁴²

This action stirs one's imagination when it is noted that several contributing editors were retained in spite of the "financial embarrassment." But, whatever may have been the facts in his discharge, Pendleton showed no ill feelings in the matter.

I make all allowances for the anxiety of Graves, Dayton, and others on my account; for they honestly believed that the Confederacy would be a success, and that I would occupy the place of a "Tory" of the Revolution.⁴³

⁴¹Senior Editor [Graves], "Letter to Pendleton," Tennessee Baptist, April 20, 1861, p. 2.

⁴²p.[endleton], "A Few Parting Words," Tennessee Baptist, July 13, 1861, p. 2.

⁴³Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 119.

At about this same time it was decided that, due to the precariousness of the national situation, Union University would have to be disbanded for a time.⁴⁴ Shortly after this action, the Confederate flag was raised on the court house in Murfreesboro. Pendleton, without the moral and financial support afforded him by the institution, found himself in a very hazardous situation. A majority of the members of the Murfreesboro church refused to attend the services so long as he was pastor. There was even some talk of hanging him.

When the war broke out almost everybody in Murfreesboro turned against the Union, and because I did not there was something said about hanging me. Then it was, so far as I know, first said that I declared in my Address to the graduates in June, 1860, that every Secessionist ought to be hung. I did not use the word secessionist. Everyone can now see the injustice done to me by an incipient mob at Murfreesboro--injustice that might possibly have culminated in hanging me if so many men had not been sent away to the army.⁴⁵

Whether the threat of violence was real or imaginary cannot be said, but the pressures upon the whole Pendleton family were very great. Many years later, Pendleton related how he felt during those trying days.

I knew not what might happen. I supposed that if measures of personal violence were resorted to, it would be done in the night; and how often, before going to bed, did I

⁴⁴The University was later re-established at Jackson, Tennessee.

⁴⁵J. M. Pendleton, "Mistakes Corrected," Western Recorder, September 30, 1865, p. 2.

arrange a back window and shutter, so that I could escape in a noiseless way. My wife would put up a parcel of something for me to eat; and I remember well how sad her tones were when she said, "You may need this."⁴⁶

Decision to Leave the South. It was in these trying circumstances that Pendleton decided, upon the occasion of the Union occupation of Murfreesboro in 1862, to remove his family north of the Ohio River.⁴⁷ Their journey carried them through Bowling Green, Louisville, Indianapolis, and Terre Haute to Cincinnati, where they resided for several months.⁴⁸

In November, 1862, Pendleton took up the duties of the pastorate of the First Baptist Church in Hamilton, Ohio. His tenure of service here was largely uneventful. The minutes of that church state:

Dr. James M. Pendleton of Murfreesboro, Tennessee was called in November, 1862. He was an earnest man, driven north by the Civil War. The war had caused heart sickness and discouragement everywhere and religious interest was on the decline. Few additions to the membership

⁴⁶Pendleton, Reminiscences, pp. 122-23.

⁴⁷Pendleton's oldest son, John Malcolm, radically disagreed with his father's political convictions and at this time had already joined the Confederate Army. He was killed October 8, 1862, in the Battle of Perryville, Kentucky. The remainder of Pendleton's life was marred by this memory and the many false stories which circulated at this time saying that he hated his son.

⁴⁸Pendleton's family traveled separately from the father. A guerrilla band stopped them on their journey, but let them proceed unharmed when it was learned that Pendleton was not with them.

were made and many persons left the city. Dr. Pendleton's stay, facing these difficulties, was three years, having left September 23, 1865.

.....
Colored people were admitted to membership at this time and occupied pews, set at right angles, west of the pulpit platform. They enjoyed this privilege for several years, until a church was built by a Methodist organization of colored people, exclusively, at the Corner of Ludlow Street and Water Street to which they transferred.⁴⁹

During these three years, Pendleton was still active in the slavery controversy. In the summer of 1865, at a meeting of the Home Mission Society, in St. Louis, Missouri, he made the following resolution.

Resolved, That in the Providence of God, this society is called to consider Kentucky and Tennessee as embraced in the sphere of its labors, and to decide as to the best method of cultivating this portion of its vast field.

.....
It is not desirable that the Southern Baptist Convention be revived, as its formation was owing to the existence of an institution which we may pronounce abolished.⁵⁰

Following this resolution, he made a speech supporting its passage.

I think this Society, in the selection of its missionaries for Kentucky and Tennessee, should give the preference to Kentucky and Tennessee ministers, so far as suitable men can be found. Who are suitable men?

⁴⁹ Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Hamilton, Ohio. (This quotation was given in a letter to the author of this study by the church secretary, Kathleen Reynolds.)

⁵⁰ Unsigned editorial, "Elder J. M. Pendleton," Western Recorder, June 24, 1865, p. 2.

I would say men of unquestionable loyalty to the Government of the United States, men who approve the policy of the Government on slavery.⁵¹

This speech stirred much bitterness in Kentucky and Tennessee.

The Western Recorder retorted with a cutting editorial.

When poor erring mortals attempt, dogmatically [italicized in the original], to tell the world what God designs [italicized in the original] to accomplish by his provinces, they are apt to be blinded by prejudices, and treat very unkindly those who happen to differ with them. Rev. J. M. Pendleton is not an exception. . . . He claimed that he was not an abolitionist when he lived in Kentucky.⁵²

Pendleton swiftly replied to the attack.

By Abolitionist I have been accustomed to designate one who believes slavery in itself and of necessity a sin. In this sense I am not, and never was an Abolitionist. If by Abolitionist, however, is meant one who acquiesces, and even rejoices, in the overthrow of slavery, as a result of the terrible war through which we have just passed, I am an Abolitionist.⁵³

As sensitive as these matters were, the South was too utterly exhausted to be caught up in another social debate so soon after the close of the War, and Pendleton's letter received no replies.

On the third Sunday in October, 1865, Pendleton was called to be pastor of the Baptist church at Upland, Pennsylvania, and for all practical purposes the controversial

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Unsigned editorial, "Editorial," Western Recorder, July 22, 1865, p. 2.

⁵³J. M. Pendleton, "Mistakes Corrected," Western Recorder, September 30, 1865, p. 2.

period of his life came to a close.

In conclusion, three factors stand out regarding the effect of the experiences which this period had upon the life of Pendleton. First, it was during this period that he became firmly entrenched within the Landmark camp. While it is true that years later a serious cleavage developed between Pendleton and Graves, the significant fact remains that Pendleton hesitated to debate openly the issues with his former associate.⁵⁴ It may be assumed that, to a degree at least, this hesitancy stemmed from the existence of the numerous ties which had developed between allies upon the theological battleground. Second, the bitterness of the debates which he had with the pedobaptists during this period left an animosity which he was never able fully to overcome. It is true that in the later years his writings dealing with the pedobaptist question reflect a much kinder attitude than those set forth during this period,⁵⁵ but even in the closing

⁵⁴Few of his published writings make reference to this cleavage, but his private writings certainly show it. (See "Letter to Bro. Dobbs," Appendix A.) Also, there is a coolness found throughout his Reminiscences in his discussions concerning Graves. Finally, Pendleton was in Nashville during much of 1884 while Graves was seriously ill. The issues of the Tennessee Baptist for this period are filled with accounts of the visitors which Dr. Graves received, but there is a striking absence of any reference to Dr. Pendleton. It would be reasonable to assume that, unless something was amiss, Pendleton would have visited his old friend.

⁵⁵Contrast Three Reasons Why I Am a Baptist (1853), p. 79, with Distinctive Principles of Baptists (1882), pp. 11-12.

years of his life he could still declare:

The foregoing pages show that there is something distinctive in the principles of Baptists. They differ from all other denominations; and the difference is so great as not only to justify, but to demand, their separate existence as a people. They are God's witnesses, and they are his only witnesses who "tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," on the points referred to in this volume.⁵⁶

Finally, the sincerity, piety, and courage of the man are seen reflected during this period as perhaps at no other time. He did not hesitate to stand for his convictions, even when such a stand endangered his security, and in the heat of battle he still retained so much of a Christian spirit that even those who radically disagreed with him could describe him in the highest of terms. The editor of the Baptist Memorial, who opposed many of Pendleton's views, spoke of him in the following manner:

Brother Pendleton is one of our most estimable, prudent and industrious brethren, but we believe that he is wrong in this treatise [An Old Landmark Reset]. There is no scriptural connection between baptism and preaching.⁵⁷

⁵⁶J. M. Pendleton, Distinctive Principles of Baptists (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1882), pp. 224-25.

⁵⁷J. M. P.[endleton], "An Old Landmark Reset," Tennessee Baptist, February 17, 1855, p. 3.

CHAPTER III

THE CONTEMPLATIVE YEARS: 1866-1891

A man is greatly blessed if he is permitted to live the closing years of his life in an environment which both allows and demands that he take an objective view of the achievements of his youth; he is doubly blessed if it becomes possible for him to eradicate a portion of the mistakes of earlier years. The closing chapter of J. M. Pendleton's life is a testimony to the extent of change that a sincerely honest man will undergo when he finds himself to be wrong.

I. A NEW ENVIRONMENT

Pastor at Upland, Pennsylvania. In October, 1865, Pendleton attended the annual meeting of the Philadelphia (Pennsylvania) Association. He went to this meeting with the express view of trying to locate a new pastorate.¹ During the three weeks that he was away from Ohio, he was invited twice to preach at Upland, Pennsylvania, and once at Camden, New Jersey. On the Sunday evening of his second visit to Upland, the church held a special business meeting, which the visiting pastor did not attend. Following this meeting, at the home where he was staying, his host, Mr. John P. Crozer,

¹Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 139.

placed a letter in his hands. It read:

Dear Brother,

The Upland Baptist Church, at a meeting held at the close of this evening service, voted a unanimous call to you to become their pastor. They have now been without a Pastor for some months and though they have in all that time been favored with an able and devoted ministry in Dr. Griffith and Binney, yet they have not lost sight of the importance of a minister being settled over them permanently, especially as neither of these brethren can much longer labor amongst them.

The church has been, as we trust, directed to you by our Heavenly Father. And they desire that you will take the call into careful and prayerful consideration and give them an early reply.

Respectfully and truly yours,

John P. Crozer
Senior Deacon

P.S. The Salary will be twelve hundred dollars per annum payable monthly, also the parsonage, free of rent. The taxes have hencetofore been paid by the Pastor who occupies, but they will be paid for the coming year by the writer, and a lady bids me say that in case you accept the call, she will present you with one hundred dollars to aid in removing your family to Upland. If the gas is used, it, of course, is to be paid by the occupant of the house.²

Before leaving Upland for Ohio, Pendleton presented Mr.

Crozer the following letter:

My dear Bro.

Trusting that God has a work for me to do at Upland, I have concluded to accept the call of the church and

²Church Minutes, Upland Baptist Church, Upland, Pennsylvania, October 15, 1865. This arrangement was nearly double any previous salary which Pendleton had received. (Cf. Reminiscences, p. 162.)

enter upon pastoral duties the first day in November. I know that without the blessing of the Lord I shall labor in vain. I hope, therefore, the brethren and sisters will devoutly pray that I may be instrumental in promoting their spirituality and in leading sinners to Christ. If I know my heart, it is my earnest desire to do something to promote the glory of the Saviour who bowed his head in death for my salvation. It is proper for me to say that the salary, made of payments, is entirely satisfactory. Hoping that the church may never have cause to regret calling me to the pastorate, I am, my dear Brother, most Respectfully and affectionately yours in the hands of the Gospel.

J. M. Pendleton³

Thus, there began a pastoral relationship which was to last for eighteen years.⁴

These years spent with the Upland church were, in many ways, the most significant period in Pendleton's life. This was true because of the nature of the church which he served during this time. It was a stable institution, marked by dignity and culture, and, in such an environment, Pendleton was able to devote himself to contemplation and personal development. As early as 1851, he had set forth what he considered to be "the requisites to an able ministry." These included:

³Ibid.

⁴He presented his resignation to the Upland church in June, 1883. He requested in this document that the decision become effective on October 31, 1883, in order that "you may have ample time to select my successor and that I may complete eighteen years of service among you." (Church Minutes, Upland Baptist Church, June 20, 1883.)

1. Mental Capacity.

As much mental capacity is requisite to make an able preacher as to make an able physician, or an able lawyer, or an able judge.

2. Learning.

The minister who does not by study invigorate and expand his mental capacity, so far as his circumstances enable him to do so, is a slothful servant--a loiterer in the vineyard of his Lord. The day of inspiration is past and men know nothing but what they learn. . . . "If God does not need our learning much less does he need our ignorance." . . . This is the object of ministerial learning. It is not to enable the minister to display himself, but to present more attractively the glorious truths growing out of, and vital to, the system of redemption through Jesus Christ.

3. Ardent, elevated piety.

No ministerial qualification is comparable in importance to this. . . . Talent and learning may be considered the minister's intellectual qualifications while piety is his moral qualification and must ever control his intellectual qualification.⁵

Pendleton had sought to live by these principles throughout his ministry,⁶ but it was only at Upland that he found himself in a situation where he could give himself fully to the development of the last two "requisites." His previous pastorates had been of such a nature that he was under constant pressure to give much of his time to the development of an adequate apologetic rather than a thoroughgoing theology.

⁵J. M. Pendleton, "An Able Ministry," Western Recorder, June 11, 1851, p. 1.

⁶"He knew the New Testament, making it a rule to study it through in the Greek once every year." (Eaton, James Madison Pendleton, D.D., p. 28.)

However, the years of great controversy were now over for Pendleton,⁷ and he began to reflect more of a serious scholarship⁸ and a disciplined piety⁹ than he had ever shown before.

Trustee at Crozer Theological Seminary. Another factor which made the years spent in Pennsylvania so highly significant was the opportunity which was afforded Pendleton to be closely associated with the founding of a new theological seminary.

John P. Crozer, the leading member of the Upland church, died in March, 1866, and Pendleton delivered the funeral sermon.¹⁰ It had been Crozer's wish for several years to establish a worthy school for the training of Baptist ministers in Pennsylvania. He had gone so far as to erect a building for this purpose,¹¹ but he had died before

⁷Cf. Church Minutes, Upland Baptist Church, 1865-1883.

⁸He wrote almost all of his major books during this period. These included: Church Manual (1867); Christian Doctrines: A Compendium of Theology (1878); Distinctive Principles of Baptists (1882); The Atonement of Christ (1885); Notes of Sermons (1886); and Reminiscences of a Long Life (1891).

⁹The acquiring of more time for meditation and the freedom from controversy enabled him to take a more objective view of theological positions differing from his own. His writings during this period reflect a spirit of self-examination which is not found in earlier works.

¹⁰For a personality sketch of Crozer cf. William Cathcart, "Crozer, John Price, Esq.," The Baptist Encyclopedia, I, 297-98; Pendleton, Reminiscences, pp. 141-42.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 142-43; Robert G. Torbet, The Baptist

his plans could be completed. It was only natural that his children would attempt to complete their father's dream; for they had inherited not only his estate, but also a vigorous interest in Baptist causes.¹² It was also quite normal that they turned to their father's pastor, a man experienced in ministerial education, for advice in this matter.¹³

From the school's inception, Pendleton was a member of the Board of Trustees.¹⁴ This was a unique experience for the former professor of Union University, for it gave him an opportunity to come into contact with a greater variety of theological interpretations than he had ever experienced before.¹⁵ Also, the stimulating experience of being closely associated with an educational institution, in the capacity of Trustee, demanded that Pendleton seriously evaluate his entire theological outlook in the light of his new environment.¹⁶ Finally, in this position Pendleton quickly came to

Ministry Then and Now (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1953), p. 48.

¹²Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 142.

¹³Ibid., pp. 142-43.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 143.

¹⁵The liberality of the Crozer family made possible the establishment of a library that was far superior to anything possessed by former institutions with which Pendleton had been associated. Also, the intellectual climate of Pennsylvania was far more congenial to an objective consideration of divergent theological views than had been true of either Kentucky or Tennessee.

¹⁶Pendleton was now in a position in which his concern

be known among the Baptists of the North and was afforded a degree of respect which otherwise might never have come to a man of his background. All of these factors contributed in bringing about several major changes in Pendleton's thinking.

II. A NEW OUTLOOK

In the introductory section of Christian Doctrines (1878), Pendleton admitted:

. . . the views here presented seem to me to be in accordance with the word of God, but, having had so many proofs of the fallibility of my opinions, it will not be surprising if it should be necessary to modify some of them.¹⁷

This was a far different spirit from the attitude which he manifested in his earlier writings.¹⁸ This new outlook is clearly discernible in two areas of his thought.

Educational Concern. It is true that Pendleton had a deep interest in education throughout his ministry.¹⁹ However,

- had to shift from the teaching of a particular subject to planning the approach for an entire theological curriculum. This approach had to be constructed so as to meet the needs of students from many different theological backgrounds.

¹⁷Pendleton, Christian Doctrines, pp. 5-6.

¹⁸He had insisted that there was an absolute right and an absolute wrong in all matters of faith, and that one's entire position stood or fell by all the particulars in that position. (Cf. J. M. Pendleton, "The Landmark Controversy," Western Recorder, July 8, 1857, p. 1.)

¹⁹This is seen in his aforementioned article, "An Able Ministry" (supra, p. 71), and in his previously discussed controversy in behalf of female education.

during the days spent in Kentucky and Tennessee this interest had centered upon the values of formal training with little emphasis being placed upon the serious consideration of the worth of religious education within the churches. This attitude is clearly seen by several factors in Pendleton's earlier ministry. First, there is the rather amazing fact that during his entire pastorate at Bowling Green the church remained on a half-time basis, in spite of the fact that the church was quite able to support a full-time ministry.²⁰ Also, the religious education undertaken in every church which he served before going to Upland was limited to the regular preaching services and occasional "protracted meetings."²¹ Again, in these early years the chief concern of Pendleton's writings was controversy, and very little attention was given to the education of the laity per se. Finally, upon going to Upland, he found much discussion among Baptists of the North concerning the formation of an "Education Society." He sided with those who opposed such an undertaking.²²

²⁰ Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, 1837-1857. A careful study of the church's financial records for this period will reveal that there were ample funds to increase Pendleton's salary.

²¹ It is true that he supported the Sunday School Union, but this action was largely in defense of the Landmark movement. There is no record that any of the churches which he served before 1865 made any serious attempts to use adequately the Sunday school in religious education.

²² Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 176.

The impact of the new environment at Upland brought a complete change in Pendleton's attitude toward religious education. As early as 1867, his writings began to show a marked concern for the education of new converts.

How greatly might converts be guarded from erroneous views and practices, be indoctrinated in the principles of the gospel and faith of the church, and be made substantial Christians, if with the hand of fellowship, the pastor could give to each one received the best small work on Baptism, another on Communion, and another still on the Duties of Church Members! And the pastor should not hesitate to ask the church to supply him with these aids in the work.²³

Also, he began to entertain new views regarding the value of the Sunday School.

A church should regard its Sunday-school as one of the agencies by which to meet its obligations to train the rising generation in the fear of God. And when this is the case, the church is really at work in the Sunday-school.²⁴

During this same period, he took a new look at the value of "protracted meetings" and came to the following conclusion.

This meeting [1874] modified my views as to what are called "Protracted Meetings" and "Evangelists." I think there should never be a "protracted meeting" until there is a spiritual interest in a church and congregation, that calls for it. To appoint such a meeting "in cold blood", as the saying is, cannot be justified. I may say also, that where a church has regular preaching every Sunday, and prayer-meeting during the week, a protracted meeting is unnecessary. Nor has such a church need of the labors of an "evangelist." As to "evangelists,"

²³J. M. Pendleton, Church Manual (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1867), pp. 160-61.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 156-57.

it is their special business to labor where there are no churches, with a view to build up churches. This seems to be forgotten by most of them.²⁵

This was, indeed, a radical change to come from the pen of one who once so strongly supported the evangelistic efforts of men like J. R. Graves,²⁶ and who was himself an outstanding "evangelist."²⁷

But perhaps the most significant change in Pendleton's attitude regarding education is to be found in the type of writings which he produced during this period. As has already been noted, his chief instrument of publication, before the War, was the newspaper, and his central emphasis was controversy. However, during the years spent at Upland, both of these factors changed. Pendleton's periodical writings began to diminish rapidly, and in their place a number of books began to take shape. The chief purpose for these latter works was to educate rather than to debate. Pendleton's outlook on authorship during this period is typified by the following reference to his purpose in writing Christian Doctrines.

I was urged by Dr. Howard Osgood to write it, and he was almost the only person who encouraged me to undertake it.

²⁵Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 146.

²⁶J. M. Pendleton, "Revival Intelligence," Western Recorder, March 17, 1852, p. 2.

²⁷J. R. Graves, "Editorial Note," Tennessee Baptist, March 11, 1854, p. 2.

He was pleased to say that I had command of a clear, simple style, easily understood, and that I could make many Bible truths plainer than they are sometimes made by theological writers. I wished to write a book suitable to the comprehension of colored ministers in the South, and at the same time acceptable to other classes of readers.²⁸

The significance of this changed attitude regarding the importance of Christian education is twofold. First, it is indicative of the spirit which characterized Pendleton in the later years of his life. It is to be said to his credit that he remained, throughout his long life, a teachable spirit. Indeed, one of the most glowing tributes paid to him in the funeral oration was a reference to the fact that he never became static in his development. "Another mark of his wisdom," declared T. T. Eaton, "was that he grew old sweetly and gracefully. He did not resent the present in his recollections of the past."²⁹ Secondly, the changed educational outlook betrays the shift which was taking place in Pendleton's theology. This shift carried him from the absolutism of the infallible local church to a more moderate position regarding the interdependence of all members of the "Body of Christ." It was only natural, therefore, that he would come to see the need for a better informed laity in a system where the issues were no longer so clear-cut as he had once thought.

²⁸Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 152.

²⁹Eaton, James Madison Pendleton, D.D., p. 23.

A consideration will now be given to the factors involved in Pendleton's movement to a more moderate theological position.

Theological Moderation. It has already been indicated that the environment of Pendleton's final years influenced him in three very important ways. First, he had both the time and the stimulus to undertake a careful and critical re-evaluation of his entire theological position. Second, the settled environment of Pennsylvania, as contrasted with the frontier life of Kentucky and Tennessee, afforded him repeated opportunities to have enjoyable contacts with persons of other denominations and, thus, to develop a respect for the sincerity of their positions. Finally, the ecclesiology of Baptists in the North was not governed by a central force, as was true in the South,³⁰ and, therefore, as a member of the very important Philadelphia Baptist Ministers Association,³¹ he had ample opportunity to view the great divergency which existed among Baptists themselves. Also, as a member of the Board of Managers of the American Baptist Publication Society, he served for eighteen years on its Committee of

³⁰For an excellent study of the contrast between these two views of church organization, cf. W. W. Barnes, "Why the Southern Baptist Convention Was Formed," The Review and Expositor, January, 1944, pp. 3-17.

³¹Pendleton, Reminiscences, pp. 149-51. (Cf. The National Baptist, March 19, 1891, p. 1, for a reprint of an important paper which Pendleton read before this body.)

Publication. In this capacity, he read some "ten thousand pages of manuscript,"³² and through this means he had a unique opportunity to be on the growing edge of Baptist thought. All of these factors served to moderate Pendleton's earlier thought by allowing him to witness that men of widely different views concerning secondary matters could still agree on the basic questions of the Faith.

Now, the question must be asked, "Just how far did these influences carry Pendleton away from pure Landmarkism?" It is impossible, of course, to give a complete answer to this question since it would necessitate an objective statement of a subjective matter. However, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that Pendleton did break radically with J. R. Graves' interpretation of Landmarkism. As early as 1854, there are statements in the Tennessee Baptist which indicate Pendleton's acceptance of Graves' theology.³³ And, in 1855, Pendleton went a step further and indicated that he fully understood Graves' views and accepted them all.³⁴ However, this agreement began to change soon after Pendleton

³²Ibid., p. 149.

³³J. M. Pendleton, "Reply to Mr. Campbell's May Notice," Tennessee Baptist, June 10, 1854, p. 3; J. McMurry, "Letter to the Editor," Tennessee Baptist, June 24, 1854, p. 3.

³⁴J. M. P.[endleton], "The Christian Chronicle," Tennessee Baptist, May 12, 1855, p. 2.

arrived in Upland. By 1867, Pendleton shifted away from the extreme views of Graves regarding the Lord's Supper. He declared that the real issue was what constituted valid baptism.

A refusal on the part of Baptists to commune with Pedobaptists grows out of the fact that the latter have ever been considered by the former as unbaptized, and consequently without a scriptural church membership.³⁵

This is in contrast with the "close communion" view that Graves supported. It was his conviction that

the Lord's Supper was observed [in New Testament churches] as a local church ordinance, commemorative only of the sacrificial chastisement of Christ for his people, never expressive of personal fellowship, or of courtesy for others, or used as a sacrament.³⁶

This meant that only members of the local church had a right to partake of the Supper.

The practice of inviting all members of Baptist churches present, to observe the Lord's Supper, does put it out of the power of that church to discharge the positive duty enjoined.³⁷

In the early days of his ministry, Pendleton had held much the same position. His first book declared:

Baptists have ever regarded every church as complete in itself, independent, so far as its government is concerned, of every other church under heaven. They have

³⁵Pendleton, Church Manual, p. 92.

³⁶Graves, Old Landmarkism: What Is It? p. 80.

³⁷Ibid., p. 86.

watched with jealous eye all encroachments on church sovereignty.³⁸

But, as the years passed at Upland, Pendleton's view of "close communion" began to change. By the time he added "A Fourth Reason Why I Am a Baptist" (1882) to this last quoted work, he maintained that there was nothing wrong with Baptist churches inviting visiting Baptists to take the Lord's Supper.

Let it not be supposed that because Baptist churches are thus independent their members love one another less. . . . This love prompts the exercise of the Christian courtesy already referred to, and makes it delightful to sit down with our fellow Christians at the table of the Lord.³⁹

As a result of these developments, Pendleton and Graves began to disagree openly with each other. Pendleton contended that the central thesis of "Old Landmarkism" was the non-recognition of pedobaptist ministers as gospel ministers;⁴⁰ Graves declared that it was rather a question of what is a true church.⁴¹ The extent to which they disagreed can be seen in the following passage:⁴²

³⁸Pendleton, Three Reasons Why I Am a Baptist, p. 167.

³⁹Ibid. (1882 edition), p. 187.

⁴⁰J. J. D. Renfroe, Vindication of the Communion of Baptist Churches (Selma, Alabama: John L. West & Co., 1882), pp. 7-8.

⁴¹Graves, Old Landmarkism: What Is It? p. 25.

⁴²Also, cf. Appendix A.

I regret that Bro. Graves has devoted so much time and attention to the subject of "intercommunion." It seems to me that he might have been much more profitably employed. His great ability I fully recognize, and I earnestly desire its consecration to the accomplishment of important [italicized in the original] objects.

.....
 The evils which Bro. Graves thinks result from intercommunion among Baptists, I have never seen. True, I have not been a Baptist so long as some others, for it is only fifty-three years this month since I was baptized. During that time I have lived in four States of the Union, and I have never known any evil to result from the fact that the members of different Baptist churches have sat together at the Lord's table. . . . The case is scarcely supposable; or if so, the supposition must be indulged in regard to persons with intellect so feeble as to raise the question of moral accountability.⁴³

Thus, it may be seen that Pendleton came to as moderate a position as he possibly could, while still considering himself a supporter of the Landmark doctrine.⁴⁴

III. A HAPPY RETIREMENT

Pendleton was always a realistic man, and when it became obvious that the church was beginning to suffer under his pastorate, due to his advanced age,⁴⁵ he offered the

⁴³Renfroe, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

⁴⁴J. M. Pendleton, "The Holy Spirit of God Grieved," The Baptist, May 7, 1881, pp. 737-38. This article indicates that Pendleton had become moderate toward pedobaptists, as well as toward Baptists, for here he declares that the "false doctrines," which grieve the Holy Spirit, are those which do not recognize the "Deity of Christ," "Sovereignty of God," "Freedom of Man," and "Salvation by Grace." There is a noticeable omission of reference to the misuse of the ordinances.

⁴⁵The church did not agree with this decision and was

following "Letter of Resignation."

To the Upland Baptist Church

Dear Brethren and Sisters:

I now have to perform one of the most painful duties of my life. I have more than reached my "three score years and ten," and the weakness of old age is coming on me.

You need as pastor a man of greater physical, mental and spiritual vigor, and I therefore resign my pastorate, the resignation to take place in October.

.

Most affectionately
Yours in the Lord Jesus,

J. M. Pendleton⁴⁶

Retirement was not something to which Pendleton looked forward, and this was one of the saddest moments of his life.

As he later said in his Reminiscences:

It was painful to leave the friends of my love, but I say without hesitation that the supreme sorrow of that day grew out of the fact that I was closing my work in the ministry of the gospel. I knew that in the future I could only expect to preach occasionally; for not many congregations are willing to hear an old man. I was therefore obliged to consider my work of preaching virtually done. This thought with its excruciating power agitated my soul. Language was not invented to express the feelings of my heart on that day of sorrow. No miser ever loved his gold more than I have loved my work of preaching.⁴⁷

quite content for him to continue as pastor. (Cf. Church Minutes, Upland Baptist Church, Upland, Pennsylvania, July 2, 1883.)

⁴⁶Church Minutes, Upland Baptist Church, Upland, Pennsylvania, June 20, 1883.

⁴⁷Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 161.

But in spite of these feelings, Pendleton was to discover that some of the most enjoyable years of his life still lay ahead of him.

Travels. On the first day of November, 1883, Pendleton and his wife left Upland and journeyed to Nashville, Tennessee, where they were to spend the winter with the family of their eldest daughter, Letitia.⁴⁸ It was during this visit that Pendleton had the great pleasure of baptizing three of his grand-daughters.⁴⁹ Also, while residing in Nashville he finished another book, Brief Notes on the New Testament.⁵⁰

During these happy days, tragedy struck the Pendleton family. Early in 1884, Mrs. Pendleton began to lose sight in both of her eyes. Every effort was made to correct this condition,⁵¹ but all attempts to restore her sight failed, and, by 1885, she was completely blind. While the burden of this loss pressed heavily upon the shoulders of the aged Pendletons, nevertheless, the spirit of Mrs. Pendleton was of such

⁴⁸She had married the Rev. James Waters in February, 1860. His pastorates were located in Tennessee, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Colorado. (Cf. Pendleton, Reminiscences, pp. 61-62.)

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 163.

⁵⁰This work was of co-authorship. George W. Clark did the notes on the Gospels, and Pendleton was responsible for the remaining books of the New Testament. (Pendleton did this entire work in only eight months.)

⁵¹The condition was caused by cataracts on both eyes. (Cf. Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 164.)

a nature that she afforded strength to her husband!⁵²

In the fall of 1884, the Pendletons left Nashville and traveled south to Austin, Texas, where they spent the winter in the home of Professor Leslie Waggener, Chairman of the Faculty for the University of Texas. Mrs. Waggener (Fannie) was another daughter of the Pendletons. It was during the months spent in Austin that the retired minister wrote The Atonement of Christ. The New York Examiner termed this the best small book on the subject.⁵³

The following May (1885) found Pendleton and his wife at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, visiting once again the family of their son-in-law, Rev. James Waters.⁵⁴

Following their summer visit with the Waters, the Pendletons returned to the city which had been their home for so many years, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Here they spent the winter with their youngest daughter, Lila, who was the wife of Benjamin F. Procter, a prominent Bowling Green

⁵²Ibid., p. 165. (T. T. Eaton said of her: "Never in her blindness did Mrs. Pendleton utter the slightest complaint. With her remarkable energy she continued to teach her Sunday School class [in the Bowling Green church], though she could not see them, and her happy cheerfulness brightened all who came into her presence." James Madison Pendleton, D.D., p. 33.)

⁵³Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 155.

⁵⁴The Waters had only recently moved from Nashville to Murfreesboro, and Rev. Waters was serving as pastor of the church formerly served by Pendleton.

attorney.⁵⁵ During the long winter months that followed, Pendleton occupied himself with the writing of another book, Notes of Sermons. This was to be the last book from his pen that would be published during his lifetime.⁵⁶

The next five years passed very quickly and pleasantly for the Pendletons. In May, 1886, they returned to Pennsylvania, and spent several months visiting in the home of their youngest son, Garnett.⁵⁷ November found them back in Austin, Texas, spending the winter with the Waggeners. In the summer of 1887, they returned to Murfreesboro, Tennessee, and visited the Waters until October of that year. From Murfreesboro they journeyed to Bowling Green, where they were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Procter until May, 1888. The following summer was spent visiting old friends in Upland, Pennsylvania. Leaving Upland, they returned to Austin in November and from there they journeyed to Bowling Green in January, 1889. The following May they went to Murfreesboro for the last time and then were back in Bowling Green in October. In April, 1890, the Pendletons made their final journey to Pennsylvania

⁵⁵They had been married on November 9, 1876. (Cf. Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 100.)

⁵⁶Reminiscences of a Long Life was his final book, but it was published posthumously.

⁵⁷He had married Miss Helena Ward of Philadelphia, December 30, 1879, and had become a very successful attorney in that city.

and spent the following summer at Upland and Philadelphia. In November, they came once again to Bowling Green. It was the last trip that J. M. Pendleton would ever make.

Honors. The years of retirement afforded the Pendletons a great deal of respect and honor from almost everyone they encountered. Three illustrations will suffice to indicate something of the numerous courtesies shown the couple during this time.

In April, 1885, a number of Baptist leaders from the United States undertook an excursion to Monterey, Mexico. The occasion was the dedication of the first church building erected by Baptists in that republic.⁵⁸ Dr. O. C. Pope, editor of The Texas Baptist Herald, was in charge of this trip, and he invited Pendleton to attend and be a principal speaker at the dedication. His admiration for the elderly minister prompted Pope to pay all of the expenses for Pendleton.⁵⁹

Two years later, October 20, 1887, the General Association of Kentucky Baptists held its "Jubilee Meeting" with the Walnut Street Baptist Church, in Louisville.⁶⁰ As one

⁵⁸Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 167.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰W. H. Whitsitt et al., Memorial Volume of Jubilee of the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky.

of the six survivors of the organizational meeting of the Association,⁶¹ it was quite natural for Pendleton to be asked to speak.⁶² However, a reading of the account of that meeting will show that the honors offered Pendleton were much more than mere formalities. The comment of J. L. Burrows was typical of the remarks made that day. He declared: "A purer, truer heart never throbbed, and few lives have ever been more industriously, conscientiously, and usefully spent than the life of J. M. Pendleton."⁶³

But perhaps the greatest single honor afforded the Pendletons during these closing years was upon the occasion of their "Golden Wedding" anniversary. At the suggestion of T. T. Eaton, editor of the Western Recorder, a celebration was held at the First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, on March 13, 1888, in honor of the beloved couple. As might be expected, the residents of Bowling Green filled the building. But an even greater expression of high regard for the Pendletons was seen in the attendance of over one hundred persons who lived in other cities.⁶⁴ There were many moving testimonies of love that day,⁶⁵ but without a doubt the highest

⁶¹Ibid., p. iv.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 1-16.

⁶³Ibid., p. 84.

⁶⁴Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 172.

⁶⁵Ibid.; Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, April, 1888.

honor was paid to Mrs. Pendleton by her companion of fifty years.

Now, dearest one, it is fitting that I speak a word to you. There is no earthly object so dear to my heart. You are not as you were fifty years ago to-night. Then with elastic step you walked with me to the marriage altar, and we pledged to each other our vows of loyalty and love. I do not recognize that elastic step now. Then your face was fresh and blooming; now the freshness and bloom are gone, and wrinkles have taken their place, while gray hairs adorn your head. Then, and forty-six years afterward, the expression of your mild blue eyes was always a benediction; now that expression is no longer seen, for blindness has taken the place of sight.

But, with these changes in you, my love has not changed. Bodily affliction has not eclipsed the intellectual and spiritual excellences of your character. You are the same to me, and no kiss during half a century has been more deeply expressive of my love than the one I now give you.⁶⁶

Numerous other illustrations could be given to show the high degree of respect which the Pendletons were shown during these years.⁶⁷ But the spirit of the feeling which existed for them can be seen in what has already been set forth.

Death. On February 10, 1891, Pendleton became seriously ill, and his physicians informed him that he had capillary

⁶⁶Pendleton, Reminiscences, pp. 173-74.

⁶⁷He was asked repeatedly to write articles for the Western Recorder (cf. issues for years 1889 and 1890); he was asked to serve as Moderator of the First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, in the pastor's absence (cf. Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, April 2, 1890); he was called on to serve as arbitrator when a rift threatened the fellowship of the First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky (cf. Church Minutes, First Baptist Church, Bowling Green, Kentucky, February 5, 1890).

bronchitis and that there was very little hope for his recovery.⁶⁸ Pendleton's reply was, "Well, gentlemen, you may be right; but I do not feel like a dying man."⁶⁹ This optimistic spirit was contagious, and on March 5, the Western Recorder carried an article which stated: "Dr. J. M. Pendleton still lies very low at Bowling Green, Ky. His continued resistance to the disease, capillary bronchitis, inspires some hope that he will rally."⁷⁰

But the situation was hopeless, and on Wednesday, March 5, 1891, at 12:40 P.M., at Bowling Green, Kentucky, J. M. Pendleton died.⁷¹ His youngest son, Garnett, described the scene as follows:

The family sat by the bedside and watched the ebbing away of that life so full of previous significance to them and to the world. There, in the background, in tearful silence, stood representatives of the race for whom he had done and suffered not a little. Close at hand were the friend and brother of his youth,⁷² and he whose devotion, as that of a son in the flesh, had brightened the sunset of life.⁷³ Still nearer was a scene that must have moved the least impressible. Son

⁶⁸Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 189.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Unsigned article, "Editorial Note," Western Recorder, March 5, 1891, p. 4.

⁷¹Unsigned article, "Editorial Notes of Death of J. M. Pendleton," Western Recorder, March 12, 1891, p. 4. (This article also mentions that another one of the "brightest lights of our denomination," J. C. Furman, died the same week.)

⁷²Probably a reference to M. M. Riley, pastor of the Bowling Green Church.

⁷³Mr. Benjamin F. Procter, in whose home Pendleton died.

and daughter.⁷⁴ supported the mother as her sightless eyes seemed to strain after even a passing glimpse of her loved one. The hand of the blind was clasped in the hand of the dying--the eloquence of a voiceless, sightless grief.

Thus came the hour of departure. So gently did he pass away that mother knew not when his spirit fled.

To his two children who were present, it was a new and strange experience. Death is pictured as the King of Terrors. . . . So tranquil, so easy the exit of the soul from the body, we could but exclaim: Can this be death! Well might we inquire, "Where, O death, is thy sting; where, O grave, thy victory!"⁷⁵

The funeral was held in the Bowling Green church on March 7, at 2:00 P.M., and, despite very bad weather, the building was filled. The service was conducted by T. T. Eaton, assisted by William H. Whitsitt, M. M. Riley, and A. U. Boone.⁷⁶ The body was buried in the Fairview Cemetery, Bowling Green, Kentucky.⁷⁷

⁷⁴Garnett Pendleton and Lila Pendleton Procter.

⁷⁵Pendleton, Reminiscences, pp. 193-94. (Garnett added a final chapter to his father's autobiography.)

⁷⁶Unsigned article, "Editorial Notes of Death of J. M. Pendleton," Western Recorder, March 12, 1891, p. 4. (A memorial service was also held at the Upland Baptist Church, Upland, Pennsylvania, March 22, 1891. Cf. Pendleton, Reminiscences, p. 199.)

⁷⁷Mrs. Pendleton was also buried here following her death on September 21, 1898. (This information was given to the writer by Mr. Claude L. Thomas, Superintendent of the Fairview Cemetery, in a letter dated March 9, 1962.)

CHAPTER IV.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

I. SUMMARY

It has now been seen that Pendleton was a leading figure among the Baptists of America in the latter half of the nineteenth century. His effect upon the thought of his contemporaries has been presented as stemming from two main sources.¹ As a controversialist, he achieved two results. First, his active pen kept the attention of his readers upon the need to be concerned about theological issues. While it is true that much animosity resulted from these endeavors, nevertheless, it should be remembered that Pendleton, and others like him, helped to create a spirit of theological interest among Christians in an age which witnessed the rise of a number of non-Christian sects on the American scene.² Second, Pendleton's clear and forceful style of presentation helped to clarify the real issues involved in the Landmark controversy. One of his contemporaries described his style as "always accurate, yet never dry; always logical, yet never heavy; always strong, yet never dull."³ Pendleton did

¹Supra, pp. 41-53 and 79-83.

²Cf. Elmer T. Clark, The Small Sects in America.

³Eaton, James Madison Pendleton, D.D., p. 26.

a great deal to make it possible for the average Baptist layman to decide where he stood in the controversy. As a theologian, Pendleton offered a position of moderation to those who stood within the Landmark camp. His books were widely circulated throughout Baptist schools, particularly in the South, and by means of this influence upon religious education, he helped to spread a theological position which would enable many to retain the central elements of the Landmark thesis while remaining within the Southern Baptist Convention.⁴

II. CONCLUSION

A final word must now be said regarding the basic conclusion drawn from this study.

Since Pendleton was a leading figure in the Landmark controversy, a biographical study of the man enables one to gain a more comprehensive view of this important facet of Baptist life in America. Of course, if one hopes to understand the Landmark movement, he must give serious attention to all of the outstanding figures involved in the controversy; however, the life of Pendleton is particularly significant in

⁴Some extreme Landmark elements, in 1905, issued an ultimatum to the Southern Baptist Convention stating that "nothing short of exclusive church representation will satisfy us." When their demands were refused, they withdrew from the Convention. (Cf. Barnes, The Southern Baptist Convention 1845-1953, pp. 116-17.)

this connection. He was the only member of "the triumvirate that led in formulating"⁵ Landmarkism who retained the original emphases of the movement in the years of bitter controversy which followed the Civil War. A. C. Dayton died in 1865, and, therefore, does not afford a truly comprehensive picture of Landmarkism in the period of its greatest controversies.⁶ J. R. Graves became an extremist and went far beyond the original declarations of "Old Landmarkism."⁷ Pendleton refused to follow Graves in the latter's radical interpretation of the Landmark doctrine, and a serious cleavage developed between the two men.⁸ Thus, through the life of J. M. Pendleton one is afforded a significant view of the original spirit and affirmation of Landmarkism. In 1882, Pendleton reiterated the "true" Landmark doctrine.

. . . I cannot close it without saying that I deeply regret the effort made by many to make this non-intercommunion theory a part of the "old landmark" question. It has no legitimate connection with it. You will permit me to say that a non-recognition of Pedobaptist preachers as gospel ministers is the leading idea in landmarkism. I certainly ought to know this; and while I dissent from the non-intercommunion theory among Baptists, I adhere, as in other years, to the

⁵Ibid., p. 103.

⁶Ibid., pp. 105-17.

⁷J. T. Eaton, "The Old Path Guide," Tennessee Baptist, December 6, 1884, p. 4.

⁸J. J. D. Renfroe, Vindication of the Communion of Baptist Churches, pp. 6-8; J. M. Pendleton, "Letter to Brother Dobbs," Appendix A.

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landmark doctrine. I do not believe that Baptists can consistently recognize Pedo-baptist preachers by pulpit exchanges, etc. Nor can they ever give full force to their protest against errors of Pedo-baptism while such recognition is given. This seems to me as clear as the light of day.⁹

Therefore, a biographical study of Pendleton is significant because it affords a fuller understanding of the development and meaning of the Landmark movement. And, since the theology of this movement continues to affect strongly the life of the churches within the Southern Baptist Convention,¹⁰ it is urgent that an ever increasing amount of attention be given to Pendleton and every other facet of Landmarkism.

⁹J. J. D. Renfroe, Vindication of the Communion of Baptist Churches, pp. 7-8.

¹⁰Cf. Duke K. McCall (ed.), What Is the Church? pp. 143-47.

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APPENDIX A

Upland Pa. July 5 1877

Dear Mr. Lobbs:

Your letter of the 2^d is before me, and I reply without delay. It rather amuses me to see how confident Mr. Graves is in the accuracy of his recollections when I know how his memory deceives him. He has written to me inquiring about certain matters. Among other things he wishes to know if I have noted he asked in his paper of the 10th of March, headed "What is Old Landmark?" I have replied pointing out some of his misstatements of fact. For example, he says that at the close of a meeting in B. G. (and the meeting began in Feb 1852) he asked me to write

what afterward became "An Old Land,
mark Recet", that in some weeks after
I forwarded the MS. I do not copy
his words, but give the substance of
what he says. I have replied to him
showing that he did not ask
write the MS till 1854, and that the
first part of it appeared in his paper
of July 29, 1854. Instead of "some weeks
after", it was more than two years be-
fore he requested and I wrote the
paper. Fortunately I have the Tennessee
Baptist of those times in bound vol-
umes I know what I say.

I have written plainly to Hoover,
utterly denying the charge that I was
ever in favor of receiving what are
technically called "alien immigrants",
and telling him know that if he so
charges in his forthcoming historical
tract, I shall set myself right.

I might literally and truly deny exchanging pulpits with Pedobaptists in B. G. That is to say, there never was a day when I preached for a Pedobaptist minister and he for me at the same time. This just happened to be so. But I would scorn myself to leave the matter thus, for it would be making a false impression. I in the early part of my ministry had Pedobaptist ministers to preach for me, and I often preached for them. I would preach for them now should they desire it, but I would not invite them to preach for me. The rule does not work both ways. You know my views. It almost grieves me that Grant wants me to set up a man of straw that he may knock him down. I never denied that I was a profane affiliationist - before I examined the subject. I shall never deny it. I can't lie. But I have said to him

why refer any more to my my former
 preacher than to his endorsement of
 of a Pedobaptist immersion in the
 reception of his own Mother (afterward
 baptized by me, by the way) into the Church
 Nashville? For I have said to him that
 it is not fair to throw that into Home's
 as he does.

Graves wrote me that he had written to B.S.
 to get a copy of the church records. I had
 my doubts whether he could get them.

He has facts and dates in his hands now,
 and can do as he pleases in his historical
 tract.

There is no news here. I have
 do not learn through the papers. I am
 busy on my book.

The Lord bless you and make you
 a blessing!

Most truly yours
 J. W. Wendleton

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Name: William Clyde Huddleston, Jr.

Born: July 24, 1933, Newport, Arkansas

Education: East Newport Elementary School, Newport, Arkansas
Newport High School, Newport, Arkansas
Baylor University, Waco, Texas, 1951-1955, B.A.
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary,
Louisville, Kentucky, 1957-1962, B.D. (1960)

Experience: Associate Pastor, First Baptist Church,
Newport, Arkansas, 1955-1957
Teacher, Tuckerman High School, Tuckerman,
Arkansas, 1955-1957
Pastor, Mt. Elmira Baptist Church, Brooks,
Kentucky, 1957-1959
Pastor, Minors Lane Baptist Church, Louisville,
Kentucky, 1959-1962

Family: Parents--Mr. & Mrs. William Clyde Huddleston, Sr.
Marriage--1957; Velva Nell Vest; Batesville,
Arkansas
Children--John Mark Vest Huddleston, 1960

