

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF ALIEN BAPTISM
AMONG BAPTISTS SINCE 1640

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF ALIEN BAPTISM AMONG BAPTISTS
SINCE 1640

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty
of the
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor in Theology

by
Phillip Edward Rodgerson

March, 1952

SOUTHERN BAPTIST
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY LIBRARY
2825 LEXINGTON ROAD LOUISVILLE, KY.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

1563491

THESES
Th. D.
R616h
ORIGINAL

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express his deep and sincere appreciation to his major professors, Doctor S. L. Stealey (now the president of the Southeastern Baptist Seminary, Wake Forest, N. C.) and Doctor Theron Price, for their encouragement and guidance in this study. To his minor professors, Doctor J. B. Weatherspoon in Homiletics and Doctors C. T. Francisco and J. J. Owens in Old Testament, he shall be forever indebted. Doctor Leo Crismon and the entire library staff have given unselfishly of their time in rendering invaluable assistance in the matters of research.

The writer also wishes to express his appreciation to John Steely and Joseph Robinson for reading the thesis and making valuable corrections, and to Miss Sara F. Lamb for typing the final draft. The patience exhibited by the writer's family and the members of his student pastorate, Ephesus (Clark County, Ky.), has been a major factor in the final accomplishment of the undertaking.

Phillip Edward Rodgerson

Winchester, Kentucky

January, 1952

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
INTRODUCTION	2
Organization of the thesis	3
Definition of terms used	4
PART I. ALIEN BAPTISM IN ENGLAND	
CHAPTER	
I. THE BUNYAN-KIFFIN ERA	8
Historical background	8
The Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church	8
John Spilsbury's church	10
The Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church becomes	
Baptist	12
William Kiffin's church	16
The Bedford church	17
The English Baptists divide on alien baptism .	24
Baptism as an initiatory rite	26
Interpretation of Scriptures	29
Interpretation of I Corinthians 12:13 and	
Ephesians 4:5	31
The novelty of open membership	32
Forbearance	33

CHAPTER	PAGE
II. THE FOSTER-KILLINGWORTH ERA	39
Historical background	39
The principal arguments	42
The rule for Christian fellowship	42
The kingdom of God identified with the local church	44
Baptism as the initiatory rite	48
The evils of rejecting baptism as the initiatory rite	50
A common aim	52
III. THE ROBINSON-BOOTH ERA	53
Historical background	53
Robert Robinson	53
Abraham Booth	55
The principal arguments	55
The new birthright	55
Private judgment	56
Freedom not license	57
Legalism	58
Forbearance with the weak	59
Union with Pedobaptists	63
The misuse of Scripture	64
Pulpit affiliation	66
The innocent association of ideas	67

CHAPTER

PAGE

IV. THE HALL-KINGHORN ERA 68

 Historical background 68

 The principal works 69

 Robert Hall 72

 Open communion and open membership 74

 The principal arguments 76

 Apostolic precedent 78

 The new law 80

 Positive institutions 83

 The third order 86

 Pulpit affiliation 88

 Christian tolerance 89

 The purity of the churches 94

 Unity on the basis of missions 95

V. THE MODERN ERA 97

 St. Mary's of Norwich 98

 The present situation 101

VI. CONCLUSIONS 105

PART II. ALIEN BAPTISM IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER

I. THE BAPTIST POSITION BEFORE THE CAMPBELLITE

 DEFECTION 116

 The English plan of mixed membership rejected 116

 The Baptist church at Providence 118

CHAPTER	PAGE
The Philadelphia Confession of Faith	120
Early Associations	123
The Philadelphia Association	123
The Charleston Association	127
The Dover Association	128
The Kettocton Association	129
The Elkhorn Association	132
The Kehukee Association	136
The Georgia Baptist Association	138
The Richmond Association	140
Conclusion	141
II. KENTUCKY BAPTISTS AND THE CAMPELLITE DEFECTION	143
Campbellism	143
The problem	145
The principal arguments	147
The administrator	147
Apostolic succession	150
Acts 19:1-7	152
Change of sentiments	154
Close communion	155
Alien immersion not an associational matter	155
III. KENTUCKY BAPTISTS AND LANDMARKISM	158
Distinctive features	160
The struggle begins	163

CHAPTER	PAGE
The principal arguments	164
Church as form and essence	164
Preaching as an official function	166
Baptism the indispensable mark of the visible church	167
The authority of the administrator	168
Infallibility and proscription	172
Succession	176
Minor arguments	183
The <u>Western Recorder</u>	185
The Southern Seminary	189
The General Association of Baptists in Kentucky	195
IV. THE PRESENT STATUS	202
V. CONCLUSIONS	205
BIBLIOGRAPHY	211
APPENDIX	235
I. London Confession of 1644	235
II. The recantation of the Apostles	236
III. Covenants of open membership churches	240
A. College Street, Northampton, England	
B. Downs Chapel	
C. Westbourne Park, London	
D. The New Road Baptist Church, Oxford, England	
E. First Baptist Church, Worcester, Massachusetts	

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. The Evolution of the Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church Formed in Southwark, 1616	13

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This study is an outgrowth of a desire on the part of the writer to understand the historic Baptist position or positions on that which has been called "alien baptism." The writer, a native of eastern Virginia, was unaware even of the meaning of the terms "alien baptism" and "alien immersion" until he matriculated as a student in Georgetown College (Kentucky) during the latter phase of the "Sherwood Controversy."

The subject has retained its timeliness in Kentucky where the Shelby County and North-Bend Associations in 1950 reaffirmed their stand against the practice of "alien immersion" and disciplined the churches within their associations that were not in keeping with these views. The timeliness of the subject also has been manifested by the recent actions of the state conventions of Arkansas and Virginia, and also in the problems arising from the expansion of Southern Baptist work into the northern and western areas of the United States.

The main objective of the work is not to defend a position, but to understand the varying Baptist positions so as to give personal guidance for present action.

I. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

It soon became evident to the investigator that his work must have further limitations than that suggested by the title. The first limitation imposed was to confine the study to the two countries where Baptist work has flourished most auspiciously, namely, England and the United States. The writer then divided the work because of the dissimilarity in the nature of the problem in the two countries as Part I--ALIEN BAPTISM IN ENGLAND, and Part II--ALIEN BAPTISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

In Part I a further limitation has been made in that the writer has restricted the study primarily to the Particular Baptists in England. Two reasons are given for this restriction; first, the Particular or Calvinistic Baptists are the real forefathers of the modern Baptist denomination; and second, the General Baptists did not make a distinctive contribution to the discussion of alien baptism.

The English section of the study has been divided mainly into eras of controversy. Chapter I will discuss the Bunyan-Kiffin controversy; Chapter II, the Foster-Killingworth works; Chapter III, the Robinson-Booth writings; and Chapter IV the Hall-Kinghorn controversy. Chapter V will briefly survey the factors contributing to the final

division of the English Baptists on the subject, and Chapter VI will consist of conclusions drawn from this portion of the study.

Part II, ALIEN BAPTISM IN THE UNITED STATES, has been limited primarily to the State of Kentucky due to the vastness of the material available. The writer chose the state of Kentucky because it is his adopted state, and because the subject of the thesis has been as warmly and thoroughly discussed in this state as in any state in the Union. Chapter I will deal with the Baptists in the colonies and the United States before the Campbellite defection. Chapter II will consider Kentucky Baptists in the period of the Campbellite defection, while Chapter III will study the impact of Landmarkism upon Kentucky Baptists and their views on this subject. Chapter IV will present a brief survey of the present situation and Chapter V will reveal the final conclusions.

The writer is keenly conscious of the limitations of his investigations and eagerly anticipates other theses that will concentrate on single portions of this work or on Baptist groups beyond the limits of the present study.

II. DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

Unbaptized believer. In England this term is used to designate a believer who has not been immersed. In the

United States, however, it is sometimes used in the English sense and sometimes in the sense that the believer was not baptized by an ordained Baptist minister. In this thesis it is used in the English sense unless in a direct quotation and then the context must reveal its exact meaning.

Alien baptism. This is primarily an American term resulting from the emphasis upon the proper administrator. It refers to baptism, regardless of mode, administered by a member of a church not of the same faith and order. It includes alien immersion which is an immersion performed by an administrator who is of a different faith and order. In the United States alien baptism usually refers to the practice of open membership as distinct from the practice of receiving alien immersion.

Closed communion. As used by the Baptists of the United States, it means simply that only baptized believers (according to the local church's definition of baptism) may participate in the observance of the Supper. It does not necessarily imply the rejection of alien immersion.

Strict communion. This term is used in England in preference to that of "closed communion." It limits participation in the Lord's Supper to immersed believers. The advocates of this view, therefore, are called Strict Baptists.

Open membership. The membership of the church is not restricted to immersed believers. Open membership always includes open communion. Mixed membership is used interchangeably with open membership.

Open communion, free communion, catholic communion, and mixed communion. While the term "catholic communion" is used most prominently during the "Foster-Killingworth Era," the term "free communion" is in vogue during the "Robinson-Booth Era." "Open communion" and "mixed communion" are used throughout the history of the controversy interchangeably with the above terms. These terms are used to designate the practice of permitting unimmersed believers to participate in the observance of the Lord's Supper. In England previous to the Hall-Kinghorn controversy open communion and open membership were practically synonymous. If one was qualified for communion, the heart of church fellowship, then that one was considered qualified for church membership. The word communion during the early period is often used interchangeably with fellowship and membership. Since the Hall-Kinghorn controversy in England and throughout the history of Baptists in the United States open communion and open membership have been distinguished.

PART I

ALIEN BAPTISM IN ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

THE BUNYAN-KIFFIN ERA

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Bunyan-Kiffin era (ca. 1640-1690) receives its name from the two most prominent Baptists of the time, John Bunyan and William Kiffin, who held opposing views on the question of alien baptism. Since this is the period of Baptist beginnings, it is necessary to deal in rather comprehensive detail with the development of these first Particular Baptist churches. However, there is no endeavor to give a complete history of any of the churches mentioned.

The Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church. One of the most notable churches in English Baptist history was the London group now commonly referred to as the "Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church." It was founded in 1616 by Separatists from the Church of England under the pastoral leadership of Henry Jacob.¹ After serving this church for about eight years,² he emigrated to Virginia. The church remained pastorless

¹ "Records of the Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church 1616-1641" ("Jessey Records"), notes by W. T. Whitley, Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society (London: Baptist Union Publication Society, 1908-09), I, 209ff.

² Ibid., p. 212. Cf. ibid., note 10 as to the problem of chronology.

for a year or more before it chose and ordained John Lathorp (also spelled Lathrop) to the office.³ After almost a decade of troubles from within and without, the second pastor also emigrated to Virginia.⁴ Between 1635 and 1637 Henry Jessey became the settled pastor of this independent church⁵ and continued in this office until his death in 1663.⁶

From 1630 until the baptism of Henry Jessey in 1645 this church was continually agitated concerning the question of baptism, several groups peaceably separating from the main body to form distinct societies, some of which later also experienced further division.⁷

The first division resulted from the discussion concerning the validity of the baptism performed by the parish clergy of the Church of England. The main body of the "Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church" held such baptisms to be valid. In 1630 a member had his child christened in the parish church,⁸ in consequence of which a group led

3 Ibid., p. 213.

4 Ibid., p. 214.

5 Joseph Ivimey, A History of the English Baptists (London: B. J. Holdsworth, 1823), II, 416f.

6 Ibid., p. 427f.

7 Cf. post, p. 13.

8 "Records of the Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church 1616-1641," op. cit., pp. 220n, 225n.

by a Mr. Dupper withdrew, demanding complete separation from the parish churches.⁹ They did not object to infant baptism as such, but to infant baptism received from the parish church, since, in their estimation, the Church of England was not a part of the true church. After three years of discussion, a similar group including Thomas Allen, Mark Lucar, and Henry Parker, separated for the same reason.¹⁰

John Spilsbury's Church. Samuel Eaton, a later addition to this latter group, and some others went a step further in their thinking. If the baptism of the Anglican Church now be wrong for their children, on what basis could their own baptism by Anglican clergymen be considered valid? The answer being obvious to them, they were rebaptized.¹¹ There were added to this society on at least three separate occasions small additions from the mother church. The third of these, which came in 1638, consisted of a group of six who "being convinced that Baptism was

9 Ibid., p. 225.

10 Ibid., p. 220.

11 Loc. cit. Cf. "Rise of the Particular Baptists in London, 1633-1644" ("Kiffin Manuscript") notes by W. T. Whitley, Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, I, 230. Cf. ibid., p. 221n, which is a quotation from John Taylor's "A Swarme of Sectaries" which in rhyme tells of John Spilsbury's baptizing Eaton.

not for Infants, but professed Beleivers [sic. believers] joyned wth M^r Jo: Spilsbury" ¹² A most significant development, the beginning of which was almost accidental, ¹³ had now taken place in the constitution of the group now under the leadership of John Spilsbury. The first believers baptized were not convinced concerning believer's baptism, but were convinced of the invalidity of their infant baptism by an apostate church. In 1638, however, this church consisted of some members, at least, who were convinced of believer's baptism. Calvinistic in

12. "Rise of the Particular Baptists in London, 1633-1644," op. cit., p. 231. The exact date that Mr. Spilsbury became pastor of this group is not known. Since he baptized Samuel Eaton, it is probable that he became pastor in 1633 or 1634; certainly not later than 1638. It is evident that by this time (1638) a number of those already members of Spilsbury's church had adopted believer's baptism, or it is not probable that these would have joined with them.

13 George Gould, Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich (Norwich, England: Josiah Fletcher, 1860), p. cxx f., quotes Crosby who in turn quotes a MS. which he attributed to William Kiffin which says that Samuel Eaton and his group came to the conclusion concerning believer's baptism before they separated from Jessey's church. Regardless of the time, the thought process seems to be the same. They were convinced first that infant baptism was invalid because the Anglican Church was not a true church; then that what they of necessity had done--to be baptized as believers--was the scriptural plan. Cf. A. C. Underwood, A History of the English Baptists (London: Kingsgate Press, 1947), p. 58. Cf. J. L. Neve, A History of Christian Thought (Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1946), II, 45. It is stated that the adoption by the Baptists of adult or believer's baptism was the formal expression religiously of the radical individualism that manifested itself politically in Oliver Cromwell's Commonwealth.

doctrine, it became the first Calvinistic or Particular Baptist church in England. It obviously was a mixed or open membership church.¹⁴

The Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church becomes Baptist.

A new discussion concerning baptism arose in 1640 in the church of which Henry Jessey was now pastor.¹⁵ This discussion, which was about the act or mode of baptism, spread to the other groups. Those who became convinced of the scriptural necessity of immersion as the mode of baptism seemingly were confronted with the problem of a proper administrator.¹⁶ No one in England within their knowledge had been immersed as a believer.¹⁷ Having heard of a group

14 Ibid., pp. cxxiv n, 261f., 267f. In the famous St. Mary's case (Infra, pp. 98ff.) Norton says that there is no evidence that Spilsbury's church was open membership. He acknowledged that they may have agreed to enter "Church covenant" without baptism, and that from time to time unbaptized persons may have been admitted to church covenant, but not to full membership. Gould asks, "What is meant by entering church covenant, if not to become a member?"

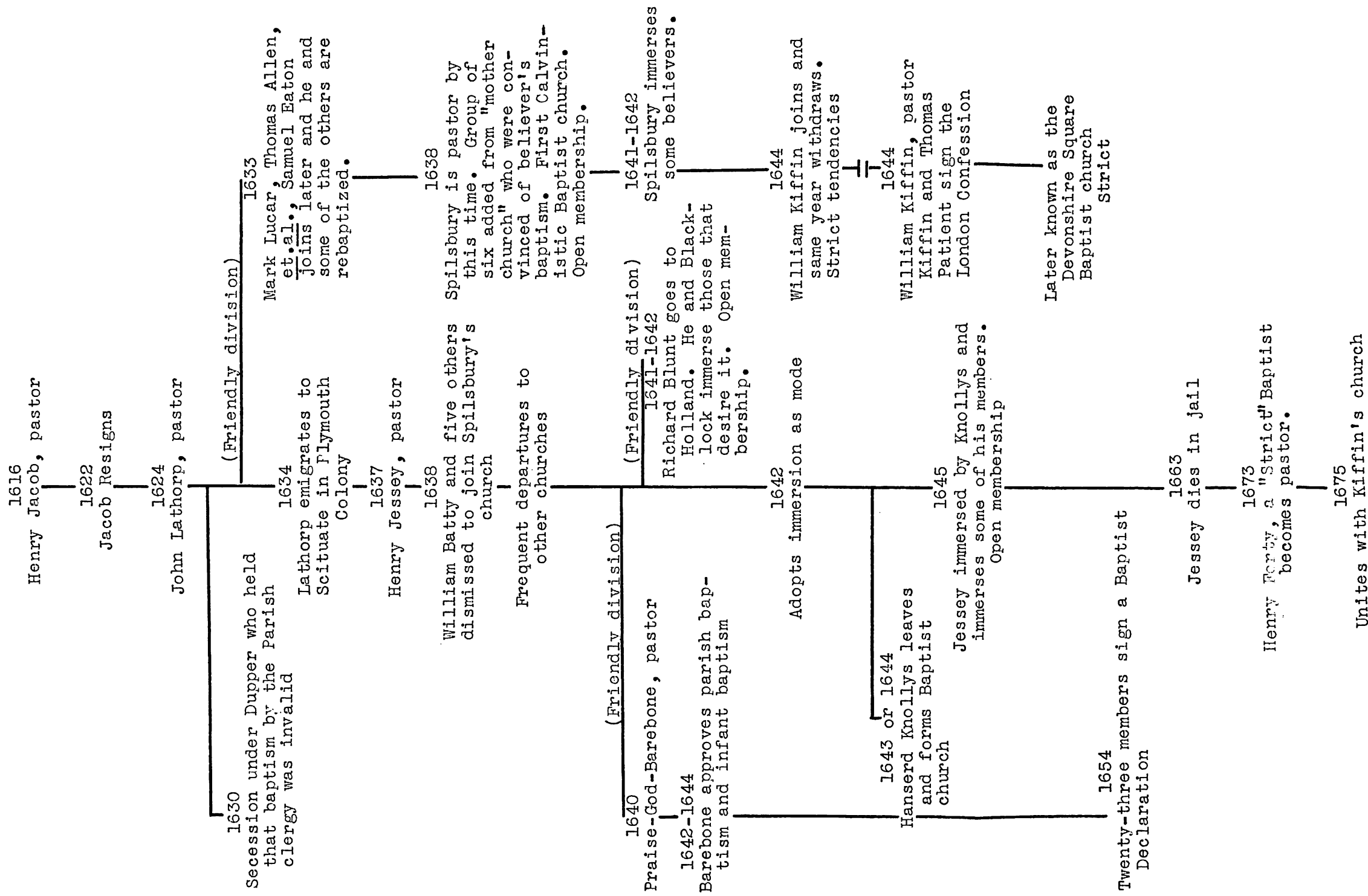
15 Ibid., p. cxxiii.

16 "Rise of the Particular Baptists in London, 1633-1644," op. cit., p. 234. Cf. Pope Duncan, "A History of Baptist Thought 1600-1660" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1947), pp. 146-148, for a discussion concerning this problem. Duncan suggests that Blunt only received instructions concerning the proper and customary performance of the act. Why would the Baptists desire to receive baptism at the hands of the Collegiants who in many ways were as corrupt as the Church of England?

17 Ibid., pp. 232f. Cf. ibid., p. 232n.

FIGURE I

THE EVOLUTION OF THE JACOB-LATHORP-JESSEY CHURCH FORMED IN SOUTHWARK, 1616
 (Adapted from J. H. Shakespeare, Baptist And Congregational Pioneers, pp. 148, 155.)



Elements from Kiffin's, Spilsbury's and probably others, through a process of assimilation emerge in later history as a leading Baptist church of London located at Stoke Newington.

in Holland, Collegiants by name, who "so practised they agreed & sent over Mr. Rich. Blunt (who understood Dutch) wth Letters of Commendations, who was kindly accepted there, & return wth Letters from them Jo: Batte a Teacher there, & from that Church to such as sent him."¹⁸ Upon his return he baptized Mr. Blacklock and then Blacklock and Blunt baptized the rest that desired immersion. Meanwhile Spilsbury immersed some of his members, disclaiming any need for information or precedent from Holland.¹⁹

As a result of these discussions and the subsequent separations,²⁰ Jessey's church adopted immersion as the mode of baptism in 1642, although they continued to administer it to infants.²¹ The following year Hanserd Knollys, an ex-clergyman of the Establishment, and William Kiffin, an ex-brewer apprentice, debated with Jessey on

18 Ibid., p. 233.

19 Henry Vedder, A Short History of the Baptists (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1926), p. 208. Thomas Crosby, The History of the English Baptists (London: Crosby, 1738), I, 103-104.

20 "Rise of the Particular Baptists in London, 1633-1644," op. cit., p. 233n.

21 "Debate on Infant Baptism, 1643," Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, I, 238. Cf. "The Jacob-Jessey Church, 1616-1678," Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, I, 247.

the question whether infants should be baptized at all. After extended debates, both Knollys and Kiffin left the church. Kiffin joined Spilsbury's church and was later immersed, and Knollys formed another Baptist church.²²

Separations from Jessey's church continued until 1645 when Jessey, after many conferences with Pedobaptist ministers, accepted believer's immersion and was immersed by Knollys, "and then by degrees he Baptized many of y^e Church, when convinced they desired it."²³ Thus after many transitions it evolved into a Baptist church.²⁴ Like Spilsbury's church, it was obviously of the mixed or open membership type.

Two of the first three Particular Baptist churches in England were open membership bodies. The third church's position is unknown. Since its organizer, Hanserd Knollys, later advocated the strict view, it is generally assumed that his church was of that persuasion; but the first

22 "Debate on Infant Baptism, 1643," loc. cit.

23 Ibid., p. 245.

24 Gould, op. cit., pp. cxxxiv-cxxxvi. The strict Baptists maintained that this was not a Baptist church, but that it was an Independent church whose pastor and some members had become Baptists. However, it was accepted in that day as a Baptist church. Cf. Edward B. Underhill, editor, The Records of a Church of Christ, Meeting in Broadmead (London: The Hanserd Knollys Society, 1847), p. 382. Cf. "The Jacob-Jessey Church, 1616-1678," op. cit., p. 247..

Particular Baptist church known to practice strict communion was the congregation organized by William Kiffin.

William Kiffin's Church. Kiffin did not remain at peace in Spilsbury's church.²⁵ He soon raised the question concerning the rightfulness of "permitting persons to preach amongst them, that had not been baptized by immersion," ²⁶ As a result of this difference, Kiffin separated from Spilsbury's church and formed a Baptist church of which he was the pastor.²⁷ Kiffin, although a successful merchant, served with distinction until his death in 1701 this London congregation, later known as the Devonshire Square church. He was the leading proponent of the anti-alien baptism sentiments and was

25 The exact chronology of these events is a matter of dispute. Ivimey, A History of the English Baptists, II, 297, says that Kiffin joined Spilsbury's church in 1638 and then separated from it in 1640. Crosby, op. cit., III, 4, gives no date for these events, while Gould, op. cit., p. cxxxi, says that "Between the months of May and October, therefore, in the year 1644, Kiffin had ceased to be a member of Mr. Jessey's Church, had also connected himself with and then withdrawn from Mr. Spilsbury's Church, and there upon, in conjunction with Mr. Patience, had organized a new Congregation." Cf. "The Jacob-Jessey Church, 1616-1678," op. cit., p. 247, and "Debate on Infant Baptism, 1643," op. cit., p. 238, both of which support Gould's dates.

26 Crosby, op. cit., III, 4. The first dispute among Baptists on the question of pulpit affiliation.

27 Gould, op. cit., p. cxxxi f. The early history of the Baptist church at Devonshire Square cannot be unravelled, due to the meager records.

the co-author with Thomas Paul²⁸ of "Serious Reflections on That Part of Mr. Bunyan's Confession of Faith Touching Church Communion with Unbaptized Believers."²⁹ His masterpiece on the subject is A Sober Discourse of Right to Church Communion.³⁰

The Bedford Church. A small group³¹ of Bedford Puritans separated from the national church (ca. 1650) to form a Separatist church. John Gifford, a recent convert from a vile way of life, was chosen as pastor and continued in that office until his death in 1655. Gifford, and some of the other members, had adopted, simultaneously with

28 Besides Kiffin and Paul, Henry D'Anvers also expressed these sentiments in A Treatise of Baptism (London: Fran Smith, 1674). A microfilm copy is in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

29 This work is unobtainable. John Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," The Complete Works of John Bunyan (Philadelphia: Bradley, Garretson & Co., 1872), pp. 841-875, contains what Bunyan believed to be their main thoughts in direct quotations.

30 William Kiffin, A Sober Discourse of Right to Church Communion (London: Geo. Larkin, 1681). Date of the original printing is unknown. Reprinted in 1681. A microfilm of this reprint is in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

31 Twelve men and women were the charter members.

their non-conformity, Baptist views.³² This church then, it seems, was organized on the open membership principle.

'Now the principle upon which they thus entered into fellowship one with another, and upon which they did afterward receive those that were added to their body and fellowship, was FAITH IN CHRIST, and HOLINESS OF LIFE, without respect to this or that circumstance or opinion in outward or circumstantial things. By which means grace and faith were encouraged, love and amity maintained; disputings and occasions to janglings, and unprofitable questions

³² Ivimey, A History of the English Baptists, II, 17, 28f. Some have argued that this church was not a Baptist church and that Bunyan was not a Baptist. Their main arguments seem to be: (1) That the Bedford church was registered as a Congregational church, whereas Baptist churches should have been registered as Anabaptist churches. However, Gould, op. cit., pp. cix-cxiv, with documentary evidence shows that it was not unusual for Baptists, even strict Baptist churches, to register as Congregational churches and that some even registered as Presbyterian and Independent when such registrations would satisfy the local authorities and give them peace. There were few places in these early days, when the word Anabaptist was still identified with the religious fanaticism and political chaos of Munster, that would permit an Anabaptist congregation to settle among them in peace. (2) That Bunyan in his "Peaceable Principles and True," The Complete Works of John Bunyan, pp. 877-887, maintained that titles such as Anabaptists, Independents, etc., came from hell and Babylon, and that he desired to be known simply as a Christian or believer. But Bunyan was not denying the principles of Baptists, but a name that he felt was being employed for sectarian divisions. (3) That in the Bedford parish church-book it is recorded that John Bunyan had his son christened in 1672. This is adequately discussed in "The Bunyan Christening, 1672," Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society (London: Baptist Union Publication Society, 1910-11), II, 255-263. It is concluded that this is the grandson rather than the son of the Bedford writer. In which case the John Bunyan in question would not be responsible for the baptism of this child.

avoided and many that were weak in the faith confirmed in the blessing of eternal life.'³³

John Gifford, perhaps anticipating division on the matter of membership, wrote from his death-bed a pastoral letter in which he appealed to the brethren not to divide the church on matters of externals and specified baptism as one of these externals.³⁴ He counseled that admission to membership is to be based on an experience of grace and a declaration of "Union with Christ," not on any of the ordinances of Christ, or judgment or opinion respecting any of the externals.³⁵ Schism based on externals he considered a great evil because it "erred from the law of the love of Christ, and (have) made a rent in the true church, which is but one."³⁶ He further states under the heading of discipline that, "if any of the brethren are troubled about externals, let some of the church (let it not be a church business) pray for and with such parties."³⁷

³³ Ibid., p. 22. He quotes from the Bedford Church Book. It appears to have been related by Mrs. Negus, daughter of Gifford and a member of the church, about forty years after the death of her father (1655).

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 18-28, contains excerpts from the Bedford Church Book and includes a copy of this letter. G. O. Griffith, John Bunyan (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927), pp. 322f. (Appendix C). Cf. "The Bunyan Christening, 1672," op. cit., p. 259.

³⁵ Griffith, op. cit., pp. 322f.

³⁶ Ivimey, A History of the English Baptists, II, 24.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

The concept of the church held by the Bedford Christians is revealed in the expressions, "outward or circumstantial things," "externals," "the true Church, which is but one," and "holiness of life." The church, in their view, is a spiritual body with Christ as the Head. The inward spiritual experience of regeneration makes one a member of this spiritual body. This spiritual body is the one true Church. Members of this spiritual body, the Church in accordance with the divine precept and example, unite in a fellowship for their mutual edification and growth, but this union is not the Church. In keeping with custom it is called a church, but it is the Church only in so far as the individual members are true members of the spiritual body and represent the Church of Christ in a given locality.³⁸

An inward spiritual relationship, they held, is possible only between the individual and the divine; the relationship between individuals, therefore, is outward. External human acts, from the very fact that they are human experiences, are of necessity subject to the conditions of circumstances. Thus, the fellowship of the

38 According to Ernst Troeltsch's well-known classifications, this insistence that the church is a communion of truly regenerate people identifies the group as a "sect." This same view was held by the Montanists of the second century, the Donatists of the fourth century, and the Continental Anabaptists of the Reformation.

saints and every rite connected with it, while based on divine commands, is outward and circumstantial and is insignificant in comparison with the inward spiritual experience. The bond of a like inward spiritual experience should not be disturbed by any question pertaining merely to the fellowship of the saints. These Bedford Christians had separated from the Church of England because they could not discover any evidence of the inward spiritual experience in those they left, and because that body had identified the ecclesiastical institution--a human organization that attempted to comprise all of society--with the Church. The differences on the ordinance of baptism sustained by some were not the determining factor in their decision to withdraw.

The Kiffin group, like the Church of England, tended to identify their own ecclesiastical institution with the Church; but unlike the Anglican church, they attempted, by setting up certain requirements, to limit the membership of the visible organization to the elect--those who had had the inward spiritual experience. Both the Kiffin party and the Bedford party agreed that the inward spiritual experience is discoverable in others only as it manifests itself in holiness of life, but the Kiffin group made their view of water-baptism one of the undeniable marks of a holy life and thus a requirement for union in

the fellowship of the saints. The Bedford party, on the other hand, accepted a profession of the experience and the willingness to accept the general Christian virtues as the standard of life as sufficient ground for acceptance into the fellowship of the saints.³⁹

Thus the policy of the church was well established when Bunyan succeeded Gifford as pastor. Bunyan, however, became the leading propagandist for these views in his century, and was considered their chief exponent until Robert Hall published his works in the early nineteenth century. After the Restoration (1660), all non-conformists were brought together by their sympathy in suffering and their common sentiments of opposition to the Acts of Uniformity.⁴⁰ Therefore, although Bunyan's views were bitterly opposed by William Kiffin and other Baptist leaders,

. . . there grew up throughout Bedfordshire and the neighbouring counties a very large number of churches which admitted to membership both Paedobaptists and Baptists. During the century following

39 This emphasis upon the personal experience is akin to elements in the mystical groups of the Middle Ages and the "inner-light" groups of the Reformation.

40 Edward B. Underhill, editor, Records of a Church of Christ, Meeting in Broadmead, pp. 240-246. Sometimes for their very survival, union of all dissenting parties was deemed expedient. Cf. W. J. McGlothlin, Baptist Confessions of Faith (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911), p. 215.

Bunyan probably the majority of Churches in the mid-lands, and the south of England were of this type.⁴¹

The Second London Confession (1677, readopted in 1689) reflected the Bunyan influence in that it provided for mixed membership and asserted in an appendix that it was purposely silent on the question because of the differences of opinion.⁴²

Bunyan wrote his "A Confession of my Faith, And a Reason of my Practice"⁴³ while in his almost habitual abode and the scene of his greatest literary masterpieces, the Bedford jail. He composed this work shortly before an unexpected liberation for a period of three years (1672-75). The purpose of the work was to vindicate his teachings and if possible to secure such a liberty. It was only in the latter part of his composition that he expressed his views on baptism and the terms of communion.⁴⁴

41 Ernest Payne, The Fellowship of Believers (London: The Kingsgate Press, 1944), p. 66. Cf. Gould, op. cit., pp. 122f.

42 W. J. McGlothlin, Baptist Confessions of Faith, p. 287.

43 Bunyan, "A Confession of my Faith, And a Reason of my Practice," The Complete Works of John Bunyan, pp. 815-840.

44 John Brown, John Bunyan, His Life, Times, and Work (Tercentenary Edition revised; London: The Hulbert Publishing Co., 1928), p. 224.

Bunyan's references to baptism and church membership in that work only incensed his antagonists among his own denomination and occasioned several literary responses. Partially as a reply to these criticisms, but also because for several years he had contemplated writing an elaborate defense of his views, he published in 1673 "Differences in Judgment about Water baptism no Bar to Communion."⁴⁵ In 1674 Bunyan published his final work on the subject which, entitled "Peaceable Principles and True," consists mainly of a condensation of his two previous works and a reply to petty charges and personal slander. He had nothing new to offer on the subject, but he felt it necessary to assure his opponents that he still considered his arguments irrefutable.⁴⁶

II. THE ENGLISH BAPTISTS DIVIDE ON ALIEN BAPTISM

The early English Baptists soon found themselves in disagreement concerning the requirements for church membership. One group maintained that the only requirements for receiving members are a "discovery of their faith and holiness," and their declaration of willingness

⁴⁵ Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., p. 868. Cf. Brown, John Bunyan, His Life, Times, and Work, p. 224.

⁴⁶ Bunyan, "Peaceable Principles and True," op. cit., p. 843.

to subject themselves to the laws and government of Christ in his Church; and that according to Paul (I Cor. 5:11; II Cor. 7:2) the only true basis of church fellowship is faith in Christ and faithfulness in the "moral duties Gospelized."⁴⁷ Thus, theoretically, at least, it would be possible to have a church without baptism.⁴⁸ The opposing group, later called "Strict Baptists," held that this was an impossibility. Although they agreed that the true basis of church fellowship is faith in Christ, nevertheless, God had instituted baptism as the initiatory ordinance of faith (Mark 16:16) and church membership.⁴⁹ Like circumcision, the initiatory ordinance of the old covenant, baptism is the door of entrance into the visible

47 Bunyan, "A Confession of my Faith, And a Reason of my Practice," op. cit., pp. 828, 830ff. Cf. Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., pp. 844f. Cf. ante, p. 20.

48 Gould, op. cit., p. cxviii, quotes John Spilsbury as saying, "a Church may be Christ's without Baptism, A Church is so a Church before Baptism, as that the end of her union is for Communion."

49 D'Anvers, op. cit., pp. 20-21. Cf. Paul and Kiffin, op. cit., as quoted in Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., pp. 843-844, where they denied that baptism was the initiating ordinance into the church, but asserted that it was "consent on all hands, and nothing else, that makes them members of particular churches; and not faith and baptism." The strict party quickly repudiated this idea, and later their opponents endorsed it.

church. Although faith in Christ gives the right to church fellowship, a Christian cannot actually possess it, regardless of other excellent qualifications, save as the law prescribes, namely by baptism.⁵⁰

Baptism as an initiatory rite. Bunyan and others contended that to make baptism the initiatory ordinance of faith and church membership was to exalt it to a position foreign to that found in the New Testament.⁵¹ An initiatory ordinance such as circumcision has both the power to debar from fellowship all those who refuse it and to make full members without any other act all those who partake of it. But the New Testament, they pointed out, does not reveal a single instance where anyone was debarred from church membership because he had not received baptism. On the other hand, it does reveal several instances where individuals received baptism but not church membership (e.g. disciples of John, Jesus and his disciples, the

⁵⁰ Kiffin, op. cit., pp. 151-152. D'Anvers, op. cit., p. 22.

⁵¹ Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., pp. 859, 864, 869. Cf. Henry Jessey, "Judgment about Water Baptism, and its Being a Term of Communion," The Complete Works of John Bunyan, p. 873, where he asserts that water baptism is not to be slighted, nor should it be exalted into the Spirit's place. The latter extreme is more dangerous than the former.

eunuch, Cornelius, Lydia, and the three thousand at Pentecost).⁵² If water baptism is not essential to salvation, they continued, then a person does not prove himself to be or not to be a Christian by water baptism, and thus baptism is not necessarily the initiatory act of faith. Faith acts according to its strength and understanding and is not tied to any outward circumstance. The attempt to make baptism the foundation stone of personal piety and of the church is contrary to Scriptures, for there is no other foundation than Jesus Christ himself (Matt. 16:18; I Cor. 3:11).⁵³ To deny that baptism is an initiatory ordinance, is not to deny baptism as such, but to ascribe to it only the use and end intended by God.

. . . I desire you first to take notice that, touching shadowish or figurative ordinances, I believe that Christ hath ordained but two in his Church--viz. water baptism and the supper of the Lord, both which are of excellent use to the Church in this world, they being to us representations of the death and resurrection of Christ, and are, as God shall make them, helps to our faith therein. But I count them not the fundamentals of our Christianity, nor grounds of rule to communion with saints. Servants they are, and our mystical ministers to teach and instruct us in the most weighty matters of the kingdom of God. I therefore here declare my reverent esteem of them, yet dare not remove them, as some do, from the place and end where by God they are set and appointed, nor

52 Bunyan, "A Confession of my Faith, And a Reason of my Practice," op. cit., p. 829. Jessey, op. cit., p. 873.

53 Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., pp. 864-865.

ascribe unto them more than they were ordered to have in their first and primitive institution. It is possible to commit idolatry even with God's own appointments.⁵⁴

Baptism's chief significance, Bunyan held, is to the individual that is baptized. It is not intended as a sign to the church that the individual is a believer, for the church has better proof of this (Col. 2:12; Rom. 6:1-4; I Cor. 15:29; Acts 2:38; 22:16; I Peter 3:21).⁵⁵ Nor is baptism a church ordinance. Baptism, he explained, is not a duty or a part of the instituted worship of God that the church, as a church, should practice, thereby showing her obedience to Christ. "For albeit that baptism be given by Christ our Lord to the Church, yet not for them to worship him by as a Church."⁵⁶ The church is obligated to encourage the performance of this duty, as of all other duties, but not to make it a test of fellowship.⁵⁷

If Bunyan and his followers felt that the strict party falsely exalted baptism, the strict brethren felt

54 Bunyan, "A Confession of my Faith, And a Reason of my Practice," op. cit., pp. 827f. Cf. Brown, John Bunyan, His Life, Times, and Work, p. 221.

55 Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., pp. 844f, 855.

56 Loc. cit.

57 Bunyan, "A Confession of my Faith, And a Reason of my Practice," op. cit., pp. 827f. Cf. Brown, John Bunyan, His Life, Times, and Work, p. 221.

more keenly that their opponents were making light of a divine command and accepting a principle that would lead to the denial of both baptism and religion. For once the breach is made, they held, it does not stop until it reaches either "Atheism or pretended Enthusiasm."⁵⁸ Moreover, to accept alien baptism was to them to give the lie to the whole Baptist position.

. . . for if it be once admitted that it (baptism) is not necessary to Church-Communion, every man of sence [sic. sense] will infer, That our contentions for it were frivōlouse, our Separation Schismatical, and our Suffering the Penalties of Humane laws foolish; and consequently, we shall be exposed to the Reproaches of such as are (without this advantage) ready enough to Revile and Persecute us.⁵⁹

Interpretation of Scriptures. The two parties differed radically in their approach to the understanding of the Scriptures. The Bunyan group held that all things were lawful if not expressly forbidden in the Bible, although they recognized that not all lawful things would be expedient.⁶⁰ The Kiffin party, on the other hand, believed that in matters of instituted worship, that which

⁵⁸ Kiffin, op. cit., pp. 13-15, 64, 79. Cf. Paul and Kiffin, op. cit., p. 866.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 14.

⁶⁰ Jessey, op. cit., p. 875. Cf. Neve, op. cit., I, 222, for similarity to Martin Luther's position.

is not commanded is thereby forbidden.⁶¹ It was of the utmost importance to the Kiffin party to keep the ordinances exactly as Jesus delivered them (I Cor. 11:2). They held that it was worse to alter in any manner an ordinance than to omit it because the latter reveals only man's weakness or ignorance, but the former casts reflection on God's wisdom by asserting that man's wisdom is greater.⁶² They agreed with Puritanism in looking upon the Scriptures as a book of laws from Heaven that is to be obeyed to the letter. Moreover, only by a strict adherence to the letter of the commands can the inventions of men be excluded from the worship of God. They pointed out that to alter the ordinances in any manner was a sin severely punished by God in the past, whether the alteration was from wicked intentions or ignorant zeal (Lev. 10:2,3; II Sam. 6:6,7), and that there had been no new revelation that God demanded less in matters of order and regularity in this dispensation.⁶³

61 Kiffin, op. cit., pp. 28f., 126. Cf. Neve, op. cit., I, 222. The Kiffin party retained the Puritan (Calvinistic) attitude which is expressed as, "Keep only what is expressly commanded in Scripture."

62 Ibid., pp. 35-36.

63 Paul and Kiffin, op. cit., p. 862. Kiffin, op. cit., pp. 6-10 (Pref.), 48, 149-151.

Interpretation of I Corinthians 12:13 and

Ephesians 4:5. The interpretation of "baptized into one body" in I Cor. 12:13 and the "one baptism" in Eph. 4:5 was another occasion for disagreement. Kiffin reasoned that since every known convert in the New Testament became a member of the church by submitting to water baptism, it is strongly implied that the meaning in these verses is water baptism. Moreover, most of the learned scholars so interpreted it and the context seems to support this interpretation.⁶⁴ His opponents on the other hand argued that the "one baptism" could not refer to water baptism,

Because water baptism hath nothing to do in a Church as a Church; it neither bringeth us into the Church, nor is any part of our worship when we come there: how, then can the peace and unity of the Church depend upon water baptism?⁶⁵

Moreover, Paul expressly says that he is speaking concerning the unity of the Spirit, not of water; and in I Cor. 12:13 he says plainly that we are all baptized into one body by the Spirit, not by water.⁶⁶ The "one body" does not refer to the local church, but to the body

64 Kiffin, op. cit., pp. 133-137.

65 Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., pp. 848f., 855.

66 Loc. cit.

of Christ in the sense that it includes all the saints in heaven and on earth, both Jew and Gentile. Thus there is no sense in which they all could have received water baptism, neither could all have been admitted into the "body" by water baptism, nor yet could they have been united by water baptism. That which is united is the "body," and that which unites is the Spirit; the baptism referred to then, of necessity, is the Spirit's baptism.⁶⁷ If this be true, then the unbaptized believer has the heart of water baptism, he lacks only the sign, which is not despised but omitted for want of light.⁶⁸

The novelty of open membership. The divine order of true baptism and then church membership, the strict party asserted, is clearly revealed in Matt. 28:19 and Acts 2:38-42.⁶⁹ If it were not intended that this should apply to every individual Christian, either the exemptions would have been stated or some one designated to decide which Christians were to obey the institutions as given by God and which were not. Such distinctions would be absurd and clearly against the letter and spirit of the Scriptures. The Gospel order here revealed by Divine will

67 Jessey, op. cit., p. 872.

68 Bunyan, "A Confession of my Faith, And a Reason of my Practice," op. cit., p. 833; "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., p. 852.

69 Paul and Kiffin, op. cit., pp. 862-863. Kiffin, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

and confirmed by apostolic authority and practice has not lost any of "its native worth and efficacy, or obliging Vertue [sic. virtue]"⁷⁰ by any disuse or discontinuance occasioned by the "wilderness wanderings and captivity" referred to by the opponents of the strict party. The unanimous testimony of the ancient church, of all the Reformers, of the Church of England, and of all the dissenting groups that have ordinances, is in favor of this principle of admitting into church communion only those who have been baptized. The Kiffin party concluded from history "That this Opinion we oppose was never in the World for Sixteen hundred years and more."⁷¹

Forbearance. While the strict party rested their case on the precept of the commission and the precedent of apostolic practice and history, the Bunyan party based their case on the general principle of forbearance discovered in the words of Paul, "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations" (Rom. 14:1).⁷² While they admitted that in the New

70 Kiffin, op. cit., p. 58. Cf. ibid., p. 211.

71 Ibid., p. 85. Cf. ibid., pp. 67-89.

72 Henry Jessey's work on mixed membership as preserved by Bunyan is an exposition of this verse. See Jessey, op. cit., pp. 869-875. Cf. Bunyan, "A Confession of my Faith; And a Reason for my Practice," op. cit., p. 832. Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., p. 866.

Testament baptism always preceded church membership (Bunyan had doubts about I Cor. 1:14-16; Gal. 3:27; Rom. 6:3), they argued that that is far from proving that it must in every case. They pointed out that there was no question about baptism in New Testament times, and thus every one who was baptized had full light about the ordinance. But confusion and darkness now surround the ordinance and one easily can be a Christian and yet lack light on the question of baptism. Is the precedent of the New Testament or the general rule of Rom. 14:1 binding in this case? To be baptized only to satisfy a requirement for membership and not because of light would be sin and hypocrisy.⁷³ The basis then for receiving those improperly baptized is not that their baptism is acknowledged as orderly, but because "God has received them" (Rom. 14:3; 15:7). The Bunyan party contended that if Jesus, the one who is chiefly wronged by their disobedience, receives them, then the fellowship is not justified in excluding them. The fellowship is to receive all those whom it is evident the Lord has received.⁷⁴ If the

73 Bunyan, "A Confession of my Faith, And a Reason of my Practice," op. cit., pp. 832f. Jessey, op. cit., p. 874.

74 Jessey, op. cit., pp. 870-871, 874. Cf. Bunyan, "A Confession of my Faith, And a Reason of my Practice," op. cit., pp. 830, 834, 840, and Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., pp. 845, 853, 866, where Bunyan urges that in order to have a pure fellowship, the strictness should be in the examination of the candidates' faith, experience, and conversation

rule is that one is to be received only upon his knowing and doing all things according to rule and order, then no one would be received, for anything short of perfection would be disorder.

. . . but the Lord deals not so with his people, but accounts love the fulfilling of the law, though they be ignorant in many things both as to knowing and doing; and receives them into communion and fellowship with himself, and would have others do the same also;⁷⁵

The advocates of mixed membership hastened to add that their churches do not forbear with those who are not rebaptized where the intention is to slight or make light of baptism, but only where they conscientiously believe that the baptism they have received is scriptural baptism.⁷⁶

While the proponents of open membership accused the strict brethren of neglecting the weightier matters of the law as they scrupulously tithed, the latter countered by accusing the former of neglecting to tithe, which thing Jesus said ought not to be left undone. The Bunyan party was confident that their policy would give greater opportunity for the edification of souls, which is of greater

before admitted into the church, rather than in such strictness about a form of baptism. Baptism is one of the infirmities of the weak which the strong are commanded to bear (Rom. 15:1).

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 873.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 874. Bunyan, "A Confession of my Faith, And a Reason of my Practice," op. cit., p. 835; "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., p. 846.

concern than water baptism. The ordinances themselves, they pointed out, were given for edification, not to divide and separate the godly.⁷⁷ Moreover, the receiving of the unbaptized is an expression of Christian love "which is of much more worth than to break about baptism. Love is also much more discovered when it receiveth for the sake of Christ and grace than when it refuseth for want of water" ⁷⁸ Further, to exclude visibly true saints from church membership is to deny to them their God-given rights, privileges, and blessings, and to prevent them from performing those sacred duties in which they have light and desire to serve Christ.⁷⁹ Also it is an insult to the excluded ones' moral integrity since the usual cause of excommunication is some great sin. Such an attitude as manifested by the strict group partakes of the spirit of persecution, and respects more a form than the spirit and power of godliness as it attempts to mold all minds to a specific set of opinions.⁸⁰ The strict party

77 Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., pp. 855-856.

78 Bunyan, "A Confession of my Faith, and a Reason of my Practice," op. cit., p. 836; "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., p. 857.

79 Ibid., p. 838. Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., pp. 846, 868.

80 Ibid., p. 839. Bunyan, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," op. cit., p. 861.

not only refused the unbaptized the right to worship with them, but also denied them the right to worship anywhere; and implied that if they had the power, they would literally take that freedom away from them. Thus they did not recognize churches other than Baptist as churches of God.⁸¹

Thomas Paul and William Kiffin let it be known that they also desired peace, unity, love, and edification--the weightier matters of the law,--but insisted that they were not to be secured at the price of disobedience to Christ.⁸² They argued that it is the duty of all Christians to strive to keep the Lord's ordinances pure and orderly and to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, and if the strict party is more zealous in this duty than others, they should not be accused of dividing and unchurching the rest. The guilty ones are those who fail to fulfill the commandments of God as he gave them.⁸³ True Christian love, Kiffin said, is manifested by keeping Christ's commandments (John 14:15), therefore, it was not want of love

⁸¹ Bunyan, "Peaceable Principles and True," op. cit., pp. 877-879. Cf. Neve, op. cit., II, 33, 4-5, 31. Although the question of liberty of conscience was discussed generally in the seventeenth century, this narrow view of the strict party was the prevailing denominational concept. Richard Baxter, Calixtus, and the Bunyan party were noteworthy exceptions to the rule.

⁸² Paul and Kiffin, op. cit., pp. 854ff.

⁸³ Kiffin, op. cit., pp. 152-154.

that prompted them in their behavior, but it was the fear of breaking the rule and order by which the primitive saints walked in the keeping of Christ's commandments.⁸⁴

84 Ibid., p. 161.

CHAPTER II

THE FOSTER-KILLINGWORTH ERA

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the first half of the eighteenth century religion sank to its lowest ebb in England, and the Baptists shared in this general spiritual lethargy.¹ The Newtonian-Lockian thought prevailed in this "Augustan Age."² "Men did not wear their hearts upon their sleeves nor did they worry much about their souls."³

Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;
The proper study of mankind is man.⁴

1 H. C. Vedder, A Short History of the Baptists (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1926), pp. 239-243. He lists hyper-Calvinism, antinomianism, deism, and rationalism as some of the causes for this spiritual decay among Baptists. Cf. Thomas Armitage, A History of the Baptists (New York: Bryan, Taylor & Co., 1887), pp. 548ff.

2 Walter P. Hall and Robert G. Albion, A History of England and the British Empire (Chicago: Ginn and Company, 1937), pp. 513ff. The first three or four decades of this century were so called because it imitated the form, although not the substance, of the classics of the Augustan Age of Rome.

3 Loc. cit.

4 Alexander Pope, "An Essay On Man," H. F. Carey, editor, The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope (Revised edition; London: George Routledge and Sons, 1866), p. 225.

In this atmosphere latitudinarianism prevailed in religion, and neither the pulpit nor the pew desired any controversy.⁵

The Augustan ideals were challenged in the latter half of the century by the forerunners of English romanticism, and by the Wesleyan Revival.⁶ The latter transformed the religious life of England and affected the spiritual life of all English-speaking lands. Needless to say, the Baptists of England shared in the benefits of this "second Reformation." Their new life was marked by growth, zeal, and missionary activities.

One of the manifestations of the new life was the revival of the dormant controversy respecting church membership. About the middle of the century the versatile James Foster, pastor of the mixed membership church meeting in Pinner's Hall (London), published his Discourses on All the Principal Branches of Natural Religion and Social Virtue in which he included a sermon of

5 Latitudinarianism was an attempt to express the Christian faith in a more rational and charitable (less intolerant) manner than had Puritanism. This was to be accomplished in part by simplifying the number of essentials and laying stress only on the broad morality and faith held by common consent. Cf. J. B. Weatherspoon, "History of English Preaching" (unpublished notes, Homilectics Seminar, 1948-49, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky). Cf. J. L. Neve, A History of Christian Thought (Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1946), II, 36-37. Latitudinarianism also opposed the church polity of the "Laudian School" and advocated the holding of the masses to the church by accommodation policies. "Latitudinarianism . . . soon lost itself in indifferentism."

6 Hall and Albion, op. cit., p. 521.

"Catholic Communion."⁷ He was supported in this position by Philoatholicus⁸ in 1752 in A Defence of The Reverend Dr. Foster's Sermon of Catholic Communion: In a Letter to a Friend (London: John Noon, 1752); and Charles Bulkley in Two Discourses on Catholic Communion (London: John Noon, 1754), and An Idea of Christian Communion and Christian Discipline (London: John Noon, 1760).

Their most formidable opponent was a layman,⁹ Grantham Killingworth, who replied to Foster in An Examination of The Rev^d. Dr. James Foster's Sermon on Catholic Communion

7 James Foster, Discourses on All the Principal Branches of Natural Religion and Social Virtue (London: John Noon, 1749), I, 331-344. The title of Foster's book, the pseudonym "Philoatholicus," and the use of the term "catholic communion" in preference to open or mixed communion reflect the influence of Latitudinarianism and rationalism. These men rationalized their Calvinistic theology, were convinced that nothing could be true in theology that is false in philosophy, accepted as true the results of modern science with its religious implications, and advocated tolerance and mutual recognition on the basis of a distinction between fundamentals and non-fundamentals. Cf. Neve, op. cit., II, 4, 27.

8 Believed to be John Wiche of Maidstone.

9 In his first work he called himself a layman, but Robert Robinson writing in 1781, Miscellaneous Works of Robert Robinson (B. Flower, editor, Harlow, England: B. Flower, 1807), III, 183, added a "Rev." to his name.

(London: John Noon, 1750), and to Philocatholicus in An Answer to the Defence of The Reverend Dr. Foster's Sermon of Catholic Communion (London: John Noon, 1752). He answered Charles Bulkley in a work titled An Answer to The Rev. Mr. Charles Bulkley's Pleas for Mixt Communion which was published in 1756.¹⁰ Previous to his controversial writings, Killingworth had published The Necessity of Baptism, In Order to Church Membership and Christian Communion, Shewn from Christ's Own Words, John iii. 3, 5 (London: John Noon, 1740).

II. THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS

The rule for Christian fellowship. While Killingworth believed that an orthodox view of baptism and catholic communion were incompatible,¹¹ his opponents maintained that catholicism did not imply a lack of conviction or orthodoxy on the subject of baptism, nor did it lessen the sacredness or value of the institution. On the other hand, catholicism, they pointed out, recognized the fact that equally sincere Christians could have different views concerning the details of the divine institution.¹² The catholic communionists felt that

10 This work is unobtainable.

11 Killingworth, An Examination, pp. vi-vii.

12 Philocatholicus, op. cit., p. 9.

differences on non-essentials, such as the mode of baptism, should not rend the fellowship of true Christians because the express scriptural rule for Christian fellowship is

. . . that whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, and endeavours to understand the revelation which he brought from heaven, and to act agreeably to it, is a good christian, whatever his mistakes may be in matters of lesser moment; and of consequence, . . . is intitled to the charity and fellowship of christians.¹³

Thus, according to the above rule, the only professing Christian in all Christendom to whom the local fellowship can refuse fellowship, regardless of errors, is the one whose life proves him to be insincere. Surely a sincere error in one detail, they held, would not be sufficient cause to exclude one from all church privileges. The church is not a fellowship of perfectionists, but a fellowship of believers, both strong and weak, for the expressed purpose of growing through mutual help into mature Christians. To acknowledge that all are subject to error and to grant the sincerity of those who differ will promote mutual esteem, concord, and harmony, and will

¹³ Foster, op. cit., I, 337. Philocatholicus, op. cit., pp. 22-24, 37. Cf. ante, pp. 20f. for similarity to the views of the Bedford Christians, but note that the emphasis is upon an intellectual understanding rather than the inward spiritual experience of the Bedford Christians. The catholic communionists are more rationalists than spiritualists.

provide a more favorable opportunity for Baptists to convince others of the correctness of their views.¹⁴

The kingdom of God identified with the local church.

Killingworth in his exposition of John 3:5 plainly stated that "By entering into the kingdom of God, I understand a being received into the visible church of Christ" ¹⁵

The visible church of Christ consisted of the individual local assemblies. And in this same verse he understood the phrase "born of water" to mean to be baptized or immersed.¹⁶ Although in the Bunyan-Kiffin period both the strict and open parties readily acknowledged that the Separatists and Independents, their fellow-sufferers, were true Christians, his idea of the visible church led Killingworth to assert that no one who had failed to receive true baptism could be a true Christian or a member of the kingdom of God.

Baptism therefore, is an ordinance, necessary to constitute a true christian; for can a man be a christian, before he has put on Christ, that is before he is baptized.¹⁷

14 Ibid., I, 333, 340f. Cf. Bulkley, Two Discourses on Catholic Communion, p. 55.

15 Killingworth, The Necessity of Baptism, p. 100. Cf. Killingworth, An Examination, p. 42.

16 Ibid., pp. 99f.

17 Killingworth, An Examination, p. 41. Cf. ibid., pp. 21, 26-27, 30-31; An Answer to the Defence, pp. 17, 29; The Necessity of Baptism, pp. 105-106, 109.

Killingworth would not distinguish between the pedobaptists who had been fellow-sufferers and those who had been the persecutors. All pedobaptism, he declared, is "sinful and heinous," "a corrupt superstition," and Baptists must refuse to receive Pedobaptists into their houses or to bid them God-speed (II John 8-11).¹⁸ If some of the Pedobaptists are entitled to the name of true Christians and true churches, then all are, including the corrupt and apostate Church of Rome; for all Pedobaptists are guilty of failing to do the things which Christ commanded and he expressly said that his true disciples were those who did whatsoever he commanded (Luke 6:46; John 14:23, 24; and 15:14).¹⁹

Although Killingworth grudgingly admitted that others than Baptists might be saved, he insisted that it would be on the basis of the "uncovenanted mercies of God."²⁰ Since such persons are known only to God, the

18 Ibid., p. 11.

19 Ibid., pp. 9, 21. Cf. Killingworth, The Necessity of Baptism, pp. 105-106; An Answer to the Defence, p. 29. Cf. ante, p. 37, note 81. It is evident that Killingworth would not have sanctioned "pulpit affiliation."

20 Ibid., p. 28. Later strict communionists denied that this position was a logical conclusion to their views. Cf. post, pp. 161ff., for the close similarity to Landmark views. Cf. Neve, op. cit., II, 28-29. It is said of the Puritans that they believed that all of truth was on their side and that their faith was but Christianity reduced to a system. This seems to be a revival of the spirit of the Donatists.

visible church has but one obligation and that is to receive those who are denominated as Christians in Christ's own way (Matt. 28: 19, 20; Mark 16:15, 16; John 3:3, 5).

The catholic communionists interpreted John 3:5 quite differently. They denied that it was even remotely related to church membership or to the visible church which at that time in Jesus' ministry was as yet unorganized. Killingworth's first error, they pointed out, was to identify the "kingdom of God" with the visible church, because the term is never used in the New Testament to denote the visible church. His second error was in making the visible church synonymous with the local church. They defined the visible church as the body of Christ on earth, not the local organizations as such. They argued that the local organization is obligated to recognize those who are manifested as members of the visible church. Since one may manifest oneself as a member of the visible church in other ways than baptism, they concluded that baptism is not essential to membership in the visible church, although some have made it essential to membership in the local organization. In that case the local assembly assumes that she is more discerning than Christ in excluding from her fellowship those whom Christ will admit to his body.²¹

²¹ Bulkley, Two Discourses on Catholic Communion, pp. 11-13, 34, 59. Cf. ante, pp. 34f. In every period this was a favorite argument.

The catholic party accused Killingworth of fostering contentions, strife, party-spirit, schisms, and bigotry, and of limiting the ideal of Christian brotherhood to a party.²² They also pointed out that this was the same spirit and principle that operates in the Church of Rome whereupon all who deviate from her standard of orthodoxy are excluded as heretics and reprobates.²³ The only conceivable reasons, they charged, that these harsh sentiments are held by professors of a religion, "the genius of which is so mild and amiable, and that breathes nothing but moderation, peace, and universal charity," are: (1) prejudices of education, in that they have been taught

. . . that particular schemes are the substance of christianity; fundamental truths, upon a belief, or disbelief, of which, their eternal happiness or misery depend; and in consequence of this, they are not only tenacious of them, and averse to a free and impartial enquiry; but apt to entertain hard thoughts of those, who have not, exactly, the same sentiments of religion with themselves;²⁴

(2) selfishness, in that they condemn others and their opinion only for the purpose of maintaining popularity and influence within their own group;²⁵ and (3) pride,

22 Foster, op. cit., I, 333, 339-340; Bulkley, Two Discourses on Catholic Communion, pp. 52f.

23 Ibid., pp. 342f.; Bulkley, Two Discourses on Catholic Communion, p. 54.

24 Ibid., p. 332.

25 Ibid., pp. 331f.

in that they maintain such an "extravagant veneration" for their own ideas and make them a standard or test of truth for all other Christians.²⁶ In this they have assumed the principle of party infallibility and when anyone differs with their opinions they assume that Christianity has been denied.

. . . they come to this peevish conclusion, that if you will not take your notions of christianity from them, you shall not be allowed to be christian at all.²⁷

Baptism as the initiatory rite. Killingworth believed that Dr. Foster and his group erred in making the excellency of the Christian religion to consist in its suitability to the depraved state of mankind, that is that it allows for human weaknesses and errors. He held that the excellency of the Christian religion was its completeness and perfectness. It did not admit of any human alterations or additions.²⁸ His position then was that only that which is expressly commanded by precept or example in the Scriptures is lawful for the church, and that which is commanded must be "strictly observed, inflexibly adhered to, and earnestly contended for:" ²⁹

26 Foster, loc. cit.

27 Ibid., p. 332.

28 Killingworth, An Examination, p. 5.

29 Ibid., p. 26. Cf. ibid., pp. 27, 63, 80; An Answer to the Defence, pp. 29, 37.

If it could be proved, therefore, that Christ instituted baptism as the initiatory ordinance into the church, then any variation would be a human alteration or addition. The initiatory nature of baptism, he felt, was adequately established from Christ's commands concerning the ordinance (John 3:3, 5; Matt. 28:19, 20),³⁰ from Christ's personal relationship to the institution (Matt. 3:13-17),³¹ and from the interpretation and practice of the Apostles (Acts 2:41, 42; 5:14; 19:1-7).³² When Baptists expressed "charity" to those in error on baptism by admitting them into membership, Killingworth held that they denied their own sincerity of belief that Christ ordained baptism as the initiating ordinance for constituting members of his church.³³ Then when for the sake of integrity one only practiced that which the Scriptures command, it is unjust to label such a one contentious, narrow, uncharitable or schismatic.³⁴

³⁰ Ibid., p. 42. Cf. Killingworth, The Necessity of Baptism, pp. 99-102.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 5, 54-60. Killingworth, The Necessity of Baptism, p. 104; An Answer to the Defence, p. 14.

³² Ibid., pp. 76-78. Killingworth, The Necessity of Baptism, p. 111; An Answer to the Defence, pp. 7-8.

³³ Ibid., p. 48. Killingworth, An Answer to the Defence, pp. 30-31; The Necessity of Baptism, pp. 107f.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 17, 20, 48.

The evils of rejecting baptism as the initiatory rite. The evils of the denial of baptism as the initiatory rite, the strict party held, are legion in number, for the annulling and degrading of the authority of Christ in the admission of church members is but the first of many evils that would follow once the breach is made. Without baptism as an initiatory rite, the church would be powerless to maintain any kind of discipline or order. Moreover, by receiving into full membership in the church those who are not properly baptized, the church, in essence, equates disobedience with obedience to a positive institution of Christ. Thus, if the church can be justified in dispensing with any one of Christ's institutions without his authority, then there is nothing to prevent churches from dispensing with all his institutions, thereby threatening all instituted religion and supernatural revelation.³⁵ This would naturally give the enemies of Christianity, as the deists and infidels, great advantage in their attacks upon the Christian religion.³⁶

The practice of catholic communion, the strict party contended, actually encourages the neglect of the ordinance

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 45, 52-53. Killingworth, The Necessity of Baptism, p. 108.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 7, 69. Killingworth, The Necessity of Baptism, p. 110; An Answer to the Defence, p. 15.

of baptism. If a person may receive all the church privileges without baptism, then there is no justifiable reason for submitting to the despised act. If this practice be permitted to become widespread, then Pedobaptists will join Baptist churches indiscriminately and Baptists in turn will be absorbed into Pedobaptist churches, and the extinction of the Baptists as a people would become a distinct possibility.³⁷

Not the least of the dangers of catholic communion that the strict party warned of was the fact that this practice tends to prevent reformation in the church. The catholic communionists advocated the receiving of all sincere Christians with their errors in the hope that in the "charitable" atmosphere thus produced they might be won to the correct view.³⁸ This, it was argued, is the same principle by which the Roman Church incorporated heathen practices for the purpose of winning the heathens to Christianity.³⁹

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 27, 50-51. Cf. post, p. 93 for Robert Hall's remark on the extinction of the Baptists. Cf. also pp. 111f.

³⁸ Cf. Neve, op. cit., II, 31. Neve criticized Richard Baxter's motto ("In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in everything charity"), by pointing out that too often this Christian "charity" degenerated into an absence of positiveness in the witness of truths that the church cannot afford to sacrifice.

³⁹ Killingworth, An Answer to the Defence, pp. 39-40.

A common aim. The professed aim of both parties was to win all of Christendom to the acceptance of believer's immersion as the only true fulfillment of New Testament baptism. The strict party believed that this aim could be accomplished best by maintaining a strict isolation that would focus attention upon their peculiarity. This attention would lead men to examine the question for the purpose of refutation, but the strict proponents were confident that more often it would lead to the investigator's conversion to the Baptist position. The catholic party, however, took the opposite position. They held that only in the process of fraternal discussion would truth prevail, and that fraternal discussion was possible only on the basis of a recognized equality in the kingdom of God. They accused the strict brethren of being more interested in preserving the name of Baptists than in extending the truths for which they stood;⁴⁰ while the strict party countered that the catholic brethren's chief interest was to escape opprobrium through compromise.⁴¹

40 Bulkley, Two Discourses on Catholic Communion, pp. 49, 55.

41 Killingworth, An Examination, p. viii.

CHAPTER III

THE ROBINSON-BOOTH ERA

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

After a brief respite (1760-1770), the case for mixed membership was publicly advocated again by Daniel Turner of Abingdon,¹ John C. Ryland of Northampton,² John Brown of Kettering, and Robert Robinson of Cambridge. The most elaborate defence of the Strict Baptists³ since that of William Kiffin, was published in 1778 by Abraham Booth.⁴

Robert Robinson. Robert Robinson in 1759 led in the reorganization of the defunct Strict Baptist church of Cambridge. The reorganization was on the mixed membership principle and immediately the church witnessed a

1 Joseph Ivimey, A History of the English Baptists (London: B. J. Holdsworth, 1823), IV, 35 says that Turner was the author of A Modest Plea for Free Communion at the Lord's Table (signed "Candidus"), and that Ryland wrote A Modest Plea for Free Communion (signed "Pacificus"). Both of these works are unobtainable.

2 See Appendix III, A. Ryland's is an example of the constitution of a mixed membership church.

3 George Gould, Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich (Norwich, England: Josiah Fletcher, 1860), p. 53, relates that the term "Strict" as a definite name for the party came into use about 1772.

4 Abraham Booth, An Apology for the Baptists (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1778).

rapid growth. Young Robinson, who considered George Whitefield his spiritual father and who had preached for three years among the Methodists, was an indefatigable worker at Cambridge. Among his many literary productions are some of the best-loved hymns of the present.⁵

Late in life Robinson turned to Socinianism and at the time of his death bordered on infidelity. His great church declined rapidly. Joseph Priestly, the leading Socinian of his day, conducted Robinson's funeral in June, 1790.⁶

Although an advocate of mixed membership from the beginning of his ministry, Robinson did not publish a major work on the subject until 1781. In this work, "The General Doctrine of Toleration Applied to the Particular Case of Free Communion,"⁷ he attempted to summarize the history of the dispute and to give a picture of the situation in his own day, together with the chief arguments for free communion.

5 Ivimey, A History of the English Baptists, IV, 455, cites, "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," "Come Thou Fount of Every Blessing," and "Mighty God, While Angels Bless Thee."

6 Loc. cit. Some of his contemporaries felt that Robinson's great mind had suffered a lapse in these last few years before his death.

7 B. Flower, editor, Miscellaneous Works of Robert Robinson (Harlow, England: B. Flower, 1807), III, 137-193.

Abraham Booth. Abraham Booth, formerly of the lax General Baptists, was ordained pastor of the Little Prescott Street Baptist church (London), which was "Strict" and Particular, in 1769. During his long pastorate at this church (until his death in 1806), he was busily engaged in literary support of the Baptists. Although he wrote principally against pedobaptism, his one work in support of the Strict Baptists, An Apology for the Baptists, was a masterpiece.

II. THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS

The new birthright. In this period the advocates of open membership used the term "free communion" to denominate their policies. This term reflected the spirit of the age which was charged with hopes and struggles for freedom. It was an age of political, social, and economic revolutions.⁸ In the minds of the exponents of free communion the "Christian churches are free states, and full fellowship is the new birthright of every regenerate man."⁹ To err in the mode and subject of baptism was considered

⁸ Francis T. Tschan, Harold J. Grimm, and J. Duane Squires, Western Civilization (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1942), pp. 833-839, 887-935, 938--"Part Six The Old Order Gives Way to the New (1789-1848)."

⁹ Robinson, "The General Doctrine of Toleration," op. cit., III, 158..

an innocent and involuntary imperfection that in no way merited the denial of one's birthright. The church, they insisted, must distinguish between errors in faith concerning the facts of Scriptures and irregularities of practice that proceed from malice, which are not to be tolerated, and errors in faith concerning reasoning about the facts of Scripture and irregularities of practice that proceed either from infirmity or innocency of mental error, which are to be tolerated.¹⁰

Private judgment. Free communionism strongly advocated the right of private judgment in all matters that would not destroy the essence of gospel worship. Thus in the case of a Pedobaptist applying for membership in a Baptist church,

We do not then plead for the admission of such a person because we think he hath been baptized, for in our opinion he hath not; but because he judges he has been baptized; and we have no authority to deprive him of the right of private judgment, but on the contrary we are expressly commanded /Romans 14:14/ to allow him the liberty of determining for himself.¹¹

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 165ff. Booth vehemently denounced the advocates of "the innocency of mental error" as criminals guilty of high treason against the "Majesty of Eternal truth." The Works of Abraham Booth (London: W. Button & Son, 1813), I, lxxiv. Cf. /Joseph Jenkins/, The Impropriety of Open-Communion or Mixed-Communion Between Baptists and Paedo-Baptists in the Lord's Supper (London: W. Ash, 1786), p. 3.

¹¹ Robinson, "The General Doctrine of Toleration," op. cit., III, 163-164.

As to what constituted the essence of gospel worship each church ought to judge for itself.¹²

Freedom not license. Freedom, the strict party rejoined, must never be a license to disobedience. When personal interest qualifies obedience it is no longer obedience, but disobedience.¹³ Proper baptism they contended is essential to obedience to Christ, the Head of the church, and that which essentially differs from what he appointed as baptism in no sense can be deemed proper baptism.¹⁴ The strict party argued that even as they Jews would not have received a devout man into the Jewish fellowship and to the paschal feast if in all sincerity he had circumcised the forefinger instead of the foreskin; so must not the Baptists receive a man, however devout, if, even sincerely, he has had a little water sprinkled on his head as an infant and called it baptism, instead of being immersed as a believer.¹⁵ If God is no respecter of persons, then a Pedobaptist is to the church as a converted Jew, Turk or heathen who is yet unbaptized, and

12 Ibid., pp. 169f.

13 Booth, An Apology for the Baptists, p. 63.

14 Ibid., p. 25, "'They who are not rightly baptized, are, doubtless, not baptized at all?'" Booth is quoting from Tertullian's de Baptismo.

15 Ibid., pp. 64-69.

the ordinance then administered is not to be considered rebaptism, but baptism rightly administered.¹⁶

Legalism. The strict party's primary interest was to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints."¹⁷ They felt that it was their supreme obligation to perform every duty exactly as Christ gave it and in the precise order that he commanded. They recalled that God in the Old Testament dispensation was extremely zealous that the Israelites perform every command exactly as he gave it. To them it was only logical to conclude that under the New Testament dispensation of grace and light this obligation is increased rather than diminished, for from him to whom much is given much is required.¹⁸ If it is wrong for the Pedobaptists to invert the Scriptural order by baptizing individuals before they were made disciples, then it is equally as wrong for the free communionists to invert the Scriptural order by teaching unbaptized believers to observe the "all things" and then later, sometimes never, baptizing them.¹⁹

16 Ibid., pp. 110-111. Cf. ibid., pp. 40-45.

17 [Jenkins], op. cit., p. 9.

18 Booth, An Apology for the Baptists, pp. 54-57.

19 Ibid., pp. 38-39. Cf. ibid., pp. 45-47; 69-70. [Jenkins], op. cit., pp. 14-15.

They held that it is evident from the New Testament that true baptism is commanded to be administered prior to membership and communion. Every individual recorded as being admitted into the New Testament church was first baptized as his first public act of obedience. Moreover, baptism was the first ordinance instituted, "which is a presumptive evidence that it has, and ever will have a prior claim on our obedience."²⁰ Likewise, the Great Commission gives baptism priority in its command, and the Apostles consistently so interpreted it as being the mind of Christ.²¹

Forbearance with the weak. The proponents of free communion acknowledged that both the precept and example of the New Testament are that baptism precedes church membership,²² and they, in accord with all Baptists, rejected any and all applicants who either were unwilling to practice

20 Ibid., p. 32.

21 Ibid., pp. 32-35.

22 Robinson, "The General Doctrine of Toleration," op. cit., III, 170-171. This is not conceding that baptism is an initiatory ordinance. The disciples of John, Jesus and his disciples and the eunuch were baptized, but not initiated into any church. This order is proper but not necessary, and since the New Testament does not carry any penalties in connection with baptism, the church has no authority to originate any. Cf. John Brown, The House of God Opened and His Table Free for Baptists and Paedobaptists Who Are Saints and Faithful in Christ (London: J. Brown, 1777), pp. 1, 2.

the ordinance or who rejected water-baptism as a continued ordinance of Christ.²³ But, they pointed out, Pedobaptists also require baptism before church membership and only the length of time has caused varying sentiments in regards to the mode. Believing Pedobaptists, they contended, have the same spiritual conception of baptism as the Baptists, thus differing only in the mode, not in the substance. Since exact uniformity in things non-essential for salvation is not ordained for this age (I Cor. 1;20-22), the mode of baptism should not be made a condition of fellowship in the churches. History reveals, they argued, that the early Christian churches lost the true ordinance of baptism and other gospel doctrines along with the true essence of the church, not because they tolerated pious but mistaken Christians, but because they set up certain external qualifications which became tests of orthodoxy. Moreover, varying sentiments in non-essentials have their fruit in the exercise of Christian love, forbearance, and long suffering.²⁴

23 Brown, The House of God Opened and His Table Free for Baptists and Paedobaptists, pp. iii, 7. Cf. Robinson, "The General Doctrine of Toleration," op. cit., III, 140, 153-154.

24 Ibid., pp. i, 3-4, 8. Cf. Robinson, "The General Doctrine of Toleration," op. cit., III, 149, 160.

Therefore, in keeping with this Scriptural precept of love, forbearance, and long suffering toward the weak brethren, the free Baptists receive believing Pedobaptists and do not immerse them until such time as they become fully convinced that their former baptism was invalid. Blind obedience, they continued, is neither required nor acceptable before God.²⁵ Neither should Pedobaptists be prohibited from exercising and improving their spiritual gifts because of an imperfection in baptism which is not an excluding sin (II Cor. 6:17; II Tim. 6:3-5; Titus 3:10). Moreover, the New Testament does not give the church the right either to deprive Christians of their privileges or to release them from their duties.²⁶ Nor should the church cast them off because they appear to be feeble, unlovely and less honorable; but as Christians they should be loved, cared for, and encouraged in their faith. It is the Christian's duty, therefore, to allow the weak brother to perform as much of the Christian obligation as he comprehends. "If my brother sees not every shade in colours as I do, must I put out his eyes? Or if he

25 Ibid., pp. 7, 10-11.

26 Robinson, "The General Doctrine of Toleration," op. cit., III, 159, 163, 173-176; 180-182. Brown, The House of God Opened and His Table Free for Baptists and Paedobaptists, p. 9.

is lame, must I prevent his walking at all in such paths as he can walk?"²⁷

In answer to the charges that open membership or alien baptism leads to the slighting of baptism and to the eventual loss of the ordinance and the extinction of Baptists as such,²⁸ the free communionists insisted that such fear expressed doubt as to the truthfulness of the Baptist cause, and that an over-emphasis of the subject more likely would lead to the very results that the strict brethren feared.²⁹ The free Baptists charged that in their fanaticism over the mode, the Strict Baptists would receive those that are unsound in the faith, but agree on the mode of baptism; while they would reject those that are sound in the faith, but differ on the mode. This is the policy that could destroy the Baptist faith. The free brethren also charged the strict brethren to keep in mind that the kingdom of God is not meat, drink or water, but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. He that has the greater and more weightier things is acceptable to God

27 Brown, The House of God Opened and His Table Free for Baptists and Paedobaptists, pp. 12f., 1.

28 Booth, An Apology for the Baptists, pp. 28-30; 40-45; 48-50; 83, 98-99; 130-132. On p. 70 he asserts that free communionism is a form of Socinianism which leads to katabaptism. Cf. Jenkins, op. cit., pp. 11-16.

29 Brown, The House of God Opened and His Table Free for Baptists and Paedobaptists, pp. 6, 13-14.

and should be to all Christians, although he lacks the lesser things (Psa. 1:3; Job 19:28; Rom. 14:15ff; I Peter 3:21). The "unbaptized" Christian is still a Christian and should be recognized as such, instead of being classified with the infidels and heathens.³⁰

Union with Pedobaptists. The strict party denied that the only difference separating the Baptists and Pedobaptist bodies was the question of the mode of the ordinance. They asserted that pedobaptism as a system denies justification by faith and thus corrupts the whole gospel as interpreted by the Baptists.

But it seems to me impossible that Baptists and Paedobaptists can thus affectionately unite; they are, like oil and water, heterogeneous substances that cannot consolidate into one body, however they be comprehended in one church.³¹

Because of this fundamental difference, the strict party pointed out that the open membership churches exposed themselves to additional occasions for disagreements and rifts within the body. If the Pedobaptist and Baptist members are conscientious concerning their peculiar sentiments, they will alternately rejoice and regret when the additions to the church favor one group or the other.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 2, 10-11. Robinson, "The General Doctrine of Toleration," op. cit., III, 159, 177-179.

³¹ [Jenkins], op. cit., pp. 10, 8-9.

The pastor of such a church must risk offending one or both groups if he dares preach on the subject of baptism, or else remain silent on the issue and allow the church to become indifferent to baptism as a command of Christ.³²

The strict group charged further that a free communion church is hard pressed to justify its separate existence. What legitimate reason can be offered for not uniting with other non-conforming bodies? they asked. Moreover, on the principles of free communionism one could have remained conveniently in the established church. It is just as wrong, they declared, to dissolve an appointment of Christ as it is to create one.

For if it be lawful to dispense with an appointment of God, out of regard to our weaker brethren; we cannot reasonably think it unlawful to practice the appointment of our National Church out of regard to the ruling powers; submission to the latter, being no less plainly required in scripture, than con-
scension to the former.³³

The misuse of Scripture. The free communionists were accused by the Strict Baptists of misinterpretation of Scripture texts in order to maintain even nominal Scriptural support for their views. The most prominent passages controverted were Romans 14:1, 2; 15:1, 7; Acts 15; I Cor. 1:14-16; and I Cor. 9:19-23. The burden of proof,

³² Booth, An Apology for the Baptists, pp. 98-99.
[Jenkins], op. cit., pp. 10-13.

³³ Ibid., pp. 50-51.

the strict brethren argued, lay with those who attempted to prove that Romans 14:1, 2; 15:1, 7 refer to anything else but a rift within the membership of the church at Rome. Even if the contention of the free communionists-- that Paul means to receive into fellowship as well as to mutual affection--were assumed, it is unreasonable to substitute the ordinance of baptism for these outmoded Jewish rites and assume that Paul's attitude would have remained the same.³⁴ This would equate baptism, a New Testament command, with the outmoded Jewish rites.

The natural conclusion to be drawn from the Jerusalem conference as recorded in Acts 15, the strict party asserted, is that God is an absolute sovereign and consequently bestows his favor on Jews and Gentiles at his own good pleasure. The free Baptists, however, reach the untenable conclusion "that because JEHOVAH dispenses his blessings as He pleases, they may administer, or omit, his positive institutions as they please."³⁵

Equally unreliable, the strict party continued, are the interpretations given by the free communionists of I Cor. 1:14-16 to imply that some Christians were baptized and some were unbaptized, and of I Cor. 9:19-23 to imply that Paul is expressing the same spirit as theirs. The

34 Ibid., pp. 76-78, 80, 85f., 109.

35 Ibid., p. 88.

strict brethren contended that the natural import of the former passage is that as many as were Christians were all baptized, and that in the latter passage Paul was only offering to go to any lawful limit to win an impartial hearing from men wherever he was in order that he might win some to Christ.³⁶

Pulpit affiliation. The Strict Baptists were vilified for refusing to express Christian charity by indirectly approving what they considered a false mode of baptism. They were charged with inconsistency, however, by both the free Baptists and the Pedobaptists when they attempted to express their charity by allowing Pedobaptist ministers occasionally to occupy their pulpits.³⁷ The Strict Baptists supported their practice by asserting that the acts of prayer, praise and preaching were not acts of worship confined to persons in a church-state, but were legitimate duties of all Christians whether baptized or unbaptized.

36 Ibid., pp. 79, 88-89.

37 This is one of the evidences that the new age had influenced the Strict Baptists also. The extreme positions of Killingworth are rejected (Supra, pp. 44ff.). Pedobaptists are not only acknowledged to be Christians, but are listened to as men called of God to expound the Scriptures. They do not, however, recognize their societies as New Testament churches.

Therefore, the association in no way implied an approval of their so-called baptism.³⁸

The innocent association of ideas. Robert Robinson analyzed the strict position as an innocent association of ideas. Initiation into the church and baptism were always associated in the Church of Rome, the sixteenth century reformers had retained it, and the Strict Baptists were but continuing this generally accepted, though false, view. The Strict Baptists, he pointed out, had been confirmed in this position by generalizing particular cases. Such generalizing had resulted in the following false association of ideas: strict communion and modesty; mixed communion and licentiousness; toleration of sprinkling and want of zeal for immersion; and open membership and the conversion of the church to pedobaptism.³⁹

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 97-98, 113-125. Cf. ante, p. 16, where Kiffin first raised a question about permitting unbaptized persons to occupy Baptist pulpits.

³⁹ Robinson, "The General Doctrine of Toleration," op. cit., III, 186. Cf. [Jenkins], op. cit., p. 11, where he states that he knew of one case, and was confident that there were others, where Pedobaptists refused to join a mixed membership church when they discovered that the trust-deed required that the minister must always be a Baptist, because their object was later to gain a majority and convert the church into a pedobaptist congregation.

CHAPTER IV

THE HALL-KINGHORN ERA

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The end of the Napoleonic Wars (1813)¹ brought a reaction of conservatism in politics, literature and religion. Old ways, old customs and old virtues became idealized; "Religion, politics, literature--all three, buttressed the old order."² However, as the century advanced toward the midway mark economic changes which were the products of the agricultural-industrial-communicational revolution forced reforms. As a result the Victorian era (ca. 1840-ca. 1900) became a period of progress, prosperity, and liberalism.³ The controversy on baptism followed this pattern. The early part of the century witnessed a reaction in favor of the strict communion sentiments, but the opposing sentiments began to prevail toward the middle of the century and became firmly entrenched during the Victorian era.

1 The "Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig in the fall of 1813 was the decisive battle, although Napoleon did not abdicate until April, 1814.

2 Walter P. Hall and Robert G. Albion, A History of England and the British Empire (Chicago: Ginn and Company, 1937), p. 606.

3 Ibid., pp. 579-564, 690-711, 769-793.

English Unitarianism or Socinianism continued strong in the opening years of the new century, and in 1813 Parliament removed all penal acts against deniers of the Trinity. The Presbyterians and the regular General Baptists (distinguished from the New Connexion) had become so blighted with Socinianism that they were almost totally unaffected by the Wesleyan revival. On the other hand, the Particular Baptists, along with several other religious bodies in England, were continuing to show evidences of that movement. The remarkable rate of increase that began, in the last years of the preceding century continued through seven decades of the nineteenth,⁴ with a corresponding progress in organization and efficiency. What for a time proved to be the salvation of the Baptists was the great advance in missionary activities, since these supplied the centripetal force necessary to counteract the centrifugal tendency of the reanimated controversy concerning church communion.

The principal works. The opening shots of the final and decisive phase of the continued controversy were fired by the eloquent Robert Hall in 1815 when he published

⁴ Henry C. Vedder, A Short History of the Baptists (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1926), p. 256. Cf. W. T. Whitley, The Baptists of London 1612-1928 (London: The Kingsgate Press, 1928), p. 97, for statistics concerning the growth of the Baptists of London in this era.

"Terms of Communion."⁵ Several men replied to this work, but Hall chose to acknowledge only two: the anonymous author of A Plea for Primitive Communion, In Reply to The Rev. Robert Hall,⁶ and Joseph Kinghorn, the distinguished pastor of St. Mary's of Norwich (1790-1832),⁷ who published Baptism, A Term of Communion at the Lord's Supper in 1816.⁸ Hall replied to the former in "The Essential Difference Between Christian Baptism and the Baptism of John,"⁹ in 1816, and to the latter in "A Reply to The Rev. Joseph Kinghorn; Being a Further Vindication of the Practice of Free Communion"¹⁰ in 1818. He concluded his part of the controversy when in 1826 he published a condensation of his arguments in "A Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian in Opposition to Party Communion."¹¹

5 W. Adams, editor, The Works of The Rev. Robert Hall (New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1830), I, 17-110.

6 Unavailable. It is later ascribed to George Pritchard, the friend and biographer of Joseph Ivimey.

7 See article in the Western Recorder, September 14, 1905, for a brief biographical sketch.

8 Norwich, England: Bacon, Kinnebrook, and Co., 1816.

9 W. Adams, editor, op. cit., I, 111-142.

10 Ibid., I, 143-277.

11 Ibid., I, 279-305.

Kinghorn's further publications on the subject included: Defence of Baptism a Term of Communion,¹² Address on Church Communion,¹² Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer,¹³ and Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion.¹⁴

Catholicus¹⁵ supported Hall while Andrew Fuller in a posthumous publication,¹⁶ Joseph Ivimey, and J. G. Fuller supported the strict view. Although Ivimey could boast and Hall had to confess that in 1824 the majority of

12 These works are unobtainable.

13 Norwich, England: S. Wilkin, 1825.

14 This work is unavailable, but there is an extensive review in the Baptist Magazine, XIX (September, 1827), 415-419.

15 An Essay on Terms of Communion. This work is unavailable, but there is a full review in the Baptist Magazine, XIX (September, 1827), 415-417.

16 Joseph Belcher, editor, The Complete Works of The Rev. Andrew Fuller: With a Memoir of His Life by Andrew Gunton Fuller (third London edition revised; Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1845), III, 501-515. Fuller had written two small works, one an unpublished letter to the missionary W. Ward in 1800, and the other, "Strictures on The Rev. John Carter's 'Thoughts on Baptism and Mixed Communion'" which had expressed his views on the subject but were not widely known. Shortly before his death in 1815, however, he wrote a letter on the subject to a friend, William Newman, and advised him against publication of it unless Hall published something on the opposing side. Shortly after Fuller's death in the same year, Hall published his first work and Newman immediately published this letter as a reply. It carried weight, not because in any sense it answered Hall's arguments, but because of the influence of Fuller's name.

Baptists held the strict view,¹⁷ and although many readers on both sides of the Atlantic were unconvinced by Hall's logic,¹⁸ nevertheless Hall's views were to prevail. Ivimey before his death in 1834 had begun to worry about the growth of Hall's sentiments among the younger men;¹⁹ Kinghorn, the arch foe of Hall, must have tossed restlessly in his grave; for under his successors his beloved church of St. Mary's in Norwich adopted the open communion plan.²⁰

Robert Hall. An extremely precocious youth, Hall had obtained his Master's degree from the University of Aberdeen at twenty-one. Except for one of his periodic mental lapses he would have in all probability succeeded Doctor Caleb Evans as pastor of the church at Broadmead and as principal of the Bristol academy when only twenty-four.²¹ Upon his mental recovery he accepted an invitation to succeed the late Robert Robinson at the mixed membership

17 Ivimey, Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion at the Lord's Table (London: John Offer, 1824), p. 47. Hall, "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 281.

18 Ibid., p. 47n.

19 George Pritchard, Memoir of the Life and Writings of The Rev. Joseph Ivimey, Late Pastor of the Church in Eagle Street, London (London: George Wightman, 1835), p. 213f. Cf. Joseph Kinghorn, Baptism, A Term of Communion, p. 5.

20 Infra, p. 98 ff.

21 W. Adams, editor, op. cit., I, 8f.

Baptist society at Cambridge. The church experienced a magnificent revival under his leadership. In 1805, however, he was stricken again with his mental disorder and upon his recovery the doctor advised three things to prevent a relapse, viz., to take up smoking, to marry, and to change his place of residence. He fully complied with the doctor's advice and in changing his residence he accepted the care of the Baptist church at Leicester. His popularity as an orator increased, and the chapel which at his coming seated only three hundred was enlarged until it would seat eleven hundred persons.²²

There was one condition that marred an otherwise perfect relationship in his stay at Leicester--the church was a strict communion church. Strangely, it was while pastor here that he published his three great works on the communion question; yet there was sincere distress on the part of both pastor and people when in 1825, after several months of indecision, he accepted the call to the Broadmead²³ church.

22 Ibid., pp. 10-12.

23 Ibid., p. 13. He had served Dr. Caleb Evans here as an assistant and an instructor in the academy before his first mental disorder.

Broadmead throughout the seventeenth century had been a mixed or open membership church.²⁴ In 1734, however, it became strict and technically it was still of that persuasion when Hall became the pastor. Nonetheless, since 1758 all the pastors had been of open membership sentiment, and there had been two distinct societies, served by the same pastor and worshiping together, except in the observance of the Lord's Supper.²⁵ Before Hall's death in 1831 he rejoiced in the fruits of his work at Leicester in seeing it under his successor adopt open membership.

Open communion and open membership. This period witnessed the clear distinction in this controversy between open or mixed communion and open or mixed membership.²⁶ From the time of Hall's writings mixed communion as distinguished from mixed membership became exceedingly popular. Although in his major works Robert Hall contended mainly for mixed communion, it was evident that he really supported

24 E. B. Underhill, editor, The Records of a Church of Christ, Meeting in Broadmead (London: The Hanserd Knollys Society, 1847), p. 497.

25 Ivimey, A History of the English Baptists (London: B. J. Holdsworth, 1823), IV, 280-281.

26 John Hinton, "Mixed Membership not Mixed Communion," Baptist Magazine, XVI (December, 1824), 515-517. This is the first clear distinction that this investigator found.

mixed membership.²⁷ He had served without qualm of conscience a mixed membership church at Cambridge for fourteen years, and Hall's opponents understood him to mean mixed membership.²⁸ Hall in the introductory remarks to his "Terms of Communion," gave the key to his true intentions when he asserted that it would help elucidation to observe "that the true idea of Christian communion is by no means confined to a joint participation of the Lord's supper."²⁹ Hall's ideal was mixed membership, but as pastor of a strict church he preferred mixed communion to the status quo.³⁰

²⁷ Olinthus Gregory and Joseph Belcher, editors, The Works of The Rev. Robert Hall (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1844), III, 20. Hall in a letter dated December 9, 1790, said, ". . . I would not myself baptize in any other manner than by immersion . . . but I should not think myself authorized to rebaptize anyone who has been sprinkled in adult age."

²⁸ Ivimey, Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion, pp. 98, 180. Kinghorn, Baptism, A Term of Communion, pp. 4, 43, et al., J. G. Fuller, Conversations Between Two Laymen, On Strict and Mixed Communion (Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1831), p. 24ln. Cf. George Gould, Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich (Norwich, England: Josiah Fletcher, 1860), p. 36.

²⁹ Hall, "Terms of Communion," op. cit., I, 25. Cf. Hall, "A Reply," op. cit., I, 251, where he defined mixed communion as "a communion in which Baptists and Paedobaptists united in the same societies." Cf. also Hall, "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 288, 298.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 19. Cf. Kinghorn, Baptism, A Term of Communion, pp. 10, 16. Any ground between strict communion and open membership, he said, is inconsistent and in principle acknowledges the rightfulness of the strict view.

II. THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS

Apostolic precedent. In the Preface to his first work on this subject, Hall set forth the main proposition that he sought to defend, namely, "that no man, or set of men, are entitled to prescribe as an indispensable condition of communion, what the New Testament has not enjoined as a condition of salvation."³¹ Although no legitimate appeal can be made by the strict brethren to apostolic precedent because the differences in question did not then exist, nevertheless, the Apostles did not refute the above stated principle.³² There is no record of any differences

³¹ Hall, loc. cit. Cf. J. L. Neve, A History of Christian Thought (Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1946), II, 3-13. In the seventeenth century Calixtus, a professor at the University of Helmstedt, had attempted to lead the Lutheran Church to recognize and commune with other religious bodies on the basis of agreement on the fundamental doctrines--doctrines that are necessary to be believed for salvation. The majority of Lutherans, however, rejected his reasoning and argued in return that "Truth is an organism. In this organism there are parts of seemingly minor importance, but even these cannot be removed without injuring the whole."

³² Hall, "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 291; "A Reply," op. cit., I, 162ff. Cf. Catholicus, op. cit., pp. 25-27, where he says, "I am persuaded that many more have erred by closely following precedents, without considering the circumstances under which these precedents were furnished, than by following general rules; for if the circumstances (irrespective of which precedents are of no authority) be lost sight of, the mere imitation of the action of the precedent, may be a direct violation of its principles."

on the ordinance of baptism in New Testament times, Hall pointed out, therefore the Apostles refused communion to those who were unbaptized because their refusal was a repudiation of Christ, the authority of the Apostles, and of faith and repentance which are essential to salvation. That this is not the intent or spirit of pious Pedobaptists is acknowledged by all. The modern Pedobaptist, Hall continued, is not rebelling against God, but involuntarily errs in the performance of one of his commands.

But to separate ourselves from the best of men, because the Apostles would have withdrawn from the worst, to confound the broadest moral distinctions, by awarding the same treatment to involuntary and conscientious error, which they were prepared to inflict on stubborn and wilful disobedience, is certainly a very curious method of following apostolic precedent.³³

The only parallel to apostolic times, Hall surmised, would be for a Pedobaptist to acknowledge, in presenting himself for admission to a Baptist church, that he repudiated his former baptism, but at the same time refused to submit to what he now deemed the will of Christ. The advocates of mixed communion, Hall asserted, would not hesitate in rejecting such a stubborn, rebellious candidate.³⁴

33 Ibid., pp. 287f.

34 Ibid., pp. 288f. Cf. Baptist Noel, Essay on Christian Baptism (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850), pp. 292-295.

Historical precedent. The argument from historical precedent, so strongly urged by the strict brethren,³⁵ Hall exposed as lacking substantiation. He pointed out that since the first three centuries until the present day the main body of Christendom has held that baptism is essential to salvation; therefore of necessity it has been considered as an indispensable qualification for communion. The Strict Baptists, however, vigorously deny baptismal regeneration, but continue to maintain baptism as an indispensable qualification for communion, which view had been established on the grounds of that which they deny.³⁶

Kinghorn had presented Cyprian and the Donatists as examples of the strict view in the early period of the church.³⁷ Hall replied that the question involved then was not as now a difference in the mode of baptism. Believing in baptismal regeneration, Cyprian, as well as the Donatists, maintained that the excluded ones were not in the true church and thus were spiritually dead; therefore they could not convey eternal life in their

35 Kinghorn, Baptism, A Term of Communion, pp. 6f., 144-145, 151. Ivimey, Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion, p. 17.

36 Hall, "Terms of Communion," op. cit., I, 58f. Cf. ante, p. 44. In reading Killingworth's writings this investigator was convinced that he actually held to a form of baptismal regeneration.

37 Hall, "A Reply," op. cit., I, 258.

"profane dippings" although the mode was identical to their own.³⁸ So it has been throughout history; the church, outside of the Strict Baptists, has never excommunicated or excluded individuals as mistaken brethren, but only as incurable heretics or schismatics who, unless they repented, were consigned to hopeless perdition.³⁹

Hall observed that in the period of transition from adult baptism to pedobaptism (Tertullian to Augustine) there is not the faintest trace of a single society of which adult baptism was the distinguishing characteristic. It must be assumed then, he said, either that the advocates for adult baptism died out instantaneously with the introduction of infant baptism, which borders on the ridiculous, or that in the first period of time in which there was a difference of opinion concerning the ordinance of baptism, Baptists and Pedobaptists were united in the same societies.⁴⁰ Continuing his observations from history, Hall pointed out that from the fifth century, when infant baptism was firmly established and practically universally observed, until the time of the Waldenses (twelfth century),

38 Ibid., pp. 254ff.

39 Hall, "Terms of Communion," op. cit., I, 60f. Hall identified excommunication and exclusion, whereas his opponents distinguished them. Cf. post, p. 86, note 56.

40 Hall, "A Reply," op. cit., I, 250f., 256f.

there are only scattered references to baptism in its primitive usage. The Waldenses, the most Baptist non-Catholic party from the twelfth century until the Reformation, seemingly were divided on the issue.⁴¹ Hall concluded then that,

. . . from the acknowledged difficulty of ascertaining the separate existence of Baptist societies, during the middle ages, and until the period of the Reformation, the necessary inference is, either that there were none, during the interval, who adhered to the primitive institute, or, as is far more probable, that they were mingled and incorporated with persons of another persuasion.⁴²

The new law. The Strict Baptists interpreted the New Testament as being a new law, and the faithful Christian must not deviate from the letter of that law. Two favorite texts of this period were: "Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of lambs" (I Sam. 15:22), and "For see, said he, that thou make all things according to the pattern shewed thee in the Mount" (Exodus 25:40, Heb. 8:5)⁴³ The strict brethren felt that they were but continuing this principle of literalism which was manifested in the early church as illustrated by Ambrose's

41 Ibid., p. 251n.

42 Ibid., p. 252.

43 Ivimey, Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion, pp. 12, 28, 39, 60. Cf. ibid., pp. 24n, 86-87.

question, "When the Scripture is silent who shall speak?" and by Tertullian's declaration that "The Scripture forbids what it does not mention."⁴⁴ Moreover it had been the guiding principle of the Lollards; for the great English reformer Wycliff, their leader, had stated that "whatever is not found in the scriptures is superfluous and wicked"⁴⁵

The Commission, as given in Matthew 28:19, 20, and Mark 16:15, 16, the strict brethren affirmed, accurately prescribes the divine law of baptism, and the Acts of the Apostles is a commentary on this law. From the record in Acts they gathered that the apostles understood this law to mean that when they had taught and men had believed, then the next immediate step was to baptize them, and only then were the baptizers to instruct the converts further in the things pertaining to the kingdom.⁴⁶ If the Commission,

44 Ibid., pp. 2, 51. William Newman, Moral and Ritual Precepts Compared. In a Pastoral Letter to the Baptist Church at Bow, Middlesex (London: Button and Son, 1819), pp. 12. He states that in revealed religion "It is not enough that a thing is not forbidden; it must be commanded. Christian faith is belief of a divine revealed truth, and christian worship is obedience to a divine written command."

45 Loc. cit.

46 Kinghorn, Baptism, A Term of Communion, pp. 17, 29; Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion, pp. 32-37. Ivimey, Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification, for Communion, p. 17.

they said, could be used to prove to the Pedobaptists that faith must precede baptism, as all the Baptists did, then with equal force it could be used to prove that baptism must precede the "other things," as church membership and communion. It seemed to them that the two positions must either stand or fall together.

Until the law giver sees fit to alter or reinterpret his laws, the strict party maintained that the church's only alternative is "to abide by the strict letter of law;" for the churches, as servants, must yield "implicit, un-deviating obedience," to the direction of their sovereign Lord. To be less strict than the Commission is to impugn the sovereignty of Christ.⁴⁷ When the church does only that which the Scriptures enjoin, then the law giver, not the church, is accountable for the results of faithful adherence to his laws.

The followers of Hall believed, on the other hand, that the Bible is not a collection of precise laws for every turn in the Christian's walk, but that it is a book of general principles and universal maxims illustrated in specific circumstances.⁴⁸ They referred to the fourteenth

47 Ivimey, Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion, pp. 24n, 76-80. J. G. Fuller, op. cit., pp. 116-117. See Appendix II.

48 Hall, "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 298f. Cf. Catholicus, op. cit., pp. 25-27.

and fifteenth chapters of Romans, along with Acts 15, and Philippians 3, as revealing the general principle of mutual toleration⁴⁹ in errors that are consistent with a state of salvation. This principle, they contended, not only justifies the reception of pious Pedobaptists, but renders it an indispensable duty.⁵⁰

Positive institutions. The Strict Baptists emphasized the distinction between moral precepts and positive

49 Hall, "A Reply," op. cit., I, 181. Hall distinguished between toleration and sanction, which he claimed the strict party identified and thus confused the issue. Cf. Noel, op. cit., pp. 287-288. He said that Pedobaptists are admitted as unbaptized, and where they insist on the validity of their baptism they are rejected. They are received into fellowship, not because they are baptized, but because they are sincere Christian brethren.

50 Loc cit. Cf. Hall, "Terms of Communion," op. cit., I, 65-74, 91-97; "A Reply," op. cit., I, 221-236. Cf. also J. G. Fuller, op. cit., pp. 194, 202. Fuller maintained that the rule discovered here [Rom. 14, 15] is that candidates are to be received into fellowship if (1) God has received them, (2) they are sincere, and (3) their peculiarities (errors) are not subversive of any existing divine law. The matters in dispute in Rom. 14, 15, were "discretionary;" that is, they were allowable but not imperative. The matters now in dispute, however, consist of pedobaptism which is neither imperative nor allowable, and Christian baptism which is both allowable and imperative. Cf. further Andrew Fuller, "The Admission of Unbaptized Persons to the Lord's Supper, Inconsistent with the New Testament," Joseph Belcher, editor, op. cit., III, 513f. Kinghorn, Baptism, A Term of Communion, pp. 39, 42-51, 94. Ivimey, Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion, pp. 28-37.

institutions.⁵¹ They held that in positive institutions in religion, the observance of the instituted order is everything; and if the order cannot be observed, then it is better not to observe them at all.⁵²

This argument maintaining an instituted relationship between baptism and the Lord's Supper, the essence of church communion, Hall held to be invalidated by the fact that John's baptism was a separate institution from the

51 William Newman, op. cit., pp. 1ff. He shows that moral precepts and positive institutions differ in their nature (pp. 8f.), evidence (pp. 9f.), foundation (pp. 10ff.), connection (pp. 15ff.), observance (pp. 30ff.), and in their comparative importance (pp. 32ff.). Positive institutions are those commands "which are not founded upon any reasons known to those to whom they are given, or discoverable by the, but which are observed merely because some superior has commanded them. . . . The one is commanded because it is right/moral precept/, the other is right because it is commanded." When Jehovah, he concluded, condescends to give a positive institution "provision is made from the beginning for every case that can happen." Newman's argument, at least in this form, is almost new. The Baptists in England are witnessing a period of great growth with a corresponding increase in organization and prestige. This is a period of transition from the status of a "sect" to that of a "Church." The ordinances are viewed as instituted rites that will convey grace if properly performed, rather than as witnesses to a spiritual experience.

52 Ivimey, Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion, pp. 60f. Cf. William Newman, op. cit., p. 31. J. G. Fuller, op. cit., pp. 89f. The latter differs by saying that "The order in which these duties were first enjoined, is of comparatively inferior importance; but the order in which they are here [Matt. 28: 19, 20] commanded to be observed, is the order in which they must be observed, or the law is violated."

Christian baptism instituted by Christ after his resurrection.⁵³ Thus the Lord's Supper was instituted anterior to the institution of Christian baptism.

It seemed obvious to Hall, however, that there was no natural connection between baptism and the Supper, regardless of the order of institution. They had been instituted at different times and for different purposes. In their institution there were no words of allusion to each other, and thus far no divine command has been revealed asserting a necessary connection between the two.⁵⁴ Hall's position was that,

53 Hall, "Terms of Communion," op. cit., I, 108-110; "A Reply," op. cit., I, 156-161; "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 292f. Hall devoted Part I of his "A Reply," to the refutation of Kinghorn's contention of a necessary connection between baptism and all other acts of church communion. He based his refutation on the arguments of apostolic precedent, chronology, nature, and command. In "The Essential Difference," he asserted that the baptisms performed by the disciples of Jesus before his death were in reality still John's baptism, signifying repentance and a belief in the coming Messiah, and without the promise of the Holy Ghost. Kinghorn in Baptism, A Term of Communion (pp. 136, 138), answered that if there were a difference between John's baptism and Christian baptism, the strict principle is still upheld. The early disciples "had the baptism of the dispensation under which they were brought to the acknowledgment of the truth." The new law of baptism given in the Commission is binding on all new believers subsequent to its proclamation. The disciples of Ephesus (Acts 19), he conjectured, were rebaptized because they had received John's baptism subsequent to the issuance of the Commission.

54 Hall, "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 292; "A Reply," op. cit., I, 181ff.

. . . in determining a question of duty resulting from positive laws, the era of their promulgation is a consideration totally foreign; we have merely to consider what is enjoined, and to what description of persons or things the regulation applies, without troubling ourselves to inquire into the chronological order of its enactment.⁵⁵

The third order. The open party, under the leadership of Hall, maintained that the Strict Baptists were in a dilemma as to how to classify the Pedobaptists.⁵⁶ In New Testament times, they said, he that was not for Christ was against him, and all humanity was divided into just two classes, the church and the world. Those classified as of the church were considered as the possessors of salvation, and those of the world were considered as without God and without hope.⁵⁷ The strict party, however, will

55 Hall, "The Essential Difference," op. cit., I, 116.

56 Kinghorn, Baptism, A Term of Communion, pp. 61, 64, 67-70, 76, 81, 140, 153-154. Strict Baptists, he says, do not classify Pedobaptists. By excluding them from the visible church they do not impugn their sincerity, integrity or righteousness. Neither do they pass judgment as to whether the majority of Christendom, which is without baptism, belongs to the true church of Christ. (Supra, pp. 44f.). The New Testament rule is that they cannot be recognized as such. To exclude means simply that they are not qualified for membership, while to excommunicate would be to declare them unworthy of membership.

57 Cyril C. Richardson, The Church Through the Centuries (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), pp. 57-58. The Montanists, Novatians and Orthodox groups held the view that there was no salvation outside of the church. Each group maintained that they were the church and that all others were of the world and hence unsaved.

not classify Pedobaptists as of the world because they are confident that some of them belong to Christ; nevertheless, they dare not classify them as of the church because then they would be under obligation to receive them into their fellowship.⁵⁸ Thus they devise an unheard-of third order that is neither of the church nor of the world. In reality, they continued, the Strict Baptists' dilemma is that their principles assert that which their charity refuses to concede. It is evident that the New Testament teaches that a profession of the Christian religion is inseparable from church communion. When, therefore, the strict party maintains that baptism is the only way that one can make a profession of the Christian religion, the only logical conclusion is that the Pedobaptists are cut off from any hope of eternal life and that salvation is limited to the members of their own denomination, since all others are unbaptized.⁵⁹

58 Hall, "A Reply," op. cit., I, 258f., 239ff.; "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 287, 293f.

59 Ibid., pp. 168-172, 190f. Cf. Kinghorn, Baptism, A Term of Communion, pp. 95, 3, 15f., 20-21, 65, 153-163. His view is that to receive the unbaptized into church fellowship is to deny the apostolic unity of "one Lord, one faith, one baptism." All religious bodies accept the principle of receiving only the baptized into their fellowship. The difference, then, is not in principle, but in the Baptist definition of New Testament baptism. The three requirements for a New Testament church are a belief in Jesus, a profession of this faith by baptism, and a union with like-minded believers. If other societies are unbaptized, then they cannot be gospel churches.

Pulpit affiliation. A further evidence of the strict party's dilemma, the open party pointed out, is that they had made a division in church communion. They consented to receive Pedobaptists in their pulpits, and to commune with them as brethren and fellow-saints in the exercises of prayer and praise; but suddenly as though in a spell they recoiled from these same Pedobaptists as strangers and heathens in the communion of the Supper and the right hand of fellowship. The Hallites held that if one is worthy of church communion, then that one is worthy of it in all of its parts; and to be consistent with their principles the Strict Baptists should exclude the Pedobaptists from every part of church communion, even as some were wont to do.⁶⁰

The mixed group noted that Jesus in his marvelous prayer recorded in the seventeenth chapter of John prayed earnestly for visible unity, and that the Apostle Paul represented disunity as a great calamity and a reproach to a Christian society (I Cor. 1:10ff.). Yet the Strict Baptists supported a system that fundamentally is based on disunion, and they proudly asserted to the world that

⁶⁰ Hall, "Terms of Communion," op. cit., I, 80; "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 298, 300. Cf. Gould, op. cit., pp. clxxvi, 5f. Cf. post, pp. 166f. This was a basic principle of Landmarkism.

they were not of the same body as the rest of professing Christendom.⁶¹ If the Corinthians were guilty of schisms because of a contentious spirit and alienation of affections that only tended toward a visible rupture, then the strict party could not escape the charge.⁶²

Christian tolerance. The open communionists argued that the tendency of strict communion is greatly to prejudice itself in the opinion of others. They pointed out that when a comparatively small and insignificant sect, without the advantages of Rome, claims to be the only church of Christ upon earth, and treats all others as heathens, the only logical response is that of contempt.⁶³ Moreover, they defeat their own purpose. For they intend by this position to emphasize their opinion of baptism, but instead their stand only increases the prejudicial frame of mind with which the Pedobaptists examine the Scriptures, and further, it excludes them from the only connection where the arguments for adult baptism are stated.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 76-78; "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 294-296.

⁶² Hall, "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 294-296. Cf. Noel, op. cit., p. 298.

⁶³ Hall, "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 301; "Terms of Communion," op. cit., I, 101f. Cf. Noel, op. cit., p. 297.

Hall admonished the strict party to awaken to the fact that in an era of many freedoms, intolerance no longer will either intimidate or convince.⁶⁴

As Erasmus had chided a religious order of his day, so Hall charged the Strict Baptists with having the opprobrious distinction of "being more strict than Christ, more fastidious in the selection of the members of the church militant, than he is in choosing the members of the church triumphant."⁶⁵

The Strict Baptists, their opponents claimed, were exerting a pernicious influence on their own denomination. Although there are brilliant exceptions, usually the adoption of a narrow and contracted theory results in a narrow and contracted mind. Such people, they continued, are disposed to think more highly of themselves than they ought to think, as the only true members of the body of Christ, and they cannot conceive of anyone opposed to their views as being sincere and of worthy motives.⁶⁶ Under the influence of the strict system they are prone to emphasize

64 Ibid., p. 302.. Cf. Hall, "Terms of Communion," op. cit., I, 103ff. Cf. also Noel, op. cit., pp. 296-298.

65 Ibid., p. 300. Cf. Hall, "Terms of Communion," op. cit., I, 79. Cf. also Kinghorn, Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer, p. 12. It is absurd, he says, to accuse the church of being too strict when she requires only that which the Lord has commanded.

66 Ibid., p. 304.

the point of difference rather than the fundamental truths of Christianity. In fact, they charged, some churches make the view of strict communion the term of admission into their societies, rather than as previously the ordinance of baptism.⁶⁷

The Strict Baptists, however, denied that they believed themselves to be the only true members of the body of Christ. Their principles denied the title of "church of Christ" to other religious societies, but they did not deny that their individual members were Christians and hence members of the body of Christ.⁶⁸

The charge of bigotry, or the lack of candor, they likewise refuted by asserting that Christian candor is not a failure to recognize differences among Christians, but it is the thinking highly of Christians notwithstanding their minor differences. Bigotry and its counterpart candor, moreover, are not characteristics of systems, but of individuals.

67 Hall, loc. cit. Cf. J. G. Fuller, op. cit., p. 258. Fuller countered by pointing out mixed communion churches that made the acceptance of the view of mixed communion as the term of communion. Cf. also Noel, op. cit., pp. 280, 298. Noel charged the strict party with emphasizing the form of baptism instead of the reality, or as the Pharisees, tithing mint, anise, and cummin, and omitting the weightier matters of the law.

68 J. G. Fuller, op. cit., pp. 45, 130-132, 232. Kinghorn, Baptism, A Term of Communion, pp. 64, 76, 81, 140. Cf. ante, p. 86, note 56.

My friend, whatever may be the character of our respective systems, candor and bigotry are qualities of the mind, not tendencies of a creed. Whichever system be adopted, yours or ours, he that is candid will be candid still, and he that is bigot will be bigot still.⁶⁹

The strict party acknowledged that mixed communion appealed to the feelings of Christians as a "lovely system."⁷⁰ But the test of right or wrong, they insisted, must be established by the Scriptures rather than by the feelings alone; because the latter fluctuate according to extraneous and contingent circumstances. This "lovely" and "expedient" plan, they charged, has proven to be both unlovely, as it fosters schisms within the body, and inexpedient, in that in many cases the churches become Pedobaptist societies, die out, or revert to the strict communion plan. These results justify the maxim that "what is morally wrong can never be politically right."⁷¹

69 Ibid., p. 257. Cf. Kinghorn, Baptism, A Term of Communion, pp. 4-6, 77. He reported that mixed communion sentiments were growing among the young ministers who desired to be associated with the intelligentsia, among whom it is fashionable to say much about candor and liberality.

70 Ibid., pp. 36-37.

71 Ibid., pp. 248n, 239n, 150-190. Kinghorn, Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer, pp. 5-9, 29-30; Baptism, A Term of Communion, pp. 22-24, 64, 106-108. Ivimey, Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion, pp. 27, 38-40, 50, 52ff., 68f., 87. All of these pointed out on numerous occasions that the Baptist cause could hardly be promoted by a practice that requires the Baptists to surrender their sentiments, or at least suspend them, in order to receive a Pedobaptist who retains his views.

Hall had stated that if his views prevailed it could lead to the extinction of the Baptist churches as a separate denomination. When all had adopted Baptist views, the ground for dissent would be removed.⁷² The Strict Baptists, too, were confident that mixed communionism would lead to the extinction of Baptist churches, not as Hall believed that all churches would accept the principle of believer's immersion, but because the principles of mixed communion would undermine the grounds of dissent and there would be a general return to the more popular and well-established churches.⁷³ All the churches would not thereby become gospel churches, as Hall vainly believed, but all gospel churches would die. The principle of tolerating every error that is not expressly forbidden in the New Testament leaves the churches powerless to exercise any effective discipline and hence the organization would soon lose its identity both as a Baptist and as a Christian body.⁷⁴

72 Hall, "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 303.

73 Kinghorn, Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion, pp. 14, 75-78; Baptism, A Term of Communion, pp. 4, 55, 119-131. Ivimey, Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion, pp. 5-7, 25f. J. G. Fuller, op. cit., pp. 254-255.

74 Ibid., pp. 46-51; Kinghorn, Baptism, A Term of Communion, p. 9. Ivimey, Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion, pp. 90-91. Ivimey preferred open membership churches to open communion churches because the former could exercise a form of discipline over all who partook of the communion.

The purity of the churches. The mixed communion proponents charged the strict party with maintaining a worse mixed communion than they. The Strict Baptist churches, they explained, receive into their fellowship and to their communion members who are known to be immoral, but who have the proper form of baptism.⁷⁵

The strict party admitted that there were individual members of their churches who were known to be immoral and less pious than some of the Pedobaptist members of the mixed membership churches. They argued, however, that such members had not been accepted for church fellowship with any known or acknowledged immorality, and that this unholy mixture is permitted to exist simply because of the difficulty of proving their immorality. But this is not true of the mixed communion churches, they retorted. They receive into their fellowship those who are known and acknowledged to be unbaptized. Their unholy mixture, therefore, is an affront to the authority of Christ. The principle of mixed membership, moreover, neither eliminates nor alleviates the problem of immorality within the church.⁷⁶

The potentiality for imbibing error, the strict party observed, is unlimited in a system that allows the

75 J. G. Fuller, op. cit., pp. 43-45.

76 Loc. cit.

candidate for admission to judge the merits of his own qualification. The strict party hastened to point out also that open membership churches are the only voluntary societies in either religious or common life where the right to judge a candidate's qualifications rests entirely with the candidate rather than with the body to which he has applied for admission.⁷⁷ Under this system the church must receive an individual who thinks he is right, although on New Testament grounds the church knows that he is in error.

All candidates, regardless of the mode of baptism, the open membership brethren rejoined, should be required to give credible proof that they are true disciples, and only thus can the purity of the church be preserved. It is foolish, they continued, to imagine that the requirement that all the members must have the same form of baptism in any way guarantees the purity of the members, either in doctrine or morality.⁷⁸

Unity on the basis of missions. Hall eloquently described the uniting effect of the new missionary impulse. In the great offensive movement against the dominions of

⁷⁷ Kinghorn, Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer, pp. 25, 32-33.

⁷⁸ Noel, op. cit., pp. 299-300.

Satan, the missionaries, he exclaimed, "rush to the field, unmindful of every distinction but that of their friends and foes, and too eager for the combat to ask any other question, than, Who is on the Lord's side? Who?"⁷⁹ The spirit of the times, he pointed out, is distinguished by the union of Christians in the promotion of this great common cause of world missions, and the "merging their minor differences in the cultivation of great principles, and the pursuit of great objects."⁸⁰ Strict communionists, he challenged, ought to keep abreast of the times.

The strict brethren urged the continuance of the good will, as well as the good work, proceeding from the Bible Societies and the missionary endeavors. They held firmly, however, to the conviction that organic union on this or any other basis was impossible without compromise and laxity with all of its alarming consequences. They believed that separation into various denominations is absolutely necessary if conscientious but differing Christians are to maintain their integrity.⁸¹

79 Hall, "A Short Statement," op. cit., I, 305.

80 Loc. cit.

81 Kinghorn, Baptism, A Term of Communion, p. 1; Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer, pp. 10-13. Ivimey, Baptism the Scriptural and Indispensable Qualification for Communion, pp. 69-72. J. G. Fuller, op. cit., pp. 265-268, 170.

CHAPTER V

THE MODERN ERA

By 1830 Andrew Fuller's theology, a modification of Calvinism, had become identified with Robert Hall's open communion principles, while strict communion and the unmodified Calvinism, Gillism, had become allies.¹ After 1830 the tension between the two parties became stronger and often resulted in bitter rivalry and broken fellowship.² In 1860 the Strict Baptists appealed to the law against the supporters of open communion. They maintained that an "open" church ceased to be a Particular Baptist church, and thus every open communion church whose place of worship had a Particular Baptist trust-deed was illegally occupying the premises.³ This move on the part of the Strict Baptists was not only to salvage the property for a group that was rapidly becoming the minority party, but more in the hope of cooling the ardor for open communion

1 Although Fuller and Hall had held opposing views on the communion question, this union of their followers was almost inevitable. The common charge of breaking with Calvinism, one in doctrine and the other in polity, exerted an almost irresistible tendency for the two parties to unite; while at the same time the attempt to defend pure Calvinism united their opponents.

2 W. T. Whitley, The Baptists of London 1612-1928 (London: The Kingsgate Press, 1928), p. 98.

3 George Gould, Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich (Norwich, England: Josiah Fletcher, 1860), pp. 6, 82.

principles. They felt that a group within a congregation would consider the case for or against open communion much more gravely and intelligently if they knew that the change in sentiments meant the loss of property rights.

I. ST. MARY'S OF NORWICH

The test case concerned the Baptist church meeting in St. Mary's parish in Norwich. Apparently this church in 1644 had been established as an open membership church and had continued as such as late as 1657.⁴ By 1746, however, when the trust-deed in question in the trial of 1860 was drawn up, the church for several years had been a strict communion body.⁵ For almost a century the church had continued on the strict communion plan without variation, and numbered among her distinguished pastors the staunch strict communionist, Joseph Kinghorn, who labored in the church for forty-two years (1790-1832).

Kinghorn's successor, William Brock, however, favored the opposite practice, and accepted the church with the understanding that while he was not to make it an issue in the church he was at liberty to retain his own personal

4 Ibid., pp. xv, xxii.

5 Ibid., p. 45.

view on the subject. Although he did not technically⁶ take the initiative, the question did become an issue, and the church granted the pastor permission publicly to defend his views.⁷ After several years of turmoil in which open communion, not open membership, was established, and a consequent withdrawal of the strict members, Brock resigned the care of the church in 1849. In the same year the Rev. George Gould was installed as the pastor of the open communion division, which as the majority party occupied the premises. The agitation continued between the two factions until 1860 when a Mr. Norton, a trustee, on behalf of the strict element brought suit against Mr. Gould and the open group for the purpose of gaining possession of the property. The case was tried before The Right Honorable, The Master of The Rolls, with a Mr. Palmer and a Mr. Russel as attorneys for the plaintiff, and with Sir Hugh Cairns as attorney for the defendants.⁸

6 The word "technically" is used because some of the members sponsored the matter in the first business session, but there can be little doubt that the pastor was behind the whole thing. The question first arose concerning the communion of Elizabeth Bayes, who due to ill health was unable to be baptized, although she could attend the services of the church.

7 Gould, op. cit., p. lxxii.

8 Ibid., pp. lff.

Although the basic issue in the case was whether a Particular Baptist church has the power to adopt open communion and legally remain a Particular Baptist church, "the defence which was set up, and the Judgment which was pronounced, rested upon documentary evidence of the practice of Open Membership in Particular Baptist churches."⁹ Likewise, the plaintiff argued that open communion could not be separated in principle from open membership, and that the former was only a step to the latter.¹⁰ Thus the decision was understood to imply that legally the strict group could not prevent a Baptist church from retaining the appellation of a Particular Baptist church if they adopted either open communion or open membership by a majority vote. It was also understood that if the strict party withdrew as a minority group, then they forfeited their right to the use of the property. The principles of strict communion were not essential to the being of a Particular Baptist church. In the words of the Master of the Rolls,

It follows then, from what I have stated, that in my opinion, it is established, that each Congregation was, from the earliest time, at liberty to regulate its practice, either to the Strict Communion or to

9 Ibid., pp. cxlii, 74, 122.

10 Ibid., pp. clxxxvi, 5-6, 29, 36, 45, 255, 308.

the Free or Mixed Communion, as it might seem best to such Congregation

.
 Therefore, no practice, unless a fundamental point of faith, can have become so fixed by custom as to be incapable of alteration, if the majority of the Congregation shall be of opinion that such alteration will be more acceptable to the Great Being whose Ordinances they assemble to observe.¹¹

II. THE PRESENT SITUATION

Within a decade of the judgment of the St. Mary's of Norwich case, the Fuller-Hallite and the Strict-Particular parties had made a complete separation and the cleavage has remained deep.¹² The latter party declined rather rapidly after this break. Although the Strict Baptists established a missionary enterprise in 1861, the tendency of the body in their reaction to Fuller's theology has been to return to the pure Gillism of the eighteenth century, which resulted in widespread indifference to missionary causes. There has been, however, a new awakening among the Strict Baptists in the twentieth century centering around missions.¹³

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 319-320.

¹² Whitley, The Baptists of London 1612-1928, pp. 80f., 98.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 82-83. The Metropolitan Association of Strict Churches summarized their distinctive views as being "Particular in their views of election and redemption, Strict as to communion, believers of plenary and verbal inspiration, convinced of the duty of preaching the gospel to every creature."

The Baptist Union, organized in 1832, does not make the acceptance of either open or closed membership a test of fellowship. In a statement approved by the Union¹⁴ it states simply that "the basis of our membership in the church is a conscious and deliberate acceptance of Christ as Saviour and Lord by each individual." The National Federation of Strict and Particular Churches, however, sets forth in its doctrinal basis for membership the requirement that the local church maintain "the necessity of Baptism by immersion on a profession of repentance and faith, as a condition precedent to Church fellowship and admission to the Lord's Table."¹⁵

The nineteenth century witnessed the triumph of open communion in England, and the twentieth century has seen the steady increase of open membership churches.¹⁶ Most of the churches in London and the southern part of

14 "The Baptist Doctrine of the Church," The Baptist Quarterly (London: Baptist Union Publication Department, 1946-48), XII (New series), 442.

15 The Official Handbook of the National Federation of Strict and Particular Churches (London: Published for the Federation by Frank S. Chilvers, 1949), p. 19.

16 Ernest Payne, The Fellowship of Believers (London: The Kingsgate Press, 1944), p. 69. It is estimated that half or more of the English Baptist churches are now (1950) of the open membership type.

England practice open membership, while in the North open membership churches are still in the minority. The comity agreement now existing among the free churches, however, exerts a strong pressure upon the Baptists in the North to make their new churches of the open membership type.¹⁷

Most of the open membership churches are required to have a Baptist pastor and the only form of baptism taught and practiced is that of believers by immersion.¹⁸

Alien baptism, as such, is rarely a subject for discussion in twentieth century England. The typical attitude of the English Baptists is expressed by John Clifford:

No doubt it is very shocking, but we really cannot feel much interest in this central ecclesiastical question. For John Smyth we have a profound reverence and a glowing admiration, and have given reasons sufficient for affectionate esteem; but whether he carried the doctrine of 'individualism' so far as to baptize himself, and was such a daring and wholesale antagonist of 'apostolic succession' as not to have received baptism at the hands of a properly baptized and ecclesiastically ordained person; or whether he was duly immersed and admitted into the church by the authority of a truly baptized man--all this does not seem to our poor wits so important as keeping 'one's temper' and reasoning dispassionately.¹⁹

¹⁷ A. C. Underwood, A History of the English Baptists (London: The Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1947), pp. 210ff.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 208.

¹⁹ Article in the Western Recorder (Kentucky), November 20, 1902.

The statistics of the first half of the twentieth century record a general decline in Baptist strength in England and Wales. The decrease, however, has not been limited to the open membership churches; instead the British have suffered a general spiritual relapse and at times the Strict Baptists have reported larger decreases than the other Baptists.²⁰

²⁰ Articles in the Western Recorder (Kentucky), July 2, 1908; July 23, 1908; January 20, 1910; January 30, 1913; March 1, 1934.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The basic issue involved in these discussions has been what constitutes a true church of Christ. Is the doctrine of believer's immersion essential to the constitution of a true church? Is the proper mode of baptism essential to a church relationship? It has been shown that the open membership party throughout the history of English Baptists has held that the principle of the autonomy of the local church assures to each congregation the right to decide pro or con on the questions concerning the ordinance of baptism, as a non-essential to salvation and therefore to church communion, while maintaining that it still retains the status of a true (regenerate) church. It has been shown further, that this party considered the non-conforming Pedobaptist societies as churches of Christ, but in error concerning the details of Christ's commands.

This study has revealed that the strict party, on the other hand, has maintained that true baptism is the initiatory rite into the Christian life and into the fellowship of the church, and as such is essential to the denomination of any individual as a Christian and of any group of individuals as a Christian church. Killingworth readily confessed that the hard logic of the strict view is to

"unchristian" all of Christendom beyond the pale of the Baptist denomination. Kiffin, Booth, Kinghorn, et al., labored against accepting this as a necessary conclusion to their views.

Baptists of both parties throughout the discussions have agreed that New Testament baptism consists of the immersion of a believer in water. They have also agreed that apparently the usual order in the New Testament is that believers were first baptized and then added to the church. But they have vigorously disagreed as to whether the New Testament precedent must invariably be followed. The Strict Baptists, interpreting baptism primarily as a church ordinance--the initiatory rite--demand implicit obedience to the New Testament precedent. The open party, however, understands baptism to be primarily an individual duty and therefore refuses to make it a test of fellowship in the churches any more than tithing or any other individual act of obedience.

Theoretically, English Baptist churches receive only believer's immersion as baptism. Other modes of baptism are not received or acknowledged to be baptism by the open membership churches, but rather are tolerated until the individual becomes convicted of the truth of believer's immersion. Though most of the churches require a Baptist minister and teach and practice only believer's immersion,

yet some churches, it must be admitted, have been so constituted as to equate pedobaptism with believer's immersion and have silenced any discussion concerning the question of baptism, forgetting that one of the arguments for open membership is to give the Pedobaptists opportunity to hear the truth taught concerning New Testament baptism.¹

It has been pointed out that previous to the nineteenth century the terms "open membership" and "open communion" were used interchangeably. The observance of the Lord's Supper was considered the heart of church communion, hence if one was qualified to partake of the Supper he was automatically qualified for membership. Under the influence of the strong emphasis upon human rights and freedoms in the latter part of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, the right of voting in church meetings, especially in the selection of a pastor and in the reception of members, became the distinctive feature of church membership. In the same period Baptists were awakened to a larger fellowship as they united with other religious groups in the great causes of political freedom, social reformation, and world missions. These factors led many

¹ See Appendix III. Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, "The Place of Baptism in Baptist Churches of To-day," The Baptist Quarterly (London: Baptist Union Publication Department, 1922-23), I (New series), 214.

churches to become open as to communion in recognition of the larger Christian brotherhood, but to remain strict as to membership in that they restricted the privileges of voting to baptized believers. This arrangement later produced the phenomenon of an associate membership, where unbaptized adherents participate in all the functions of the church as members except in the business sessions of the church. Under this plan, however, sometimes the most devoted adherents and the most generous givers are denied the privilege of sharing in what is now considered the primary function of church membership.²

Both the parties on various occasions confessed that there was no similar case in New Testament times and that therefore express approval for their distinctive view was not to be found in the Scriptures. Yet each contestant insisted that the Scriptures supported his view. Their use of the Scriptures reveals a marked contrast in the attitudes of the two groups. The Strict Baptists, believers in the plenary and verbal inspiration theory,³ insisted upon the necessity of a strict observance of the letter of the law;

² Ernest Payne, The Fellowship of Believers (London: The Kingsgate Press, 1944), pp. 83f.

³ The Official Handbook of the National Federation of Strict and Particular Baptist Churches (London: Published for the Federation by Frank S. Chilvers, 1949), p. 19.

even the construction of the sentences of that law were significant to them. Their opponents, however, looked mainly to the "spirit" of the New Testament and the general principles involved in the specific illustrations recorded there.

One looks more to the letter, the other to the Spirit, and the passages of Scripture cited and the interpretation given by each are in accord with this difference of general attitude. These two types Christianity has ever had in her midst and never the twain seem to meet.⁴

This study has revealed also that the question of "alien immersion" has never been involved in the English Baptist controversies on baptism. Although no other denomination, until comparatively recent times, adopted the practice of believer's immersion as its sole practice, yet a number of their members individually desired and received this mode of baptism, and in a few cases at least, entire churches were immersed, but remained outside of the Baptist group.⁵ The emphasis upon a proper administrator

4 S. L. Stealey, "An Exploratory Study of Major Controversies Among English Baptists on the Ordinances" (unpublished paper read before the Baptist Assembly, Ridgecrest, North Carolina, August, 1950), p. 12.

5 A. H. Newman, A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1894), p. 186. He reproduced a letter from an English Congregational clergyman to the New England Congregationalists in which the former laments the harsh treatment meted out to the Baptists of New England and says, "few of our churches but many of our members are Anabaptists; I mean baptized again."

authorized by a true church is almost entirely lacking among English Baptists,⁶ and they recoil from the possibility of being charged with anabaptism.⁷ The Strict Baptist Association holds only to the "necessity of immersion on a profession of faith, in order to church fellowship, and admission to the Lord's Table."⁸ Abraham Booth, the champion of the strict cause in the last decades of the eighteenth century, wrote a personal letter to a Doctor Rogers in the United States, in which letter he suggested reconsideration of the

6 Cf. ante, p. 14. Thomas Crosby, The History of the English Baptists (London: Crosby, 1738), I, 103-104. Crosby related that it was discussed in the beginning because the Pedobaptists attempted to render invalid all the Baptist baptisms on the grounds that they lacked a proper administrator. He then quotes John Spilsbury, John Tombs, and Henry Lawrence, who denied emphatically the necessity for any kind of succession, or the validity of the argument that one cannot give what he does not have. Their confession of 1644 (Appendix I) defined the administrator only as a preaching disciple.

7 Some of their early confessions began with the statement that they were falsely called Anabaptists. Anabaptism was still associated with the religious fanaticism and political chaos of the German Anabaptists. W. J. McGlothlin, Baptist Confessions of Faith (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911), pp. 111, 171, 174. Cf. Andrew Fuller, "Strictures," Joseph Belcher, editor, The Complete Works of The Rev. Andrew Fuller (third London edition revised; Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1845), III, 502.

8 The Baptist Quarterly, I (New series), 110. Cf. The Official Handbook of the National Federation of Strict and Particular Baptist Churches, p. 19.

Philadelphia Association's decision (1778) declaring invalid baptism administered by an unbaptized person.⁹ Joseph Kinghorn, Robert Hall's foremost opponent, lest he be misunderstood on this point, said that,

He who has been baptized on the profession of his faith in Christ, and who has maintained his Christian profession; or, he who is now baptized on a credible profession, has a clear New Testament claim to be received as a member of a Christian church, which no man can oppose¹⁰

And Thomas Pottenger, in giving the statistics of the Baptists in 1845, lamented that there were so many Baptists who were members of other denominations. He desired a way to estimate accurately their number so as to add them to the printed returns of the Baptist associations and thereby to give a more accurate picture of those in England who had accepted the Baptist principle of believer's immersion.¹¹

One of the great fears expressed by the Strict Baptists throughout the history of this dispute has been

⁹ A. D. Gillette, editor, Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, From A. D. 1707 to A. D. 1807 (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1851), pp. 270f.

¹⁰ Joseph Kinghorn, Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion /unavailable, but an extensive review in the Baptist Magazine, XIX (September, 1827), 415-419/ , p. 37.

¹¹ Thomas Pottenger, "The Rise and Progress of the English Baptists," Baptist Magazine, XXXVII (December, 1845), p. 627.

that the principles of their opponents would lead to the extinction of Baptists as a denomination and the extinction of baptism as an ordinance of Christ. After a century in which open communion and open membership have been on the increase, Baptists in England are aware that a "considerable number" of their members have remained without baptism in any form; that a vagueness in regard to the doctrines of the church, ministry and sacraments has developed; and that there is the lack of strong traditions that belong to the church as a body.¹² Moreover, the Baptists as a body have declined numerically for several decades, although still far from extinction. Although the practice of open membership (receiving alien baptism) definitely has been a contributing factor to some of these ills, it would be unreasonable to lay the blame solely on this one practice.¹³ The fortunes of the English Baptists seem to reside in other more important factors than the practice of alien baptism. This study has revealed that in the matter of numerical strength churches have prospered and declined

12 Payne, op. cit., pp. 69, 84f.

13 H. C. Vedder, A Short History of the Baptists (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1926), pp. 262f., and articles in the Western Recorder, March 6, 1913, March 1, 1934, are but three of the many references by Americans who hold that the British Baptist ills are due almost solely to their "inconsistency" on the matter of baptism.

irrespective of their practice in this regard.¹⁴ It should be noted that the two periods of the most marked sterility followed periods of bitter controversy on the subjects of baptism and communion. Perhaps there is a closer affinity between the ills and the bitterness engendered in the controversies and separations, than between the ills and either practice in regard to alien baptism. Then too, the waxing and waning of Baptist strength in most cases has paralleled similar movements in most of the religious bodies in the land, indicating deeper and more extensive causes than an irregular practice adopted by one party.

The final conclusion drawn from this portion of the study is that Baptists need to avoid the dangers of both extremes. The extremist on the strict side loses the good and pleasure of freedom by voluntarily remaining under the

¹⁴ Cambridge is a good illustration. It had declined to the point of extinction under the strict plan, but revived under Robert Robinson and the open plan, but declined again at the close of his ministry. Cambridge on the open plan, and Leicester on the strict plan, both prospered under the ministry of Robert Hall. The General Baptists practiced strict communion and laying on of hands religiously, and on many matters of practical religion they championed the conservative view; nevertheless in the eighteenth century they suffered such reverses that they ceased to be a vital factor in the religious life of England. The Baptists as a denomination were at one of the lowest ebbs of their history, spiritually and numerically, in the first half of the eighteenth century when strict communion was the prevailing practice, but they witnessed a similar period in the latter part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth when open communion and open membership prevailed.

shackles of prejudice and custom. Equally dangerous, however, is the extremist who turns his blessing of freedom into a curse by using it as an excuse to licentiousness.¹⁵ Separation has pushed both factions along the road to the extremes. Baptists should strive to meet heart to heart and regain their unity, recognizing that in some things it is impossible to see eye to eye.¹⁶

15 Cf. Robert Robinson, "The General Doctrine of Toleration Applied to the Particular Case of Free Communion," B. Flower, editor, Miscellaneous Works of Robert Robinson (Harlow, England: B. Flower, 1807), III, 191-193.

16 Cf. George Pritchard, Memoir of the Life and Writings of The Rev. Joseph Ivimey (London: George Wightman, 1835), p. 260. Cf. J. L. Neve, A History of Christian Thought (Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1946), II, 13. To prevent dissolution, the church must recognize certain things as open questions.

.

PART II

ALIEN BAPTISM IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

THE BAPTIST POSITION BEFORE THE CAMPBELLITE DEFECTION

Before the Great Awakening (1740) the few scattered persecuted Baptists seldom had any occasion to ponder the question of alien baptism. The Great Awakening, however, led to a great increase in the Baptist membership in both New England and the South. The Separatists, who separated from the established churches because the latter opposed the revival, and the Baptists became fellow sufferers, and many of the Separatists became Baptists. In this atmosphere mixed membership became feasible and was tried.¹

I. THE ENGLISH PLAN OF MIXED MEMBERSHIP REJECTED

Although the Baptists and the Separatists were bound together by the closest ties and mutually desired

¹ Isaac Backus, A History of New England (second edition; Newton, Mass.: The Backus Historical Society, 1871), II, 105ff., 450, 465, 468, 519f. H. S. Burrage, A History of the Baptists in New England (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1894), p. 69. A. H. Newman, A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1894), pp. 245, 258. David Benedict, A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America, And Other Parts of the World (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1813), I, 277, 523. All of these give specific examples of mixed membership churches.

inter-communion, and for a while the New Light² bond held them together, nevertheless the opposite principles about baptism led to strife and factions and eventually to division into distinct societies.³

Thus the English question of whether Pedobaptists and Baptists could and should dwell together in the same communion in peace was settled in the negative. When the noble experiment failed, men like Isaac Backus sought reasons to justify this incompatibility, for it was evident that narrowness, party-spirit and prejudice⁴ were not factors in this decision. They concluded that pedobaptism and believer's immersion are mutually exclusive principles.⁵ They concluded, moreover, that Bunyan's capital argument that "God hath received them, therefore we ought to," is qualified by the fact that God's "example is often inimitable by us; but as far as it is imitable, it is always

2 In the prolonged and bitter controversies of the Great Awakening between those that opposed the revivals and the revival party, the latter group came to be called New Lights.

3 Backus, A History of New England, pp. 113-119. Backus relates in detail the experiment of the church in Titicut of which he was the pastor. After five years of disputes, although they mutually desired to remain together, the two factions were forced to separate in 1756.

4 These were the common charges against the Strict Baptists in England.

5 Backus, A History of New England, II, 304.

in the truth;"6 The truth of the Scriptures as they understood them was clear in limiting church communion to believers, baptized upon a profession of their own faith.

Each church was allowed to make her own decision as to the feasibility of the mixed membership plan.⁷ This plan, failing under such favorable external circumstances, was rejected almost unanimously by American Baptists.⁸ Only in comparatively recent years has there been a new attempt to form mixed or open membership churches.

II. THE BAPTIST CHURCH AT PROVIDENCE

Of the four elements involved in baptism, viz., the mode, the subject, the intention, and the administrator,

6 Ibid., II, 116.

7 Burrage, op. cit., p. 143. As late as 1805 a few churches in New England, as the Sedgwick church in Maine, were formed on the mixed membership plan without censure from the other churches.

8 The fact that the English and Welsh Baptists were predominantly of the strict view during the eighteenth century was also a factor in this widespread decision. In New England and in the territory of the Philadelphia Association, the Baptist life was greatly influenced by the Welsh Baptists, while that of the South was largely patterned after the General Baptists. Cf. A. H. Newman, A History of the Baptist Churches, pp. 163, 208ff., 212. B. R. Riley, A History of the Baptists in the Southern States East of the Mississippi (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1898), p. 19. W. W. Barnes, "History of the Southern Baptist Convention" (unpublished manuscript), Chap. I, p. 7.

the English Baptists were disturbed least about the administrator. Perhaps as a reaction to the "apostolic succession" claims of both the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Church, they clearly set forth in their London Confession of 1644 that the only qualification necessary for the administrator as set forth in the Commission is that he be a preaching disciple.⁹

In America, however, the first Baptist church, in Providence, Rhode Island, divided on the issue of the administrator. Roger Williams began in the spirit of John Smyth and John Spilsbury, but wavered like Smyth. Williams doubted the validity of his own baptism and that of his associates on the basis of the absence of an authorized administrator.

. . . 'For him there was no church and no ministry left. The apostolic succession was interrupted and apostolic authority had ceased. It was the baptizer, and not the baptism, about which he doubted. He was a high church Anabaptist'¹⁰

Williams believed that only a special revelation from God could restore the lost ordinances, and he became a seeker, waiting for the special revelation and seemingly having hopes of being the inspired apostle. Although a small group followed Williams in becoming seekers, the

9 Cf. Appendix I.

10 Burrage, op. cit., p. 23. Burrage is quoting S. L. Caldwell, but he does not give the source.

majority remained under the leadership of Thomas Olney. The succession question continued to be agitated and a report circulated that someone in the Orient had a bona fide register of a regular succession from the apostles. After discussing the matter at great length, the church concluded first, that to send someone to receive apostolic baptism was highly inexpedient; and second, that they were now in the right way and should persevere therein.¹¹

III. THE PHILADELPHIA CONFESSION OF FAITH

The Confession of Faith most widely used in America in this period was the Philadelphia Confession of 1742. The major portion of this work was an exact reprint of the London Confession of 1689 which had been widely circulated among the Baptists in the Colonies. Under the influence of Elias Keach and his Confession, two articles were added to the Philadelphia Confession: these concerned the imposition of hands and the singing of Psalms in public worship. In 1743 a treatise of church discipline, which had been prepared by Benjamine Griffith, was adopted by the Philadelphia Association and ordered printed with the Confession. The Charleston edition (1813) of the Philadelphia

¹¹ Backus, A History of New England, I, 86-92.
Cf. ibid., II, 2-3.

Confession included "The Baptist Catechism,"¹² and the Simeon Siegfried edition of 1827 contained "A Treatise of Church Discipline" that was a 1797 revision of the 1743 treatise of the same name.

In the body of the confession the only reference to the administrator of baptism is in general terms as, "These holy appointments are to be administered by those only, who are qualified, and thereunto called according (b) to the commission of Christ."¹³ The qualifications are nowhere enumerated, and the English authors of these words probably meant no more than that the administrator must be a disciple, able to preach, whose fruits are a seal of his ministry. The stress is laid upon the fact that "Immersion, or dipping of the person(f) in water, is necessary to the due administration of this ordinance."¹⁴

In the various treatises on church discipline appended to the Confession, it was agreed that the local

¹² Morgan Edwards, Materials Toward a History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank and Isaac Collins, 1770), p. 5. Edwards relates that this catechism is that which bears the name of Benjamin Keach and was published in London in 1699.

¹³ A Confession of Faith Put Forth by the Elders and Brethren of Many Congregations of Christians (new edition; Burlington, Penn.: W. W. Woodward, 1810), p. 63. (This copy hereafter will be referred to as the "New Edition.")

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 64. Cf. E. B. Underhill, Confessions of Faith (London: Haddon Bros., 1854), pp. 58f.

churches have "full power and authority to transact all their own affairs . . . and in general, do every thing that concerns them as a distinct religious corporation."¹⁵ Specifically stated as a matter of local concern was the receiving and excluding of members. The revised Treatise of Church Discipline, employing general terms and admitting of various interpretations, suggested that, "When a person offers, who is a member of a church differing in faith and order, then, satisfaction is to be required touching the points in difference."¹⁶ The points of difference conceivably could include the administrator, but there is not the slightest hint that this was intended. The Summary of Discipline included in "The Second Charleston Edition," significantly omitting any mention of the administrator, specified that the candidate for church membership must possess grace and faith and must be immersed upon his profession of faith.¹⁷ In the same Edition, the Baptist

¹⁵ A Confession of Faith, Put Forth by the Elders and Brethren of Many Congregations of Christians (Westchester, Penn.: Simeon Siegfried, 1827), Appendix, p. 8. (This copy hereafter will be referred to as the "Simeon Siegfried Edition.") Cf. "New Edition," Appendix, pp. 10f. Cf. also A Confession of Faith, Put Forth by the Elders and Brethren of Many Congregations of Christians (second Charleston edition; Charleston, S. C.: Charleston Baptist Association, 1813), Appendix I, pp. 5f. (This copy hereafter will be referred to as the "Second Charleston Edition.")

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁷ "Second Charleston Edition," Appendix I, pp. 11-13.

Catechism plainly declared that the virtue of baptism is not derived from the administrator, and that baptism's chief significance is to the party baptized.¹⁸

Thus the Confession, the catechism, and the various treatises of discipline used most extensively in this period are largely revised editions of English works and continue the English lack of emphasis upon a qualified and authorized administrator.

IV. EARLY ASSOCIATIONS

The Philadelphia Association. The Philadelphia Association, organized in 1707, is the mother association in America. Many associations in the East and the South are divisions of this first body. Many others were patterned after it or were brought into existence under the guidance of this peer in associational life. "The Philadelphia Association originated with churches planted by members from Wales,"¹⁹ and one of the most influential churches was the Welsh Tract Baptist Church which had led the neighboring churches to adopt the practice of laying on of hands.

¹⁸ Ibid., Appendix II, p. 19.

¹⁹ A. D. Gillette, editor, Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1851), Preface, p. 3.

Under this Welsh influence the Association in 1729 was led to declare for the first time that valid baptism is dependent upon a qualification (laying on of hands) in the administrator.²⁰

From the minutes of the first one hundred years of its existence, it appears that, the Philadelphia Association was inconsistent in the advice that it gave to member churches in regard to baptisms administered by unqualified and unauthorized administrators. In 1729, as mentioned above, the Association declared invalid the baptisms administered by a brother who had not received the laying on of hands.²¹ Then in 1732 the body asserted that an unbaptized administrator could not perform acceptable baptism.²² In 1744 and 1749 the Association affirmed that irregularity ought not to be encouraged by receiving baptisms administered by men without regular call or ordination from any church.²³ In 1765, however, in answer to a query from the Smith's Creek Church, the Association went on record as favoring the validity of immersions administered

20 Ibid., p. 30. The Association did not retain this view very long.

21 Supra, note 20.

22 Gillette, editor, op cit., p. 33.

23 Ibid., pp. 49, 60.

by ministers of the Church of England, if they were administered on a profession of faith and repentance.²⁴ Three years later the Association reasserted the belief that baptisms by unordained administrators were invalid,²⁵ and in 1788, after a year's reflection on a similar question proposed by the First Baptist Church of New York, the group decided that baptisms administered by unordained Pedobaptists were null and void;

First. Because a person that has not been baptized must be disqualified to administer baptism to others, and especially if he be also unordained.

Second. Because to admit such baptism as valid, would make void the ordinances of Christ, throw contempt on his authority, and tend to confusion: for if baptism be not necessary for an administrator for it, neither can it be for church communion, which is an inferior act; and if such baptism be valid, then ordination is unnecessary, contrary to Acts xiv. 23; 1 Tim. iv. 14; Tit. i. 5, and our Confession of faith, Chap. XXVII.

Third. Of this opinion we find were our Associations in times past; who put a negative on such baptisms in 1729, 1732, 1744, and 1768.

Fourth. Because such administrator has no commission to baptize, for the words of the commission were addressed to the apostles, and their successors in the ministry, to the end of the world, and these are such, whom the church of Christ appoint to the whole work of the ministry.²⁶

This "mature decision" of the Association, as later anti-alien immersion Baptists styled it, was mainly concerned

24 Ibid., p. 95.

25 Ibid., p. 104.

26 Ibid., p. 238. Cf. ibid., p. 282. The Association reaffirmed this view in 1792.

about the matter of ordination. In this decision the term "church of Christ" does not have reference to a particular denomination, but to the local society of Christians which bears the name of the whole body because the local body is not thought of apart from the whole body. Thus the Pedobaptist in question was unordained because he had not been set apart to the ministry by any of the local manifestations of the church of Christ, either Baptist or Pedobaptist.

The apostolic succession approved here is not the historical apostolic succession of Rome, but the succession of function. The man set apart by a local manifestation of the church of Christ to the same functions of the ministry as the Apostles performed was in the succession even if his "tree" did not extend beyond himself. Thus in 1806 the body declared that baptisms administered by a Tunker Universalist were valid, if the individual renounced his universalist principles.²⁷ Nor did the Baptists of this

²⁷ Ibid., p. 424. Cf. Benedict, *op. cit.*, II, 430-436. The original members of this body in Schwarzenau, Germany were Presbyterians, save one Lutheran. From the reading of the Bible they came to accept Baptist views on baptism. Unaware of the existence of the Baptists, they elected by lots one of their number to begin anew the administration of New Testament baptism. They emigrated to America and settled in Pennsylvania in 1719.

Association hesitate to receive baptisms administered by General Baptist or Seventh-Day Baptist administrators,²⁸ or by an unbaptized administrator in case of necessity.²⁹

The Charleston Association. The second oldest association in America was the Charleston Association which was organized in 1751. In 1767 it adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, omitting Article XXXI concerning the laying on of hands. Neither the Confession, Summary of Church Discipline, nor the Catechism which it adopted makes a qualified or authorized administrator essential to valid baptism.³⁰ In 1773 the Association declared that although Paul Palmer, a General Baptist, was a disorderly person, nevertheless, "as he baptized according

²⁸ Ibid., p. 70. Morgan Edwards' manuscripts (see bibliography) abound in examples of General Baptists, both as individuals and as churches, who changed their doctrinal sentiments and were accepted without rebaptism into the Philadelphia Association or sister associations. (Edwards' unpublished manuscripts will be referred to as "Materials.")

²⁹ Supra, note 27. The Tunkers through necessity had begun baptism anew. Edwards, "Materials," II, 88. Edwards relates the experience of a Baptist church which was formed from Separatists in Wantage, New Jersey about 1750. Unaware of other Baptists nearby, a Mr. Elkana Fuller baptized a Mr. Marsh and the latter in turn baptized others. The Baptists received them on the basis that they had acted from necessity.

³⁰ Supra, pp. 121ff.

to the word of God, persons baptized by him may be received into our churches, upon satisfactory examination as to principles and grace."³¹

Although this Association in 1802 advised against the practice of communing with pious Pedobaptists because it would imply the validity of infant baptism, the right of mixed communion in Baptist churches, and the power of the church to alter the ordinances;³² they did not hesitate to assert their belief that the Pedobaptist societies were true Christian churches and that their members were true Christians, though in error in regard to baptism.³³

That this Association did not regard baptism as the official act of a local church is evident from the fact that the ordinance of baptism, as well as the Supper, was observed by the Association at its yearly gatherings.³⁴

The Dover Association. The Dover Association, the largest Baptist association in America in the latter part

³¹ Wood Furman, A History of the Charleston Association (Charleston, S. C.: J. Hoff, 1811), p. 37.

³² Minutes, The Charleston Baptist Association, 1802, p. 3.

³³ Loc. cit. Cf. ibid., 1788, p. 2; 1794, pp. 5-8; 1800, p. 2.

³⁴ Ibid., 1804, p. 1; 1811, p. 1; 1813, p. 1.

of this period, replied to a query in 1790 concerning the validity of baptisms administered by an unordained person,

'That in cases where the ordinance had been administered in a solemn and religious manner, that it might be considered as valid, and that persons so baptized might be admitted as members upon hearing and approving their experience.'³⁵

The Kettocton Association. In 1766 four churches in Virginia received letters of dismissal from the Philadelphia Association and organized the Kettocton Association, retaining the Philadelphia Confession of Faith.³⁶ The strange case of James Hutchinson came before this Association in 1791. Hutchinson had been converted and immersed in a Methodist church in Georgia. Later he experienced a change of sentiments and united with the Baptists of the same state. The question of the validity of his baptism came before the Georgia Baptist Association and they advised in 1788 that his baptism was valid and recognized him as a Baptist minister.³⁷ Three years later, while visiting

³⁵ R. B. Semple, A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia (revised edition; Richmond: Pitt & Dickinson, 1894), pp. 122f.

³⁶ William Fristoe, A Concise History of the Kettocton Association (Staunton, Va.: William G. Lyford, 1808), pp. 7, 17ff. Cf. A. H. Newman, A History of the Baptist Churches, p. 287.

³⁷ Jesse Mercer, A History of the Georgia Baptist Association (Washington, Ga.: [n.n.], 1838), pp. 22-23.

relatives in Virginia, Hutchinson's preaching won a number of converts whom he baptized and organized into a church. Their application for admission into the Kettocton Association, however, produced considerable agitation and the body finally refused admittance on the grounds that their baptisms were invalid. Fortunately for the peace of the Association, Hutchinson and his followers agreed to accept rebaptism.³⁸ R. B. Semple, the Virginia Baptist historian, writing in 1810 stated that their action was more strict than any other Virginia association within his knowledge.³⁹ Although the question had come before most of the associations, in every other case "they either deemed it unnecessary to rebaptize or left it to the conscience of the party to be rebaptized or not."⁴⁰ He summarized the arguments of the Association thus:

. . . That the most important prerequisite to baptism was faith in the subject; that, although it was expedient to have a fixed rule for qualifying persons for the administration of the ordinances, yet the want of such qualifications in the administrator ought not to be viewed as having sufficient weight to invalidate the baptism. On the other hand it was argued: That if such baptism was sanctioned everything like ordination

38 A. H. Newman, A History of the Baptist Churches, p. 289. Semple, op. cit., p. 391.

39 Semple, op. cit., pp. 391f. Cf. A. H. Newman, A History of the Baptist Churches, p. 288. He asserts that the repudiation of alien immersion "was more pronounced here than in the Philadelphia Association."

40 Loc. cit.

might be dispensed with; that ordination was not only expedient, but an institution of the Bible, and therefore, indispensable; that, such proceedings, if allowed, might go to great lengths, and, ultimately, produce confusion.⁴¹

The primary concern of the Association seemed to be to preserve ordination as a Biblical institution and to prevent confusion, rather than to insist upon a qualified and authorized administrator.⁴² William Fristoe, long a member of this Association, in writing a history of the body in 1808 (only seventeen years after the Hutchinson affair) declared that the churches did not look upon baptism as a church ordinance, but only as a prerequisite for church membership; and they held that "it is the preacher's province to teach and baptize, & of course the proper judge of the qualifications of the candidate; . . ."⁴³ He stated further that it was not an uncommon experience for ministers in remote places "separated from, and without the church, receive experience and baptised, on the

41 Semple, loc. cit.

42 Fristoe, op. cit., pp. 135-136. Fristoe is very insistent upon believer's immersion as a prerequisite for church membership, and asserts that its significance rests in the fact that it is essential to the orderly conduct of the Christian life and that it holds forth great and important truths when administered to the proper subject and in the proper mode; but most significantly he omits any reference to the necessity of a proper administrator.

43 Ibid., pp. 28-29.

strength of their commission," ⁴⁴ He readily acknowledged, of course, that for the sake of harmony where it is expedient it is better that the candidate's experience be related before both the minister and the church and that he receive their joint approval before his baptism. ⁴⁵ Thus the Kectocon Association, regardless of the strictness in this case, was in agreement with the other Baptists of this period in holding that the local church has the sole right, in the light of the scriptural requirements, to judge the qualifications of the candidates for admission into her fellowship. ⁴⁶

The Elkhorn Association. The largest and most influential Baptist association in Kentucky in this period before the Campbellite defection was the Elkhorn Association. Organized in 1785, the Association was constituted on the Confession of Faith published by the seven London churches in 1644, ⁴⁷ which Confession explicitly designates the administrator of baptism as only a "preaching disciple." ⁴⁸

44 Fristoe, loc. cit. Fristoe does not mean here that they had a special commission as missionaries, but as in primitive times their call to preach, affirmed by the church, was their commission to teach and baptize.

45 Loc. cit.

46 Ibid., p. 25.

47 Basil Manly, Jr., "History of the Elkhorn Baptist Association, Kentucky 1785-1815," Minutes, The Elkhorn Baptist Association, 1877, pp. 24-25.

48 Cf. Appendix I.

This representative body of the Western Baptists
in answer to a query in 1787 set forth that,

All members coming from churches of our faith and order, bringing an orderly letter of dismissal from said orderly church, we advise to be admitted; and all Baptists coming from churches of other order, by experience.⁵⁰

Later the Association reconsidered the matter and substituted the advice that the churches follow the discipline annexed to the Confession of Faith in the reception of all her members.⁵¹

When the Bryant church in 1791 asked the specific question concerning the validity of an immersion upon profession of faith administered by a Pedobaptist, the body referred the matter to the next yearly meeting. The matter was not discussed the following year, however, but in 1793 they put forth the following vague advice,

On the query as to baptisms by a Pedobaptist minister, it was agreed to advise the churches to act with discretion in all cases of this nature that have happened prior to this date, and that they act with care and caution in similar cases in future.⁵²

49 J. H. Spencer, A History of Kentucky Baptists (second edition; Cincinnati: J. H. Spencer, 1886), II, 16.

50 Manly, op. cit., p. 27.

51 There was no discipline annexed to the London Confession of 1644. Although supposedly constituted on the 1644 confession, the Association actually adopted the Philadelphia Confession and evidently refers to one of the disciplines annexed to it. Cf. ante, pp. 120f.

52 Manly, op. cit., p. 31.

Although vague, the above decision acknowledged that this is a question to be decided by the local church, rather than by the association. It also acknowledged that such immersions had been received in the past, that the Association was divided on the question, and that each case needed to be judged with discretion.

Nine years later (1802), the Association defined Baptist baptism thus:

. . . the administrator ought to have been Baptised himself by immersion legally colled to preached /sic. called to preach/ the gospel ordained as the scriptures dictates & that the candidate for Baptism make a profession of his faith in Jesus Christ and that he be Baptised in the name of the father of the Son & of the Holy Ghost by dipping the whole body in water.⁵³

"Captain," a slave member of a dissolved Separate Baptist church, organized an African church in 1801 at Lexington, Kentucky. By 1821 "Captain," then close to ninety years of age, had gathered and baptized--although unordained and unauthorized--a large church. In this latter year the church applied to the First Baptist Church of Lexington to become a mission of that church and thus

53 W. W. Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, The Baptists 1783-1830 (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931), pp. 493f. This is not a positive assertion of the anti-alien immersion sentiments. This is rather the ideal that all Baptists would prefer. Notice that in reference to the administrator it says that he ought to be immersed; that is, that it is best; but in reference to the candidate it says that he makes a profession and is baptized in the prescribed manner--no "ought" here.

to become associated with the Elkhorn Association.⁵⁴ At the following meeting of the Elkhorn group, the First Church presented the following query;

. . . Can persons baptised on a profession of faith by an administrator not ordained, be received into our churches under any circumstances whatever, without being again baptised?⁵⁵

The Association referred the query to a committee to report to the body the following year. The report of the committee which the Association adopted in 1822 asserted that,

. . . it is not regular to receive such members. In the minutes of 1802, this Association defined valid baptism to consist in the administration of the ordinance by immersion by an administrator legally called to preach the Gospel, and ordained as the Scriptures directs;⁵⁶

This reply did not actually answer the question proposed by the First Baptist Church. The Association reasserted the ideal and replied that it was not "regular" to receive such members. The church understood that it was not regular, but she was asking if under any circumstances whatever they might be received. The church understood the Association to give its silent consent since it did not answer the question with an unqualified "no." Consequently, in 1823, without any recorded opposition from the Association,

54 Minutes, The Elkhorn Baptist Association, 1880, p. 28.

55 Ibid., 1821, p. 7.

56 Ibid., 1822, p. 4.

the First Baptist Church received the African church of "Captain" as a mission on the grounds that although their baptisms were irregular, nevertheless they were valid. London Ferrill, an ordained member of color of the First Baptist Church, became the stated pastor of the African mission.⁵⁷

The Kehukee Association. The history of the Kehukee Association has been a checkered one. The churches in the beginning were General Baptist churches, but under the preaching of ministers from the Philadelphia Association they reformed and organized in 1765 as the Kehukee Association of Regular Baptists.⁵⁸ In 1777, twelve years before the formal union of the Separates and Regulars in Virginia, a group of these Regular churches united with four of the Separate Baptist churches, the basis of agreement being that they would require an "experience of grace" before baptism.⁵⁹

Because of tremendous growth the Association found it necessary to divide in 1790. The churches in Virginia

⁵⁷ Ibid., 1880, p. 28.

⁵⁸ Lemuel Burkitt and Jesse Read, A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association (revised edition; Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1850), pp. 36-37.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 48f. Some of the Regular Baptists had continued the lax General Baptist policy of not demanding a definite "experience" before baptism. These demanded rebaptism of members so received in the past as well as of members to be received henceforth.

assumed the name of the Portsmouth Association, while the North Carolina churches retained the original name. Then again in 1793 the Association found it expedient to divide with the Tar River as the dividing line. The churches between the river and the Virginia state-line this time retained the original name. In the anti-mission controversy of the next century, the Kehukee Association as limited after 1793 became an anti-mission body.⁶⁰

The Kehukee Association in 1783 answered two queries related to the subject of baptism. In answering the first query, it asserted the body's belief in the right of an itinerant minister to administer the ordinance of baptism in destitute places.⁶¹ The second query and the answer given was;

Is the baptism of a believer a legal baptism, if performed by an unauthorized minister?

Ans. It is our opinion, that the person who administered the ordinance was very much out of his duty, and displeasure ought to be shown to such a practice; but as for the person's baptism, as it was done in faith, we esteem it legal.⁶²

60 Ibid., pp. 108ff., 116.

61 Ibid., p. 72.

62 Ibid., p. 71. Cf. A. H. Newman, A History of the Baptist Churches, p. 292. Newman asserts that the Confession of Faith adopted by the union of Regular and Separate Baptists in 1777 stated that baptism by an unauthorized person was irregular and undesirable, but not invalid. This investigator was unable to verify this statement and it seemed strange, if this were true, that the Association in 1783, six years later, did not refer the questioners to the Confession.

The Georgia Baptist Association. In 1788 the Georgia Baptist Association in the famous James Hutchinson case⁶³ had declared that immersion by a Methodist was valid baptism; and when his baptism and those of his converts were repudiated by the Kettocton Association in Virginia in 1791, a majority of the Georgia brethren felt that the Virginia brethren had made a serious mistake.⁶⁴ It was not until 1810, twenty-two years later, that the strict view prevailed in the Georgia Association and they pronounced baptism by a Methodist or Pedobaptist minister unacceptable and advised the churches to rebaptize any that had already been received on such baptism.⁶⁵ Perhaps as a further answer to this question, the Association adopted at its next meeting (1811) a circular letter which had been prepared by Jesse Mercer on the subject, "The reasons briefly, which lead us to deem Pedobaptist administrations, though in the proper mode, invalid."⁶⁶

63 Supra, pp. 129f.

64 A. H. Newman, A History of the Baptist Churches, pp. 330f. Article in the Western Recorder, September 2, 1857.

65 Mercer, op. cit., p. 133. The Association's answer implies that such baptisms had been received by the churches previous to this time.

66 J. T. Christian, A History of the Baptists of the United States (Nashville, Tenn.: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1926), p. 439.

In the circular letter, Mercer stated as the basic argument that "alien immersions" must be rejected because "they are connected with churches clearly out of the apostolic succession, and therefore clearly out of the apostolic commission."⁶⁷ The fact that apostolic succession cannot be proven, he continued, does not deny its truthfulness; but on the contrary, the burden of proof rests on those who deny it. "The Pedobaptists, by their own histories, admit they are not of it; but we do not, and shall think ourselves entitled to the claim until the reverse be clearly shown."⁶⁸ Mercer continued his argument by maintaining that the Pedobaptist administrators received their authority to baptize by ordination from individuals, as the pope of Rome, who have taken it upon themselves to give it. These have attempted to usurp the authority of the church and the office of Christ as head of the Church; they are therefore anti-Christ and cannot be acceptable to the true Church.⁶⁹ He concluded his arguments by saying that Pedobaptist immersions are contrary to the pattern of the

67 Mercer, op. cit., pp. 199, 197.

68 Ibid., p. 200.

69 Ibid., pp. 199f. The implication limits the church of Christ on earth to the Baptist denomination as the later Landmark position.

gospel and contrary to the professed faith of the administrator, and valid baptism requires that the administrator must perform the act in faith as well as the subject receive it in faith.⁷⁰

The Richmond Association. In 1809 the Richmond Association (Virginia) advised the rejection of those baptized by unbaptized administrators, because gospel baptism demands not only a gospel mode and subject, but also a gospel administrator.⁷¹ David Benedict, in recording this fact, commented that this was not the usual practice.

As persons are frequently applying for admission into Baptist churches, who have been immersed by Methodist and Congregational ministers, this question has, within a few years past, been often proposed, and most Associations have decided differently from this. All agree that it is an unadvisable measure, for a person to apply to unbaptized ministers to lead them into the water, but after they have been properly immersed on a profession of their faith, it is generally thought that it would be improper to immerse them a second time. It is difficult to conceive why they would not, in this case, come under the denomination of Ana-baptists.⁷²

70 Ibid., pp. 198-200. The later emphasis that baptism is an official act of the church led the anti-alien immersion group to modify this argument. Under the later view the administrator may be a scoundrel, but if he acts as an officer of a church in succession, his official acts are valid.

71 Benedict, op. cit., II, 472.

72 Ibid., pp. 472-473.

V. CONCLUSION

The study in this chapter has revealed the truth of the above conclusions of David Benedict. Previous to 1800 the Philadelphia and Kettocton Associations were the only two associations of note that had decreed "alien immersion" invalid, and in both groups there were exceptions and qualifications to the general denial of their validity. The basis of rejection was the fear that ordination as a Scriptural command might be indirectly denied if all irregular baptisms were received, and the fear that their reception might encourage other irregularities.

The majority of associations, however, held that the administrator of these irregular baptisms probably committed personal error in the performance of the act, but that the individual baptized, if sincere, had received valid baptism.

After the turn of the century, there developed within the Baptist group an exclusiveness of the "sect" type.⁷³ Jesse Mercer's circular letter of 1810 was the most pronounced Baptist ecclesiasticism yet uttered in America.

⁷³ Cyril C. Richardson, The Church Through the Centuries (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), p. 196.

It foreshadowed the Landmark movement. The trend of the times, pride in the rapid numerical growth of the Baptists, and a Jonah-like jealousy at the conversion of others to the principle of believer's immersion were contributing factors to this development.

CHAPTER II

KENTUCKY BAPTISTS AND THE CAMPBELLITE DEFECTION

In American Baptist history, the nineteenth century is known as a period of controversies and divisions.¹ Two of these, the "Campbellite Defection" and the Landmark movement, are pertinent to this discussion. Since Kentucky, and all of the Southwest of that day, was the rallying point for both movements, the remainder of this study is limited primarily to Kentucky.

I. CAMPBELLISM

As early as 1815 there began to appear signs of reaction to the hyper-Calvinism and rigid creedal development of the Baptists of the Southwest. Alexander Campbell, a recent immigrant of Scotch ancestry whose religious experience prior to his immigration was of the Glassite and Sandemanian variety, became the foremost leader of this reformation.

The so-called "Reformation" was largely a negative movement in the beginning. Campbell began publishing the Christian Baptist in 1823 and filled its pages with anti-Bible and Tract Societies, anti-theological schools,

1 H. C. Vedder, A Short History of the Baptists (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1907), pp. 335-349.

anti-paid ministry, anti-Sunday school, anti-organs, anti-pedobaptism and anti-"popular Christianity."² Previous to this, his skill in anti-Pedobaptist debates had won for him a large following among Kentucky Baptists,³ and his paper therefore was enthusiastically received. His anti-mission sentiments likewise found strong support with the large segment of hyper-Calvinistic Baptists in this state.⁴

A learned and forceful writer and speaker, he ascribed the prophetic "Thus saith the Lord" to his utterances, purported to be the champion of Apostolic Christianity, and appealed to the selfish interests and prejudices of the masses.⁵ His movement swept the state like a prairie fire and for a time it seemed that it would overwhelm the denomination. Churches and associations moved en masse into his camp. Countless numbers of churches and associations were divided on the question.

2 H. C. Vedder, A History of the Baptists in the Middle States (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1898), pp. 186-187. Alexander Campbell, editor, The Christian Baptist (sixth edition; Cincinnati: D. S. Burnett, 1848). Any of the issues will reveal this. For his remarks on "popular Christianity" especially notice the Preface and pp. 5ff., 10.

3 J. H. Spencer, A History of Kentucky Baptists (second edition; Cincinnati: J. H. Spencer, 1886), I, 588.

4 Ibid., I, 645.

5 Ibid., I, 585ff., 590, 593, 595. Campbell, editor, op. cit., pp. 1, 6-7, 9, 12. 126ff.

Beginning with the strong stand taken against the subtleties of Campbellism by the Franklin Association in 1830 under the leadership of S. M. Noel, the Baptist remnant managed to become disentangled from the Campbellites throughout the state by 1832, but the process of separation resulted in bitterly divided homes, churches and associations.⁶

These people had not withdrawn voluntarily from the Baptist bodies because of differences of opinion, but had attempted by both scrupulous and unscrupulous means to "reform" these Baptist bodies, and in consequence thereof had been excluded from the churches and associations as heretics, guilty of teaching baptismal regeneration.

II. THE PROBLEM

After the first wave of enthusiasm had subsided and the separation completed, a number of the members of the "Reformed" factions and churches for various reasons began to seek admission into the Baptist churches.⁷ The Baptists, having excluded these groups, were now confronted with the

⁶ Ibid., I, 623ff. Cf. ibid., I, 606-643, for a complete picture of the Campbellite defection.

⁷ Uriel B. Chambers, "Quere," The Baptist Chronicle and Literary Register, II (October, 1831), 154. Letter to the editor in the Baptist Banner, November 28, 1835.

unique situation of being in non-communication with a professing Christian body that practiced believer's immersion exclusively.⁸

Immediately the question of the validity of their baptism became a subject of controversy. One of the basic arguments against receiving immersions administered by Pedobaptists was that the administrator himself ought to be immersed and believe in immersion as the sole New Testament practice; but these people were both immersed and practiced immersion exclusively. There was no obvious and therefore no easy solution.

The division of sentiment within the state was reflected in the fact that John L. Waller, who favored the reception of alien immersions, was editor of the Baptist Banner, the leading Baptist paper in the state, from 1837-1840 and again in 1850-1854; while in the intervening years the paper had as editor William Buck, a strong advocate of the opposing sentiments. It was acknowledged by both parties that the state was far from uniform in its practice in regard to the question of alien immersion, and that equally honest, upright

⁸ The Campbellites and the Baptists differed in their definitions of a believer. Campbellism asserted that a believer was one who intellectually acknowledged Jesus to be the Christ, the Son of God. Campbell, editor, op. cit., p. 23.

and intelligent men had opposing sentiments on the subject. Thus neither practice could be properly designated as denominational usage.⁹

III. THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS

The Administrator. The main question at issue was what is essential to valid baptism. The two parties agreed that a proper subject, the proper mode and a proper administrator were the essential elements in gospel baptism, but differed on what constituted a proper administrator. Waller, the most influential Baptist in the Kentucky of his day, and those in agreement with him contended that neither the Commission nor any other Scripture prescribed as essential to valid baptism a regularly ordained minister. The only requirement for the administrator given in the Scriptures,

⁹ John L. Waller, "Baptism by 'Reformers,' and Pedo-Baptists," The Western Baptist Review, I (June, 1846), 367; "The Validity of Baptism by Pedo-Baptist Ministers," The Western Baptist Review, III (March, 1848), 268; "The Administrator of Baptism," The Western Baptist Review, III (August, 1848), 464-465. Editorial in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, July 16, 1846. An answer to a "Query" in the Baptist Banner, January 23, 1838, asserts that all the important associations in the South and in the West within his (S. M. Noel's) personal knowledge rejected alien immersion. Cf. Waller, "The Administrator of Baptism," op. cit., p. 461. Waller says that a thorough investigation of the subject convinced him that usually the ones on either side of the controversy who were the most confident were the ones least informed.

as they understood them, is that the administrator be a disciple (Matt. 28:16; John 4:2; I Cor. 11:2), and able to preach or explain the gospel.¹⁰

While Waller and his group readily confessed and insisted that expediency dictated the necessity of the churches' assigning the administration of baptism to their ministers or servants, at the same time expediency did not bind the churches at all times to receive it alone from them as though the church had transferred the ordinance of baptism to the ministry.¹¹ The church's responsibility, they continued, is to discover if the proposed candidate for membership were a believer before his baptism, if he were baptized in the name of the Trinity, and if the mode and design of baptism were scripturally fulfilled. If the church is satisfied on these points, they said, then the candidate is to be received. Although the administrator

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 367, 371. Chambers, "Quere," op. cit., p. 153. Cf. Appendix I.

¹¹ Loc. cit. Cf. Minutes, The General Association of Baptists in Kentucky, 1846, in which the association praised The Western Baptist Review and "earnestly commended" it to the brethren.

may sin by performing the act unscripturally, nevertheless the subject is not to be held responsible for the administrator's sin.¹²

The anti-alien immersion group, on the other hand, asserted that the administrator at the time he baptizes¹³ must be a regularly ordained minister in full standing in the Baptist fellowship in order for the baptism to be valid.¹⁴ They supported this view by arguing that only an ordained minister is to preach, that the New Testament records that only those disciples who preached administered baptism, that only the true church of Christ can ordain one to preach,

¹² Ibid., pp. 368-369, 372. Letters to the editor in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, March 20, 1838, and February 20, 1840. Cf. editorial in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, April 4, 1839. The editor rejoiced in the increasing number of immersions in the Methodist and Episcopal churches. Although he felt that the administrators were being inconsistent, nevertheless he prayed fervently that the practice would become even more widespread because the public practice of the act is the best argument for convincing others of the Scriptural truth on the subject.

¹³ Many of the Campbellite ministers only a short time before had been regularly ordained Baptist ministers. Thus their Baptist baptisms were considered valid.

¹⁴ James Whitsitt, "The Campbellite Baptism," The Baptist Chronicle and Literary Register, II (April, 1831), 52. Editorial in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, February 24, 1842. Answer to a letter by Elder Clarke in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, September 24, 1846.

and that the visible church of Christ is a congregation of baptized believers or a Baptist church.¹⁵

Apostolic Succession. Waller's party pointed out that the position taken by their opponents is that of "official grace"--that of a privileged order in the church to whom is confined the right to administer the ordinances; and Baptists, they insisted, have always opposed such sentiments in the past. In this view, they continued, baptism becomes an official act rather than a spiritual experience, and the church is forced to recognize the immersion which is officially superior, though it may be spiritually inferior.¹⁶

This "confined right" could have come but one way, they argued further, and that is through a regular line of succession from the Apostles to our own day. The insistence upon a proper administrator, as their opponents defined

15 Letter to the editor in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, September 3, 1846. Editorial in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, February 24, 1842. Answer to a letter by Elder Clarke in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, September 24, 1846. "Circular Letter," Minutes, The Baptist Association, 1835, pp. 3-4. James Whitsitt, "Blank Baptism," The Baptist Chronicle and Literary Register, II (July, 1831), 98-99. Whitsitt compares the Campbellites to the Laodicean church which the Lord spewed out, and hence they are no longer a church, although they immerse professed believers.

16 Waller, "The Administrator of Baptism," op. cit., pp. 469-470. A letter to the editor in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, September 24, 1846.

it with the assumption that a man cannot give what he has not received, demanded apostolic succession to support it, because an improper administrator twenty generations ago would be as fatal as one but one generation removed.¹⁷

Even if there were a regular succession of proper administrators, which the anti-alien immersion party acknowledged could not be proved,¹⁸ at the same time there has been "a numerous host of improper administrators," whose followers have become ministers and baptized others and they in turn have amalgamated with the Baptist host throughout the land, and thus no one can be certain that his line of administrators is free from such irregularities.¹⁹

. . . The ministerial successors of the Apostles is an order dependent for its existence on proofs as chimerical and dream-like as that of 'Episcopal Successors.' The Redeemer made no promise of such a

17 Waller, loc. cit. Waller, "The Validity of Baptism by Pede-Baptist Ministers," op. cit., pp. 269-270.

18 Letter to the editor in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, September 3, 1846. Because the anti-alien immersion party cannot prove the succession of administrators, note the growing emphasis upon a succession of churches, and that in reality it is the church that baptizes--is the administrator--and the "dipper" is only the agent of the church and is personally insignificant. Cf. article in the Western Recorder, July 6, 1872.

19 Waller, "The Validity of Baptism by Pede-Baptist Ministers," op. cit., p. 271; "The Administrator of Baptism," op. cit., p. 470. Roger Williams is but the most prominent of those who began gospel baptism anew or who received it without a proper administrator.

succession. It is the invention of man's vain imagination. Its career has been that of iniquity. It has no foundation in truth.²⁰

Acts 19:1-7. Paul's experience with the twelve disciples at Ephesus was given a variety of interpretations. Some held that Paul rebaptized the twelve because they were deficient in knowledge concerning a fundamental aspect of the meaning of baptism. Those who rejected alien immersions concluded that, since the subject publicly confesses the faith of the denomination represented by the administrator rather than his own private opinions, in all Campbellite immersions the subject is deficient in the concept of baptism because the church teaches baptismal regeneration.²¹ Those who received alien immersions, however, maintained that the passage teaches that each candidate for admission

20 Waller, "Baptism by 'Reformers' and Pedo-Baptists," op. cit., p. 371. Cf. Waller, "The Validity of Baptism by Pedo-Baptist Ministers," op. cit., p. 267; "The Administrator of Baptism," op. cit., p. 470. Waller pointed out that the question of succession was being agitated among the Episcopalians at that time, and that such discussions were consistent for them, but highly inconsistent for Baptists. Ultramontaniam was prevailing in Europe, the Oxford movement was at its peak in England, and the Mormons, Primitive Baptists and Campbellites were all emphasizing the idea of succession in America at this time.

21 Editorial in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, February 24, 1842. Answer to a "Query" in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, January 28, 1847. James Whitsitt, "The Campbellite Baptism," op. cit., p. 53. Letter to the editor in the Baptist Banner, November 28, 1835.

should be personally examined; and in the present day those who believed in baptismal regeneration at the time of their baptism should be reimmersed, while those who held Baptist sentiments should be received as returned prodigals.²²

Another group held that the reference here is to the administrator--the twelve disciples had been baptized by an uninformed and thus an improper administrator. Those who rejected alien immersion affirmed that Paul rebaptized the twelve and thus established the principle of reimmersing all the applicants who have been baptized by improper administrators. The only way to be sure of the administrator is to receive only the administrations of authorized officials.²³ The other party agreed that it is the administrator in question here, but they asserted that Paul did not rebaptize the Ephesians, thus establishing their principles.²⁴ They pointed out that a similar case existed in the time of Christ. Judas' baptisms were acknowledged by Jesus although He knew Judas to be a hypocrite at the time.

²² Chambers, "Quere," op. cit., p. 153. Answer to the letter from Ebenezer Rodgers in The Baptist Chronicle and Literary Register, III (February, 1832), 22-24. Letter to the editor in The Baptist Chronicle and Literary Register, III (July, 1832), 102-103. Letter to the editor in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, February 6, 1840.

²³ Letter to the editor in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, September 19, 1844.

²⁴ Editorial in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, April 4, 1839.

These illustrations teach, they held, that Baptists should exercise patience with erring brethren and should recognize the fact that Jesus can bring even the work of false professors into subserviency to His purposes.²⁵

Change of Sentiments. The party that objected to the reception of alien immersions insisted that unless the person was willing to be reimmersed he had witnessed no real change of sentiments, and was then no less than a Campbellite or immersed Pedobaptist within a Baptist church. They pointed out, moreover, that if the applicant truly had had Baptist sentiments at the time he was first immersed, then he was guilty of an inconsistency that would make fellowship incompatible, because he privately believed contrary to what his church believed and practiced.²⁶ They argued, further, that to receive Campbellites without rebaptizing them would be to bid them "God speed," which the Scriptures expressly prohibit Christians from granting to false brethren (II. John 10).²⁷

25 Chamber, "Quere," op. cit., p. 154.

26 Letters to the editor in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, September 19, 1844 and September 3, 1846.

27 Loc. cit. Editorial in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, February 24, 1842. "Circular Letter," Minutes, The Baptist Association, 1835, p. 4.

Close communion. The strict party deemed it inconsistent to hold to close communion and at the same time to favor the reception of alien immersion.²⁸ The latter practice, they said, acknowledges the Campbellite or Pedobaptist administrator as a qualified administrator of the ordinances, thus removing the barrier to open communion and a host of other evils that would lead to the annihilation of the Baptist church, except in name.²⁹

Alien immersion not an associational matter. John Waller strongly urged the associations to refrain from legislating on this matter. As a purely ecclesiastical matter, he held, it did not come under their jurisdiction,

²⁸ Many prominent and intelligent men as Waller, Richard Fuller, J. B. Jeter, and William Vaughan did not think it inconsistent to be close communionists and at the same time to recognize the validity of alien immersions. It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that open communion and alien immersion became allied in the thinking of the majority of the Southerners. The liberalism of the Baptists in the North, where both practices were prominent, and the spread of Landmarkism (Infra, p. 183f.) were the main factors leading to the formation of this alliance.

²⁹ Editorial in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, February 24, 1842. Letters to the editor in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, September 3, 1846 and October 29, 1846. Cf. post, p. 165, note 16. The reception of alien immersion does not recognize the qualification of the administrator, but the validity of the personal act of obedience.

but belonged solely to the local, independent church. If the associations insisted on making it their business, he prophesied that it was certain to lead to strife and division.³⁰

. . . Associations certainly have nothing whatever to do with it. It is purely ecclesiastical, and associations have no jurisdiction in such cases. Our churches being independent and supreme, should not be molested in their adjudications upon such points.³¹

The majority of associations heeded Waller's advice, but the unhealed wound of the Campbellite defection, the controversy with and the separation from the Old School or Primitive Baptists,³² and the increasing influence of the

³⁰ Waller, "Baptism by 'Reformers' and Pedo-Baptists," op. cit., p. 367; "The Administrator of Baptism," op. cit., p. 461. Editorial in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, February 17, 1842. Editor Buck expressed here similar views to those of Waller, but four years later, July 16, 1846, he had changed his view on this point.

³¹ Waller, "The Validity of Baptism by Pedo-Baptist Ministers," op. cit., p. 268.

³² This controversy and separation reached its final stages between the years 1835-45 in Kentucky. The organization of the Southern Convention in 1845, regrettable as it was, assured the victory of the missionary element throughout the South. The fact of possessing their own boards and organizations fanned the flames of missionary enthusiasm that soon engulfed the whole South. Cf. A. H. Newman, A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1894), p. 455. The Old School refused to accept even the baptisms performed by missionary Baptist ministers because they considered themselves the primitive and only true church. (Cf. editorial in the Western Recorder, October 15, 1856.) It was natural for the missionary group, in the heat of argument, to appropriate to itself the title.

Tennessee Baptist³³ led more and more associations to disregard the advice; they began to declare, first as advice and later as a law of fellowship, the necessity of the administrator of valid baptism being a regularly ordained minister in good standing with the Baptist fellowship at the time he baptizes.³⁴

33 J. R. Graves, the editor of the Tennessee Baptist was licensed and ordained in 1842 at the Mt. Freedom Baptist Church, now located at Wilmore, Kentucky. His movement, known as Landmarkism, will be discussed in the following chapter.

34 J. T. Christian, A History of the Baptists of the United States (Nashville, Tenn.: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1926), II, 437. Many of the associations refused to act on the question, some simply answered the queries concerning alien immersion "yes" or "no" without comment, while a few gave reasons for their actions. The attitude in almost every case, however, was that the association "affectionately advises" the churches in the matter, not that it should be a test of fellowship within the association.

CHAPTER III

KENTUCKY BAPTISTS AND LANDMARKISM

The Landmark movement¹ must be understood in the background of strife, fear and confusion. Sectarian antagonisms seemingly reached their zenith not far from the middle of the nineteenth century.² By 1845 the Old School Baptists by opposing missions, education, Sunday schools, secret societies, and Temperance societies had torn the Baptist body asunder. The storm over slavery had reached such intensity that Baptists found it a necessity to divide as Northern and Southern Baptists in 1845. At this time, also, the Methodist-Baptist dispute as to church government and doctrinal position was at red heat. And Baptists still trembled, both in fear and anger, at the

1 The term "Landmark" was in use before the time of J. R. Graves as referring to the fundamental and historical truths of the Baptists. Cf. article in the Baptist Banner, April 2, 1840. Graves and his followers claimed to be restoring some of these ancient landmarks that "modernism" had removed. The term now generally refers to all that Graves taught. Cf. David O. Moore, "The Landmark Baptists and Their Attack upon the Southern Baptists Historically Analyzed" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1949), pp. 12-44, for a good summary of Landmarkism as advocated by Graves, Dayton and Pendleton.

2 C. S. Gardner, "The Seminary as a Factor in the Kingdom of God," Review And Expositor, XLIII (April, 1945), p. 144.

near success of the "Reformation." Then, too, the revival of high churchism in this period brought mental and spiritual confusion. The Roman Catholics, the Anglican Church, the Episcopal Church, the German Reformed Synod, the Mormon Church and the Primitive Baptists were agitating the question and offering "historical" proof of their perpetuity; hence they claimed the sole title of the Church of Christ with the right to administer the ordinances.³

The Baptist folk longed for an orthodox Baptist prophet to restore their confidence in their own cause and to give grounds for a feeling of security for the troubled and confused times. J. R. Graves and the Landmark movement in a large measure fulfilled that need.⁴ That the movement was based on false premises, or that its logic would ultimately lead to positions that the majority of Baptists could not receive, did not disturb the masses of the denomination in Kentucky because it was what they wanted to hear said in apostolic tones and in an authoritative manner.

³ L. L. Gwaltney, The World's Greatest Decade (Birmingham, Ala.: Birmingham Printing Company, 1947), pp. 122-123. Cf. S. H. Ford, "L. L. Pinkerton--A Challenge," The Christian Repository, IV (November, 1855), 701-702. The Campbellites asserted that Baptist baptism is a human ordinance and is on the same level with baptism by sprinkling.

⁴ The "Reformation" was likewise a response to a felt need--a reaction to the sterility of hyper-Calvinism. In several respects Graves, the Champion of Baptist orthodoxy, bore resemblance to Alexander Campbell in personality traits, methods, and final results of his movement.

I. DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

Doctor A. H. Newman described the distinguishing features of the Old-Landmark system as

. . . the zealous advocacy of Baptist apostolic succession, insistence on the necessity of properly authorized administrators of baptism to the validity of the ordinance and consequent refusal to recognize as valid baptism administered by a pedobaptist, and refusal to recognize pedobaptist organizations as churches or their ministers as properly authorized preachers of the gospel.⁵

The Landmark movement began with an emphasis upon the local visible church⁶ which it came to identify with the "Kingdom of heaven" of the New Testament.⁷ The one

⁵ A. H. Newman, A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1894), p. 494.

⁶ W. W. Barnes, "History of the Southern Baptist Convention" (unpublished manuscript), Chap. IV, p. 1. For this cause the New Hampshire Confession, which defines only a local church, came to predominate in the Southwest. J. R. Graves, Old Landmarkism: What Is It? (second edition; Memphis, Tenn.: Baptist Book House, 1881), pp. 32-34. Cf. Cyril C. Richardson, The Church Through the Centuries (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1938), p. 225; "The stress upon the particular congregation has a philosophic root in the American tendency to see things in the concrete and to regard empirical phenomena as the most real."

⁷ J. R. Graves, The Works of Christ in the Covenant of Redemption (Memphis, Tenn.: Baptist Book House, 1883), pp. 264-267, 271, 295; Old Landmarkism: What Is It?, pp. 32-34, 55, 122-123. Graves asserted that Christ has no church or kingdom in heaven, therefore when he spoke of his kingdom he meant his visible churches on the earth. Cf. A. C. Dayton, "Is There an Invisible Universal Church?," Southern Baptist Review and Eclectic, II (September and October, 1856), 144-174. Dayton denied the doctrine of an invisible universal church, and in a footnote (p. 144) Graves, the editor, agreed with this "original" view of the author.

indispensable mark of a true church was gospel baptism:⁸
 baptism to be valid must have not only a gospel subject
 and mode, but also a gospel or qualified administrator.
 In order to be qualified, the administrator must himself
 be immersed, ordained by a presbytery of immersed believers,
 and at the time of the baptizing acting under the authority
of a regular or Baptist church.⁹

This insistence on the necessity in every case of
 church authority for a qualified administrator led to many
 of the peculiarities of the Landmark movement. This view
 meant that in reality the "Kingdom of heaven" was the sum
 total of local Baptist churches--if only the baptized can

⁸ Graves, Old Landmarkism: What Is It?, p. 33.
 Graves substituted the word "church" for the term
 "kingdom of God" in John 3:5 and thus obtained a divine
 command for this truth--"Except a man be born of water
 (baptized) . . . he cannot enter the church." Cf. ante,
 pp. 42ff. The similarity of the attitudes and views of
 G. Killingworth and J. R. Graves is very striking.

⁹ Article in the Tennessee Baptist, October 6, 1857.
 J. M. Pendleton, An Old Landmark Re-set (Nashville:
 South-Western Publishing House, 1859), pp. 14ff., 61.
 A. C. Dayton, Pedobaptist and Campbellite Immersions
 (Nashville: South-Western Publishing House, 1858),
 pp. 86-87.

enter the kingdom and only Baptist churches can authorize baptism.¹⁰ It meant further that the Christian duties which belong to the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper and the preaching of the gospel were confined to the members of the Baptist churches.¹¹ This view also involved them in the necessity of asserting, either on historical proof or by faith, the doctrine of organic church succession through baptized ministers from the time of Christ until now;

10 Graves, Old Landmarkism: What Is It?, p. 33. Articles in the Western Recorder, July 13, 1916; November 14, 1858; December 5, 1859; May 26, 1860; March 21, 1878. In the last issue James Bell denied that other than Baptists were members of God's eternal kingdom. Most Landmarkers did not go that far, although at times their arguments seem to imply it. Thomas H. Storts, "Alien Immersions," The Baptist Sentinel, II (November, 1871), 508-509, maintained that the only New Testament disciples in his day were the Baptists. Cf. article in the Baptist Argus, November 24, 1898.

11 Pendleton, An Old Landmark Re-set, pp. 10, 14f., 61. Article in the Western Recorder, December 22, 1858. The writer limits the administration of baptism to the officers of a Baptist church. Later developments led many to say that the church could authorize any of its members to baptize. Cf. articles in the Western Recorder, May 26, 1860, and February 27, 1869.

for only in this way would it have been possible for "gospel" baptism to be preserved.¹²

II. THE STRUGGLE BEGINS

Landmark ideas were tested on the already battle-weary fields of Tennessee and Kentucky. The Tennessee Baptist had an ever increasing circulation among Kentucky Baptists, and Doctor Pendleton, Graves' co-worker and author of An Old Landmark Re-set, was the popular and esteemed pastor of the First Baptist Church in Bowling Green, Kentucky.¹³ In spite of these favorable circumstances, however, Kentucky Baptists did not capitulate to this novel emphasis without a long and often bitter struggle.

¹² Although Graves in his introduction to G. H. Orchard's A Concise History of Foreign Baptists (Nashville: Graves, Marks & Rutland, 1855), seems to uphold actual church succession, he expressly denies that he teaches it in Old Landmarkism: What Is It?, p. 122. His arguments, however, demand it and the majority of his followers proclaimed it. If the kingdom is identical to the visible church, and the former has always been in existence (Ibid., pp. 121-122; The Works of Christ in the Covenant of Redemption, p. 272), then the latter of necessity has been. On the basis of his views concerning baptism and the administrator, this must be organic succession. The only reason for its denial was the self-evident affinity to the succession theory of Roman Catholicism. Cf. Gwaltney, op. cit., pp. 122-123.

¹³ Article in the American Baptist, December 5, 1929. The article relates the conversion of Pendleton to Graves' views during a revival at Bowling Green conducted by Graves for Pendleton.

John L. Waller, the editor of the Western Recorder; W. W. Everts, the pastor of the Walnut Street Baptist Church in Louisville; Professor Farnam of Georgetown College; Doctor Lynd, the president of the Western Theological Institute of Covington; and J. L. Burrows, formerly of Henderson, Kentucky, and later to be pastor of Broadway Baptist Church in Louisville, were among the Kentuckians to make immediate reply to the publication of An Old Landmark Re-set.¹⁴

III. THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS

Church as form and essence. The opponents of Landmarkism held that the organization and discipline of a body did not enter into the essence of the church.¹⁵ A permanent assembly of redeemed Christians contained the essential features of a Christian church, although partially in error in some matters of organization or discipline. They denied that the conceding of ecclesiastical character to these bodies inferred the lawfulness of those points

¹⁴ Pendleton, An Old Landmark Re-set, Appendix I, pp. 29ff. In this 1859 edition the author replies to the criticisms of his first edition by these men.

¹⁵ J. M. Pendleton, "The Old Landmark Vindicated," The Christian Repository, IV (April, 1855), 222-225. He asserts that the essence and form are inseparable and that there can be no visible church without baptism.

wherein they differed or closed the door to effective protest against these errors.¹⁶ By the standards erected by Landmarkism, they continued, a pious evangelical pedobaptist society is excluded from the "kingdom," while an anti-mission, anti-temperance, hyper-Calvinistic Baptist church is accepted as a true church of Christ.¹⁷ The Landmarkers' error, they pointed out, is the old papal fallacy of exalting organism and the ceremonial above practical religion. The goal, they continued, is for all Christian bodies to be perfect churches in both faith and order, but it is impossible to tell in default of how many of the graces or points of order of a perfect church that a community of believers ceases to be a church of Christ.¹⁸

16 W. W. Everts, "The Old Landmark Discovered," The Christian Repository, IV (January, 1855), 22-24. Cf. ibid., pp. 32-33. Cf. Pendleton, An Old Landmark Re-set, p. 25; "The Old Landmark Vindicated," op. cit., p. 270. An article in the Western Recorder, January 24, 1878, supports Pendleton's view, while articles in the same paper for February 20, 1869; January 31, 1878; and February 7, 1878, support Everts' position. The last article listed said that the fact that the church receives alien immersions by examination rather than by letter is a protest against the errors of their societies.

17 Ibid., pp. 24-25.. Cf. Pendleton, "The Old Landmark Vindicated," op. cit., p. 219, where he divides the religious world into two groups--the Romanists and the Protestant Pedobaptists, and the Baptists. Rome is Babylon and the Protestant Pedobaptists are her daughters, all of whom are to be destroyed. On p. 234, however, he includes the anti-mission Baptists in the same class with Rome and her daughters.

18 Loc. cit. Cf. W. W. Everts, "Review of 'Old Landmark Vindicated,'" The Christian Repository, IV (April, 1855), 239-240.

. . . a Christian church is a congregation of Christian men, associated for the worship of Christ and the spread of his doctrines. A regularly organized Christian church is one ordered according to the rules of the New Testament. The order and discipline of a church are important, but they pertain rather to the form than to the essence of the church, to which belong Christian privileges, powers and promises.¹⁹

Preaching as an official function. A second fallacy discovered in the Landmark high church dogma by their opponents was the restricting of preaching to those authorized by a Baptist church.²⁰ The supporters of this view had been brought to this position because Waller and others who favored the reception of alien immersion had interpreted the Commission as giving the authority to baptize to those disciples who were able to preach, and had quoted the London Confession of 1644--an ancient Baptist landmark--to sustain them.²¹ Hence if an unauthorized man could preach, he could also baptize, and the whole contention of Landmarkism would be annihilated.

Everts pointed out that the assumption that preaching is exclusively an official act is the essence of the priestly

¹⁹ Everts, "Review of 'Old Landmark Vindicated,'" op. cit., p. 246.

²⁰ Everts, "The Old Landmark Discovered," op. cit., p. 27f. Cf. Pendleton, An Old Landmark Re-set, pp. 14, 61. Article in the Western Recorder, July 6, 1872.

²¹ Cf. ante, pp. 147f. Articles in the Western Recorder, April 14, 1860, and September 14, 1872.

assumption of the papacy, as distinguished from the Baptist doctrine of the priesthood of all believers.

. . . While true Protestantism has asserted a vastly broader liberty, and taught that all may preach what they know of the gospel to all who will hear, at any time and in any place convenient to speaker and hearer,²²

He pointed out, further, that the only distinction between a minister and the individual members of his flock is that he has been set apart to give his full attention to preaching; and it is in the light of this fact that expediency, not New Testament precept or example, has restricted the administration of the ordinances to him.²³

Baptism the indispensable mark of the visible church.

J. M. Pendleton had asserted that there could be no visible church without baptism.²⁴ His opponents argued, however, that if baptism constitutes the separation that distinguishes churches as churches of Christ, then baptism is essential to salvation and the Campbellites should no longer be

²² Everts, "The Old Landmark Discovered," op. cit., p. 27. Cf. ibid., pp. 28-32.

²³ Ibid., pp. 30f. Cf. John L. Waller, "Baptism by 'Reformers' and Pedo-Baptists," The Western Baptist Review, I (June, 1846), 371-372.

²⁴ Pendleton, An Old Landmark Re-set, p. 10. Cf. Dayton, Pedobaptist and Campbellite Immersions, pp. 88-89. Article in the Western Recorder, July 2, 1864. The writer asserts that baptism is "the line of separation between the church and the world."

reproached, but received as brothers.²⁵ Baptism, they contended, is not the sine qua non of either Christianity or the church.²⁶

. . . Whatever calls out and separates men from the world as Christ's people, constitutes them, according to the scriptural idea of ekklesia, a Christian church. If the call of the Spirit, or regeneration, separates from the world and unites to Christ, then regeneration creates the essential distinctions of the church. If baptism is not essential to the separation of men from the world and their union with Christ, then it is not essential to the etymological idea of the church . . . Baptism was appointed to distinguish, and not to make Christians; to order, and not to create churches.²⁷

The authority of the administrator. The opponents of Landmarkism felt that entirely too much importance was attached to the qualifications of the administrator, and explained it on the basis that their opponents had yielded to the natural disposition of most men to elevate shadows above the substance.²⁸ It seemed to them that if God used "unbaptized" men as instruments in the work of conversion, which is the greater work, surely He could use the same

²⁵ Everts, "Review of 'Old Landmark Vindicated,'" op. cit., pp. 237-238.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 242. Cf. articles in the Western Recorder, December 22, 1858; November 10, 1860; July 6, 1872; and February 14, 1878, for discussions of baptism as the door and initiatory rite into the church.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 245-246.

²⁸ Editorial in the Western Recorder, October 15, 1856.

instruments in the performance of baptism, the lesser work.²⁹ They held, moreover, that the prominent prerequisite to baptism is faith on the part of the subject; and when there is no deficiency of form or spirit within the control of the person who receives baptism, then that baptism is valid. The subject must not be held responsible for any error or wrong on the part of the administrator.³⁰

Especially objectionable to the opponents of landmarkism was the assertion that the administrator of valid baptism must be authorized by a Baptist church. They pointed out that according to the New Testament both John and Jesus baptized without church authority. Neither, they continued, is there the slightest intimation that either the apostles at Pentecost or Philip in Samaria had church authority. Moreover, Philip baptized the eunuch,

²⁹ Articles in the Western Recorder, April 18, 1855; April 14, 1860; September 14, 1872; and January 3, 1878. Cf. article in the Western Recorder, January 3, 1878, where the editor, Caperton, denies that God calls unbaptized men to preach, although he may call some to get ready to preach--that is, to be baptized.

³⁰ Articles in the Western Recorder, July 15, 1857; October 20, 1860; January 25, 1869; June 1, 1872; July 27, 1872; January 10, 1878; January 31, 1878; and February 14, 1878. In an article in the January 20, 1872, issue, it is said that, "A candidate is bound to select a proper administrator." It is up to the candidate, the writer continued, to study the New Testament and then to look around until he finds a scriptural administrator. Similar views were expressed in the July 31, 1869, and February 28, 1878, issues.

Ananias baptized Paul, Peter baptized Cornelius, and Paul baptized Lydia and the Philippian jailer without recourse to any church authorization.

31

A. C. Dayton declared concerning the administrator, "The validity of his official acts does not depend on his baptism, or on his piety, or on his orthodoxy, but on the authority which he has received from the Church."³² And

31 Beth, "What Is Valid Baptism?" The Baptist Sentinel, I (March, 1870), 211-216. Article in the Western Recorder, July 20, 1876. Cf. John L. Waller, "The Administrator of Baptism," The Western Baptist Review, III (August, 1848), 467. Waller denied that Baptists, except in recent times, ever rebaptized solely because the administrator was not authorized by a Baptist church. Cf. articles in the Western Recorder, February 14, 1878; February 21, 1878; and February 28, 1878, where Caperton, the editor, gives proof that each of the New Testament baptizers had church authority. Typical of his proof is the assertion that Philip had church authority because he was "morally certain" that Philip was ordained. Similar reasoning was offered by "Gaius" in the November 9, 1872, issue. He asserted that Ananias was authorized by one of the Baptist churches in Damascus of which he was the pastor! Cf. article in the Western Recorder, May 16, 1907, where editor Eaton proves, very ingeniously, that Philip was an ordained preacher on the grounds that it is assumed that the Baptist church order of requiring preachers to be ordained is that taught in the New Testament. Since it is in the New Testament it was inspired by the Holy Ghost, and since the Holy Ghost directed Philip to baptize it proves his ordination, or else the Holy Ghost contradicted himself, which is impossible.

32 Dayton, Pedobaptist and Campbellite Immersions, p. 87. Cf. ibid., pp. 128f., 134ff. The argument that a man cannot give that which he has not received is repudiated by Dayton and this is substituted. Campbellites and many immersed Methodists were now immersing. According to Dayton's view, an unconverted and/or unbaptized administrator's baptisms are valid if he baptized by the authority of a Baptist church; but the baptisms of a converted, immersed administrator are invalid if not authorized by a Baptist church.

Caperton boldly asserted that, "It is not the inner character of the administrator that we are to look to but his official character. The unrenewed man who has church authority to baptize is better qualified than the renewed man who has no such authority."³³ The opponents of Landmarkism believed that such views necessarily involved an infallible church based on a succession from the Apostles.³⁴

Cf. articles in the Western Recorder, February 20, 1869; May 25, 1872; and January 31, 1878. In the January 3, 1878, issue, J. L. Burrows reminds the opposition that the church does not make ministers, but only recognizes those that God has called. Neither does the church vote to baptize, but to receive those already baptized. He warned against substituting "Churchianity" for Christianity.

33 Article in the Western Recorder, January 17, 1878. Cf. ibid., October 24, 1889; January 21, 1892; February 4, 1892; and February 25, 1892. The Council of Trent also declared that the functions of an ordained priest are not invalidated by his wickedness as a man. Cf. Philip Schaff, The Creeds of Christendom (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1896), II, 121f.

34 Articles in the Western Recorder, June 10, 1857; July 15, 1857; January 12, 1861; and January 23, 1869. Cf. Waller, "The Administrator of Baptism," op. cit., p. 465. Everts, "The Old Landmark Discovered," op. cit., p. 21. Everts foresaw that these views would lead to extreme sectarian zeal. "Many men are better partizans than Christians, Partyism is a cheap piety, and many would be glad to atone for the defects of Christian character by fulness of partizan zeal."

Infallibility and Proscription. For all practical purposes Landmarkers, while denying it in theory, accepted the concept of infallibility for their system. Over and over Graves and his followers asserted that every "true Baptist," every "real Baptist" agreed with them, and if a "so-called Baptist" embraced the ideas of open communion, alien immersion or pulpit affiliation, then he had ceased to be a Baptist.³⁵ An infallible church cannot suffer any form of dissent to remain within its organization without a direct threat to its claim of infallibility. The church assumes the responsibility for all the sentiments and principles of all its members, but in turn demands absolute subservience to its teachings. In the Baptist type of churches the Landmarkers could not exclude or excommunicate those who disagreed with them because they did not maintain any ecclesiastical authority over them, but they attempted in every way possible to discredit them as Baptists. They

³⁵ Dayton, Pedobaptist and Campbellite Immersions, pp. vi-viii. Articles in the Western Recorder, January 2, 1860; January 9, 1860; March 9, 1872; September 28, 1868; April 22, 1857; and June 3, 1857. J. H. Grime, History of Alien Immersion and Valid Baptism ([n. o.], [n. n.], 1909), p. 6. Article in the Western Recorder, December 5, 1859. It is asserted here as things settled among Baptists, "That Pedobaptist and Campbellite immersions are not to be received That unbaptized persons cannot be members of Christ's visible church or kingdom on earth, and that nothing is baptism but the immersion of a believer by an authorized administrator." D. B. Ray, Baptist Succession: A Hand-Book of Baptist History (Cincinnati: George E. Stevens & Co., 1870), pp. 16-17.

encouraged churches to amend their constitutions so as to prevent any future reception of alien immersions. They also encouraged associations to declare non-fellowship with any church that would receive alien immersion--contrary to the usual Baptist position that associations are mere advisory councils and fellowship is to be withdrawn only when a church violates the terms of the compact.³⁶ The Daviess County Association is an example of the Landmark influence. In 1847, after having rejected a similar resolution the previous year,³⁷ it reluctantly passed the following resolution:

. . . 'Resolved, That while we disclaim any and all rights to make laws for the government of the Churches, we return as answer to the Churches of Buck Creek and Station, that we advise the Churches not to receive members from Pedo-Baptists or Reformers (Campbellites) upon their baptism.³⁸

36 S. H. Ford, "Associations-Baptist Custom," The Christian Repository, IV (October, 1855), 607-609. Articles in the Western Recorder, May 11, 1872, and October 5, 1872. This investigator examined many of the minutes of the older associations in Kentucky and did not find one that in its terms of union prescribed valid baptism as by the authority of a regular Baptist church. Even the Shelby County Association, which was organized as late as 1872, omitted it and only inserted it into its constitution in 1950 by a 37-16 vote--151 messengers were either absent or abstained from voting. Minutes, The Shelby County Association, 1873, p. 13; 1950, p. 16.

37 Minutes, The Daviess County Association, 1846, p. 4.

38 Wendell H. Rone, A History of the Daviess-McLean Baptist Association in Kentucky (Owensboro, Ky. 7: [Messenger Job Printing Co.], [1944]), p. 504.

Under the influence of Landmarkism, however, this same association twenty-four years later asserted the necessity of the authority of a regular Baptist church for valid baptism and "requested" the churches during the coming year to take an official stand on the question and to report their decisions at the next meeting "so that we may know whether we are all of one mind, one faith, one Lord and one Baptism."³⁹

Had the Landmarkers been consistent and completely separated themselves from all the churches and associations that permitted the reception of alien immersion and pulpit affiliation, or if the supporters of alien immersion had retaliated with the same proscribing spirit, the followers of Graves early would have become a separate denomination

³⁹ Minutes, The Daviess County Association, 1871, p. 16. This phrase was used in many of the associations and meant simply that if any church was discovered not of the "one baptism" or receiving alien immersions, the association would exercise the necessary discipline at its next meeting. Cf. article in the Western Recorder, September 23, 1871, and J. H. Spencer, A History of Kentucky Baptists (Cincinnati: J. H. Spencer, 1886), II, 477, 547, 564, 626f., for other instances of the proscribing spirit in the associations. Dayton, Pedobaptists and Campbellite Immersions, pp. 266-270, provides a notable exception to the usual proscribing attitude. This proscribing spirit grew more noticeable as Landmarkism grew stronger. Cf. article in The Baptist Argus, October 29, 1908.

and perhaps like Campbellism, Landmarkism would soon have lost its force.⁴⁰ Few, however, are practically logical or consistent, and the leaders of the broader view would not proscribe because they did not believe that either they or the type of churches they represented were infallible, but being human, and their organizations being composed of human beings, they were alike subject to error. They agreed that the church "does not endorse and maintain all those sentiments, principles, and practices [of all its members] as of God, and hence is not called to withdraw from every imperfect member, and thus annihilate itself;"⁴¹ Baptists, they recalled, have always stood for the right of private judgment in those things not essential to salvation. Moreover, to submit to the decrees of the church against one's own conviction is to sacrifice one's personal

40 Article in the Western Recorder, October 5, 1872. A. H. Newman, A History of the Baptist Churches, p. 495. David Moore, op. cit., pp. 159f. The separation of the Landmark group did not come until 1905, twelve years after Graves' death and about fifty years after the beginning of his movement.

41 G. D. B. Pepper, "Doctrinal History and Position," The Baptists and the National Centenary (Lemuel Moss, editor; Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1876), pp. 55-56. Cf. article in the Western Recorder, December 7, 1872.

integrity.⁴² They insisted that the only satisfactory solution to the problem, therefore, was to permit liberty of conscience to both parties on this question upon which Baptists have never been united, without censure. Then the question would remain where it belonged--with the local church. Each local church would decide for herself in each case as it arose, and the decision would be final for her alone.⁴³

Succession. It was frequently pointed out that, whether admitted or not, the logic of the Landmark conception of valid baptism demanded some kind of succession.⁴⁴ Most of the Landmarkers, on the other hand, denied that

42 Article in the Western Recorder, September 2, 1857. The writer gave as an example the case of Fred Hutchinson (Supra, pp. 129f.), who was happy and singularly blessed in his work until forced by the Kettocton Association, for the sake of peace, to be reimmersed. Subsequently he lost his zeal, went into secular employment and finally was excluded from the church. He repented and was partially restored before his death.

43 Editorial in the Western Recorder, October 28, 1857. Articles in the Western Recorder, April 22, 1857; July 15, 1857; September 30, 1857; February 22, 1868; October 24, 1868; January 23, 1869; and March 21, 1878. Cf. Waller, "Baptism by 'Reformers' and Pede-Baptists," op. cit., p. 367; "Administrator of Baptism," op. cit., p. 461.

44 Supra, pp. 162f., 171. Cf. Articles in the Western Recorder, April 22, 1857; January 12, 1861; July 6, 1872; March 7, 1878; and February 4, 1892.

it was essential to their views,⁴⁵ but expended much of their time in proving the existence of a Baptist succession.

A. C. Caperton in an article which appeared in the Western Recorder, January 10, 1878, and January 17, 1878, laid the groundwork for apostolic succession. The Great Commission, he said, was given only to the Apostles and it was made their duty to provide for carrying out the instructions contained in the commission. This they did, he continued, by appointing and authorizing others to preach, baptize and teach. An example of the pattern which must be followed unalterably is that of Paul authorizing Timothy and he in turn later ordaining elders in every city. This process, he announced, is assumed to have continued to the present where the qualifications of the administrator of baptism are "mainly ceremonial" and are "given him in his ordination 'by the laying on of hands of the presbytery.'"

The usual view, however, was that of church succession. Graves imported from England and broadcast, with a special "Graves" introduction, the unreliable history by G. H. Orchard, A Concise History of Foreign Baptists,⁴⁶

45 Articles in the Western Recorder, August 12, 1857; July 2, 1864; January 3, 1878; and March 7, 1878.

46 Cf. article in the Western Recorder, June 20, 1855, for a review of this history which asserts that it teaches baptismal regeneration, and that it is unreliable and contradictory.

which purports to establish a succession of Baptist churches (under varying names) from the time of the Apostles to the present. Many accepted his claims as sufficient and boldly asserted that

All well-informed Baptists are agreed in the belief that we, as a people, have continued from the time of Christ until the present

. . . . [and] No man can be in the church or kingdom of Jesus Christ who is not in that kingdom which has the succession from the apostolic age.⁴⁷

In order to establish this claim of Baptist succession, some misconceptions of history had to be rewritten. A typical work based on Orchard's history was D. B. Ray's Baptist Succession: A Hand-Book of Baptist History. Starting with the present day Baptists, Ray retraced the trail of Baptist descent and pointed out that the first American Baptists did not descend from Roger Williams, but from John Clarke and the Newport Baptist Church.⁴⁸ Contrary

⁴⁷ Ray, op. cit., pp. 15, 17. Cf. article in the Western Recorder, June 3, 1857, and articles in the Baptist Gleaner, May 29, 1884; July 17, 1884; and March 27, 1885.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 42ff. In pre-Landmark days the baptism of Williams and his church at Providence were acknowledged as valid by the anti-alien immersion group on the basis of necessity. Cf. articles in the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer, February 28, 1839, and February 24, 1842. Waller, "Baptism by 'Reformers' and Pedo-Baptists," op. cit., p. 372. Landmarkism, however, denied that either Williams or his church were Baptist, but only that some of them entertained Baptist-like views. Landmarkers also took the untenable position that Williams and the Providence church, although called by the name of Baptist, had no

to the prevailing notion, he continued, the English Baptists descended from the German Baptists rather than from the irregularities of John Smyth.⁴⁹ The German Baptists, moreover, were the true descendents of the Waldenses and not a product of the fanaticism of Munster.⁵⁰ Although the modern Waldenses are Pedobaptists, the ancient sect of that name was composed of Baptist folk.⁵¹ Peter Waldo, the twelfth century leader of this sect, rather than the father of the Waldenses and giving to them his name, instead received his name from them; and the Waldenses sprang from the ancient (third century) and scattered sect known as the Novatians.⁵² But again history has misunderstood the facts, because the Novatians did not originate with Novatian (pp. 154ff.), but Novatian became the leader of the stricter party within the church catholic that was the true descendent of the Apostles. Thus Novatian did

fellowship, contact or influence upon any other Baptist church. Cf. articles in the Western Recorder, July 15, 1857; October 14, 1857; October 21, 1857; October 16, 1869; March 23, 1905; August 30, 1906; and an article in the Baptist Gleaner, January 31, 1884. William C. Buck, "Antiquity of the Baptists-Roger Williams," The Christian Repository, IV (December, 1855), 731-733. Thomas Storts, "Alien Immersions," op. cit., p. 541.

49 Ibid., pp. 76ff.

50 Ibid., pp. 91ff.

51 Ibid., pp. 121ff.

52 Ibid., pp. 142ff.

not separate from the Roman Catholic Church, but that which later became the Roman Catholic Church separated from him and the apostolic church.⁵³

In the beginning of his work Ray listed seven "peculiarities," none of which, he claimed, is held by any other denomination. They are:

1. The Baptists, as a church or kingdom, recognize Jesus Christ alone as their founder and head.

2. The Baptists regard the Bible alone as their rule of faith and practice.

3. The Baptists perpetuate the Bible order of the commandments; they teach repentance, faith, baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

4. Baptists immerse, or bury with Christ in baptism, only those who profess to be dead to, or freed from, sin.

5. Baptists recognize equal rights or privileges in the execution of the laws of the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

6. Baptists observe the Lord's Supper at his table in his kingdom.

7. Baptists have never persecuted others; but have themselves always been peculiarly persecuted and everywhere spoken against.⁵⁴

Ray then proved, to his satisfaction, that these seven earmarks of a Baptist were discoverable in the apostolic churches, the Novatian churches, the Waldensian churches,

53 Ibid., pp. 159ff.

54 Ibid., pp. 19f.

the Anabaptist congregations, and the modern Baptist denomination.⁵⁵

Some of the Landmark brethren, however, disclaimed the necessity for historical proof of Baptist church succession, and in the spirit of Rome interpreted Matthew 16:18 as referring to an earthly visible organization, namely, the Baptist church.⁵⁶ Thus to deny church succession was to them to deny the inspiration of the Scriptures, "to contradict the blessed Savior and to discredit the providence of God."⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 285ff. Cf. articles in the Western Recorder, August 12, 1857, and September 30, 1857. In the former article, Sanders of Tennessee "proved" that all of these groups rejected alien immersions. In the latter article A. D. Sears denied that all the mentioned sects were Baptists or that they rebaptized for the same reason that Landmarkers do. J. S. Coleman in the September 28, 1868, issue, added the Donatists, Paulicians and Albigenses to the Baptist tree and asserted that they all died for anti-alien immersion sentiments. Cf. article in The Baptist Argus, December 27, 1906, where W. J. McGlothlin said that, "As a rule the more narrow and rigid a man is now, the more liberal he is in judging the sects of the Middle Ages; he would refuse absolutely to receive alien immersion at present, and yet earnestly claims as Baptists those in the Middle Ages whose immersion by anybody is extremely doubtful."

⁵⁶ Articles in the Western Recorder, October 28, 1857; July 2, 1864; March 16, 1872; July 27, 1872; February 28, 1878; and March 7, 1878. A. S. Worrell, "What Is Valid Baptism?," The Baptist Sentinel, I (November, 1869), 25-33. Cf. ante, p. 160. If Christ has no other church or kingdom except an earthly organization, then this interpretation is correct.

⁵⁷ Articles in the Western Recorder, March 16, 1872, and March 7, 1878. Cf. article in the Baptist Gleaner, March 8, 1883.

Those who opposed the Landmark contentions were confident that the correct interpretation of Matthew 16:18 revealed Christ as referring to the church in its universal and spiritual concept. If, however, Jesus was speaking of an earthly organization, they pointed out that its infallible and universal qualities would exclude the Baptists with their independency and congregationalism.⁵⁸ Succession was succession regardless of which group asserted it.

. . . This unreasonable claim we are not prepared to set up for the Baptists. We have always felt a contempt for the doctrine of Apostolical succession contended for by the Episcopalians. And we certainly cannot have any higher respect for it when asserted by the Baptists . . . Inasmuch as we have always believed that to assert such a claim would be an absurdity, we have been forced from consistency to admit that baptism is valid when administered to a proper subject. For we can see no difference in principle between having the chain of succession broken one year ago, and having it broken sixteen hundred years ago.⁵⁹

58 Articles in the Western Recorder, July 15, 1857, and March 14, 1878.

59 Article in the Western Recorder, April 22, 1857.

IV. MINOR ARGUMENTS⁶⁰

Those hostile to the reception of alien immersions appealed to the instinct of fear. They blandly asserted that the acceptance of alien immersions would eventuate in the demolition of every distinguishing characteristic of the Baptists,⁶¹ and that the recognition of alien immersions was but the first step to open communion and a flood of other errors.⁶² Open communion and alien

60 It would lengthen this work unnecessarily to discuss such puerile arguments as that the word "alien" proved that alien immersions are outside of the kingdom; that if alien immersions are acceptable then there would be no need for churches or for an ordained ministry; that if the commission were given to all disciples then women would have the right to preach and baptize, if strong enough, which would be absurd; that all Pedobaptist immersions are void of faith and therefore are sin--they only immerse to keep from losing a member; that most Baptists receive alien immersions only because of an unholy desire to increase their membership; and that alien immersions are wrong because no one can find the chapter and verse in the New Testament where it says that Pedobaptists and Campbellites have authority to baptize. Cf. articles in the Western Recorder, December 5, 1868; October 14, 1857; August 26, 1857; January 31, 1878; February 21, 1878; October 16, 1869; July 31, 1869; June 3, 1857; December 22, 1858; November 14, 1858; March 7, 1907; December 14, 1905; and October 16, 1902. Cf. article in the Baptist Gleaner, February 22, 1883.

61 Articles in the Western Recorder, September 28, 1868; August 26, 1857; February 27, 1869; and March 18, 1885. The latter article prophesied that if pulpit affiliation and alien immersion became the prevailing practice they would wipe out the denomination in fifty years.

62 Articles in the Western Recorder, December 22, 1858; November 10, 1860; July 2, 1864; December 5, 1868; June 8, 1872; and August 7, 1875.

immersion principles were successfully identified by the Landmarkers,⁶³ and since open communion was almost unanimously rejected, alien immersion was rejected also.

Most of the Baptists were tired of the countless arguments in which they had been engaged for over half a century, and the Landmarkers appealed to this desire for peace. They let it be understood that as long as churches received alien immersions there would be strife and discord, because as a minority group they would not be willing to accept in peace the ruling of the majority on this issue.⁶⁴ It availed naught for their opponents to point out that before the advent of Landmarkism there were a host of associations and churches that received alien immersions and dwelt in peace and harmony with those who differed on this matter; and that such associations and churches both prospered and were favored of the Lord with gracious revivals.⁶⁵

63 Supra, p. 155.

64 Articles in the Western Recorder, August 26, 1857, and January 24, 1878.

65 Articles in the Western Recorder, July 8, 1857, and January 10, 1878.

V. THE WESTERN RECORDER⁶⁶

Editorially the Western Recorder stood in opposition to Landmark ideas and principles, except during the editorship of W. C. Buck (1840-50), until the latter part of 1858 when a Mr. J. Otis became the editor. Although Graves had asserted previously that Baptists in the South and in the West were uniform in their attitude on the question of alien immersion,⁶⁷ he admitted in 1858 that before his stand against the practice a majority of the churches in several southern states received alien immersions and that "Perhaps, the majority of the churches in Kentucky, Missouri and parts of South Carolina would today receive such acts as baptism."⁶⁸ In a footnote to the above quotation (p. iv), obviously aimed at Kentucky, Graves remarked that this was especially true in the states where the Baptist paper and leading men had advocated the practice.

⁶⁶ This paper was first published as the Baptist Banner in 1835. In 1839 the Banner purchased the Western Pioneer and the name was enlarged to the Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer. The name reverted to Baptist Banner in 1848 and the present name was adopted in 1851. The General Association purchased both the Western Recorder and The Baptist World in 1919, but retained the former name for the consolidated papers.

⁶⁷ Editorial in the Tennessee Baptist, May 25, 1848.

⁶⁸ Dayton, Pedobaptist and Campbellite Immersions, pp. iii-iv.

The advantages of having a pro-Landmark paper in Kentucky were not fully realized under Otis because of the approaching national catastrophe. During the Civil War the paper was very irregular and the chief topic for discussion, religiously, was the second Coming of Christ which developed into the millennial controversy at the war's end.

Following the war, the paper was again in the hands of those who opposed Landmarkism. It recognized the question of alien immersion as one of the open questions about which Baptists should agree to differ and not allow it to affect the harmony and fellowship of either the brethren or the churches. This, they acknowledged, could be accomplished only if the churches were allowed to deal with the cases individually as they arose, with the minority acquiescing to the will of the majority.⁶⁹

In July, 1871 the paper was purchased by a partnership in which A. C. Caperton was the chief figure; he was shortly to be the sole owner and editor. Caperton's first editorial (July 8, 1871) was entitled, "A New Departure," and it was soon apparent that the paper was now edited

⁶⁹ Articles in the Western Recorder, October 24, 1868, and September 23, 1871.

by a devout believer in Landmark principles.⁷⁰ In the usual "modest" spirit of true Landmarkism the editor declared that,

The Recorder's doctrines are those held by all Baptists; while the 'bones of contention' are mere theological excrescences, for which there certainly is no Scripture warrant, else it would have been produced long ago

.
the position of the Recorder is in accord with the positive teachings of the Bible, and in perfect accord with what all intelligent Baptists everywhere believe.⁷¹

The editor of the Western Recorder carried on an extended debate during the year 1878 with J. M. Weaver,⁷²

⁷⁰ Articles in the Western Recorder, June 1, 1872, and July 19, 1873.

⁷¹ Article in the Western Recorder, March 9, 1872. The Landmarkers took the Roman Catholic position that their faith had been believed "everywhere, always and by all," and as such was not subject to the purifying process of criticism.

⁷² Weaver was immersed upon his conversion in the Methodist church. From conviction in 1852 he joined the Baptist church in Bloomfield, Kentucky under the ministry of the celebrated William Vaughan, and was received on his Methodist immersion. Approximately a year after his debate with editor Caperton in 1878, he was reimmersed privately (about twelve persons were present, but not as a church body) by Doctor Boyce of the Southern Baptist Seminary. Many felt that his second baptism was as irregular as the first because it lacked specific church authorization where it was possible to obtain it. He was too juicy a plum to lose, however, and the editor explained in apology that for fear of discord, the matter was not discussed or voted upon by his church; but by consent the church had authorized the performance of the act. Cf. articles in the Western Recorder, January 22, 1880; January 29, 1880; and March 4, 1880. During their debate (Western Recorder, February 23, 1878) Caperton, when hard pressed by Weaver to give a specific illustration of church authority in the New Testament, had sparred by saying that church authority did not have to be given by vote or ordination, but could be given merely by consent.

pastor of the Chestnut Street Church (Weaver Memorial), and J. L. Burrows, the pastor of the Broadway Baptist Church, both of Louisville. The arguments were exhausted without anything really new being added. The discussions revealed, however, that Baptist sentiment as a whole in both Kentucky and the Southwest was swiftly moving toward the editor's position.

Caperton was succeeded in the editor's chair in 1887 by T. T. Eaton, the "J. R. Graves" of Kentucky. Eaton was a keen and intelligent debater, a skilled and prolific writer, a popular and persuasive speaker, and a prodigious denominational worker.⁷³ While editing the Western Recorder, which under his editorship had one of the largest circulations of any denominational paper in the West,⁷⁴ he also served as pastor of the rapidly growing

⁷³ John R. Sampey, Memoirs (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1945), p. 83. Sampey expressed the belief that Eaton, before the Whitsitt controversy, had the potentialities of becoming a leader of Southern Baptists like unto John Broadus.

⁷⁴ Eaton is given credit for all of the work in the paper, although it is known that Mrs. Peck, an older, widowed sister, actually "guided the policy of the paper" and wrote widely. Cf. Sampey, op. cit., p. 79. Mrs. Peck started the paper on the anti-Whitsitt path while Eaton was on tour abroad. Cf. article in the Western Recorder, July 21, 1921, where W. P. Harvey, president and business manager under Eaton, said that the circulation reached 27,000 at its peak, then adds, "Sad that a question of Baptist history caused our subscription lists to decline as fast as it had increased."

Walnut Street Baptist Church in Louisville; he was a trustee of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Georgetown College and Southwestern University; he was on many committees for the Southern Baptist Convention and the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky; he was for many years a member of the executive board of the General Association; and for four years (1901-1902, 1905-1906) served as moderator of the Baptist body in this state. He held Kentucky Baptists under the sway of his influence more than any other one man in the history of the Baptists in this state. Succeeding editors of the paper have continued in the Eaton tradition of a modified Landmarkism.⁷⁵

VI. THE SOUTHERN SEMINARY

The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was moved from Greenville, South Carolina to Louisville, Kentucky after the Civil War mainly because of material and monetary

⁷⁵ Although there are variations, this tradition in the main stresses Baptist succession, accepted on the basis of faith in Matt. 16;18; the rejection of alien immersion, but differing on making it a test of fellowship; and the necessity of authorized administrators. Either not held or left unstressed are the matters of pulpit affiliation and the identifying of the kingdom of God with the Baptist churches. Cf. article in The Baptist Argus, November 24, 1898. Many of the editors have also continued the Eaton custom of publishing only the articles on the side of "truth" on debatable questions, as alien immersion. Cf. article in the Western Recorder, May 21, 1908.

considerations. From this standpoint the change proved to be highly successful and Doctor Boyce, the president, before his death was assured of the permanency of the institution. But the Seminary, which had had a brush with Landmarkism at a distance,⁷⁶ was now located in a region that predominantly favored Landmark views.⁷⁷ It was inevitable that the Seminary's position of liberty to the professor on disputed points⁷⁸ would be attacked by those who desired to make those disputed points tests of fellowship and orthodoxy, and who gloried in the fact that anti-Landmark sentiments were more prominent among those of the higher walks of life--the D. D.'s, L. L. D.'s and professors, than among the more humble and lowly.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ William Williams, professor of church history, was accused of teaching views favorable to the practice of receiving alien immersion. The attacks on Williams continued until his death in 1877, although his opponents were never able to force his removal. Cf. articles in the Western Recorder, December 23, 1871; May 4, 1872; May 9, 1874; and June 20, 1874. Article in The Baptist, April 16, 1874.

⁷⁷ Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi and Louisiana were the strongholds of the Landmark movement.

⁷⁸ A. T. Robertson, Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901), p. 301.

⁷⁹ Article in the Western Recorder, June 3, 1857. Dayton, Pedobaptist and Campbellite Immersions, pp. 14, 224, 230, 232, 240.

The Seminary professors, with few exceptions, have opposed the reception of alien immersion, but they have always insisted that the Seminary as an institution must not be identified with either view, that it is a matter for the local church to decide, that it should never be a test of fellowship or orthodoxy, and that the professors must be permitted liberty of conscience on disputed points as well as others.⁸⁰ The professors have opposed alien immersion, moreover, on the grounds of good order, regularity and peace, rather than on the grounds of doctrine.⁸¹ While this has been acceptable to the majority of the constituents

⁸⁰ W. J. McGlothlin, Kentucky Baptists, The Seminary, And 'Alien Immersion' (Louisville, Ky.: n. n. 7, 1908), pp. 16-20. John A. Broadus, Memoir of James Petigru Boyce (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1893), p. 226. Articles in the Western Recorder, January 18, 1894; September 10, 1908; September 24, 1908; and May 9, 1874. In the last issue Boyce stated that one of the factors guiding the Convention in composing the Abstract of Principles for the Seminary was that, "Upon no point, upon which the denomination is divided, should the Convention, and through it the Seminary, take any position."

⁸¹ Loc. cit. Cf. Pamphlet 265.1 B78 in the Southern Seminary Library which is an undated clipping from The Baptist Argus. Article in The Baptist World, September 17, 1908. Robertson, op. cit., p. 301.

of the Convention,⁸² it has never satisfied the Landmark element.⁸³

The Whitsitt controversy was Landmarkism's supreme challenge to the Seminary's policy of liberty of conscience for the professors on disputed points. Although they succeeded in forcing the resignation of Doctor Whitsitt as president of the Seminary and professor of church history, the Seminary's basic policy was unaltered.⁸⁴

⁸² Although there are no statistics, the evidence available seems to indicate that by 1880 the vast majority of Southern Baptists opposed the reception of alien immersions. Of the sixteen weeklies published by the Baptists in the South, only the Religious Herald of Virginia approved of the practice. Cf. Graves, Old Landmarkism: What Is It?, p. xv. This does not mean that there were not substantial and notable exceptions both as to men and churches, or that all those who rejected alien immersions were Landmarkers. There has never been a majority in the Convention that favored Landmarkism, as such, but the element has been so strong and aggressive that it has strongly influenced the whole Convention. Cf. Moore, op. cit., pp. 160f. There has always been a considerable number in the convention who, without any reference to Landmarkism, have rejected the practice of receiving alien immersion on the grounds of church order and regularity.

⁸³ Articles in the Western Recorder, August 20, 1908; September 24, 1908; and June 17, 1909.

⁸⁴ At the meeting in which the trustees accepted Whitsitt's resignation, they expressly reaffirmed their adherence to the principle of liberty of conscience to the professors on disputed points. Cf. Sampey, op. cit., p. 93. W. J. McGlothlin, who succeeded Whitsitt in the chair of church history, held practically the same views as Whitsitt on these historical questions. Cf. W. J. McGlothlin, A Guide to the Study of Church History (New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914), pp. 241-243;

Many personal factors contributed to the complexity of this issue,⁸⁵ and the details of the controversy are not pertinent to this thesis.⁸⁶

The Course of Christian History (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1918), pp. 125-126; Baptist Confessions of Faith (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911), pp. 110, 168-169. Article in the Baptist And Reflector, May 6, 1909.

85 Sampey, op. cit., pp. 79-93. It is interesting to note that in an article in the Baptist Gleaner, March 4, 1885, T. T. Eaton, as an intimate friend and as the pastor of W. H. Whitsitt, defended him against accusations made by J. H. Spencer, and warned Spencer against holding Baptist succession in the same light as the Episcopalians and Catholics. It is a strong defense of Whitsitt's character and orthodoxy. There is no noticeable change in this friendly relationship until Whitsitt and Eaton take opposing views on the B. Y. P. U. question in 1895, the same year that Whitsitt was elected to the presidency of the Seminary. Cf. Sampey, op. cit., p. 80, where he suggests that Eaton was disappointed in not obtaining the presidency for himself, or at least in not receiving honorable mention for the position. Eaton and the Western Recorder opposed the B. Y. P. U. A. because Negroes were invited on a par with Whites, women were allowed to speak and their "enthusiasm" was unbecoming. In 1895 Whitsitt served on the committee for the organization of a Southern B. Y. P. U. The Western Recorder accused the committee of holding secret meetings and of attempting to put something over on the Convention against the will of the churches. The Convention finally rejected the proposal for a Southern B. Y. P. U., but only after much bitterness had been aroused. Within a year of this episode the Whitsitt controversy began in the Western Recorder.

86 For the details of the controversy consult, W. H. Whitsitt, A Question in Baptist History (Louisville, Ky.: Chas. T. Dearing, 1896); J. B. Thomas, Both Sides (Louisville, Ky.: Baptist Book Concern, 1897); and any of the leading denominational papers of 1896-1899, especially the Western Recorder, April 23, 1896-May, 1899.

The controversy began when the Western Recorder discovered that William H. Whitsitt, the president of the Southern Seminary, had asserted in an encyclopedia article that seemingly for a time prior to 1641 the Baptists of England did not practice immersion as the mode of baptism.⁸⁷ This theory, if substantiated, would be the death-knell of the Landmarkers' "church-succession" theory, for on their own principles where there is no valid baptism there can be no visible church. Whitsitt's theory seemed to place Baptists on the same plane as the Protestant Pedobaptist societies and therefore cast reflections on the Landmark claims of being the only true church of Christ with authority to baptize. This, of course, destroyed their main arguments for the rejection of alien immersions.

J. H. Spencer, a leader among Kentucky Baptists, immediately branded Whitsitt as "heretical," and from the beginning the issue became one of doctrine rather than of historical veracity.⁸⁸ Associations and conventions,

87 Supra, pp. 12ff.

88 Article in the Western Recorder, April 23, 1896. J. T. Christian almost alone approached the question from the historical view-point. His investigations, however, show too much bias as he attempted to read Landmark meanings into English Baptist terms. A. H. Newman pointed out many errors, misrepresentations and suppressions of evidence in his work. These are the very same things that Christian and the Western Recorder accused Whitsitt of doing in his works on the subject. Cf. article in the Baptist Inquirer, February 6, 1897.

composed mainly of messengers who knew little or nothing about English Baptist history, dogmatically asserted that Whitsitt was in error and therefore must be removed for the sake of "orthodoxy."

Because of the threat to withdraw all support from the Seminary, Doctor Whitsitt resigned in May, 1899. The controversy subsided, "orthodoxy" was vindicated, but Whitsitt's historical views became the accepted views of both English and American Baptist historians.

VII. THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF BAPTISTS IN KENTUCKY

At the formation of the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky in 1837, the Baptist leaders wisely decided that the purpose of the body was to unite all the Baptists of the state in missionary efforts without doctrinal qualifications. They agreed, therefore, not to adopt any articles of faith, but to accept the principles of the United Baptists of Kentucky as the basis for a working agreement among the churches.⁸⁹ In the terms of the General Union between the Separate and Regular Baptists which produced the United Baptists of Kentucky, the only mention of baptism is Article VI which states "That believers'

⁸⁹ Minutes, The General Association of Baptists in Kentucky, 1837, p. 6.

baptism, by immersion, is necessary to receive the Lord's Supper."⁹⁰ The Association refused to take sides on disputed points among the brethren.

Although the General Association, as a leader in the anti-Whitsitt faction of the Whitsitt controversy,⁹¹ clearly identified itself with those who opposed alien immersion, the body did not pass any resolutions dealing directly with the question of alien immersion for another decade.

By the beginning of the twentieth century a strong reaction to extreme Landmark views manifested itself.⁹² Darwin's theory of evolution and science had created a new climate of opinion that permeated every field of thought. Pragmatism, the belief that truth is what works and not an absolute, had supplanted the philosophy of transcendentalism that had prevailed throughout most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

. . . Transcendentalists lived in a paradise of absolutes, where truths were 'self-evident,' laws immutable, right and wrong clear-cut. Their universe

90 Basil Manly, Jr., "History of the Elkhorn Baptist Association, Kentucky 1785-1815," Minutes, The Elkhorn Baptist Association, 1878, pp. 27-28.

91 Cf. Sampey, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87. Cf. Minutes, The General Association of Baptists in Kentucky, 1897, pp. 29f; 1898, pp. 9-11.

92 Article in The Baptist Argus, May 5, 1904.

was fixed, not growing; their philosophy constant, not dynamic; their morals absolute, not relative.⁹³

Landmarkism had thrived on transcendentalism, but this revolutionary change in man's whole philosophy of life effectually checked the spread of extreme Landmark views.

Although Kentucky and the old Southwest, where Landmarkism existed in its most extreme forms, were not as radically influenced by this new philosophy as in the North and the East, nevertheless, the major element in this section significantly modified its Landmarkism and remained in fellowship with the moderately conservative element that predominated in the Southern Baptist Convention.⁹⁴ The minority retrenched and began forming separate organizations.⁹⁵

The radical change in the religious philosophy of the Northern Baptists led to wide-spread acceptance of "higher-criticism," open communion, alien immersion and "liberal" theology; and several prominent Baptists began to advocate the adoption of open membership as practiced

⁹³ S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager, The Growth of the American Republic (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937), II, 270, 269-272.

⁹⁴ Cf. ante, p. 189, note 75. A. H. Newman, "Recent Changes in the Theology of Baptists," The American Journal of Theology, X (October, 1906), 599.

⁹⁵ Moore, op. cit., pp. 48-74. "The United States National General Association of Landmark Baptists" was organized in 1905.

by many English Baptists.⁹⁶ Kentucky Baptists, in close proximity to the scene of these changes and believing that they were the wall of defense for the South, renewed with vigor the agitation for the rejection of alien immersion as the only sure and easy way to prevent the dikes from breaking and flooding the whole Southland with the Northern liberalism.⁹⁷ In 1909, following two years of extensive

⁹⁶ Cf. ante, p. 102. Cf. article in The Baptist World, January 31, 1918. Article in the Western Recorder, October 8, 1908.

⁹⁷ Articles in the Western Recorder, December 22, 1921; September 10, 1908; July 23, 1908; February 4, 1909; November 4, 1909; and July 7, 1910. J. J. Porter in the last issue remarked that, "After all, it is the same old story--alien immersion, open communion, union and a Baptist funeral. With Baptists, it is back to the 'narrow way,' or to inevitable destruction." The Landmark element used the reaction to liberalism in the North as an opportunity to press for the rejection of the practice of receiving alien immersions as a test of fellowship, and hoped thereby to involve the Seminary in another "heresy" trial. Cf. articles in The Baptist World, September 3, 1908, and October 22, 1908. Articles in the Western Recorder, September 10, 1908; September 24, 1908; September 30, 1909; and August 5, 1909. E. Y. Mullins replied to questions concerning the position of the Seminary at the Long Run Association in 1908 that, "The Seminary does not teach Alien Immersion; it stands with John L. Waller and the old leaders." Cf. Minutes, The Long Run Association, 1908, pp. 10, 27. The messengers, knowing Waller to be one of the leaders of early Kentucky Baptists and schooled in the Landmark notion that all worthy and true Baptists have always been anti-alien immersionists, were completely satisfied with Mullins' answer. Waller, however, favored the principle of receiving alien immersions (Cf. ante, pp. 146ff.), but he and the "old leaders" agreed that neither side of this question should be made a test of fellowship and orthodoxy. This, it is suspected, was the point of agreement that Mullins had in mind; not that the Seminary teaches either view. Cf. McGlothlin, Kentucky Baptists, The Seminary, And 'Alien Immersion'.

agitation,⁹⁸ the General Association in a stormy session⁹⁹ passed the following resolution:

Whereas, There is a disposition among some Baptists of our State to countenance and sanction the practice commonly known as Alien Immersion, now therefore be it Resolved, That this Association places itself on record as opposed to the practice and acceptance of Alien Immersion in lieu of Scriptural Baptism.¹⁰⁰

If this action of the Association was interpreted by some to make the rejection of alien immersion a test of fellowship, the practice of the Association has not substantiated this view, because it has never withdrawn fellowship from any church guilty of the practice.

In 1933, evidently aware that the trustees of Georgetown College were considering the election of Henry N. Sherwood as president of the institution, the Association repeated its opposition to the practice of receiving alien immersion and resolved to "earnestly ask our preachers and pastors to refrain from recommending such practice by

98 Cf. the Western Recorder and The Baptist World for 1908-1909.

99 Minutes, The General Association of Baptists in Kentucky, 1909, p. 30. There were some questions raised as to the fairness of the rulings of the moderator toward those who opposed the proposed resolution on alien immersion, as the body later passed a motion endorsing his rulings. W. O. Carver, in a personal interview (December 4, 1951), related that he stood by the moderator for thirty minutes trying in vain to be recognized so as to speak to the resolution.

100 Loc. cit.

the churches, and where a church is inclined to practice alien immersion that our pastors show them the errors of such practice."¹⁰¹

In November of 1934, following the actual election of Sherwood in August of that year, the Association adopted a resolution¹⁰² urging the trustees to correct the irregularity existing at Georgetown, and carrying the threat of a suspension of funds.¹⁰³ The leaders of the opposition to Sherwood discovered that the alien immersion point was not as popular with the lay members as it had been the generation before;¹⁰⁴ and within a year the emphasis both

101 Ibid., 1933, p. 34.

102 Ibid., 1934, pp. 28-29, 37. The Association rejected two strongly worded resolutions offered by J. W. Porter and S. F. Davis.

103 Loc. cit. Sherwood, immersed in a Campbellite church, was received into a Northern Baptist church on that immersion and then united with a Louisville church and later the Georgetown Baptist Church by letter.

104 Articles in the Western Recorder, November 25, 1937, and January 6, 1938. A Mr. McChesney challenged the right of ten to fifteen per cent of the churches (average representation of the churches in the state at the associations in 1934-37) to express the convictions of the Baptists of the whole state. At the meeting of the Association in 1934 only 235 of the 350,000 Baptists in the state were present. An amendment to disavow the action of the 1934 Association and to restore the funds to Georgetown lost in the body meeting in 1937, only after several timely adjournments put the taking of the vote at 10:57 p.m. Cf. Minutes, The General Association of Baptists in Kentucky, 1937, pp. 32-33, 52-56.

at the Association and in the Western Recorder was on the right of the Baptists to control the election of the trustees of the institutions they supported.¹⁰⁵ Throughout the eight years of strife, the Association in no way censured either the Highland ~~Park~~^e Baptist Church of Louisville or the Georgetown Baptist Church for receiving Sherwood with the knowledge that he had not been rebaptized.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Minutes, The General Association of Baptists in Kentucky, 1935-42. Articles in the Western Recorder, March 14, 1935; July 16, 1936; November 19, 1936; and an editorial November 4, 1937. Following the release of Sherwood in 1942, the Association gained the right to elect the trustees of the college.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESENT STATUS

The Northern (American) Convention has continued to follow the leadership of the liberal element in determining its policies.¹ In the expanding West and in the border states the subjects of "open communion, alien immersion, affiliation of the Northern Convention with the Federal Council of Churches, interdenominational comity agreements, and the inclusive policy in missionary appointments"² became matters of distinct sectional differences and this view spread throughout the conventions.³ The results of a recent survey indicate that approximately ninety-eight per cent of the churches in the Northern Convention now practice open communion and receive alien immersions.⁴ An overwhelming majority of those churches in the North

1 R. A. Baker, Relations Between Northern and Southern Baptists (Fort Worth, Texas: Seminary Hill Press, 1948), pp. 237-238.

2 Loc. cit.

3 Ibid., pp. 226ff., 232, 234f., 237-238. Articles in the Western Recorder, August 1, 1918; July 14, 1927; and April 17, 1930.

4 Article in the Western Recorder, August 12, 1948.

that approximated the theological position of the Southern churches were in agreement with the Northern body in receiving alien immersions.⁵

In 1926 the Northern Convention tacitly acknowledged the right of Baptist churches to depart from immersion as the sole baptismal mode and still remain bona fide Baptists and members of the convention.⁶ The increase in churches that will receive alien baptism (or open membership churches) has continued at a steady pace. Some of these churches accept unimmersed persons only as associate members,⁷ while many receive them into the full fellowship of the church.⁸ A survey of some Chicago churches revealed that over a fifteen-year period the open membership churches suffered an average net loss of forty-seven members, while the other churches in the same period of time had shown an average net gain⁹ of forty-one members.

5 Western Recorder, loc. cit.

6 Baker, op. cit., p. 238.

7 Cf. ante, p. 108, for some criticisms of the associate membership plan by English Baptists.

8 Article in the Western Recorder, August 12, 1948. "Report of Sub-Committee on History and Theology, Baptists and Disciples of Christ," The Chronicle, XI (July, 1948), 102f. Cf. Appendix III.

9 Article in the Western Recorder, May 4, 1944. The editor in a note said that this was a refutation of the principles of alien immersion. While it may be a refutation of the principles of open membership, it certainly is not a refutation of the principles of alien immersion, as a majority of the churches showing the increases received alien immersions.

The Southern Convention, on the other hand, has been nearly unanimous in its opposition to the reception of other modes of baptism. Even the most liberal Southern state, Virginia, in 1950 amended the constitution of the General Association so as to limit fellowship to those churches "which follow the New Testament teaching of salvation by grace and believer's baptism by immersion."¹⁰ Moreover, approximately ninety-five per cent of the churches in the South profess the sentiments of close communion and anti-alien immersion.¹¹ The present trend, however, is definitely further and further away from these teachings.¹²

¹⁰ Minutes, The Baptist General Association of Virginia, 1950, p. 67.

¹¹ Article in the Western Recorder, August 12, 1948. In this survey most of the churches in Virginia, Maryland and the District of Columbia were reported as receiving alien immersions. It was also reported that the majority of churches in North Carolina favor the practice of receiving alien immersions. The report from Missouri revealed that the churches were evenly divided on the question, while the reports from Alabama and Florida indicated that only about two per cent of their churches were supporting the practice. The state secretaries of Georgia and Kentucky replied that only a few churches in their states receive alien immersions, while the state secretaries of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas reported absolutely no churches approving of the practice. These estimates came from the state secretaries in 1948. Some of the states did not reply, and in the border states the estimate, of course, covers only the Southern Baptist group.

¹² L. L. Gwaltney, The World's Greatest Decade (Birmingham, Alabama: Birmingham Printing Company, 1947), p. 127.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis consists of two main divisions. From the study of the English Baptists in Part I it was concluded (1) that the point of division between the "Strict Baptists" and the others is alien baptism or open membership, both parties receiving what is termed "alien immersion;" (2) that spiritual declines and revivals have visited the English Baptists irrespective of the prevailing practice in regard to the baptismal controversy; and (3) that the basic question involved in the controversy is what constitutes a New Testament church--that is, whether believer's immersion is essential to the constitution of a true church of Christ.

In the study of a similar baptismal controversy in the colonies and the United States as Part II of this thesis, it is discovered that the basic question involved has remained the same, namely, what constitutes a New Testament church. A variation is provided, however, with the insistence on an authority for the administrator of valid baptism. One group concluded that such authority was granted only to the true church of Christ, not to individuals, and since Baptist churches are the only New Testament churches, valid baptism is limited to the immersions authorized by the Baptist churches.

Although these views had been expressed earlier in American Baptist life, it was only under the influence of J. R. Graves and the movement known as Landmarkism, with its proscriptive nature, that the question became a crucial factor in Baptist life. Baptists divided during the controversies into four factions, viz.,

(1) Those who adopt the principle of receiving alien immersions, but decide each case on its own merits. Waller of Kentucky, Jeter of Virginia, Tucker of Georgia and Howell of Tennessee are a few of the outstanding men in the past who have favored this view.

(2) Those who reject the principle of receiving alien immersion on the grounds of church order and for the sake of regularity. They do not make it a test of fellowship and believe that the local church is to decide as the case arises, and for her the decision is final: there is no higher court of appeal. J. P. Boyce, John A. Broadus, E. C. Dargan, E. Y. Mullins and a host of others have supported this view.¹

(3) Those who reject alien immersion on Scriptural and doctrinal grounds, but do not desire to make it a test

¹ There is much to be said for this view. Baptists have a minimum of church order and the tendency always is to go to the extreme of freedom. Hence this is a minimum safeguard for Baptist polity.

of orthodoxy and fellowship in the churches and associations. T. T. Eaton and many who followed him in adopting a modified Landmarkism held this view.²

(4) Those who reject alien immersion on Scriptural and doctrinal grounds and who demand that it be a test of fellowship in the churches and associations (Landmarkers). The only logical end of this fourth group is a new denomination, for they should not fellowship those churches that receive alien immersion or any church that fellowships a church that receives alien immersion. Few, however, are practically logical. Where this party exists in sufficient strength in district and state associations they will disfellowship an "erring" church, but seldom do they, as a minority, break fellowship with the majority which either accepts alien immersions or fellowships churches that do.

The final conclusion is four-fold. The first is that since Baptists from 1640 have been divided on the basic question of the essential elements of a New Testament church, since no historic Baptist statement of faith

² Cf. article in the Western Recorder, January 31, 1889. Eaton in this article gave the desire for regularity as his main reason for rejecting alien immersion. This, however, is before the Whitsitt controversy.

has ever decreed in favor of either position,³ and since the Southern Baptist Convention has steadfastly refused to commit itself to either side of the question; it seems the part of wisdom to agree to disagree on it and not allow one's position on this question to determine his right to the title of an "orthodox Baptist." The right of private interpretation of the Scriptures guided by the Holy Spirit is as vital to Baptist life as any teaching on the ordinance of baptism.

The second part of this conclusion is that the arguments of the Landmark Baptists in the nineteenth century were strangely similar to those used by the Roman Catholic Church to justify her persecution of the anti-pedobaptist sects of the Middle Ages and to those similarly used by the Church of England against the Baptists of the seventeenth century. The road from Jerusalem (New Testament church) to Rome (Catholicism) is very short, and the name "Baptist" possesses no mysterious power to keep the denomination from Rome if the tenets of Rome are adopted.

A third part of this conclusion is that in this day when the Baptist churches seldom or never discipline

³ Cf. W. J. McGlothlin, Baptist Confessions of Faith (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911), or E. B. Underhill, Confessions of Faith (London: Haddon Bros., 1854).

their members for flagrant departures from either the moral or theological norm, and in a period of gross doctrinal ignorance, a wise procedure for Baptists would be to examine carefully each candidate for admission, regardless of the manner of application, concerning their experience of grace, believer's immersion and the church's conception of the basic truths of Scripture; and then courageously decide each case on its own merits.

The final part of this four-fold conclusion is that there is no sure and easy safeguard against heresy. The universal acceptance or rejection of any rite or creed will not guarantee the retention of truth. The Jews religiously preserved both a rite and a creed, but were ignorant of the truth. Fraternal discussion under the conscious leadership of the Holy Spirit, a willingness to acknowledge the sincerity of those who differ, and personal consecration to the will of God is the only sure, though not easy, safeguard against heresy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART I. ALIEN BAPTISM IN ENGLAND

A. BOOKS

Adams, W., editor, The Works of The Rev. Robert Hall.
2 vols.; New York: G. C. & H. Carvill, 1830.

Armitage, Thomas, A History of the Baptists: Traced
by Their Vital Principles and Practices, From the
Time of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to the
Year 1886. New York: Bryan, Taylor & Co., 1887.
xviii plus 978 pp.

Belcher, Joseph, editor, The Complete Works of The Rev.
Andrew Fuller: With a Memoir of His Life, by Andrew
Gunton Fuller. Third London edition revised; 3 vols.;
Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication
Society, 1845.

Booth, Abraham, An Apology for the Baptists. In Which
They Are Vindicated from the Imputation of Laying
an Unwarrantable Stress on the Ordinance of Baptism;
And Against the Charge of Bigotry in Refusing
Communion at the Lord's Table to Paedobaptists.
London: E. and C. Dilly, 1778. 146 pp.

_____, Vindication of the Baptists from the Charge of
Bigotry, In Refusing Communion at the Lord's Table
to Paedobaptists. Abridged edition; Philadelphia:
American Baptist Publication Society, [n. d.], 75 pp.

Brown, John, John Bunyan, His Life, Times, and Work.
Tercentenary Edition revised; London: The Hulbert
Publishing Company (Limited), 1928. xxiv plus 515 pp.

Brown, John, The House of God Opened and His Table Free
for Baptists and Paedobaptists Who Are Saints and
Faithful in Christ. Or, Reasons Why Their Different
Sentiments about Water-Baptism Should Be no Bar to
Church Fellowship With Each Other. London: J. Brown,
1777. iv plus 23 pp.

- Bulkley, Charles, An Idea of Christian Communion and Christian Discipline. To Which Is Added, An Appendix: Containing Short Observations on Mr. Killingworth's Answer to a Letter from Philocatholicus, In Defence of The Late Rev. Dr. James Foster's Sermon of Catholic Communion. London: John Noon, 1760. 51 pp.
- _____, Two Discourses on Catholic Communion. London: John Noon, 1754. 62 pp.
- Carey, H. F., editor, The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope. Revised edition; London: George Routledge and Sons, 1866. xvi plus 485 pp.
- Catholicus, An Essay on Terms of Communion. London: Wightman and Cramp, [1827]. 72 pp. This book is unavailable, but there is an extensive review in the Baptist Magazine, XIX (September, 1827), 415-417.
- Cook, Henry, What Baptists Stand For. London: The Kingsgate Press, 1947. 188 pp.
- Crosby, Thomas, The History of the English Baptists. 4 vols.; London: Crosby, 1738.
- D'Anvers, Henry, A Treatise of Baptism: Wherein, That of Believers, And That of Infants, Is Examined by the Scriptures. London: Fran. Smith, 1674. 50 plus 387 pp.
- de Blois, Austin Kennedy, John Bunyan The Man. Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1928. 319 pp.
- Flower, B., editor, Miscellaneous Works of Robert Robinson. 4 vols.; Harlow, England: B. Flower, 1807.
- Foot, William, A Plain Account of the Ordinance of Baptism; In Which All the Texts of the New Testament, Relating to It, Are Produced, And the Whole Doctrine Concerning It Drawn from Them Alone: In a Course of Letters to The Right Reverend Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, Late Lord Bishop of Winchester. London: J. Johnson, 1787. xvi plus 133 pp.
- _____, A Practical Discourse Concerning Baptism. London: G. Wightman, [1773]. vii plus 124 pp.
- Foster, James, Discourses on All the Principal Branches of Natural Religion and Social Virtue. 2 vols.; London: John Noon, 1749.

- Fuller, J. G., Conversations Between Two Laymen, On Strict and Mixed Communion; In Which the Principal Arguments in Favor of the Latter Practice, Are Stated, As Nearly as Possible, In the Words of Its Most Powerful Advocate, The Rev. Robert Hall. Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1831. xxvi plus 321 pp.
- Giles, William, Letters to The Rev. R. Hall, A. M. Containing an Examination of His Theory of Christian, In Opposition to Party Communion. London: Wightman and Cramp, /1827/. 66 pp. This work is unavailable, but there is an extensive review in the Baptist Magazine, XIX (September, 1827), 419-422.
- Gill, John, A Complete Body of Doctrinal and Practical Divinity: Or A System of Evangelical Truths, Deduced from the Sacred Scriptures. 2 vols.; London: Thomas Tegg, 1839.
- Gillette, A. D., editor, Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, From A. D. 1707 to A. D. 1807: Being the First One Hundred Years of Its Existence. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1851. vi plus 476 pp.
- Goadby, J. Jackson, Bye-Paths in Baptist History: A Collection of Interesting, Instructive and Curious Information, Not Generally Known, Concerning the Baptist Denomination. London: Elliot Stock, 1871. viii plus 375 pp.
- Gould, George, Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich. Norwich, England: Josiah Fletcher, 1860. cxviii plus 324 pp.
- Gregory, Olinthus and Joseph Belcher, editors, The Works of The Rev. Robert Hall. 4 vols.; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1844.
- Griffith, G. O., John Bunyan, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927. 327 pp.
- Hall, Walter Phelps and Robert G. Albion, A History of England and the British Empire. Chicago: Ginn and Company, 1937. viii plus 991 pp.
- Hood, E. Paxton, Robert Hall. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1881. viii plus 192 pp.

Horne, C. Silvester, editor, Eras of Nonconformity.
13 vols.; London: Thomas Law, 1906.

Ivimey, Joseph, A History of the English Baptists.
4 vols.; London: B. J. Holdsworth, 1823.

[Jenkins, Joseph], The Impropriety of Open-Communion or Mixed-Communion, Between Baptists and Paedo-Baptists, In the Lord's Supper. London: W. Ash, 1786. 16 pp.

Kiffin, William, A Sober Discourse of Right to Church Communion. London: George Larkin, 1681. 202 pp.

Killingworth, Grantham, An Answer to the Defence of The Reverend Dr. Foster's Sermon of Catholic Communion.
London: John Noon, 1752. 42 pp.

_____, An Examination of The Rev^d. Dr. James Foster's Sermon on Catholic Communion. London: John Noon, 1750. ix plus 105 pp.

_____, The Necessity of Baptism, In Order to Church Membership and Christian Communion, Shewn from Christ's Own Words, John iii. 3, 5. In Two Letters to a Learned Divine. London: John Noon, 1740. 17 pp.

Kinghorn, Joseph, Arguments Against the Practice of Mixed Communion, And in Support of Communion on the Plan of the Apostolic Church: With Preliminary Observations on The Rev. R. Hall's Reasons for Christian, In Opposition to Party Communion. London: Wightman and Cramp, [1827]. 80 pp. This work is unobtainable, but there is an extensive review in the Baptist Magazine, XIX (September, 1827), 415-419.

_____, Baptism, A Term of Communion at the Lord's Supper.
Norwich, England: Bacon, Kinnebrook, and Co., 1816.
iv plus 178 pp.

_____, Considerations Addressed to the Eclectic Reviewer, In Defence of Those Who Maintain that Baptism Should Precede Communion: Occasioned by His Address "To Correspondents," In the Eclectic Review for December, 1824. Norwich, England: S. Wilkin, 1825. 37 pp.

- Marchant, Sir James, Dr. John Clifford, C. H. Life, Letters and Reminiscences. New York: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1924. xvi plus 312 pp.
- McGlothlin, W. J., Baptist Confessions of Faith. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911. xii plus 368 pp.
- Metropolitan Association of Strict Baptist Churches. London: Robert Stockwell, 1950. 44 pp.
- Neve, J. L., A History of Christian Thought. 2 vols.; Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1946.
- Newman, A. H., A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States. Vol. II, xv plus 513 pp. The American Church History Series, 13 vols.; New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1894.
- Newman, William, Moral and Ritual Precepts Compared. In a Pastoral Letter to the Baptist Church at Eow, Middlesex; Including Some Remarks on The Rev. Robert Hall's 'Terms of Communion.' London: Button and Son, 1819. 40 pp.
- Noel, Baptist W., Essay on Christian Baptism. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 308 pp.
- Nutter, Stephen Bernard, The Story of the Cambridge Baptists and the Struggle for Religious Liberty. Cambridge, England: W. Heffer & Sons, Limited, 1912. xi plus 173 pp.
- Paul, Thomas and William Kiffin, Some Serious Reflections on That Part of Mr. Bunyan's Confession of Faith Touching Church Communion with Unbaptized Believers. This work is unavailable, but there are extended quotations in The Complete Works of John Bunyan. Philadelphia: Bradley, Garretson & Co., 1872.
- Payne, Ernest A., The Fellowship of Believers. London: The Kingsgate Press, 1944. 110 pp.
- Philip, Robert, The Life, Times, and Characteristics of John Bunyan. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1839. xii plus 511 pp.

Philocatholicus, A Defence of The Reverend Dr. Foster's Sermon of Catholic Communion: In a Letter to a Friend. London: John Noon, 1752. 40 pp.

Pritchard, George, Memoir of the Life and Writings of The Rev. Joseph Ivimey, Late Pastor of the Church in Eagle Street, London; And Twenty Years Gratuitous Secretary to the Baptist Irish Society. London: George Wightman, 1835. viii plus 360 pp.

Richardson, Cyril C., The Church Through the Centuries. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938. x plus 255 pp.

Robinson, H. Wheeler, The Life and Faith of the Baptists. London: The Kingsgate Press, 1946. 158 pp.

Robinson, Robert, A History of Baptism. David Benedict, editor, Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1817. 550 pp.

Ryland, John, A Candid Statement of the Reasons Which Induce the Baptists to Differ in Opinion and Practice from so Many of Their Christian Brethren. London: W. Button, 1814. xxiii plus 47 pp. plus xxxiv.

Schaff, Philip, The Creeds of Christendom. 3 vols.; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1896.

Shakespeare, J. H., Baptist and Congregational Pioneers. Vol. III, xii plus 196 pp. C. Silvester Horne, editor, Eras of Nonconformity, 13 vols.; London: Thomas Law, 1906.

Shipley, C. E., editor, Baptists in Yorkshire and the North-West. London: The Kingsgate Press, 1913. xx plus 367 pp.

Taylor, Adam, The History of the English General Baptists. 2 vols; London: T. Bore, 1818.

The Complete Works of John Bunyan. Philadelphia: Bradley, Garretson & Co., 1872. 1015 pp.

The Official Handbook of the National Federation of Strict and Particular Baptist Churches. London: Published for the Federation by Frank S. Chilvers, 1949. 68 pp.

The Works of Abraham Booth, Late Pastor of the Baptist Church Assembling in Little Prescott Street, Goodman's Fields, London. 3 vols.; London: W. Button & Son, 1813.

- Thomson, Ronald W., Heroes of the Baptist Church. London: The Kingsgate Press, 1937. 158 pp.
- Tschan, Francis T., Harold J. Grimm, and J. Duane Squires, Western Civilization. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1942. clxviii plus 1447 pp.
- Underhill, E. B., The Records of a Church of Christ, Meeting in Broadmead, Bristol. 1640-1687. London: The Hanserd Knollys Society, 1847. xcvi plus 526 pp.
- Underwood, A. C., A History of the English Baptists. London: The Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1947. 286 pp.
- Vedder, Henry C., A Short History of the Baptists. New and illustrated edition; Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1926. xvi plus 431 pp.
- Walker, Williston, A History of the Christian Church. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942. xiii plus 624 pp.
- Whitley, W. T., A History of British Baptists. Second revised edition; London: The Kingsgate Press, 1932. xii plus 384 pp.
- _____, The Baptists of London 1612-1928; Their Fellowship, Their Expansion, With Notes on Their 850 Churches. London: The Kingsgate Press, 1928. 331 pp.
- _____, editor, Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches in England. 2 vols.; London: The Kingsgate Press, 1910.
- Whitsitt, William H., History of Communion Among the Baptists. New York: J. K. Lees, 1880. 12 pp.
- Wood, J. H., A Condensed History of the General Baptists of the New Connexion. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1847. xvi plus 376 pp.

B. RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS

The Baptist Magazine. 70 vols.; London: W. Button, 1809-1879.

The Baptist Quarterly, Incorporating the Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society. 13 vols.; London: Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1922-

The Baptist Reporter. J. F. Winks, editor, 5 vols. (new series); London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1844-1848.

The Christian Pathway And Biblical Guide. B. A. Warburton, editor, London: XIX (March, 1951).

The Chronicle. 13 vols.; Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: The American Baptist Historical Society, 1938-

The Gospel Herald. L. R. Garrard, editor, London: CXLIX (March, 1951).

Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society. 7 vols.; London: Baptist Union Publication Department, 1908-1921.

Western Recorder. Louisville, Kentucky.

C. ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

Bunyan, John, "A Confession of My Faith, And a Reason of My Practice," The Complete Works of John Bunyan. Philadelphia: Bradley, Garretson & Co., 1872. Pp. 815-840.

_____, "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion," The Complete Works of John Bunyan. Philadelphia: Bradley, Garretson & Co., 1872. Pp. 841-875.

_____, "Peaceable Principles and True," The Complete Works of John Bunyan. Philadelphia: Bradley, Garretson & Co., 1872. Pp. 877-887.

"Debate on Infant Baptism, 1643," Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society. London: Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1908-09. Vol. I, Pp. 237-245.

de le Mare, R. A., "The Church Covenant of 1780," The Chronicle, II (April, 1939), 81-82.

Foster, James, "Catholic Communion," Discourses on All the Principal Branches of Natural Religion and Social Virtue. London: John Noon, 1749. Vol. I, Pp. 331-344.

_____, "Unity and Peace," Discourses on All the Principal Branches of Natural Religion and Social Virtue. London: John Noon, 1749. Vol. II, Pp. 303-324.

Fuller, Andrew, "Strictures on The Rev. John Carter's 'Thoughts on Baptism and Mixed Communion,'" Joseph Belcher, editor, The Complete Works of The Rev. Andrew Fuller: With a Memoir of His Life by Andrew Gunton Fuller. Third London edition revised; Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1845. Vol. III, Pp. 501-503.

_____, "The Admission of Unbaptized Persons to the Lord's Supper Inconsistent with the New Testament," Joseph Belcher, editor, The Complete Works of The Rev. Andrew Fuller: With a Memoir of His Life by Andrew Gunton Fuller. Third London edition revised; Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1845. Vol. III, Pp. 508-515.

_____, "Thoughts on Open Communion," Joseph Belcher, editor, The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller: With a Memoir of His Life by Andrew Gunton Fuller. Third London edition revised; Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1845. Vol. III, Pp. 503-506.

Hall, Robert, "A Reply to The Rev. Joseph Kinghorn: Being a Further Vindication of the Practice of Free Communion," W. Adams, editor, The Works of The Rev. Robert Hall. New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1830. Vol. I, Pp. 143-277.

_____, "A Short Statement of the Reasons for Christian in Opposition to Party Communion," W. Adams, editor, The Works of The Rev. Robert Hall. New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1830. Vol. I, Pp. 279-305.

_____, "Terms of Communion," W. Adams, editor, The Works of The Rev. Robert Hall. New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1830. Vol. I, Pp. 17-110.

- Hall, Robert, "The Essential Difference Between Christian Baptism and the Baptism of John," W. Adams, editor, The Works of The Rev. Robert Hall. New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1830. Vol. I, Pp. 111-142.
- Hinton, John, "Mixed Membership not Mixed Communion," Baptist Magazine, XVI (December, 1824), 515-517.
- Hudson, Winthrop S., "Variations among the English Baptist," The Chronicle, IX (April, 1946), 67-68.
- Jessey, Henry, "Judgment about Water Baptism, And Its Being a Term of Communion," The Complete Works of John Bunyan. Philadelphia: Bradley, Garretson & Co., 1872. Pp. 869-875.
- Johannes, "On Admission to a Christian Church," Baptist Magazine, XVII (March, 1825), 105-108.
- Pope, Alexander, "An Essay on Man," H. F. Carey, editor, The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope. Revised edition; London: George Routledge and Sons, 1866. Pp. 216-249.
- Pottenger, Thomas, "The Rise and Progress of the English Baptists," Baptist Magazine, XXXVII (December, 1845), 622-628.
- "Records of the Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church 1616-1641," Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society. London: Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1908-09. Vol. I, Pp. 203-225.
- "Rise of the Particular Baptists in London, 1633-1644," Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society. London: Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1908-09. Vol. I, Pp. 226-236.
- Robinson, H. Wheeler, "The Place of Baptism in Baptist Churches of To-day," The Baptist Quarterly. London: Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1922-23. Vol. I, Pp. 209-218.
- Robinson, Robert, "The General Doctrine of Toleration Applied to the Particular Case of Free Communion," B. Flower, editor, Miscellaneous Works of Robert Robinson. Harlow, England: B. Flower, 1807. Vol. III, Pp. 137-193.

"The Baptist Doctrine of the Church," The Baptist Quarterly.
London: Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1946-48.
Vol. XII (New series), P. 442.

"The Bunyan Christening, 1672," Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society. London: Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1910-11. Vol. II, Pp. 255-263.

"The Jacob-Jessey Church, 1616-1678," Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society. London: Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1908-09. Vol. I, Pp. 246-256.

D. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

Duncan, Pope, "A History of Baptist Thought 1600-1660."
Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1947.
234 pp.

Stealey, S. L., "An Exploratory Study of Major Controversies among English Baptists on the Ordinances." Unpublished paper read before the Baptist Assembly, Ridgecrest, North Carolina, August, 1950.

Weatherspoon, J. B., "History of English Preaching."
Unpublished notes for the Homilectics Seminar (1948-49) in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

PART II. ALIEN BAPTISM IN THE UNITED STATES

A. BOOKS

Aldredge, E. P., Unionizing Southern Baptists. Nashville, Tennessee: [n. n.], 1948. 87 pp.

Allen, I. M., The United States Baptist Annual Register, For 1832. Philadelphia: T. W. Ustick, 1833. vi plus 228 pp.

Backus, Isaac, A History of New England. With Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians Called Baptists. Second edition with notes by David Weston; 2 vols.; Newton, Mass.: The Backus Historical Society, 1871.

_____, Church History of New England, From 1620 to 1804. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1853. 250 pp.

Baker, Robert A., Relations Between Northern and Southern Baptists. Fort Worth, Texas: Seminary Hill Press, 1948. 295 pp.

Benedict, David, A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America, And Other Parts of the World. 2 vols.; Boston: Manning & Loring, 1813.

Broadus, John A., Memoir of James Petigru Boyce. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1893. xvi plus 371 pp.

Burkitt, Lemuel and Jesse Read, A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association, From Its Original Rise Down to 1803. Revised edition; Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1850. 351 pp.

Burrage, Henry S., A History of the Baptists in New England. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1894. 317 pp.

Campbell, Alexander, editor, The Christian Baptist. Stereotyped by J. A. James, sixth edition; Cincinnati: D. S. Burnet, 1848. vi plus 670 pp.

- Christian, John T., A History of the Baptists of the United States from the First Settlement of the Country to the Year 1845. 2 vols.; Nashville, Tennessee: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1926.
- Conkwright, S. J., History of the Churches of Boone's Creek Baptist Association of Kentucky with a Brief History of the Association. Winchester, Kentucky: [n. n.], 1923. 187 pp.
- Dargan, E. C., Ecclesiology: A Study of the Churches. Second revised edition; Louisville, Kentucky: Charles T. Dearing, 1905. 692 pp.
- Dayton, A. C., Pedobaptist and Campbellite Immersions. Nashville, Tenn.: South-Western Publishing House, 1858. 237 pp.
- Edwards, Morgan, Materials Towards a History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania both British and German, Distinguished into Firstday Baptists, Keithian Baptists, Seventhday Baptists, Tuncker Baptists, Mennonist Baptists. Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank and Isaac Collins, 1770. 134 pp.
- Fristoe, William, A Concise History of the Kettocton Association. Staunton, Virginia: William G. Lyford, 1808. iv plus 162 pp.
- Fuller, Richard, Baptism, And the Terms of Communion: An Argument. Fourth edition; Charleston, S. C.: Southern Baptist Publication Society, 1854. 251 pp.
- Furman, Wood, A History of the Charleston Association of Baptist Churches in the State of South Carolina. Charleston, S. C.: J. Hoff, 1811. 236 pp.
- Gillette, A. D., editor, Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, From A. D. 1707 to A. D. 1807; Being the First One Hundred Years of Its Existence. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1851. vi plus 476 pp.
- Graves, A. C., Ministry of Faith: The Ardent Ministry, Times, Anecdotes, And Pulpit Selections of Rev. A. W. LaRue. Louisville, Ky.: Waller, Sherrill & Co., 1865. 191 pp.

Graves, J. R., Old Landmarkism: What Is It?. Second edition; Memphis, Tenn.: Baptist Book House, 1881. xvi plus 272 pp.

_____, The Works of Christ in the Covenant of Redemption: Developed in Seven Dispensations. Second edition; Memphis, Tenn.: Baptist Book House, 1883. xi plus 569 pp.

Grime, J. H., History of Alien Immersion and Valid Baptism Involving Researches from Different View Points, By Various Writers. [n. p.], [n. n.], 1909. 79 pp.

Gwaltney, L. L., The World's Greatest Decade. Birmingham, Alabama: Birmingham Printing Company, 1947. 194 pp.

Hailey, O. F., J. R. Graves, Life, Times and Teachings. Nashville, Tenn.: [n. n.], 1929. 114 pp.

History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia. Atlanta, Georgia: James P. Harrison & Co., 1881. viii plus 613 pp.

Laslie, T. A. H., Laslie's History of the General Baptists. Edited, revised and rewritten by L. O. Roberts and E. Y. Laslie; Poplar Bluff, Mo.: General Baptist Publishing House, 1938. xviii plus 420 pp.

McGlothlin, W. J., A Guide to the Study of Church History. New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914. 359 pp.

_____, Baptist Confessions of Faith. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911. xii plus 368 pp.

_____, Kentucky Baptists, The Seminary, And 'Alien Immersion'. Louisville, Ky.: [n. n.], 1908. 20 pp.

_____, The Course of Christian History. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1918. 323 pp.

Mercer, Jesse, A History of the Georgia Baptist Association. Washington, Ga.: [n. n.], 1838. 419 pp.

Morison, S. E. and H. S. Commager, The Growth of the American Republic. 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1937.

- Moss, Lemuel, editor, The Baptists and the National Centenary. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1876. xiii plus 310 pp.
- Neve, J. L., A History of Christian Thought. 2 vols.; Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1946.
- Nevins, W. M., Alien Baptism and the Baptists. Louisville, Kentucky: Western Recorder Press, 1938. 228 pp.
- Newman, A. H., A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States. Vol. II, xv plus 513 pp. The American Church History Series, 13 vols.; New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1894.
- Nowlin, W. D., Kentucky Baptist History 1770-1922. Louisville, Kentucky: Baptist Book Concern, 1922. 196 pp.
- Orchard, G. H., A Concise History of Foreign Baptists. Seventh edition; Nashville, Tenn.: Graves, Marks & Rutland, 1855. xxiv plus 382.
- Paschal, George W., History of North Carolina Baptists. 2 vols.; Raleigh, N. C.; The General Board North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1930.
- Pendleton, J. M., An Old Landmark Re-set. Fortieth Thousand; Nashville, Tenn.: South-Western Publishing House, 1859. 72 pp.
- Pitt, R. H., editor, Baptist Principles Reset. Third edition; Richmond, Va.: The Religious Herald Co., 1902. 320 pp.
- Purefoy, George W., A History of the Sandy Creek Baptist Association, From Its Organization in A. D. 1758 to A. D. 1858. New York: Sheldon & Co., 1859. 329 pp.
- Ray, D. B., Baptist Succession: A Hand-Book of Baptist History. Cincinnati: Geo. E. Stevens & Co., 1873. 467 pp.
- Richardson, Cyril C., The Church Through the Centuries. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938. x plus 255 pp.

- Riley, B. R., A History of the Baptists in the Southern States East of the Mississippi. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1898. 376 pp.
- Robertson, Archibald T., Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901. xiv plus 462 pp.
- Rone, Wendell H., A History of the Daviess-McLean Baptist Association in Kentucky. [Owensboro, Kentucky] : [Messenger Job Printing Co.] , [1944] . 560 pp.
- Semple, Robert B., A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia. Revised and extended; Richmond, Va.: Pitt & Dickinson, 1894. ix plus 536 pp.
- Skinner, J. E., History of the Blood River Association of Baptists. Nashville, Tenn.: The Baird-Ward Press, 1940. 266 pp.
- Spencer, J. H., A History of Kentucky Baptists. Second edition; 2 vols.; Cincinnati: Spencer, 1886.
- Sweet, William Warren, Religion on the American Frontier, The Baptists 1783-1830. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931. ix plus 652 pp.
- Taylor, John, A History of Ten Baptist Churches. Frankfort, Kentucky: J. H. Holeman, 1823. iv plus 300 pp.
- Thomas, J. B., Both Sides. Louisville, Kentucky: Baptist Book Concern, 1897. 97 pp.
- Underhill, E. B., Confessions of Faith. London: Haddon Bros., 1854. xv plus 360 pp.
- Vaughan, Thomas M., Memoirs of Rev. Wm. Vaughan. Louisville, Kentucky: Caperton & Cates, 1878. 336 pp.
- Vedder, Henry C., A History of the Baptists in the Middle States. Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1898. 355 pp.
- _____, A Short History of the Baptists. New and Illustrated edition; Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1926. xvi plus 431 pp.
- Waldrop, J. W., History of Concord Association. Owenton, Kentucky: New-Herald Print, 1907. 88 pp.

Waller, J. L., Open Communion Shown To Be Unscriptural and Deleterious. Louisville, Kentucky: G. W. Robertson, 1859. ix plus 95 pp.

_____, The Reformation. Fourth edition; Nashville, Tenn.: Graves, Marks & Rutland, 1855. 36 pp.

Walker, Williston, A History of the Christian Church. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942. xiii plus 624 pp.

Whitsitt, W. H., A Question in Baptist History. Louisville, Kentucky: Charles T. Dearing, 1896. 164 pp.

_____, History of Communion Among the Baptists. New York: J. K. Lees, 1880. 12 pp.

B. RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Ashland Avenue Baptist. Clarence Walker, editor, Lexington, Kentucky.

American Baptist. Memphis, Tennessee and Lexington, Kentucky.

Baptist And Reflector. Nashville, Tennessee.

Baptist Banner. Shelbyville and Louisville, Kentucky. In 1839 the name was enlarged to Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer. Again in 1848 the paper was issued under the name of Baptist Banner, but in 1851 the name Western Recorder was adopted.

Baptist Banner And Western Pioneer. Louisville, Kentucky.
Cf. Baptist Banner.

Baptist Gleaner. Fulton, Kentucky.

News And Truths. H. B. Taylor, editor, Murray, Kentucky.

Review And Expositor. Edited by the faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

Sling And Stone. George Ragland, editor, Lexington, Kentucky.

Southern Baptist Review And Eclectic. Nashville, Tennessee.

The American Baptist Flag. St. Louis, Missouri and Fulton, Kentucky.

The American Baptist Monthly. Louisville, Kentucky. After the first issue it was called The Baptist Monthly Magazine.

The American Journal of Theology. Edited by the Divinity faculty of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

The Baptist Argus. J. N. Prestridge, editor, Louisville, Kentucky. In 1908 the name was changed to The Baptist World.

The Baptist Chronicle and Literary Register. Georgetown, Kentucky.

The Baptist Chronicle and Monthly Magazine. Columbus, Georgia.

The Baptist Flag. Fulton, Kentucky.

The Baptist Inquirer. Louisville, Kentucky.

The Baptist Monthly. Covington, Kentucky.

The Baptist Monthly Magazine. Louisville, Kentucky. Cf. The American Baptist Monthly.

The Baptist Sentinel. Lexington, Kentucky.

The Baptist World. Louisville, Kentucky. Cf. The Baptist Argus.

The Christian Repository. Louisville, Kentucky and St. Louis, Missouri.

The Chronicle. 13 vols.; Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: The American Baptist Historical Society, 1938-

The Kentucky Baptist. Franklin, Kentucky.

The Kentucky Baptist. Louisville, Kentucky. In 1895 the name was changed to the Kentucky Baptist Standard with the main office and editor residing in Waco, Texas. It soon became solely a Texan publication.

The Tennessee Baptist. Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee.

The Western Baptist Review. 3 vols.; Frankfort, Kentucky:
A. G. Hodges & Co., 1846-48.

Western Recorder. Louisville, Kentucky. Cf. Baptist Banner. This paper became the official organ of the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky in 1919 with its purchase by that body.

C. ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

"A Statement," The Chronicle, III (October, 1940), 186-187.

Barnes, W. W., "The New Hampshire Confession of Faith, Its Origin and Use," The Review And Expositor, XXXIX (January, 1942), 3-8.

Beth, "What Is Valid Baptism?," The Baptist Sentinel, I (March, 1870), 211-216.

Buck, William C., "Antiquity of the Baptists--Roger Williams," The Christian Repository, IV (December, 1855), 731-733.

Chambers, Uriel B., "Quere," The Baptist Chronicle and Literary Register, II (October, 1831), 153-154.

Dayton, A. C., "Is There an Invisible Universal Church?," Southern Baptist Review And Eclectic, II (September and October, 1856), 144-174.

Edwards, Morgan, "Materials Towards a History of the Baptists in Delaware State. Vol. III," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, IX (1885), 45-61; 197-213.

Everts, W. W., "The Old Landmark Discovered," The Christian Repository, IV (January, 1855), 20-34.

_____, "Review of 'Old Landmark Vindicated,'" The Christian Repository, IV (April, 1855), 235-246; (May, 1855), 272-290.

- Ford, S. H., "Associations--Baptist Custom," The Christian Repository, IV (October, 1855), 607-609.
- _____, "L. L. Pinkerton--A Challenge," The Christian Repository, IV (November, 1855), 701-702.
- Gardner, C. S., "The Seminary as a Factor in the Kingdom of God," Review And Expositor, XLII (April, 1945), 139-149.
- Hudson, Winthrop S., "Variation among the Early Baptists," The Chronicle, IX (April, 1946), 66-74.
- Jeter, J. B., "Distinctive Baptist Principles," R. H. Pitt, editor, Baptist Principles Reset. Third edition; Richmond, Va.: The Religious Herald Co., 1902. Pp. 1-135.
- Johnson, Franklin, "Baptism the Door to the Lord's Supper," R. H. Pitt, editor, Baptist Principles Reset. Third edition; Richmond, Va.: The Religious Herald Co., 1902. Pp. 188-229.
- Manly, Basil, Jr., "History of the Elkhorn Baptist Association Kentucky 1785-1815," Minutes, The Elkhorn Baptist Association, 1877, 17-36; 1878, 24-40.
- Newman, A. H., "Recent Changes in the Theology of Baptists," The American Journal of Theology, X (October, 1906), 587-609.
- Pamphlet 265.1 B 78 in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. It is an undated clipping from The Baptist Argus.
- Pendleton, J. M., "The Old Landmark Vindicated," The Christian Repository, IV (April, 1855), 215-235; (May, 1855), 265-272.
- Pepper, G. D. B., "Doctrinal History and Position," Lemuel Moss, editor, The Baptists and the National Centenary. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1876. Pp. 49-73.
- "Report of Sub-Committee on History and Theology, Baptists and Disciples of Christ," The Chronicle, XI (July, 1948), 97-105.
- Storts, Thomas, "Alien Immersions," The Baptist Sentinel, II (November, 1871), 506-517; (December, 1871), 535-543.

- Waller, J. L., "Baptism by 'Reformers' and Pedo-Baptists," The Western Baptist Review, I (June, 1846), 367-373.
- _____, "The Administrator of Baptism," The Western Baptist Review, III (August, 1848), 460-474.
- _____, "The Validity of Baptism by Pedo-Baptist Ministers," The Western Baptist Review, III (March, 1848), 267-272.
- Whitsitt, James, "The Campbellite Baptism," The Baptist Chronicle and Literary Register, II (April, 1831), 51-53.
- _____, "Blank Baptism," The Baptist Chronicle and Literary Register, II (July, 1831), 98-99.
- Worrell, A. S., "What Is Valid Baptism?," The Baptist Sentinel, I (November, 1869), 25-33.

D. MINUTES

- Minutes, The Baptist Association of Kentucky, 1826-35.
- Minutes, The Baptist General Association of Virginia, 1950.
- Minutes, The Blood River Association of United Baptists of Kentucky, 1870.
- Minutes, The Boone's Creek Baptist Association of Kentucky, 1822-62.
- Minutes, The Charleston Baptist Association of South Carolina, 1775-1830.
- Minutes, The Daviess County and the Daviess-McLean Baptist Association of Kentucky, 1846-1950.
- Minutes, The Elkhorn Baptist Association of Kentucky, 1785-1950.
- Minutes, The General Association of Baptists in Kentucky, 1837-1950.
- Minutes, The Long Run Association of Regular Baptists of Kentucky, 1803-1950.
- Minutes, The North-Bend Association of Baptists in Kentucky, 1815-1950.

Minutes, The North District Association of Baptists in Kentucky, 1802-56.

Minutes, The Shelby County Association of United Baptists of Kentucky, 1872-1950.

Minutes, The West Union Association of Kentucky, 1846.

E. CONFESSIONS OF FAITH

A Confession of Faith, Put Forth by the Elders and Brethren of Many Congregations of Christians, (Baptized upon Profession of Their Faith) In London and the Country. New edition; Burlington, Pennsylvania: W. W. Woodward, 1810. 71 pp. plus an appendix, "A Short Treatise of Church Discipline," 40 pp.

A Confession of Faith, Put Forth by the Elders and Brethren of Many Congregations of Christians, (Baptized upon Profession of Their Faith,) In London and the Country. Second Charleston edition; Charleston, S. C.: Charleston Baptist Association, 1813. 65 pp. plus appendices, "A Summary of Church Discipline," 30 pp.; "The Baptist Catechism," 23 pp.

A Confession of Faith, Put Forth by the Elders and Brethren of Many Congregations of Christians, (Baptized upon Profession of Their Faith,) In London and the Country. West-Chester, Pennsylvania: Simeon Siegfried, 1827. 74 pp. plus an appendix, "A Treatise of Church Discipline Adopted by the Sansom-Street Baptist Church, Philadelphia, 1818," 34 pp.

Sheppard, Daniel, Baptist Confession of Faith and a Summary of Church Discipline. Charleston, S. C.: W. Riley, 1831. v plus 303 pp.

F. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

Barnes, W. W., "History of the Southern Baptist Convention." Unpublished manuscript of the author who is a member of the faculty of the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.

Edwards, Morgan, "Materials Towards a History of the Baptists in the Province of Maryland." Unpublished manuscript, a copy of which is in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

_____, "Materials Towards a History of the Baptists in the Province of North Carolina." Unpublished manuscript, a copy of which is in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

_____, "Materials Towards a History of the Baptists in the Province of South Carolina." Unpublished manuscript, a copy of which is in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

_____, "Materials Towards a History of the Baptists in the Province of Virginia." Unpublished manuscript, a copy of which is in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

_____, "Notes on the Baptists in Georgia." Unpublished manuscript, a copy of which is in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

_____, "Tour of Rev. Morgan Edwards of Pennsylvania to the American Baptists in North Carolina in 1772-73." Unpublished manuscript, a copy of which is in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

Moore, David O., "The Landmark Baptists and Their Attack upon the Southern Baptists Historically Analyzed." Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LONDON CONFESSION OF 1644¹

Article XLI The person designed by Christ to dispense baptism the scripture holds forth to be a disciple; it being nowhere tied to a particular church officer, or person extraordinarily sent, the commission enjoining the administration, being given to them as considered disciples, being men able to preach the gospel.

¹ E. B. Underhill, Confessions of Faith (London: Haddon Bros., 1854), p. 42. This is the 1646 correction of the 1644 edition. The only changes of note are that the term "preaching disciple" is altered to "being men able to preach" and the term "Church, Officer" is altered to "church officer." For a copy of the uncorrected form see W. J. McGlothlin, Baptist Confessions of Faith (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1911), p. 185.

APPENDIX II

THE RECANTATION OF THE APOSTLES¹

To the Churches of the Nineteenth and successive Centuries, the Apostles, in this their Epistle Extraordinary [sic. Extraordinary] , send greeting:

Whereas it has come to our knowledge, that, in these latter days, there are certain Christians, who are conscientiously of opinion, that, though they cannot discover a single scripture precept or example of infant sprinkling, yet they are, for certain other reasons, justified in substituting that ceremony for a Christian ordinance, which they acknowledge is commanded, and of which numerous examples are recorded in the New Testament:--

And Whereas it has also come to our knowledge, that certain other Christians, under a pretence of adherence to the Christian commission, and of imitating our example, and of keeping the ordinances as we delivered them to the primitive churches--(thereby calculating upon our commendation!)--do pertinaciously refuse to unite with their erroneous, though confessedly Christian brethren, in church-fellowship:--

¹ J. G. Fuller, Conversations Between Two Laymen, On Strict and Mixed Communion (Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1831), p. 148 n.

This is to Certify, That when we commended the churches for keeping the ordinances as they were delivered, and enjoined on them an exact imitation of our uniform obedience to the Christian commission, and exhorted them to be followers of us, as we had followed Christ--we did not intend to regulate the conduct of churches in successive ages of the world; but only the affairs of those which were planted by our instrumentality or which existed during our personal ministry. Our authority, (except in granting dispensations, and rebuking "schismatics," and "narrow-minded bigots,") terminated with our lives.

Be it therefore known to you, That, in future, the law of Christ is to be accommodated to "circumstances," to "new forms of error," and "new modes of aberration from the paths of rectitude and truth;" and that, henceforth, no church is under an obligation to require obedience to the laws of Christ, if any Christian, applying for admission, be conscientiously of opinion, either that he has obeyed them, or that it is not his duty to obey them; although it shall be clear to such a church that he has not, and that such obedience is his duty

Now, therefore; The errors of Christians, not only in relation to abrogated Jewish rites, and things indifferent, as aforetime, but also in relation to a perpetual law of Christ, must be accommodated; and you must relax the rigid,

bigoted, and intolerant customs of your forefathers, and also of your own selves; and adopt the mild, and gentle, and persuasive law of liberality and candor. The Christian commission was not intended to be kept inviolably: it is to be obeyed or not, just as "weak brethren" may decide. Sincerity is every thing. In future, therefore, you must not be so strict, in requiring men to believe and obey the truth: it is quite sufficient that they practise what they believe. . . conscientious error being equivalent to truth, and a practice founded on that error, equivalent to Christian obedience.

Now, therefore, we commend, not those who keep the ordinances as we delivered them; but those who, in compliance to sincere error, are willing occasionally to invert "the natural and prescribed order of the Christian sacraments. . . ."

We, therefore, publish to all the Churches,--hereby revoking our former injunctions, save and except as shall be hereafter excepted--that, in future, our directions to keep the ordinances as they were delivered, are not binding. And--(not now to provide for other innumerable diversities, from Popery downward)--we recommend, for the sake of consistency, the publication of three editions of the New Testament: One for the use of the Strict communion Pedo-baptists, with such inferences and improvements as may be

required: Another, with suitable variations, for the use of the Mixed Baptists: And a third, for the use of the Strict Baptists, verbatim et literatim: for upon them individually, the law of Christ and our former injunctions are still binding; because they believe so: But Baptist churches are exhorted to conform to "the genius of the age;" to receive to their communion, without baptism, all good men, of every faith; and thus show, to an admiring world, with what unparalleled generosity they can sacrifice their very existence as a community, in amiable condescension to the diversified "aberrations" of their sincere, "weak brethren." That is to say, Every individual of every church is to do right in his own eyes: but every church, as such, must agree to observe or to abandon, as circumstances may dictate, the regulations confessedly "prescribed" by their Sovereign Lord.

.

This to continue in force, until some "genius of the age," still more remote from the letter of the ancient precedent, may render it expedient to procure a new and more liberal dispensation.

APPENDIX III

COVENANTS OF OPEN MEMBERSHIP CHURCHES

A. College Street, Northampton, England¹

And whereas we differ in our Judgments about Water-baptism, We do now Solemnly declare, That we that are for Infant-Baptism do not hereby, nor will not impose on the (consciences) of any of our Brethren or Sisters that are among us who are for Baptism upon Profession of Faith. And on the other hand We that are for Believers' Baptism do not, nor will not impose upon the Consciences of any of our Brethren or Sisters that are amongst us that are for Infant Baptism.

B. Downs Chapel²

Membership of the Church is open to all who confess faith in Christ. We desire to have the Church as open as the Kingdom of God, and its gate neither broader nor narrower than that by which men enter into Life. All who are members of Christ's body are welcome to our

¹ H. Wheeler Robinson, "The Place of Baptism in Baptist Churches of To-day," The Baptist Quarterly (London: Baptist Union Publication Department, 1922-1923), I (New Series), 214.

² Ernest Payne, The Fellowship of Believers (London: The Kingsgate Press, 1944), pp. 68f.

fellowship, irrespective of opinion on matters wherein we are all learners, and none masters or lords. We seek not uniformity but unity--the unity of faith in Christ--and trust the love of God to keep us in unity of spirit and bonds of peace. . . . The question of Baptism is left entirely to individual judgment and conscience. The immersion of believers is the only ordinance taught or practised as baptism, but we make no difference in the manner of cordiality of our reception of Christ's disciples. The rule observed is--Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind, and do according to his own understanding of Christ's will.

C. Westbourne Park, London³

1. The Church is Congregational or Independent in its policy; recognizes Jesus Christ as its supreme authority; and takes the principles of the New Testament communities as the expression of His will concerning the basis and conditions of united Christian life. Membership is therefore open to all who are members of "His Body," i.e. to all who confess faith in Christ, strive to learn and obey His law, not only in their individual life, but in and by association for mutual help, common worship, and beneficent work.

³ Sir James Marchant, Dr. John Clifford (New York: Cassell and Company, LTD., 1924), p. 45.

The Church teaches that Baptism into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is the privilege of each believer in the Saviour. Every applicant for membership is urged to consider the Lord's will on this subject, but the rule followed is 'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind,' and act according to his judgment of the Master's teaching. The whole question is left to the individual conscience. The obligation to be baptized springs out of the relation of the believer to the Church.

D. The New Road Baptist Church, Oxford, England⁴

And whereas some of us do verily believe that the sprinkling of the infant children of believing parents in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, is true Christian Baptism; and others of us do believe that true Christian Baptism is that which is administered to adults upon the profession of their repentance, faith, and experience of the grace of God, by Immersion in the Name of the Sacred Three; yet, notwithstanding this difference of sentiment, we promise and agree to receive one another into the same affection and love; and for this, among other many reasons: because we can find no warrant

⁴ R. A. de le Mare, "The Church Covenant of 1780," The Chronicle, II (April, 1939), 81-82.

in the Word of God to make such difference of sentiment any bar to Communion at the Lord's Table in particular, or to Church fellowship in general; and because the Lord Jesus receiving and owning them on both sides of the question, we think we ought to do so too.

We also further declare that we are willing and ready to admit to our Church fellowship and communion all that are desirous of it and will give us such an account of their Christian faith and hope as shall satisfy us that they are partakers of the saving grace of God, and that their conversation in the world is such as becomes the Gospel, notwithstanding any difference of opinion as to the subject and mode of Baptism; and also all such as are recommended to us from any of the Churches of different denominations on that head as sincere Christians in full communion with them.

E. First Baptist Church, Worcester, Massachusetts⁵
(A Statement)

This church recognizes every individual's right to his own belief, and welcomes to full membership persons from all denominations. Those not members of any church are welcomed to our membership and are received, if they

⁵ "A Statement," The Chronicle, III (October, 1940), 186 f.

so desire, on statement of their belief in God and the principles taught by Jesus, His interpreter to the world. The ordinance of baptism is a privilege and not a requirement.