ALEXANDER CALFELL IN KENTUCKY

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The question of religion has caused much strife among mankind in the past, and even the present is not without its spiritual prejudices. In any phase of life the individual who departs too far from the accepted order is almost certain to be brought up sharply against the criticism and even ridicule of his contemporaries.

Alexander Campbell is no exception to this rule. His life was one of strife and conflict in the field of religion. His leadership in the "Reformation Movement" of the early Nineteenth Century has left an indelible impression upon the minds of thousands of men and women.
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CHAPTER I

GENERAL SKETCH OF THE CAREER OF ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

Alexander Campbell's paternal ancestors were originally from the western part of Scotland, and very probably distantly related to the Campbells of Argyle. His father, Thomas, was inclined to stoutness, had gray eyes, and was of medium height. His mother's people, who were French Huguenots, had left France when Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes. Jane Carneigle, his mother, was a tall, well-formed, good-looking woman.

Alexander, the first child, was born September 12, 1783, in Antrim County, Ireland, near the little village of Ballymena. He bore a striking resemblance to his mother, possessing to a great extent the same likeness as to the form and character of the face. Alexander possessed great physical strength, and was very striking in his appearance.

Thomas Campbell, early in life, had dedicated his life to the ministry. At that time numerous divisions existed in the ranks of the Presbyterians, and with one of these, the Seceders, Campbell

3 Richardson, op. cit., p. 20.
identified himself. He taught school in order that his earnings from preaching might be supplemented; he discovered that preaching alone would not meet the necessary expenses of his family.

He refused to accept the position of tutor to the Governor General of Ireland, because he did not think it was best for his family to grow up under the influences such as would exist under these conditions.

Thomas Campbell later moved to Armough, where Alexander spent much of his boyhood. For some time he attended an elementary school in Market Hill, and later he was put in school at Newry, where two of his uncles had opened an academy. He was very fond of sport and sometimes found it irksome to study. His father decided to put him to work on a farm for a time, which was probably a wise move. That restless period of adolescence was spanned by several years of hard work. After this he showed more of a tendency toward intellectual development. As he grew older, he became active, his memory developed, and he became fond of religious literature and philosophy. His parents were very careful of his education, both religious and moral, and he developed into young manhood sturdy, active, and with a conscientious outlook upon

4 Thomas W. Grofton, Alexander Campbell, (St. Louis, Christian Board of Publication, 1897), p. 19.
5 Ibid., p. 19.
6 Hudson, op. cit., p. 21.
7 Richardson, op. cit., p. 32.
life. When Alexander was seventeen, his father moved to Rich Hill; and to supplement his pay as a minister, he established an academy with Alexander as assistant.

Notwithstanding his duties as his father's assistant, he displayed the utmost energy in following his own studies. Although working early and late at this task of self-education, his fondness for outdoor sports did not die. The size of the snowballs he could make, and the force which he used in throwing them brought him fame locally; and he could take his place on equal footing with the farmers of that section in the agricultural pursuits in which they engaged. Knowing his father's desire that he devote himself to the ministry, he spent some time in that direction. It was then that he began to wonder at the many divisions of Christianity. He found Catholics, Episcopalians, and many divisions of his own Presbyterian Church.

A congregation of Independents at Rich Hill greatly influenced the views of Alexander Campbell and his father. Many preachers visited this congregation, among whom were Rowland Hill, James Alexander Haldane, Alexander Carson, and John Walker. Alexander

9 Groton, op. cit., p. 25.
10 Ibid., pp. 26-27.
11 Richardson, op. cit., pp. 49-50.
12 Ibid., pp. 59-65.
contrasted their independence with the discipline of the Presbyterian Church.

After operating the academy for two years, Thomas Campbell's health began to fail. Alexander urged him to emigrate to the United States. He finally agreed when his son told him of his own determination to go to the New World as soon as he became of age. Leaving the academy in the hands of Alexander until existing engagements were fulfilled, he embarked to America from Londonderry. Later the entire family attempted to move to Philadelphia, but smallpox broke out and the ir departure was delayed for some time. Finally on October 1, 1808, the ship, Hibernia, set sail. On the evening of October 7, a severe gale drove the ship upon a sunken rock, which penetrated the bottom of the ship. Naturally all was confusion, and the passengers assembled upon deck along with the crew to await their fate. It was during this wreck, after he had done everything possible for the time, seated upon the broken stump of a mast, he seemed to realize the noble work of his father, and realizing how vain were the ambitions of human life, he determined, if saved, to devote the remainder of his life to the Gospel. Although he had contemplated the ministry for some time, it was now his full and definite decision to enter upon that line of work.

13 Ibid. pp. 79-80.
14 Croston, op. cit., p.32.
by the heroic efforts of the inhabitants of a nearby shore, all the passengers and crew were saved early the following morning. Before preparations to set sail again could be arranged, the season had so far advanced that the family decided to remain in Glasgow during the winter. This gave Alexander an opportunity of attending the same educational institution attended by his father. His life as a student in Glasgow University was one of great mental activity. Not only did he rank high in his classes, but he also did a great amount of general reading. Books read during the winter included those on poetry, ethics, natural history, philosophy, theology, in fact, practically the whole range of moral and philosophical investigation.

Unquestionably Thomas Campbell was delighted at the opportunity grasped by his son to attend Glasgow University. He, himself, had been in attendance during the years from 1783-1791. In fact, he was attending school there when Alexander was born. When Alexander Campbell entered the college November 8, 1808, the registrar wrote: "Alexander Campbell-- Filius Natu Maximus Viri Reverendi Thomeae Pastoris in parochiae in comitatu Armagh." The matriculation albums of the University, published in 1900, add the following:

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16 Crofton, op. cit., p. 34.
17 Ibid., p. 35.
"A. Campbell, born near Ballymena, 12th September, 1788. Went to the United States 1809. Joined the Baptists 1812, and was the Minister of Brush Run Church until 1827, when he organized a separate body under the name of 'The Disciples of Christ', popularly known as 'The Campbellites'. Founded a college at Bethany, West Virginia, 1841, and was President thereof and teacher therein, 1841-66. Also 'managed a large business and made money'. Member of the Constitutional convocation of Virginia. Died at Bethany, 4th March, 1866." 19

While in Glasgow, he was brought into connection with the Malecane brothers, who were pleading for some of the reforms later advocated by the Campbells. He also met Grenville Ewing, a devoted preacher. Through these means he became acquainted with the reform movement in Scotland, from which he received many impulses as a religious reformer. On August 3, 1809, they departed for America after spending three hundred days in Scotland. They arrived in New York on September 29, 1809, and on October 5, he started for Philadelphia, where he arrived with the family on October 7. Washington, Pennsylvania, where Thomas had settled, was about three hundred and fifty miles away to the west. To reach it, the family set out in a wagon over rough roads which crossed several ridges of the Allegheny mountains. After they had been on the road several days, they were met by Thomas Campbell coming east to meet them, and a happy reunion of the Campbell family took place.

19 Ibid. p. 16.
21 Richardson, op. cit., p. 194.
A quotation taken from his memoirs will show how he was determined to continue his habits of study in America:

"Arrangements for studies for winter of 1810"
"One hour to read Greek—from 8-9 in the morning."
"One hour to read Latin—from 11-12 in the morning."
"One-half hour to read Hebrew—between 12 and 1 p.m."
"Commit ten verses of the Scripture to memory every day, and read the same in the original languages, with Henry and Scott's notes, and practical observations. For this exercise we shall allow two hours. These exercises being intended for every day, will not be dispensed with. Other reading and studies as occasion may serve. These studies in all require four and a half hours. Church history and divers other studies, are intended to constitute the principal part of my pursuits.

"Regulations for Abraham Alters." 1st. Read to me in the morning from 7-8, in Scott's Family Bible. Say one lesson every day in Greek Grammar. One lesson also in Latin, and one in Rhetoric. Two days of the week to recite in English Grammar and prose. To prepare a theme each week, which is to be corrected and to be written clear and fair in a book.

"Abraham and the children, from ten to eleven, will read a Scripture lesson.

"These attentions will occupy three hours of my time every day.

"Davy, Nancy and Jane say English Grammar and prose with "Abraham Alters—The Mondays appointed for that purpose. Thomas
is to prepare a lesson every day in Latin Grammar. One hour for writing, and half an hour to hear any particular lessons from D. N. and J.

"The whole time spent thus will be nine hours."

After these resolutions, he says:

"May God in His great mercy afford me time, ability and inclination to attend to these intentions, and to His name may all the glory and honor redound through Jesus Christ. Amen. Alexander Campbell, Sunday 31st., December, 1809."

The above program of activities shows above doubt the studious habits of Campbell. Not only did he have a difficult program mapped out for himself, but he also taught his brother, Thomas, his younger sisters, and Abraham Alters.

Although Thomas Campbell had been accepted by the Presbyterians when he arrived in Philadelphia, and assigned by the Seceders Synod to the Presbytery of Chartiers at Washington, he was seriously at odds with it when his family arrived. His toleration toward people of other affiliations was not regarded with favor by the Seceder church. In answer to their charges, he wrote the "Declaration and Address" in which he advanced the principle, "Where the Bible speaks we shall speak, and where the Bible is silent, we shall be silent." Andrew Hurnro said, "If we adopt that as a basis, there is an end of infant baptism." The Christian

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I. Association of Washington County, Pennsylvania was thus formed with the idea of recognizing the truth as they understood it. When it was rejected by the Synod of Pittsburgh, the First Church of the Christian Association of Washington was formed.

Alexander was in perfect sympathy with his father's action. He had progressed equally as far in his reformatory ideas as had his father. Indeed he had been deeply influenced by his father's attempt to unite the various Presbyterian branches in Ireland. At that time the Presbyterians were divided into Seceders, Burghers, Anti-Burghers, Old Light Burghers, and New Light Burghers. Each division and creed claimed supremacy, sometimes separated by the most trivial thing, and each intolerant of the other. The effect of the whole was to increase his reverence for the scriptures as the only infallible guide in religion, and to deepen his conviction that the existence of sects and parties was one of the greatest hindrances to the success of the gospel.

This Association of Washington was in reality a local independent church. It was not the wish of the Campbells to create a new party in religion, but merely to effect a reformation. Social customs of the times—especially manners and morals of the young

26 *loc. cit.*
27 *Grefen*, op. cit., p. 37.
28 *Johnson*, op. cit., p. 447.
people affected the young man, and becoming convinced that
they needed reform, he wrote articles on that subject which
appeared in the "Reporter", a weekly paper appearing in
Washington.

On July 15, 1610, he preached his first sermon in a grove,
eight miles from Washington. His first sermon met with marked
approval from the audience, and thus the career of the young
preacher in his chosen field seemed to meet with initial success.
During the year, he preached more than one hundred sermons. In
the fall of 1610, he established an intimacy with the family
of John Brown, which led to a marriage to his daughter, Margaret,
on March 12, 1811. Following his marriage, he worked on the
farm of Mr. Brown and continued his regular preaching at points
conveniently near.

On March 15, 1812, his first child, Jane, was born. It
was then that the question of infant baptism, which he had
tolerated, began to occupy his serious attention. The result
of his study convinced him that baptism was very important, in
fact he thought it to be a positive Divine command; he also
concluded that sprinkling, which he had undergone, had no direct
order in the scriptures. Reaching these decisions, he arranged

29 Richardson, op. cit., p. 263.
30 Ibid., p. 318.
31 Ibid., p. 318.
32 Ibid., p. 318.
for a Baptist preacher, Matthias Luce, to immerse him. So, on Wednesday, June 12, 1612, Alexander Campbell, his wife, his father and mother, and his sister were baptized. In choosing to follow the example of his son, Thomas Campbell henceforth became a follower of his son. Their position was now nearer to the Baptists than any other, and in the fall of 1613, they, and the congregation which they had formed, accepted the invitation to become affiliated with the Redstone Baptist Association. This was a very important move on the part of Campbell. It represented a great step toward the reformation movement, of which he was one of the leaders. In speaking of this great step in his reformation movement, Campbell says in the Millennial Harbinger:

"after my baptism, and the consequent new constitution of our church at Brush Run, it became my duty to set forth the cause of this change in our position to the professing world, and also to justify them by an appeal to the Oracles of God. But this was not all; the position of baptism itself to the other institutions of Christ became a new subject of examination, and a very absorbing one. A change of one's views on any radical matter, in all its practical bearings and effects upon all his views, not only in reference to that simple result, but also in reference to all its connections with the whole system of which it is a part, is not to be computed, a priori, by himself or by any one else. The whole Christian doctrine is exhibited in three symbols—baptism, the Lord's supper and the Lord's day institution. Some, may, very many, change their views in regard to some one of these without ever allowing themselves to trace its connections with the whole institution of which it is a part or a symbol. My mind, neither by nature, nor by education, was one of that order. I must know now two things about everything—its cause and its relations. Hence my mind was, for a time, set loose from all its former moorings. It was not a simple change of views on baptism, which happens a thousand times without anything more, but a new commencement. I was placed on a new eminence—a peak
of the mountain of God, from which the whole landscape of Christianity presented itself to my mind in a new attitude and position.

"I had no idea of uniting with the Baptists, more than with the Moravians or the mere Independents. I had unfortunately formed a very unfavorable opinion of the Baptist preachers as then introduced to my acquaintance, as narrow, contracted, illiberal and uneducated men. This, indeed, I am sorry to say, is still my opinion of the ministry of that association of that day; and whether they are yet much improved, I am without satisfactory evidence.

"The people, however, called Baptists, were much more highly appreciated by me than their ministry. Indeed the ministry of some sects is in the aggregate the worst portion of them. It was certainly so in the Redstone Association, thirty years ago. They were little men in a big office. The office did not fit them. They seemed to think that a change of apparel—a black coat instead of a drab one—a broad rim on their hat instead of a narrow one—a prolongation of the face, and a fictitious gravity—a longer and more emphatic pronunciation of certain words, rather than Scriptural knowledge, humility, spirituality, zeal and Christian affection; with great devotion and great philanthropy, were the grand desiderata.

"They had but one, two, or at the most three sermons, and these were delivered in one uniform style and order, or mixed down into one medley by way of variety. Of course then, unless they had an exuberant zeal for the truth as they understood it, they were not of the calibre, temper or attainments to relish or seek after mental enlargement or independence. I, therefore, could not esteem them, nor court their favor by offering any incense at their shrine. I resolved to have nothing especially to do with them more than with other preachers and teachers. The clergy of my acquaintance in other parties of that day were, as they believed, educated men, and called the Baptists illiterate and uncouth men, without learning or academic accomplishments or polish. They trusted to a moderate portion of Latin, Greek and metaphysics, together with a synopsis of divinity, ready made in suit for every man's stature, at a reasonable price. They were as proud of their classic lore and the narrow of modern divinity, as the Baptists was of his 'mode of
baptism', and his 'proper subject' with sovereign grace, total depravity and final perseverance.

"I confess, however, that I was better pleased with the Baptist people than with any other community. They read the Bible, and seemed to care for little else in religion than 'conversion' and 'Bible doctrine.' They often sent for us and pressed us to preach for them. We visited some of their churches, and, on acquaintance, liked the people more and the preachers less. I often spoke to the Baptist congregations for sixty miles around. They all pressed me to join their Redstone Association. We laid the matter before the Church (the organization that finally grew out of the old Washington Christian Association) in the fall of 1813. We discussed the propriety of the measure. After much discussion and earnest desire to be guided by the wisdom that cometh from above, we finally concluded to make an overture to that effect, and to write out a full view of our sentiments, wishes and determinations on that subject. We did so in some eight or ten pages of large dimensions, exhibiting our remonstrance against all human creeds as bonds of communion or union amongst Christian Churches, and expressing a willingness, upon certain conditions, to cooperate or to unite with that Association, provided always that we should be allowed to teach and preach whatever we learned from the Holy Scriptures, regardless of any creed or formula in Christendom. A copy of this document, we regret to say, was not preserved.

"The proposition was discussed at the Association, and after much debate, was decided by a considerable majority in favor of our being received. Thus a union was formed." 35

The above statement clearly indicates that Campbell was not in sympathy with the preachers of his new association, and in that day religious intolerance, one is not surprised that difficulties should arise early.

Upon his father's removal to Ohio, he became pastor of the Brush Run church, but his farming activities were continued since John Brown had now deeded his farm to his son-in-law. In 1818,
he established Buffalo Seminary, in Bethany, Virginia, but it was discontinued later. He established Bethany College, Virginia, in 1840, and became its president. It was the ambition of Campbell to establish the seeds of the reformation movement, which was done by the establishment of this institution, since a number of out-standing men, who identified themselves with the movement of reform, graduated from Bethany College.

In his relations with the Baptists of the Redstone Association, affairs were not going so well, Milner says:

"In pressing upon the attention of that society and the public the all-sufficiency of the Sacred Scriptures for everything necessary to the perfection of the Christian character, whether in the private or social relations of life, in the church or in the world, they began to be opposed by a strong creed party in that association. After some ten years' debating and contending for the Bible alone, and the apostles' doctrine, Alexander Campbell, and the church to which he belonged, united with the Mahoning Association of Ohio--that association being more favorable to his views of reform."

In 1820 he started on his career as a debater, meeting John Walker, a Seceding minister on the subject of baptism. His debate was held at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, and was published in 1821. His second debate was with W. L. Macalla, a Presbyterian minister, at Washington, Kentucky, 1823. This debate, which was

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36 Hudson, op. cit., pp. 50-53.
37 Milner, op. cit., p. 148.
also on baptism, was published in 1824. In 1825, he conducted a debate in Cincinnati with Robert Owen. The subject of this discussion was "On Evidence of Christianity." This was published in 1834. In Cincinnati in the year 1837, he conducted a fourth debate with Archbishop Purcell on Romanism. This debate was later published in America and in England. In 1843, the Presbyterian Synod selected N. L. Rice to meet Campbell in a debate at Lexington, Kentucky. The two debates held in Kentucky will be discussed more fully in later chapters.

The first of the five great debates were held when Campbell was thirty-two, and the last when he was fifty-five. A wide range of subjects were covered as three were held with Paedo-baptists, one with a Catholic, and one with an infidel.

In 1823, he started the periodical known as "The Christian Baptist." The paper made its appearance in July, and through it his viewpoint was given to the public. The success of this periodical caused him to continue his editorial activities for about forty years. In 1830, however, his publication became known as the "Millennial Harbinger," because of the severed connection with the Baptists.

This reverence was brought about because of Campbell's

39 Hudson, op. cit., p. 71.
40 Smith, op. cit., p. 555.
41 Hudson, op. cit., p. 72.
severe criticism of the manner in which formalities and ceremo-
nials for religious purposes were conducted. He also opposed
the Baptist method of preaching, their four circuits for one
rural minister, their extreme doctrinal emphasis, and their
requirement for religious experience. When these ideas were
accepted by various Baptist ministers who in turn gained adher-
ents, an opposition party began to form, and when large groups
began to accept these new teachings, the Baptists began to sever
themselves from members of the Reformation. Thus in 1832, when
there was effected in Lexington a union between the "Christians"
of Kentucky and the "Reformers" the movement was henceforth
independent.

To understand the views of Campbell, perhaps no improve-
ment can be made on the words of the Rev. Thomas Armitage: "As
nearly as I could express Mr. Campbell's views after much conver-
sation with him: "That no man can be born of God but by the word
of truth as found in the Bible; that the Scriptures, being
inspired by the Holy Spirit which acts on the soul is exerted
through the word of the Scripture; that the act of regeneration
is not completed until the soul obeys Christ in the act of
baptism; and that as baptism is Christ's appointed method of
confessing Him, the washing away of sin is connected with that
act or evidenced thereby.

42 Johnson, op. cit., p. 448.
43 Milner, op. cit., p. 149.
44 Hudson, op. cit., p. 40.
"They regard all sects and parties of the Christian world as having, in greater or less degree, departed from the simplicity of faith and manners of the first Christians. This deflection they attribute to the great varieties of speculation, formularies, liturguries, and books of discipline adopted and inculcated as bonds of union and platforms of communion in all the parties which have sprung from the Lutheran Reformation. This has brought about the introduction of a new nomenclature, a human vocabulary of religious words, phrases and technicalities, which affixed to the sacred ideas wholly unknown to the Apostles of Christ."

A religious reform was sweeping over the country. In different parts of the world, men were fighting for what they termed simplicity and liberty of the gospel. In Kentucky the intense religious excitement which prevailed in revivals and camp meetings, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was preparing the people for the appearance of Campbell's reform movement.

The preaching of the Rev. Barton W. Stone, who had been a Presbyterian, and a number of others had been much the same as that of Campbell for a number of years. Quoting from J. L. Gerald's Scrapbook on "Birthplace of a Religious Movement":

"To one outside and apart from this religious body, it seems strange that comparatively few even within the fold should be acquainted with the real history of the foundation of the Christian Church. The nickname of 'Campbellite' which often attaches

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45 Armitage, op. cit., p. 736.
to it, is not only a misnomer because of its variance with the cardinal principles of the church, but it also implies a historical mistake, since Alexander Campbell was not the real founder of this body. True, he was one of its leading exponents and teachers, a shining light in the early days of its existence. A man and a minister to whom all honor is due, except the honor of establishing the church. Five years before Alexander Campbell reached American shores and began preaching what gave impetus to a similar religious body, which after a few years of independent existence, was consolidated with the original, Barton W. Stone, pastor of Cone Ridge church near Paris, with the able assistance of that great son of Kentucky, David Furvice, and of other earnest souls formed, duly organized and named the Christian church, and started it forth on its great evangelizing mission. This was in 1804."

Thus it is seen that a parallel movement to Campbell's was going on in Kentucky. His paper, debates, and other writings freely circulated in the state; and especially, after his union with Stone, the state of Kentucky became a center of influence and a stronghold for his movement.

Alexander Campbell was a many-sided man. As an author and editor, sixty volumes have his name on their title pages. He edited seven volumes of the "Christian Baptist" and thirty-four of the "Harbinger." The "Harbinger" was carried on to the forty-first volume after his death by Pendleton and Loos. As an educator

47 Smith, op. cit., p. 531.
49 Selina Huntington Campbell, Home Life and Reminiscences of Alexander Campbell, (St. Louis, John Burns Publisher, 1882), p. 531.
he was outstanding. He founded a college and was its presi-
dent for about twenty-five years. Besides his oral discuss-
ions, he conducted many written dissertations. He was the
father of fourteen children. He managed a large business and
made money. He also served with distinction in the Constitution-
al Convention of Virginia with such men as ex-President Madison,
John Marshall, John Randolph and other prominent men of the
state.

Although he had been preaching for some time, he was not
ordained until January 1, 1812. He was a great traveler and
preached over a large area. He preached either in houses or
in the open, and usually preached to a large congregation. He
traveled frequently in Kentucky, where he had many friends, and
he was a welcome speaker in Lexington, the center of the state's
culture. He traveled in the states south of Virginia, where he
had many friends and followers; and he visited the North even
during the Civil War. In 1847, he visited his old home in
Ireland, and also traveled through England, France and Scotland,
lecturing and preaching in many places.

Through the estate given him by his father-in-law, John
Brown, Campbell gradually increased his resources and wealth.
In fact, during the last part of his life, he was quite independent

50 McLean, op. cit., p. 7.
51 W. H. Davis, How the Disciples Began and Grew, (Cincinnati,
52 McLean, op. cit., p. 8.
financially. Although an economical man, he always gave support to any worthy enterprise and never failed to help the unfortunate and poor.

During his closing years, he donated to the American Christian Missionary Society his interest in the hymn book he had published, and from which he derived a large portion of his income. By his will, he gave legacies to his grandchildren by his first wife, who had died October 22, 1827; ten thousand dollars and his library were donated to Bethany College; five thousand dollars to maintain the preaching of the gospel; the remainder of his estate was given to his second wife, who had been Mrs. S. H. Blackwell, and his four surviving children.

His death occurred near midnight on Monday, March 4, 1866. As the end approached, his wife comforted him with the following words: "The blessed Savior will go with you through the valley of the shadow of death." His reply was, "That He will! that He will!"

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54 Ibid. p. 659.
55 Gropton, op. cit., p. 225.
CHAPTER II

THE CAMPBELL-PACOILLA DEBATE AND ITS INFLUENCES UPON KENTUCKY

When Campbell established his connection with the Baptist church, everywhere it opened its doors to receive him. He did not hesitate to express his views either in public or in private. In a bold manner, he would declare what he believed to be true even at the expense of his popularity. He differed from the Baptists in numerous ways, and in his discussions he treated such subjects as the place and purpose of baptism, the Lord's supper, regeneration, conversion, Christian union, the covenants, and the law and the gospel. In spite of his peculiar views, great thrones gathered to hear him, and thousands of friends were made.

He was on amicable relations with the Redstone Association until he preached his famous "Sermon on the Law" in 1816. This was the beginning of the wedge which finally severed connections between the Baptists and the Reformers. The Baptists, at first, regarded him as their champion; in fact, it was at their request that he entered his first religious debate.

3 Gospel Advocate, op. cit., p. 520.
Although he was at first opposed to public debates, he later became a great debater, and deemed it a powerful means of carrying his message to the people. In the spring of 1820, he was requested to hold a public debate on baptism with Rev. John Walker, a Presbyterian preacher, of Mt. Pleasant, Ohio. During this two-day debate with Walker, Campbell showed extraordinary ability. At the close of the debate Campbell publicly stated his willingness to meet any paedobaptist on the subject of baptism. The challenge was issued in his concluding remarks: "I this day publish to all present that I feel disposed to meet any Paedobaptist minister of any denomination, of good standing in his party, and I engage to prove in a debate with him, either 'viva voce', or with the pen, that infant sprinkling is a human tradition and injurious to the well-being of society, religious and political."

This debate with Walker was hailed as a victory by the Baptists; however, in some Baptist circles hostility was increased. While Campbell was preparing for the publication of the "Christian Baptist," he received a letter in May, 1823 from W. L. Maccalla, a Presbyterian preacher of Augusta, Kentucky. Maccalla stated that he would accept the challenge given at the close of the debate with Walker. The letter from Maccalla was written from

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4 Loc. cit.
6 Kellem, op. cit., p. 40.
7 Thomascrofton, Alexander Campbell, (St. Louis, Christian Board of Publication, 1897), pp. 110-111.
Augusta, Trunchen County, Kentucky, and was dated May 17, 1823. Campbell did not answer until June 16, 1823. His explanation for the delay was that he had been trying to determine the standing of Maccalla. In one letter of the correspondence, Campbell stated that he thought the place of debate should be equidistant from both, but that he would go to Augusta on certain conditions. In his letter of September 15, 1823, Maccalla said: "Your friends and correspondents, Dr. Keith and Major Davis, undertook the responsibility of requesting on your behalf that Washington might be the place of meeting. As this was to your advantage, I consented." It seems that Maccalla, who had been a lawyer, possessed a keen mind for argument, and was held in high esteem by the Presbyterians. A correspondence continued until the following September. They finally agreed to meet on the proposition announced at the close of the Walker debate, but no regulations or rules for the discussion were reached.

Although Thomas Campbell had moved to Kentucky in 1817, and lived there until 1819, this debate, which was to take place

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8 Alexander Campbell, *Debate on Christian Baptism* (Buffalo, Campbell and Sala, 1824), pp. 15-27.
9 Ibid., pp. 17-18.
10 Ibid., p. 37.
11 Richardson, *op. cit.* p. 51.
12 Ibid., p. 82.
in October, in the town of Washington, Kentucky, signaled
Alexander's first trip into the state. He was forced to make
the journey horseback because the Ohio river was too low for
navigation in October, 1823. Signey Rigdon, pastor of the
Baptist church in Pittsburgh, who desired to be present at the
discussion, accompanied him. They reached their journey's end,
Washington, Kentucky, on October 11. The following letter was
written home on the day of arrival:

"My dear Margaret: Through the mercy and
kindness of our heavenly Father we have arrived
in safety and in health at the ground of debate.
This is a healthy and fine country, and everything
is cheerful and animating. I have no news relative
to the debate. Great expectations on all sides, and
much zeal. Too much party spirit. I hope and pray
that the Lord will enable me to speak as I ought to
speak and cause the truth to be glorified. I intend,
if my health will permit, to visit Lexington and
Cincinnati after the debate, and therefore, you need
not expect to see me for nearly six weeks after my
departure from home. I will write in a few days
again. Remember me to all the children—to Joseph
Freeman, James Anderson, and all inquiring friends.
May grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied unto you!
Your loving husband,

A. Campbell."

On the evening of the 14th Campbell was introduced to
Maccalla by Major Davis, and the following agreements were finally
arranged:

1. Each of the parties shall choose a moderator, and these

15 Grafton, "cit., p. 111.
16 Richardson, "cit., p. 71.
17 Ibid., p. 72.
two a third person, who belongs to neither party, merely for
the purpose of keeping order.

2. Alexander Campbell shall open the debate.

3. Each disputant shall have the privilege of speaking
thirty minutes without interruption, unless he chooses to waive
his right.

4. Whatever books are produced on the occasion shall be
open to the perusal of each disputant. The debate shall be
adjourned from day to day until the parties are satisfied.

Bishop Jeremiah Varleman was chosen as moderator by
Campbell; the Rev. James K. Birch was chosen by Haccalla; these-
two chose Major William Roper and made him president of the
board of directors. Because of the large crowd and the beauti-
ful weather, the discussion was started in a grove adjacent to
the Baptist meeting house. At the time set, 12 o'clock, both
Campbell and Haccalla appeared on the scene.

The debate continued for seven days; therefore, it is
impossible to relate all the discussions in a study of this
brevity. To show, however, the manner in which Campbell opened
the debate, the following passage is quoted:

"Through the goodness and mercy of God I
appear before you, at this time and in this place,
for the purpose of contending for a part of that
faith, and an item of that religious practice, once
delivered to the saints. My prayer to God is, that

18
Alexander Campbell, Debate on Christian Baptism, (Buffalo,
Campbell & Sala, 1824), p. 40.
19
Loc. cit.
for the sake of His Son, Jesus Christ, I may speak as I ought to speak, that in the spirit of the truth I may contend for the truth; that with humility and love, with zeal according to knowledge and unfeigned devotion, I may open my lips on every occasion when I address my fellow mortal and immortal creatures on the subject of religion. Expecting that they and I will soon appear before the judgment seat of Christ. May I speak in such a way that I may not be ashamed or afraid to meet them there. May I ever act under the influence of that wisdom which cometh from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and of good fruits, with partiality, and without hypocrisy. And may you, my friends, examine and prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good." 20

In his second speech he attempts to lessen party spirit and rivalry by saying: "Our design, my Presbyterian friends is not to widen the breach, or to throw stumbling blocks in the way; by inflaming your passions; but to lead you to understand this most important institution of the Lord of glory, that whosoever of you feareth God may unite with me in keeping His commandments as delivered unto us by His holy apostles." 21

In his first discussion, Campbell called upon Maccalla to point out any advantages that came from infant sprinkling. In reply, Maccalla reminded Campbell that he had not yet offered any argument in proof of his propositions and he announced the method he intended to use to prove the contrary.

Campbell adopted his method of procedure from the Presbyterian confession of faith, which Maccalla as a Presbyterian minister,

20 Ibid. pp. 41-42.
21 Richardson, op. cit., p. 75.
Accepted. The two chief principles set forth by Campbell were that while all things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, not alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed and observed for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them; secondly, that the infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself; and, therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture which is not manifold, but one, it may be searched, and known by other places that speak more clearly. By use of these principles, that even the unlearned can understand Scripture essential to salvation, and that its meanings are not many, but one, Campbell based his arguments against infant baptism. Campbell produced from the New Testament his interpretation of the law of baptism, which he declared requires faith as a prerequisite to baptism. He then produced several cases in which he stated that in the practice of the primitive church, believers only were baptised.

Early in the debate, Bishop vardeman seconded by Roper, requested Macalla to refrain from use of the term "accuser"

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22 Ibid. p. 76.
23 Ibid. p. 77.
and "adversary" when speaking of Campbell, and from representing the Baptists as "accusers" and "adversaries."

In preparation for the debate, Hackett had prepared a great amount of manuscript from which he read. Since the reading of a pre-prepared manuscript would naturally withhold direct arguments to a great extent, Campbell spent a great deal of time in presenting his views of the Christian church.

Since the debate with Walker, Campbell had gone deeper into the question of baptism. During the discussion, in addition to his defense of the scriptural mode and subject of baptism, he brought forth what he considered to be the real purpose of baptism in the Gospel. Fortune says of this: "In discussing this point, Campbell went beyond any position he had hitherto held and gave baptism an important place in the forgiveness of sins." On the second day he renewed his argument against infant baptism in the following manner:

"Our third argument is deduced from the design or import of baptism. On this topic of argument we shall be as full as possible, because of its great importance, and because, perhaps, neither

26 Crofton, op. cit., p. 111.
baptism nor Pseudobaptists sufficiently appreciate it. I will
first merely refer to the oracles of God, which show that
baptism is an ordinance of the greatest importance, and of
momentous significance. Never was there an ordinance of so
great importance or design. It is to be but once administered.

We are to pray often, praise often, show forth the Lord's death
often, commemorate His resurrection every week, but we are to
be baptised but once. Its great significance can be seen from
the following testimonies: The Lord saith, 'He that believeth,
and is baptised shall be saved.' He does not say, he that
believeth and keeps my commandments shall be saved, but he saith,
'He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved. He placeth
baptism on the right hand of faith. Again, He tells Nicodemus
that unless a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot
enter into the kingdom of God; Peter, on the day of Pentecost,
places baptism in the same exalted place. 'Repent and be
baptised, every one of you, for the remission of sins.' Amen
saith to Paul, 'Arise and be baptised, and wash away thy sins,
calling upon the name of the Lord.' Paul saith to the Corinthi-
ans, 'Ye were once fornicators, idolaters, adulterers, effeminate,
thieves, covetous, drunkards, rioters, extortioners, but ye are
washed in the name of the Lord Jesus,' doubtless referring to
their baptism. He tells Titus, 'God our Father saved us by the
washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit.' See
again its dignified importance. Peter finished the grand climax
in praise of baptism; 'Baptism doth now also save us by the
resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.'
Again he remarks: "I know it will be said that I have affirmed that baptism saves us. Well, Peter and Paul have said so before me. If it was not original in them to say so, it cannot be criminal in me. Then Ananias said unto Paul, 'Arise and be baptised, and wash away thy sins, calling upon the name of the Lord,' I suppose Paul believed him and arose and was baptised, and washed away his sins. When he was baptised, he must have believed that his sins were now washed away in some sense that they were not before. For, if his sins had been already, in every sense washed away, Ananias' address would have led him into a mistaken view of himself, both before and after baptism. Now, we confess that the blood of Jesus Christ alone cleanses us who believe from all sins. Even this, however, is a metaphorical expression. The efficacy of His blood springs from His own dignity and from the appointment of His Father. The blood of Christ, then, really cleanses us who believe from all sin. Behold the goodness of God in giving us a formal token of it, by ordaining a baptism, then, formally washes away our sins. The blood of Christ really washes away our sins. Paul's sins were really pardoned when he believed, yet he had no solemn pledge of the fact, no formal acquittal, no formal purgation of his sins until he washed them away in the water of baptism.

"To every believer, therefore, baptism is a formal and personal remission, or purgation of sins. The believer never has his sins formally washed away or remitted until he is baptised. The water has no efficacy but what God's appointment gives it, and he has made it sufficient for this purpose. The
value and importance of baptism appear from this view of it. It also accounts for baptism being called the 'washing of regeneration.' It shows us a good and valid reason for the despatch with which this ordinance was administered in the primitive church. The believers did not lose a moment in obtaining the remission of their sins. Paul tarried three days after he believed, which is the longest delay recorded in the New Testament. The reason for this delay was the wonderful accompaniment of his conversion, and preparation for the apostolic office. He was blind three days; scales fell from his eyes; he arose then forthwith and was baptised. The three thousand who first believed, on the self-same day were baptised for the remission of their sins. Yes, even the jailer and his house would not wait until daylight, but the same hour of the night in which he believed, he and all his were baptised. I say this view of baptism accounts for all those otherwise unaccountable circumstances. It was this view of baptism misapplied that originated infant baptism. The first errorists on this subject argued that if baptism was so necessary for the remission of sins, it should be administered to infants, whom they represented as in great need of it on account of their original sin. Affectionate parents, believing their children to be guilty of original sin, were easily persuaded to have them baptised for the remission of original sin, not for washing away sins actually committed. Faith in Christ is necessary to forgiveness of sins, therefore baptism without faith is unmeaning ceremony.
Even the confession of faith, or at least the Larger Catechism, says that baptism is a sign of the remission of sins. How then can it be administered to those without faith? Is it with them a sign and seal of engrafting into Christ of remission of sins by His blood and regeneration by His Spirit, as the answer to this question declares?

"One argument from this topic is, that baptism being ordained to be to a believer a formal and personal remission of all his sins, cannot be administered unto an infant without the greatest perversion and abuse of the nature and impart of this ordinance. Indeed, why should an infant that never sinned—that, as Calvinists say, is guilty only of original sin, which is an unit—be baptised for the remission of sins?"

Because of colder weather, the discussion was transferred to the nearby Baptist meeting house after the third day. This church was one of the first established in the state and the first in Northern Kentucky, being established in 1785. Upon the last day of the debate, Mccalla touched upon the dangers and indelicacies of baptism. He stated that it was dangerous to both the subject and the administrator. In reply, Campbell pointed to Birch, the Presbyterian moderator, who was a small man; then pointed to Vardeman, who was an unusually large man.

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The audience was greatly amused at this comparison.

In speaking of the debate, Jennings says: "The most striking thing about the Maccalla-Campbell debate was the importance attached by Campbell to baptism."

Williams says: "He contended that baptism, or immersion, is a divine institution, designed to put the legitimate subject of it into actual possession of the remission of his sins; that to every believing subject it did formally and in fact convey to him the forgiveness of sins."

Kollem says: "The debate with Maccalla, October 15-23, 1823, even more widely enhanced his reputation in that it was held on Kentucky soil, and achieved the capitulation to him of practically the whole state."

It is not the purpose of the writer to attempt to state the victor in these discussions, if, indeed, there was such. In fact, both Baptists and Presbyterians claimed that their views had been most clearly set forth. In his "Millennial Harbinger" of January 18, 1844, Campbell says:

"The Ebeneser Presbytery had just been in session and stood by Maccalla. For three or four days runners proclaimed a Paedo-baptist victory through the circumjacent country, till toward

30 Richardson, op. cit., p. 86.
33 Kollem, op. cit., pp. 40-41.
its close, it so outraged the community, that all at once it was hushed and Baptist views almost universally declared triumphant."

Be that as it may, a large number of Baptists were present at the discussion, also many of their most influential preachers, and they derived great satisfaction from the discussion. In fact, his published debates with Walker had reached some of the Baptist preachers in Kentucky, so they were not altogether unfamiliar with his ideas. He took advantage of the opportunity offered to develop the design of baptism from his viewpoint, and to advance other points in the reform movement. He opened himself more fully to a group of Baptist preachers at the home of Major Davis, where he stayed, on the evening of the fifth day:

"Brethren", he said, "I fear that if you knew me better you would esteem and love me less. For let me tell you that I have almost as much against you Baptists as I have against the Presbyterians. They err in one thing and you in another, and probably you are each nearly equidistant from original apostol Christianity." I paused, and such a silence as ensued, accompanied by a piercing look from all sides of the room, I seldom before witnessed. Elder Vardeman at length broke silence by saying, 'Well sir, we want to know our errors or your heterodoxy. Do, let us hear it. Keep nothing back.' I replied, 'I

34 Millennial Harbinger, January, 1844, p. 8.
know not where to begin; nor am I in health and vigor, after the toils of the day, to undertake so heavy a task. But,' said I, 'I am commencing a publication called the "Christian Baptist" to be devoted to all such matters, a few copies of which are in my portmanteau, and, with your permission, I will read you a few specimens of my heterodoxy; They all said, 'Let us hear—let us hear the worst error you have against us'; I went upstairs and unwrapped the first three numbers of the 'Christian Baptist' that ever saw the light in Kentucky. I had just ten copies of the first three numbers. I carried them into the parlor and sitting down I read as a sample, 'The first essay on the clergy'—so much of it as respected the 'call to the ministry' as then taught in the 'kingdom of the clergy,' and especially among the Baptists. This was the first essay ever read from that work in Kentucky. After a sigh and a long silence, Elder Vardeman said, "Is that your worst error, your chief heterodoxy? I don't care so much about that as you admit we may have a providential call, without a voice from heaven or a special visit from some angel or spirit. If you have anything worse, for my part, I wish to hear it.' The cry was 'Let us hear something more. On turning to and fro, I next read an article on 'Modern Missionaries.' This, with the 'Capitol Mistake of Modern Missionaries' finished my readings for the evenings.

"On closing this essay, Elder Vardeman said, 'I am not so great a missionary man as to fall out with you on that subject. I must hear more before I condemn or approve.' I then distributed my ten copies amongst the ten most distinguished and advanced
elders in the room, requesting them to read those copies during the recess of the debate, and to communicate freely to me their objections. We separated. So the matter ended at that time."

Campbell had withheld, on the eve of his debate, his paper from Kentucky. After talking over some points of difference with some Baptist preachers, he offered his paper to subscribers and obtained five thousand as a result of his first trip to Kentucky.

This debate was listened to with much interest, and it opened the doors of the Baptist churches in Kentucky to him. Jeremiah Vardeman, the most popular preacher in Kentucky, and whose word at that time was authority, said of him: "If all Baptist preachers in Kentucky were put into one, they would not make an Alexander Campbell."

Campbell, himself, said that the debate excited great interest and was patiently heard to its close by a very numerous and respectable assembly. In a letter from the editors of the "Christian Examiner" to Vardeman, the statements are made that Vardeman solicited Campbell to visit a section of the state, also that Vardeman went on before him to publish his appointments,

36 Richardson, op. cit., pp. 50-59.
38 Richardson, op. cit., p. 72. Footnote.
39 Williams, op. cit., p. 130.
40 Christian Baptist, vol. 1, p. 34.
went with him to his appointments, and introduced him to many people. The letter also asks Vardeman if it is not true that he procured subscriptions for the "Debate on Baptism" with 41 Macoulls and for the "Christian Baptist." Campbell, himself, said that Vardeman from 1822-1826 did more for scattering his principles throughout the state than any other one man.

The debates brought recognition throughout the state of Campbell's intellectual ability, and power of discussion. In speaking of him, the Rev. Thomas Armitage says: "Campbell had a powerful intellect which largely predominated over the emotions in his nature. He was very positive, unyielding, fearless and capable of wonderful endurance. Not over-polite or ceremonious, his manners were bland and conciliating. His mind entirely self-directing, no show about him, not an orator in a high sense, his manner of speaking was pre-possessing from the absence of cant in expression, or whine in tone. There was a warm play of benevolence in his face, and a frank, open-heartedness in his speech, which was logical and had an artful sarcasm which seldom failed to influence his hearers."

That Campbell was well received by the Baptist church in Kentucky, is proved by the invitation extended to him to visit the churches in Kentucky. He preached to immense, admiring

42 Millennial Harbinger, July, 1842, p. 324.
crowds at Lexington, Shelbyville and other towns along the route. He also visited and preached at Mayslick and Bryant's Station. A large crowd assembled at Davida Fork Church, in Fayette County, one of Verdeman's churches, to hear him. Campbell arrived in Lexington as a visiting Baptist and his earnestness and eloquence attracted very much attention.

At that time Lexington was considered a very learned city. Transylvania, with Dr. Horace Holley as president, was high in public esteem, and boasted of students from many parts of the country. Oratory was in its flower in Lexington at that time, and such men as Clay and Crittenden were to be found there. Although Campbell had not entirely recovered from the dyspepsia from which he had been suffering, he spoke to a large group in the Baptist meeting place of Dr. James Fishback. His sermon was based on the first chapter of Hebrews, and lasted two hours.

Dr. Theodore S. Bell, a youth who later became a distinguished Louisville physician, spoke of the discourse in the following manner:

44 Spencer, op. cit., p. 588.
45 Richardson, op. cit., p. 89.
46 Ibid. p. 91.
48 Richardson, op. cit., pp. 92-93.
49 Loc. cit.
"I never had heard anything that approached the power of that discourse, nor have I ever heard it equalled since. Under the training of my mother, one of the most thorough scholars in the Bible that I ever knew, and of Dr. Fishback, although I then made no pretentions to Christianity, I was almost as familiar with the Bible as with my alphabet. But that speech on Hebrews lifted me into a world of thought of which I had previously known nothing. It has been forty-five years since I heard that public discourse, but it is as vivid in my memory, I think, as when I first heard it."

The Maccalla debate was published from notes kept by Campbell, and others. Maccalla claimed that it showed Campbell's side of the argument. This led Campbell to publish a pamphlet in 1828 which contains letters and statements to Campbell from many people who had heard part or all of the debate. Campbell states that these letters, which were written in 1827, were not limited to his sympathizers alone. According to these letters, the publication was a fair and just account of the debate as it took place.

The debate with Maccalla and his short tour to the interior, followed by subscriptions to the "Christian Baptist", sowed many seeds of his reformation principles. His intelligence, ability as a speaker, and his deportment in social circles, gained for

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Loc. cit.
51
Alexander Campbell, Fests and Documents Confirmatory of the Credibility of Debate on Baptism, (Bethany, 1826), complete.
him many friends in the state. When Campbell returned home
from this debate and short tour, he promised to return to
Kentucky the next year, if possible, and to make a visit through
a good portion of the state. Upon his return in 1834, he
found that not only was the soil prepared, but also the seeds
were sprouting which were to sweep thousands into the ranks of
the "Reformers."

Richardson, op. cit., p. 89.
CHAPTER III
TRIPS TO KENTUCKY 1823-1843

Democracy, in religion as well as in politics, has always
found more expression in frontier life than in the older centers.
The great religious awakening that was sweeping Kentucky turned
the attention of the people to the Bible and to thoughts of their
soul's salvation. Consequently, it was only natural that the
thoughts and views of Campbell should be closely studied by many
people in the state. To further his movement, he made many
trips here. It is the purpose of this chapter to mention some
of these trips. Between the debates he held in 1823 with
Paccalla and with Rice in 1843, he made many visits to the state;
visiting and preaching in practically every town of any size,--
especially in the northern and central part of the state, where
his movement first gained a foothold.

In the autumn of 1824, Campbell made a tour of Kentucky, in
which he spent about three months visiting a great portion of
the state. His "Christian Baptist," which had gained large
circulation as a result of his trip the previous year, had
attracted much attention.---Especially had his article on"Experimental Religion" in the March number excited comment, and many

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1 Robert Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell, 2 vols.,
charges were made against him. The increasing list of
subscriptions, however, was proof of increasing interest in
the magazine. Later developments proved that the paper had
influenced many people; and in some instances, entire churches
with their pastors had been led to accept the Bible as their
sole guide. Although differing from them in many ways, he still
regarded himself as connected with the Baptists, and it was to
them that his second visit was made. It was on this tour through
the state that John Smith, a Baptist preacher, who was later to
exert such an influence in favor of the Reformation, first heard

Smith had suggested to some man at Mount Sterling, that
they should meet Campbell at Flemingsburg and accompany him to
their village. His writings had so filled them with prejudice,
however, that they were unwilling to ride the twenty miles to
Mount Sterling to meet him. Not being daunted by their attitude,
Smith departed alone, and arrived on the day Campbell was to
preach there. He met, upon entering the town, William Vaughan,
a Baptist preacher, who had heard Campbell speak every day during
the eight days and nights he had spent touring Mason and Bracken
Counties. Smith later related his meeting with Campbell to

2 John Augustus Williams, Life of Elder John Smith, (Nashville,
3 William Baxter, Life of Elder Walter Scott, (St. Louis, Bethany
4 A. W. Fortune, Disciples in Kentucky, (Convention Christian
5 Richardson, op. cit., p. 106.
Albert Allen of Fayette County. Since his version of it gives such a clear picture of conditions during the time, and of how Smith, who became such a great advocate of the "Campbell Movement," was won to the cause, it is quoted directly as follows:

"Tell," said I to Elder Vaughan, "what are his religious views on doctrinal points? Is he a Calvinist or Arminian, an Arian or a Trinitarian?"

"His answer was, 'I do not know; he has nothing to do with any of these things.' I answered, I could tell when I heard him, what he was. 'How?' said he.

"I replied, he is a man of sense, and, if he takes a position and does not run out into any of these isms, I can tell where he would land if it was run out. I asked again, 'But do you think he knows anything about heartfelt religion?'

"'God bless you, Brother John! said he; 'he is one of the most pious, godly men I was ever in company with in my life.'

"But do you think he knows anything about a Christian experience?"

"'Yes, Lord bless you! he knows everything. Come, I want to introduce you to him.'

"We went to the house. Says Brother Vaughan, 'Brother Campbell, I want to introduce you to Brother John Smith.'

"'Ah, said he, 'is this Brother Smith? Well, I know Brother Smith pretty well, although I have never seen him before.'

"Then felt as if I wanted to sit down and look at him for an hour, without hearing a word from any one. I wanted to see him who had been so much talked of, and who had, in the 'Christian Baptist,' and in his debates, introduced so many thoughts into my mind. Time had now come, however, to start to the meeting house, and we all started. On reaching there, the house being small, we found preparations had been made for seating the congregation on logs and planks in the rear of the house. A small stand of planks laid on blocks against the wall, had been erected for the speaker. These accommodations, however, were not sufficient for the immense crowd, and many had to stand up. I took my seat on one end of the plank on which he stood, determined now to find out to what man he belonged in point of doctrine, for I was full of doubt and suspicion.

"He commenced in the usual way, and read the allegory of Sarah and Hagar in the fourth chapter of Galatians."

After a general outline of the whole epistle, and how it
ought to be read, in order to a correct understanding of the apostle's meaning, he commenced directly on the allegory. I watched all the time with my whole mind to find out to what ism he belonged, but he seemed to move in a higher sphere than that in which these isms abounded. In a simple, plain and artless manner, leaning with one hand on the head of his cane, he went through his discourse. No gesture or any kind of mannerism characterized him, or served to call off the mind from what was being said.

"The congregation being dismissed, I said to Brother Vaughan, 'Is it not a little hard to ride thirty miles to hear a man preach thirty minutes?'

"'Oh,' said he, 'He has been longer than that. Look at your watch.'

"On looking, I found it had been two hours and thirty minutes, and simply said, 'Two hours of my time are gone and I know not how, though wide awake.'

"Returning to Brother Reynolds', Brother Vaughan asked me, 'Did you find out whether he was a Calvinist or an Arminian?'

"'No; I know nothing about him, but, be devil or saint, he has thrown more light on that epistle and the whole Scriptures than I have heard in all the sermons I ever listened to before.' Soon after dinner, in company with four or five other preachers, among whom were Brothers Payne, Vaughan and old William Ross, we started for Brother Cannon's, who lived some three or four miles off, on the road to Mt. Sterling.

"Goint along, I threw myself in company with Brother Campbell, to ride with him. In the commencement of our conversation, I made a remark to him like this: 'Brother Campbell, I do not wish to meet any man in judgment, having entertained an unfavorable opinion of him without good grounds, and I will now say to you that I have never said to any man before—that, religiously speaking, I am suspicious of you, and having an unfavorable opinion of you, I am willing to give the reason why.'

"'Well, Brother John,' said he, 'if all my Baptist brethren would treat me as candidly as you have done, I would think more of them, as it would afford me an opportunity to explain my views.'

"But before I could reply, he laughed and said, 'I expected when I saw you, to know all you thought of me; and then told me he had heard that during the Eracken Association, held in Carlisle last September, a number of preachers went to a certain house for dinner, and were abusing me terribly for the attack I had made upon the clergy, when you said that 'the clergy needed so much of such abuse that you were willing to be whipped almost to
death to get the others killed.'

"I told him I had so said, and did it sincerely, too. I then mentioned the strange piece before alluded to, on 'Experimental Religion,' and suggested that something must be hidden behind that, as I knew he understood as well as any one what the 'populars' meant by experimental religion, and was not so ignorant as the piece would seem to intimate.

"'My father,' said he, 'gave me a scolding for publishing that piece too soon, as he thought the people were not ready for it. But I have a series of essays on hand on the work of the Holy Spirit, which will explain the whole matter, and this was only thrown out to call the attention of the clergy.'

"On the next morning we parted company with the balance of the preachers, and Brother Campbell and myself started for Mt. Sterling. Much interesting conversation took place on the way, and conduced much to my correct understanding of his views. I will not attempt to relate all that passed. One little incident I will relate. Having crossed Licking River and riding slowly up the bank, I asked Brother Campbell to tell me his experience. He really did so, and in turn asked a relation of mine, which was given.

"After hearing his experience, I would cheerfully have given him the hand of fellowship. It was one which any Baptist church would have cheerfully received, and was almost substantially such as mine. He took occasion to say that he had never discarded the existence of such experiences on the part of the sinner, but objected to the use made of such things, as determining the proper prerequisite of baptism, and went on to explain the necessity of taking the word of God, rather than our feelings, as guides in such things.

"Many other questions were asked by me, and explained by him, till we reached Mt. Sterling. Here I heard from him three discourses, and going on as far as North Middleton, I parted with him.

"This, to me, interesting sojourn with Brother Campbell, led to the removal of many obstacles and to the solution of many difficulties of a religious kind, and left me persuaded of better things of him than when we first met.
But it was not until after a year of careful examination of the Scriptures that I was fully convinced of the scripturality of his views, and commenced the advocacy of the Bible as a sufficient rule of faith and practice."

For more than two months, Campbell spent fully five hours each day in keeping his appointments. Not only did he meet his daily appointments, but he also spent much time at night teaching and instructing those who sought his aid. The crowds of people that assembled to hear him in that day of sparse settlement and poor means of transportation, bear testimony to the interest in religion maintained by the inhabitants. Many Baptist preachers were in the congregations that listened to him. He met Jacob Creath, Sr., and his nephew, Jacob Creath, Jr., both of whom were later to aid his cause. He also met Silas M. Noel, who was to become an opponent of his views.

Alexander Campbell met Barton W. Stone in Georgetown, and they immediately became friends and sympathizers. At this first meeting, it was found that they agreed in many ways. This friendship that existed between the two great leaders was the basis for the later union of their two reform forces. Campbell continued his journey to Lexington where he was heard

7 Ibid. pp. 114-115.
8 Ibid. pp. 115-118.
by James Challen, a young student of Transylvania University, who was preparing himself for the Baptist ministry. Challen had already been prepared for Campbell's views by reading the "Christian Baptist." He later labored in a faithful manner to contribute to the success of the reform movement. Continuing on his tour, Campbell had an appointment at Versailles and one about two miles in the country. In dismissing a rather large congregation at the latter place, Jeremiah Vardeman, who was with Campbell in the pulpit, said:

"We have heard strange things today. My advice to you is, search the Scriptures and see if these things be so."

Later, as Challen, who had heard the previous sermon, was riding to a house in the vicinity, accompanied by Elders Vardeman and Creath, Campbell overtook and passed them. As they had just been discussing Campbell and his views, Vardeman said: "I once thought I could preach, but since I have heard this man, I do not seem, in my own estimation, to be any larger than my little finger."

Campbell was in Louisville in November, and called upon F. S. Fall, a Baptist minister. Fall seems to be the first

12 Richardson, op. cit., p. 110.
13 Loc. cit.
14 Loc. cit.
15 Loc. cit.
preacher in Kentucky to accept the full idea of the Reformation. At the time of this visit, Fall had already arrived at the same viewpoint as that held by Campbell. He attended the regular Friday night meeting of Mr. Fall, and was asked to address the audience. Although a total stranger, Campbell complied with the request. Five Presbyterian preachers were present at this meeting which was held in a school house. On Sunday he spoke to a large group in the old court house. That night, at the request of the Reverend Blackburn, one of the group of preachers, he addressed a large congregation in the Presbyterian church on Fourth Street.

It was while he was on this tour in 1824 that he addressed the Legislature of the state which was in session. Later in the "Christian Baptist," Campbell challenged the Rev. Mr. Blackburn to debate the proposition "That the Presbyterian clergy, or any other fraternity of Free Baptist clergy, is an order of men divinely constituted and authorized." Campbell desired to uphold the negative side of the question. The challenge was caused because Blackburn, a Presbyterian preacher of Louisville, declared in a sermon preached in Frankfort that he had "Swept the arena" of the views expressed by Campbell in an address to the Chamber of Representatives in November, 1824.

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16 Millennial Harbinger, 1833. p. 94.
17 Fortune, op. cit., p. 72.
18 Richardson, op. cit., pp. 120-121.
19 Fortune, op. cit., p. 71.
Campbell said the most offensive item in his address was
"that it was no part of the revealed design of the Savior to
employ clergymen, or an order of men resembling the priesthood,
in the diffusion, spread, or progress of his religion in the
world."

Campbell must have been in Kentucky perhaps for a short
trip, in 1825. He makes the following statement in the
"Millennial Harbinger" for January, 1843: "I well remember
that Elders Noel and Taylor sat with me in the pulpit of the
Lexington church in 1825."

In 1826 his youngest daughter, Margaretta, died, and his
wife's health seemed also to be failing. Believing a milder
climate and travel would help her, they set out in November
for Kentucky, accompanied by their eldest daughter. They
journeyed through Mason County, where Campbell visited many
friends and preached many sermons. Some time in December they
reached Versailles, where he preached upon the typical revela-
tions of the Bible. After spending some of the month of
January in Louisville, they continued to Nashville. In mention-
ing this tour, Campbell stated that four months had been spent
visiting old friends and acquiring new ones. He went on to say
that it was a pleasure to meet with friends, but a pain to part-

20 Christian Baptist, July 16, 1825, p. 176.
21 Millennial Harbinger, January, 1843, p. 41.
22 Richardson, op. cit., p. 168.
with them, because of the uncertainty of earthly meetings, and in many instances of a heavenly one. It must have been on this same tour that Campbell spoke in the Baptist church on Mill Street, in Lexington. In this discourse, he advocated the Reformers calling their organization "The Church of Christ." It seems that Campbell was also in Kentucky in April, 1828, for in that month it appears that he wrote an article in Kentucky for the "Christian Baptist."

In the spring of 1830, Campbell was in Cincinnati, and he visited nearby places in Kentucky, attending a meeting which was going on in Kayslick, at that time. He made a longer trip through Ohio and Kentucky in October of the same year. He arrived in Covington, where he spoke, early in November, and from this city Ephraim A. Smith, of Danville, joined him in travel. After speaking in Cynthiana, Leesburg, Georgetown, and at the Crossing meeting-house, he hastened on to Frankfort; here he was entertained by Governor Metcalf, whose wife was a member of the church.

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23 Christian Baptist, April 2, 1827, p. 320.
26 Richardson, op. cit., p. 334.
27 Ibid., p. 334.
28 Ibid., pp. 334-335.
He preached in the academy at Frankfort, and then went on to the neighborhood of Versailles, where he spent the night with a Mr. Bullocks. J. Creath, Jr. was holding a meeting there. Campbell continued to Versailles. He met J. Creath, Sr. and John Smith there. At the home of A. H. Hicks, with whom he lodged, he held a discussion with F. H. Palmer and J. V. Stone upon the religious reformation. Upon his arrival in Lexington, he visited Joseph Picklin, an old friend. He was also a guest of Doctor Woods, President of Transylvania University, and of Doctor Fishback. He delivered two addresses in Lexington: one on Sunday morning, and another Sunday evening, by special request, to the medical class of Transylvania University. From Lexington, he proceeded southward through Athens, Nicholasville, Harrodsburg, Danville, Columbia, Glasgow, and Bowling Green to Nashville, preaching at various points. Eleven persons at Danville presented themselves for baptism. He was accompanied on this trip by Jacob Creath, Jr. In December of the same year, he passed through Kentucky, having many appointments along the way to Maysville, from which place he crossed over into Ohio.

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29 Loc. cit.
30 Ibid. p. 338.
31 Ibid., p. 93.
32 Richardson, op. cit., p. 343.
In March, 1835, Campbell again visited Louisville, arriving from Nashville. While in the city, he visited Mr. William Graham. He stated that growth in Louisville had been retarded partly because of hindrances to a weekly meeting of the brethren. He also commented on the disproportion between males and females in the church. Theodore S. Bell was commended very highly for his disposition to build up the congregation. He met Smith, of Montgomery, Doctor Hall, of Georgetown, and Benjamin Allen, of Jefferson. He gave several discourses in the city, and then visited New Albany and Jeffersonville. He went to Cincinnati, and thence into Kentucky, where he traversed the entire central portion of the state. He visited Georgetown, Choctaw Academy, Frankfort, Lexington, Paris, Mt. Sterling, Mayslick, Washington, and Maysville. He spoke twice in Georgetown. There he met Jacob Creath, Sr., William Horton, John S. Johnson, L. C. Bell, John Rogers, Leonard Fleming, Farmer, Gano, Irvine, R. M. Payne, G. W. Elley, T. M. Allen, and others. Along the route he met such men as Elder Bullock, E. A. Nicks, W. Z. Thompson, Father Sullivan, Peter Hibbs, J. Sims, J. Horonan, and James Mason. He spent an evening eight miles from Georgetown and spoke to the Indians, of Choctaw Academy. At Frankfort he spoke in the Methodist meeting house. He went to Lexington by railroad. While there he spoke twice in the Transylvania hall. He visited with J. Flickin, while in Lexington. R. M. Payne carried him in his gig to a Mr. Williams in Paris, where he delivered two speeches. From there he went to Mt. Sterling, where he spoke twice. Accompanied by J. N. Payne, he went on to Mayslick and held a two-days
meeting there. He spoke in Washington and Noyesville on the same day. From this tour he returned home, having spent fifty-four days of almost continual speaking. He stated that the results of this tour were forty-five additions, the return of some who had fallen by the way, wiped out much prejudice and left a favorable impression, and put more zeal into the brethren of the state.

In 1837, Campbell went to Cincinnati, where he was to address the college of teachers. While there, a controversy arose with Bishop Purcell, of the Catholic church. At the request of a large number of citizens of Cincinnati, he remained in the city for the now famous Campbell-Purcell debate. In this debate against Romanism, Campbell became the spokesman of the entire Protestant group. For a time, he was a defender of the doctrines which they all held in common; consequently, a friend rather than a foe. Such an occurrence would naturally cause Campbell, for a time at least, to be more acceptable to all denominations. The debate, so near Kentucky, would cause about as much attention in that state as in the state of Ohio. He held a three-days' meeting at Versailles soon after leaving Ohio. While there a controversy arose with a Presbyterian preacher by the name of Styles. No serious discussion arose.

34 Crofton, cit. cit., p. 158.
however. In the return trip to Kentucky, he again visited
Lexington and Georgetown.

Letters dated January and February, 1839, to Brother
Richardson, Brother Coleman, and his wife, show him in a tour
of the South. He mentions in these that he expects to return
home by way of Louisville and Kentucky. In his letter to
Coleman, dated: "Mobile River, Jan. 17, 1839--Steamboat
Tapelcosa" he says, that he expects to be in Kentucky in March."
That this expectation was realized is borne out by a letter to
his wife, written in Louisville on March 12, 1839. Since this
letter contains an explanation of his many trips, part of it is
quoted:

"Now, my dear, you may be assured that if,
either by my long absence from you, or any apparent
neglect that at any time I may, in my absent, studious
hours or seasons, have exhibited toward you, it would
seem as if I did not truly and worthily appreciate your
society and your excellences, I would have you know that
it was the offspring of the frailties of human nature--
which, you know, in its best estate, is always vanity--
or the imperious calls of duty, to which, you know, I am
not altogether deaf or indifferent. You are my fellow
soldier, my true yoke-fellow, my partner in all my labors
in the cause of religion, and humanity, and therefore,
as you share in my toils and self-denials, I pray that
we may equally partake in the eternal rewards and enjoy-
ments. I do not intend ever to leave you so long again,
as I do not think that it will be my duty. Meanwhile I
trust, as the Lord has kindly borne with all my frailties--
and I am aware they are neither few nor little--and has
led me by his right hand in the times and places of danger,
that he will still send his angel before me and keep me
in all my ways, and restore me to your bosom, and that
of my beloved family in due time." 38

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38 Ibid. pp. 460-461.
When he reached Louisville, he found J. T. Johnson and J. Norton holding a meeting. He also met Elley, Gates, and Bell there. Campbell spoke in Louisville. It seems that Norton accompanied Campbell while Johnson continued the meeting. From Louisville, he went to Shelbyville, and delivered three addresses there, before going to Frankfort. He spoke in the Presbyterian church while in Frankfort, and then a Mr. Chinn carried him to Lexington where he met the Creaths. He also visited Versailles and Georgetown, and passed through Lexington again on his way to Paris and Mayslick. He was in the state fourteen days and spoke fifteen times. His last speech was to the Maysville lyceum on March 28. On this trip across the state, acquaintance was renewed with his old friends, J. Taffe and F. S. Fall. In 1840, while returning from a visit to Tennessee, he made a trip to Bardstown and the surrounding country. This trip was caused principally by the solicitation of a Mr. Carpenter of that place.

In April, 1841, a public meeting was held in Lexington to which all denominations were invited. A large crowd attended, but few other denominations were present. Mr. Campbell was present at

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39 Millennial Harbinger, June 1839, p. 266.
40 Ibid., July, 1839, p. 308.
41 Richardson, op. cit., pp. 461-462.
42 Millennial Harbinger, November, 1842, p. 502.
this meeting. He was also in Kentucky in the summer of 1848. According to the "Millennial Harbinger", he made a laborious tour through various parts of Ohio and Kentucky during the months of July and August, starting at Augusta, Kentucky, and ending at Caneville, Ohio. This tour of seven weeks swept over a polygon whose sides equalled fourteen hundred miles. He stated that some unfavorable prejudices which had been caused by some friends of primitive principles, had been cleared up.

The Rev. Mr. McCoven, a Methodist Professor of Language in the college of Augusta, made a very favorable impression upon him. He delivered one address in Louisville, and complimented Rev. Mr. Hall and others on the growth of the church in that place in numbers, piety and intelligence. He lamented the fact that on his visits to Kentucky he had heard so much about the family training and family worship being neglected. His tour extended from Louisville to Bruncistown. Thence to Frankfort, Versailles, New Union, Woodford, Lexington, Richmond, Winchester, Paris, North Middleton, Mt. Sterling, Sharpsburg, Flemingsburg, Hayeslick and Haysville. He states that the interest taken in the reformation in Kentucky was never greater. Crowds gathered to hear him; and within forty miles of Lexington, during the two months before his arrival, fully one thousand persons had been immersed, and interest in other places was equally as good.

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Ibid. May 1841, p. 337.

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Ibid. October 1842, pp. 446-452.
He states that in every place visited, the most distinguished people of the community were present. He was accompanied by a Mr. Stone, of Madison to appointments in Richmond and Winchester. In Richmond he was approached by a Reverend Brown, a Presbyterian preacher, in regard to a discussion on the points of difference existing between the two. They parted with the understanding that Brown was to write to Campbell later. On this tour, many old friends and acquaintances were met, especially John Smith, when Campbell met at Mt. Sterling. He commended the improvement in church architecture, and describes the churches as substantial, plain and convenient with inclined plane floors, low desks, not high ceilings, plenty of windows, and accessible and modest pews. He states that every town of consideration along the road from Louisville to Naysville had a respectable meeting house and a flourishing congregation.

A contemporary magazine has the following to say of this visit:

"In 1842, he visited Kentucky. Reformation was his theme in all his discourses; and many and severe were the castigations he gave the different denominations of Christians in this state. His friends were much edified and comforted. Their faith was greatly strengthened. They were in ecstasies. They boasted that no man of the sects dared meet him in behalf of their opinions—that he had put to flight the armies of the aliens. His route led him to the village of Richmond, Kentucky. There crowds of

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Hild, November 1842, pp. 503-507.
his admirers hung upon the wisdom of his discourses, and left the mellifluous sounds of his voice feeling wiser and better and far more chivalrous than before."

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CHAPTER IV

THE CALVINI-RICE DEBATE

While Campbell was in Kentucky in 1842, the foundation was laid for his debate with Rice. In a letter to Campbell from Richmond, dated October 22, 1842, John H. Brown, a Presbyterian said:

"At the close of your address in Richmond on the third of August, your friend, Mr. Duncan, approached me and asked my opinion as to the address, which I gave with as much candor as it was sought.

After other interrogatories were propounded and answered, he inquired if I thought discussions advisable; to which I gave an affirmative reply. He then remarked that he had engaged to dine with you, and would ascertain your feelings and wishes on the subject.

All this occurred before we left the church. About four o'clock in the afternoon Mr. Duncan sought a second interview with me, and requested me to call in company with him at your rooms, stating that you desired an interview with me on the subject about which he and I had conversed in the forenoon. I confirmed to his wish, and accompanied him to your rooms, which ultimatized in a mutual agreement to discuss certain points of difference for the edification of the church, and the prosperity of the cause of Christ, with a definite and expressed understanding that I neither was to be considered the challenging party."

The first letter of this correspondence concerning the debate was started from Richmond, Kentucky, by the same John H. Brown, on September 19, 1842. In this letter, Brown told Campbell that the representative of the Presbyterian church would be selected during the sessions of the Synod, which was to

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convene at Hayville the next month.

The committee for appointment was composed of John C. Young, J. J. Breckenridge, M. L. Rice, J. P. Rice, and J. H. Brown. Rev. J. K. Duff was later substituted for Mr. Breckenridge.

In a letter to Brown, dated November 17, 1842, Campbell appointed as his committee Elders James Shannon, Dr. James Fishback, Aylett Rains, and John Smith, of Kentucky. Campbell had desired to meet President John C. Young, of Centre College, but Young was not able to represent the Presbyterians because of poor health. Rev. M. L. Rice, of Paris, was selected as his opponent. Campbell was not especially pleased with this selection because he thought Rice had shown a very prejudiced and hostile feeling toward the "Reformers" on previous meetings.

Finally after an exchange of many letters, Campbell to Brown about thirteen, and Brown to Campbell about fourteen, the matter was arranged. An editorial in the Western Baptist Review by John L. Waller, has the following to say about the arrangement:

2 Ibid. p. 11.
4 Richardson, op. cit., p. 502.
When asked to meet Campbell, Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, one of their most distinguished men, said:

"No sir, I will never be Alexander Campbell's opponent. A man who has done that he has to defend Christianity against infidelity to defend Protestantism against the delusions and usurpations of Catholicism, I will never engage in public debate. I esteem him too highly."

The date of the debate was set November 15, 1843, to be held in the Reform church in Lexington. Judge Robertson was selected by Mr. Rice as moderator, and Colonel Speed Smith was selected by Campbell. These two men selected Honorable Henry Clay to be president of the board of moderators. On Wednesday morning, at 10:30 on the above date, the board of moderators, debaters, stenographers, committees and an audience of about two

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8 Millennial Harbinger, 1866, p. 200.
9 Richardson, op. cit., p. 502.
thousand persons assembled for the opening of the debate.

As this was the last public debate in which Campbell was ever engaged, and as it was held on Kentucky soil, perhaps it would be in line with this study to enter into a brief account of it. Campbell was the unquestionable leader of his group; and the very fact that Rice was selected as his opponent is evidence that his ability was recognized by the Presbyterians of that section. The many trips that Campbell had made to Lexington and the Bluegrass section had won for himself a wide acquaintance, as well as many followers. The nearness of Danville, a strong Presbyterian center, insured Rice a strong support from that place. The large audience present was proof of the widespread interest in the occasion.

As an introduction to the debate, the following is quoted from the preliminaries:

"The Hon. Henry Clay, president of the board, rose remarked as follows: 'It is presumed that the object for which this assembly is now convened is known to every person in attendance. I understand that the gentlemen who are to discuss the highly interesting topics, embraced in this printed programme, are now prepared to proceed to the discussion. Before they do so, however, on an occasion so grave, so interesting, and one in which there should be perfect order, it is proper to observe that it is the prevailing usage everywhere; it is according to the sense of religion, with which this subject is so intimately connected, that there should be no confusion, and I trust, there will be a preservation of order, and undivided attention during the whole process of the debate. In the meantime, one of the clergymen present is prepared to invoke the blessing of heaven." 11
Following these introductory statements, prayer was offered by the Rev. Joseph Bullock.

In formulating plans for the debate, the following rules of discussion had been agreed upon:

1. The debate shall commence on Wednesday, 15th November.
2. To be held in the Reform church.
3. Judge Robertson selected by Rice as Moderator.
   Col. Speed Smith, selected by Campbell, and agreed that these two shall select a president-moderator.
   In case of either of the above gentlemen declining to act, Judge Breck was selected by Rice as alternate to Judge Robertson—
   and Colonel Caperton as alternate to Col. Speed Smith.

4. In the opening of each new subject, the affirmative shall occupy one hour, and the respondent the same time; and each there-
   after half-hour alternately to the termination of each subject.

The debate shall commence at ten o'clock A. M. and continue until 2 o'clock P. M., unless hereafter changed.

5. On the final negative, no new matter shall be introduced.
6. The propositions for discussion are the following:

   I. The immersion in water of a proper subject, into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, is the one, only apostolic or Christian baptism, Campbell affirms.

   II. The infant of a believing parent is a scriptural subject of baptism, Rice affirms.

   III. Christian baptism is for the remission of past sins. Campbell affirms.

   IV. Baptism is to be administered only by a bishop or ordained presbyter. Rice affirms.
V. In conversion and sanctification, the Spirit of God operates on persons only through the word of truth. Campbell affirms.

VI. Human creeds, as bonds of union and communion, are necessarily heretical and schismatical. Campbell affirms.

7. No question shall be discussed more than three days, unless by agreement of parties.

8. Each debatant shall furnish a stenographer.

9. It shall be the privilege of the debaters to make any verbal or grammatical changes in the stenographer's report that shall not alter the state of the argument, or change any fact.

10. The net available amount resulting from the publication shall be equally divided between the two American Bible Societies.

11. This discussion shall be conducted in the presence of Doctor Fishback, President Shannon, John Smith and A. Baines, on the part of the Reformation; and President Young, James K. Burch, J. F. Price, and John H. Brown, on the part of the Presbyterians.

12. The debatants agree to adopt as "Rules of decorum" those found in Hedges Logic.

Rule 1. The terms in which the question in debate is expressed, and the point at issue, should be clearly defined, that there could be no misunderstanding concerning them.

Rule 2. The parties shall mutually consider each other as standing on a footing of equality in respect to the
subject in debate. Each should regard the other as possessing equal talents, knowledge and a desire for truth with himself, and that it is possible, therefore, that he may be in the wrong, and his adversary in the right.

Rule 3. All expressions which are unmeaning, or without effect in regard to the subject in debate, should be strictly avoided.

Rule 4. Personal reflections on an adversary should in no instance be indulged.

Rule 5. The consequences of any doctrine are not to be charged on him who maintains it, unless he expressly avows them.

Rule 6. As truth, and not victory, is the professed object of controversy. Whatever proofs may be advanced, on either side, should be advanced with fairness, and candor, and any attempt to answer an adversary by acts of sophistry, or to lessen the force of his reasoning by wit, cavilling or ridicule, is a violation of the rules of honorable controversy.

Mr. Campbell in the "Harbinger" said that a large and intelligent audience was present at the debate. Many denominations were represented, and people from other states were present. The debate continued for sixteen days. There was good order and a tolerable degree of decorum between the debaters.

Campbell made the statement that the debate was a denominational affair on the part of the Presbyterians. In the same article Campbell made the statement that letters had been sent out, and that the Presbyterian "Protestant Herald" of Frankfort also carried the same message that Campbell had been driven to the wall and desired more time for the argument. In answering this, he makes the explanation that he was prepared to speak six hours per day; and since Mr. Clay objected to a longer session than four hours per day, he had asked for a number of four-hour days that would be equivalent to the number of six-hour days he had prepared for. He also accused the denominational press of prohibiting acceptance of the debate in an open manner.

Certainly no mistake was made by the Presbyterians in selecting Rice. Fortune says that he was the most difficult opponent that Campbell met in his debating career. Grofton remarks that in some respects the debate was Campbell's most unsatisfactory effort, in some respects his greatest. In method of procedure, they were entirely different. One individual said: "Mr. Campbell was like a heavy, Dutch-built man of war, carrying many guns of large calibre, while Mr. Rice resembled a daring and

14 Loc. cit.
15 Loc. cit.
16 Fortune, op. cit., p. 144.
active Yankee privateer, who contrived, by the liveliness of his movements, and the ease with which he could take up his position for the raking fire, to leave his more cumbersome adversary in a very crippled condition at the close of the fight.

Campbell accused Rice of placing friends in the audience to create sentiment in favor of Rice and opposed to Campbell. The nature of the debate cannot be entered into here; each of the disputants made sixty-four speeches. With the preliminaries, these speeches make a published volume of nine hundred and twelve pages.

In speaking of the debate, Fortune says: "It is doubtful whether the debate made any valuable contribution to the cause of Christianity. A spirit of bitterness was manifested by the speakers as the debate drew to a close, and the community was divided. Both sides claimed the victory. Mr. Rice and his followers being jubilant in their claims."

In a contest of this nature, attended by so large a group including all types of people, and human nature being what it is, it was inevitable that a party spirit should at times run very high, and intense excitement prevail at least by the two groups directly opposed. Richardson records two incidents; one

\[\text{Loc. cit.}\]

\[\text{Fortune, op. cit., p. 145.}\]

\[\text{Ibid., p. 146.}\]

\[\text{Loc. cit.}\]
shows the intense feelings, and the other the better natured rivalry that existed. Quoting Richardson: "The ladies in the gallery were earnestly engaged in maintaining the merits of their respective disputants. 'Ah!' said one of them to the other as a closing and convincing argument, 'you can easily see that Mr. Rice is by far the most learned man. Just see how many books he has upon his table, while Mr. Campbell has hardly any.' 'But you don't appear to know', retorted the other, 'that the books on Mr. Rice's table were written by Mr. Campbell.' On another occasion, after dismissal, a Mr. Irwin of Madison County, a warm friend of Campbell, was complaining of poor health, and remarked that he had not eaten anything for a number of days. 'Ah!' said Colonel Speed Smith, jealously, 'you have been feeding on camel' (Campbell). 'Not so!' said the Presbyterian preacher, Mr. Brown, who was also from Madison. 'I believe he has been living on rice (Rice) during these days.' 'If so,' rejoined Colonel Smith, 'he has been living on extremely light diet!'

The debate was watched and followed very closely. Each group desires of establishing the principles for which it contended. One of the contemporary magazines has the following to say in regard to the discussion:

"Opinion on the result of the conflict is divided. The majority of those who heard the contest assigned the victory to Mr. Rice. He evidently disappointed his friends and astounded his

22 Richardson, op. cit., p. 511.
few. Many who have read the debate, and who, perhaps are 
as disinterested and impartial judges as can be found, think, 
to say the least, that he sustained himself well. In their 
estimation, Campbell, if not beaten, at least does not appear 
that prodigy he was formerly esteemed. Rice wrested from his 
hand and broke into fragments, the sceptre of his greatness. 
Ishabod is written upon him.

"For ourselves, we are far from concurring with those who 
think Campbell was vanquished in the debate. On the mode, the 
subjects and the administrator of baptism, in our judgment, 
he gained a very decided triumph. On the design of baptism, we 
think the truth was not on either side; and that both the 
champions very ingenious, but very unsuccessfaly defended their 
respective errors. Rice very satisfactorily demolished his 
opponent's system; and Campbell reciprocated the favor by 
demolishing the very fragments of Rice's on creeds, although 
the declaration of Campbell is of a high order, yet it fell 
before Rice's masterly arguments and withering sarcasm."

The magazine goes on to say:

"In relation to the impression that has gone out prejudicial 
to Campbell, suffice it to say at present, that it was owing, 
in a great degree, to the injudicious boastings on a part of 
his friends, previous to the discussion. They had excited expecta-
tions that no one could meet. And it was owing also in no small 
degree, to the fact that Campbell, in Christian light and 
knowledge, claims to occupy a position greatly in advance of the
men of this age. He had taken the highest and all were anxious 
that he should be brought down to the lowest seat."

This article certainly expresses the attitude of many 
people. This magazine had readers, and many individuals must 
have been influenced by it. The opinion of the writer as 
reflected by this article, is that Campbell thought himself far 
in advance of other religious groups, and that his followers 
held the same views.

It is an unquestionable fact that the Reformers in Kentucky 
held Campbell in very high esteem, and they did not believe 
that he had an opponent who would be equal to his ability in 
debate. An article in the "Christian Messenger" held Campbell 
superior to Rice.

One writer says that it was Campbell's method to grasp 
the big fundamental principles, and to establish principles; 
while Rice took up details, and attempted to overthrow the 
principles of Campbell by bringing up exceptions. He also 
states that Rice displayed a readiness in reply, and an ingenuity 
and plausibility in argument beyond public expectation.

One thing about the debate that brought a ripple to the

23 Waller, *et. cit.* p. 27.
24 Richardson, *et. cit.* p. 628, (quoted from Christian Messenger, 
October, 1849).
25 Walter Wilson Jennings, *Origin and Early History of Disciples of 
26 Ibid., p. 227.
waters of the Reform Movement in Kentucky, were some remarks made by Campbell in regard to the Stone movement which had united largely with the Reformers in 1830. Campbell said that the Reformers had accomplished what the Presbyterians had failed to do—extinction of New Lightism. His words were:

"Whether has fled the New Lightism of former days? How long will its speculations be remembered that floated on the winds of thirty years? Presbyterians and all the other parties in the field could not dispose of it till the pleaders for the Reformation arose in the length and breadth of the land."

These remarks and some statements that Rice made about Stone, which Campbell allowed to go uncontradicted, aroused some comment from friends of Stone in Kentucky. The Elders and Deacons of the church at Leesburg, Kentucky, sent a protesting letter to Campbell. They objected to the statement Campbell made which gave the impression that the Stone Movement had become subordinate to the Campbell Movement. The letter stated that in the union of 1832, neither was regarded as saving the other, but both as uniting around Jesus Christ, making the Church of Christ.

It seems that Campbell also preached during the time of the debate, many coming forward for baptism. Among them was

27 Campbell-Rice Debates, op. cit., p. 365.
28 Millennial Harbinger, September, 1844, pp. 414-416.
29 Jennings, op. cit., p. 274.
a Lutheral preacher. This same individual, William H. McCheeey, in a letter to Campbell, dated March 22, 1844, said that he had renounced Pedobaptism as a result of the Campbell-31 Rice debates. The copyright of these debates was purchased by Mr. Brown, but the Presbyterians did not buy it; so Mr. Brown sold the copyright to a Disciple, who published a large edition which was purchased by the Disciples.

An article in the "Millennial Harbinger" for October, 1844, shows that the feelings that existed between Campbell and Rice were very bad. In the "Harbinger" of April, 1844, he answered the "Protestant Herald" of February 6, 1844, which said Campbell was unwilling for the debate to be published, that he was not powerful in debate nor good in logic, and that he could talk more beautifully, elegantly and longer about anything but his subject than any man the writer ever heard. In answer to this, Campbell said he was sorry that he did not have a more argumentative and magnanimous opponent—one more moderately read in sound learning, as well as more eminently worthy of an occasion so full of interest to the whole community.

The inevitable result of a debate, is that rancor and bitterness will be engendered in the minds of some individuals. Discussions may make friends or it may make enemies; it may unite some, but it will alienate others. The purpose of debate is to establish

30 Richardson, op. cit., p. 625.
31 Millennial Harbinger, April, 1844, pp. 174-177.
32 Fortuna, op. cit., p. 146.
33 Millennial Harbinger, April 1844, p. 164.
...truth. Though often this surplus is used not only in a desire to present one's own views to advantage. Archbishop Purcell, the Catholic whom Campbell met in debate, said of Campbell:

"Campbell was decidedly the fairest man in debate I ever saw, as fair as you can possibly conceive. He never sought for victory, like Doctor Johnson. He seemed to be always fighting for the truth, or what he believed to be the truth. In this he differed from other men. He never misrepresented his case, nor that of his opponent; never tried to hide a weak point; never quibbled. Like his great friend, Henry Clay, he excelled in the clear statement of case at issue. No dodging with him. He came out fairly and squarely. He was what used to be called in good old days, 'flaunted.' Rather than force a victory by underhand or ignoble means, he preferred to encounter defeat. But whenever he fell, he fell like the Cavalier Dugard, with honor and a clear conscience." 34

In his earlier career, Campbell was opposed to public debates as a proper method of contending for the truth. He changed his attitude later, however, and came to regard controversy as a means of social improvement. Campbell set down his views of the result of debate as follows:

"The controversy begun by Luther, not only maimed the power of the Roman Hierarchy, but also impaired the arm of political despotism. The crown as well as the mitre, was jeopardized and desecrated by his Herculean pen. From the controversy about the rights of Christians arose the controversy about the rights of men. Every blow inflicted upon ecclesiastical despotism was felt by the political tyrants. Religious controversy has enlightened the world. It gave new vigor to the mind, and the era of Reformation was the era of the revival of literature. It has enlightened men upon all subjects—in all the arts and sciences—in all things, philosophic, literary, moral, political.

It was the tongue and pen of controversy which developed the true solar system—laid the foundation of the American revolution—abolished the slave trade—and which has so far disenthralled the human mind from the shackles of superstition. Locke, Sidney, Milton, Newton were all controversialists and reformers, philosophers, literary, religious and political. Truth and liberty, both religious and political, are the first fruits of well-directed controversy. Peace and eternal bliss will be the harvest home. Let the opponents of controversy, or those who controvert controversy remember that, had there been no controversy, neither the Jewish nor the Christian religion could ever have been achieved. It has been the parent of almost all the social blessings which we enjoy." 35
CHAPTER V
TRIPS TO KENTUCKY 1842-1843

The close of the year 1842 found Campbell again in
Kentucky. He preached there several times. On one occasion
he was heard by Rev. Herman Humphrey, D. D., former president
of Amherst College, Massachusetts. When returned home he
published an account of Campbell as a preacher. He says, "I
think he is the most perfectly self-possessed, the most
perfectly at ease in the pulpit, of any preacher I ever listened
to; except, perhaps, the celebrated Dr. John Mason, of New York.
gentlemen could be more free and unembarrassed in his own parlor.
At the same time, there is not the slightest apparent want of
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dere for his audience." From Louisville he visited Shelby-
ville, New Castle, Frankfort, Versailles, Midway, Georgetown,
Lexington, Danville, and other points in Central Kentucky. He
visited Mason County, and then returned to Lexington and Midway.
On his way to Navesville, he stopped at Old Union, Paris, and
Naples. From Navesville he sailed for home on February 10.
On this trip he met many old friends and loyal supporters of the
Reformation. Among those people were John T. Johnson, J. A.

1
2
Ibid., p. 382, (Quoted from New York Observer).
...Jane, Noah Searcy, John Smith, John Rodgers, Aylett Raines, and Walter Scott.

In 1881 he attended a meeting of the brotherhood at the annual state convention at Lexington. Again in 1883 he was in Harrodsburg, when he addressed the Kentucky Convention of churches upon the subject of church edification. Some outstanding statements which show his attitude toward congregations and churches were made on this occasion:

"No persons should belong to any particular congregation who cannot conveniently meet with their brethren every Lord's day; and the fact of their being able to meet every Lord's day with the brethren, is the rule which decides to what congregation they should belong. These small beginnings, scattered over a district of country, tend to give a larger increase of disciples annually than if the same number which meet weekly in three or four places met irregularly in one place. The simplicity, humility and brotherly kindness which appear in these small assemblies, and the more rapid progress which the disciples make in Christian knowledge, faith and love, from more of them being called upon to take a part in the Christian worship, and greater auxiliaries to the spread of the gospel, more powerful arguments

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3 Ibid. p. 587.
4 Ibid. p. 599.
for the truth and recommendations of the excellency of the Christian institution, than an immense pile of stone, brick or wood with the ornaments of architecture, called a church or meeting house, filled with an assembly of carnal worshippers in all the pomp and pageantry of the lusts of the eye and the pride of life, waiting upon a person; all of whom, save one consecrated tongue, are dumb in the Christian worship."

From these statements it is evident that Campbell favored small congregations, with the place of worship near the people, also a place of worship characterized by simplicity and social intercourse. He also commended the temperance movement.

Campbell made an excursion into Kentucky in May, 1856. He accepted an invitation to deliver an address to the Henry Female Seminary while in the state. It was in 1858 that he was again in Kentucky. Campbell and a Professor Pendleton were on a tour soliciting funds to rebuild Bethany College which had burned in December, 1857. Letters from Campbell to his wife narrate this trip through Kentucky. One letter from Richmond, dated February 4, 1858 said that they traveled every day and spoke two or three times in every place. He states that from four to five hundred dollars were received at every point visited. In another letter from Versailles, Kentucky, dated February 20,

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5 Ibid. p. 669-680.
6 Ibid. p. 624.
he says they are having large and attractive congregations, and that he is still able to speak, once each day, a text which he has averaged since entering Kentucky. From Lancaster on March 1, 1866, he tells of appointments at Danville, Harrodsburg, Shelbyville, Eminence, New Castle, and Louisville. In all these places, they spoke for the church as well as for the school. From Louisville, the journey continued to Nashville and other southern points. Campbell's last trip to Kentucky was in the spring of 1865, when accompanied by his wife, he visited his daughter, Virginia, in Louisville. Although an old man, he delivered two addresses while there in a manner that was surprising to his friends.

Much has been said and written about Alexander Campbell, but a study of his life lends the impression that he possessed a dauntless spirit and a determination to steer to the light as he saw it. It is true that he aroused much controversy, but controversy and criticism often produce an elevating effect upon both individuals and organizations. As a worker, he was uniring; he traveled, lectured, taught, debated, preached, wrote, and edited a magazine. According to the census of Religious Bodies 1926, in the United States, there are 1,577,505 Disciples of Christ and in Kentucky 121,372. Add to this number 433,714

7 Ibid., pp. 633-636.
8 Ibid., p. 634.
members of the Church of Christ in the United States and in Kentucky (both groups were originally the same). This alone is a great testimony to the work of Alexander Campbell.

Some idea of the man may be obtained by knowing the opinion of outstanding men of the same time. John T. Howe says: "Alexander Campbell, by his commanding talents, by his great force of character, and by his invincible courage, overshadowed all other reformers, and at once, by common consent of all parties, became the acknowledged champion, the admired leader, of the great onslaught upon the sectarian world."

Dr. Bell, an eminent physician who lived in Louisville, heard him, and spoke as follows:

"It has been forty-five years since I heard that discourse, but it is as vivid in my memory as when I first heard it."

Robert Graham, once president of Kentucky University said: "I can hardly express my admiration of him in every walk of life. In the social, he was by far the finest talker I ever heard, in the lecture room the most instructive, and in the pulpit he had few equals and no superiors."

George B. Prentice, once editor of the Louisville Journal said: "Alexander Campbell is unquestionably one of the most

10 Davis, op. cit., p. 40.
11 Ibid. p. 41.
extraordinary men of our time. Lying wholly out of view
his tenets, with which we, of course, have nothing to do, he
claims, by virtue of his intrinsic qualities, as manifested
in his achievements, a place among the very foremost spirits
of the age."

David Lloyd George said, when Chancellor of the Exchequer
of Great Britain: "A very large part of the economic and social
principles I am pressing upon the English people, I obtained
from reading the writings of Alexander Campbell."

His wife says of him: "He was always happy, cheerful, and
making others happy; ever uncomplaining, unassuming, and never
finding fault, always ready to find something to praise—and
approve of—whether at home or abroad." She also says: "I do
believe no happier man ever lived."

In the "Life and Times of John F. Rowe", F. N. Green says:
"While Mr. Campbell lived, so great was his influence that he
controlled without much difficulty the entire body of Disciples.
Not that all recalcitrants could be held in line, but the great
proportion of the Disciples were satisfied with Mr. Campbell's
positions concerning 'matters of faith', and had no disposition
to contend with him concerning 'matters of practice.'"

12 Ibid. cit.
15 Ibid. p. 42.
14 Campbell, op. cit., p. 315.
18 F. N. Green, Life and Times of John Franklin Rowe, (Cincinnati,
While Campbell was blessed with a multitude of friends, throughout his life, he, nevertheless, made many enemies, some of them very bitter. The separation of the Disciples from the Baptists was often characterized by intense bitterness. A different feeling may be sensed immediately by the following statement: "Adroit in argument, incisive in sarcasm and caricature, shrewd in repartee, and possessed of an overwhelming confidence in his ability, Campbell was a polemic 'Ajax in the region where he began the propagation of his tenets.' " The Baptists thought of Campbell as an agent of destruction who, when their churches were opened to him throughout the country, took the opportunity of extending his own ideas; thus disrupting a large number of Baptist churches.

The Presbyterians feel that they have come in for a very fierce share of hostility from the Reformers. This, added to the fact that Thomas Campbell came to America as a Presbyterian preacher, and that Alexander was raised in that church, brings on the head of Alexander Campbell many severe criticisms from that source. Something of their feeling is found in a statement of Rev. Chadiah Jennings: "It is, nevertheless, a fact susceptible of proof, if it should be denied, that his family, or to speak with more precision, his father's family, when they emigrated,

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17 Robert Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, (K. Y., Edward C. Jenkins, Publisher, 1847), p. 147.
or at least, when they came to Western Pennsylvania, were in circumstances so straitened that contributions were made by congregations belonging to different branches of the Presbyterian church, for their relief. This fact, however, is not mentioned by way of casting any reproach upon Campbell or his family, because he or they were poor. Far from it. Whilst a rich man is not to be accounted a sinner, simply because he is in possession of riches, so a man is not the less worthy of respect and esteem merely because he is poor. Besides, we are informed by the most undoubted authority, that it is for the most part among this class, that we are to expect to find the true people of God. The father of Campbell was, at the time of emigration from Ireland, a Presbyterian minister, and we know, notwithstanding all the outcry which his son has, through a series of years, raised against the ministers of the gospel belonging to these denominations, that but few of them, indeed, at least in these United States, are rich,—as he is said and believed now to be. The great majority of them have but the means, with great frugality, of obtaining the common comforts of life, and of maintaining a decency of apparel, corresponding to the nature of their office, and to enable them to have access to persons of wealth to do them good.

"But the object of mentioning the fact above stated, is with a view to expose the arrogance, as well as ingratitude of Campbell. He would fain have it believed that in emigrating to this country, he turned his back upon bright and attractive
property, and voluntarily relinquished many advantages which he could not here enjoy. And, notwithstanding, a debt of gratitude, at least, is due from him to a portion of the Presbyterian church, there is no sect that has, perhaps, shared so liberally in the abuse and slander with which his writings and public parangued abounds."

Many other contemporary opinions could be quoted, but the writer believes that enough have been stated to show that Campbell was an extraordinary man, highly intelligent, possessing a great capacity for work, and a desire to see his ideas of reform scattered throughout the land. It is obvious that in going into the work of reform as he did, that in preaching, debating, writing, and teaching, great opposition and severe criticism would arise.

Regardless of whether the agitation for reform was accepted or not, the emphasis placed upon immersion by the disciples, led thousands to a closer examination of the subject.

19 Riley, a. cit., p. 177.
CHAPTER VI

THE RENEGATION MOVEMENT IN KENTUCKY

"Alexander Campbell, someone has said, was born to cut a figure in the religious world, and to a considerable extent, he has fulfilled his destiny. Since the year of grace, 1823, the good people westward of the Allegheny mountains have heard his warning voice against the corruption of the sects and the errors of the clergy. He seems to have imbided the impression that he was a chosen vessel of the Almighty, appointed to set in order the crazy concerns of Christendom which had been in mourning confusion since the age of the Apostles."

Whether Alexander Campbell possessed this attitude or not, does not detract any from the great work that he did. According to his own statements, he did not put a great deal of emphasis on individuals being called to preach. Williams, in his "Life of Elder John Smith" says: "The new doctrine recognized no such order of men in the church as preachers, in the popular sense of that term. It was maintained as the privilege and duty of every member of a congregation to proclaim the gospel to the full extent of his ability. It will be remembered that, in his essays on "The Clergy," Campbell denied the popular doctrine of

divine call to the ministry, declaring that even a modern preacher claims to be sent of God to preach, he should work a miracle in attestation of his call. If he could not do the sign, he must be set down either as a knave or an enthusiast."

Perhaps the first religious service in Kentucky was performed by John Lytle, on May 28, 1775, at the close of the Transylvania Legislature. It is not clear whether this was a preaching of the gospel or only a reading of the prayers according to the liturgy of the church. Early in May, 1776, William Hickman preached the first sermon in Kentucky, distinctly recorded as such, and of which the text, subject and circumstances are given. This was at Big Springs, in Harrodsburg.

The moral tone of the people was very low in Kentucky. There was a general disregard for religious life and for religious institutions. Many places had no provision for worship. The noise, profanity, and dissipation were generally worse on Lord's day than any other. The Baptists were the first to establish churches in the State, and they had more members at the close

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of the century than any other church. Pioneer life, with
its struggle for the bare necessities and its opposition to
other hardships presented by the frontier, seemed to leave the
people of Kentucky in a religious slumber. This condition was
casted to a great extent by the fact that they had just passed
through a war, and so much time and attention was given to
political beginnings. There is an account of a female academy
that was closed in Paris in 1811 because the parents of some
girls in attendance objected to the Bible being read in school.
It seems that the stage was set in Kentucky for a religious
revival. Barton J. Stone says in his autobiography: "Things
moved on quietly in my congregations, and in the country gener-
ally. Apathy in religious societies appeared everywhere in an
alarming degree. Not only the poorer religion had disappeared,
but also the very form of it was vanishing fast away, and continued
so till the beginning of the present century."

The new century was ushered in by the great revival which
started in Logan county and swept to other parts of the state.
This revival was characterized by many and varied physical mani-
festations. Contemporaries judged these in different ways. Stone,


7. Tyler, ibid., p. 8.


9. James N. Rogers, The Cane Ridge Meeting House. (Cincinnati,
who witnessed the work in Logan county, and who introduced it to Cane Ridge, said: "I am always hurt to hear people speak lightly of this work. I always think they speak of what they know nothing about." This revival atmosphere which was entering into pioneer Kentucky life was preparing the soil for any new movement which might enter.

Christian workers had been distressed by the great number of wicked and irreligious people in the State. Spiritual leaders were now jubilant. In the exuberance of the moment, denominational lines were not nearly as strictly drawn. Since Campbell's work in Kentucky links with that of Stone, and since the beginning of Stone's movement pre-dates that of Campbell, we will consider Stone and his movement briefly. In the Presbyterian connection there were then five preachers and a candidate for the ministry who believed and preached that the gospel was sufficient to save men, and that the testimony of God was designed and able to produce faith. These men were McMear, Thompson, Dunlavy, Marshall, Stone, and Furviance, who was the candidate for the ministry. The Presbyterian Synod suspended them and declared their congregations vacant. They at first formed themselves into the Springfield Presbytery, but later, believing such an organization to be

10 Rogers, op. cit., p. 183.
11 Charles Crossfield Ware, Barton Warren Stone, (St. Louis, Bethany Press, 1932), p. 89.
12 Rogers, op. cit., p. 165.
unscriptural, it was dissolved, and all agreed to take the
name of "Christian." Davis says: "In the light of all this,
it would seem that the distinguished honor of organizing the
first churches since the great apostasy, with the Bible as
their only rule of faith and practice, and with 'Christian'
as the family name, belongs to these brave men, and that it
occurred in Kentucky in 1804, and that Cane Ridge was the
first."

Of the men above mentioned, Holcomar and Dunlavy joined
the Shakers. Thompson returned to the Presbyterians, Stone and
Purviance remained true. This movement spread rapidly over
Kentucky and Ohio, and in 1826 Stone began the publication of
the "Christian Messenger." Stone and Purviance certainly did
a great piece of work in establishing primitive Christianity
in Kentucky.

As previously mentioned, Campbell first appeared in
Kentucky in 1822, when he engaged in the debate with Macella.
This debate followed by a visit to several places in the central

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13 Robert Richardson, Memoirs Alexander Campbell, (Philadelphia,
14 E. N. Davis, How the Disciples Began and Grew, (Cincinnati,
15 Tyler, op. cit., p. 32.
16 A. W. Fortune, Origin and Development of the Disciples of
Christ, (St. Louis, Bethany Press, 1924), p. 130.
17 M. Leo Boles, Biographical Sketches of Great Preachers,
part of the state, gave the new magazine he was publishing, the "Christian Baptist," a wide circulation. The circulation was greater in northern and central Kentucky. The country was more densely populated in this area, and too, it was this area which Campbell encountered first and most often. As has been mentioned before, it was said that subscriptions to the "Christian Baptist" increased by five thousand as a result of his first trip to Kentucky. It was read faithfully in the northern and central parts of the state. It seems that P. S. Full was responsible for the first church in Kentucky accepting the principles advocated by Campbell. Full had read Campbell's "Sermon on the Law" and also several copies of the "Christian Baptist." In 1824 Full was succeeded by Reverends Benjamin Allen and John D. Carl in conjunction. This lasted until 1830. At that time the church had 294 members. Both these men accepted the views of Campbell, and carried all except eighty-five of their membership with them. This group was known as the First Baptist Church of Jesus Christ, of Louisville, Kentucky from 1825-1833, after which it assumed the name "Disciples of Christ." Full wrote a circular letter advocating the scriptures

As the one only sufficient, perfect, and infallible rule of Christian faith and manners. The Long Run Association, in Kentucky, in which the Louisville church had membership, reported 3004 members at its last meeting held in Bullitt County in September, 1825, and it was called upon to act on the above circular. It was rejected by the casting vote of 22 Elder George Waller. Thus it is seen that the views of Campbell were being called to the attention of people in other places as well as in Louisville. Another example of the gradual spread of his influence in the state, is indicated by the minutes of the Baptist Missionary Association of Kentucky, held in Fayette county, in September, 1824. It reads:

"The next meeting of this association will be in the First Baptist church in Lexington, on the 30th of July, next, which will be on the fifth Saturday of that month, at eleven o'clock, A. M. It is proposed also to have a meeting of all the Baptist preachers who can attend on Friday, the day preceding the meeting of the Association, at eleven o'clock, A. M. at the same place, for the purpose of a general conference on the state of religion, and on the subject of reform. All the ministers of the gospel in the Baptist denomination favorable to these objects are invited to attend, and, in the spirit of Christian love, by mutual counsel, influence, and exert according to the

Gospel to aid in advancing the cause of piety in our state."

Fortune says that the calling of that meeting was quite likely the result of Mr. Campbell's visit to Central Kentucky in the fall of 1825. Beginning in 1826, Campbell published many articles in the "Christian Baptist" in which he criticized many practices of the Baptists and urged them to conform with the teachings of the New Testament. Many people in Kentucky were beginning to look to Campbell for guidance. For example, one reader of the "Christian Baptist" wrote to Campbell under the date of March 10, 1826, requesting advice concerning a circular petition he was expecting, which probably would be sent to the Legislature in regard to the management of Transylvania.

There began to be a division among the most prominent Baptists over his doctrine. Silas M. Noel, W. Vaughan, George and Edmund Waller, and John Taylor opposed; Walter Warden, Jeremiah Vardeman, James Fishback, and Isaac Hodges hesitated in uncertainty; Jacob Creath later became a reformer. Campbell exercised a greater influence over the Baptists of Kentucky than those of any other state. This was especially felt in

23 Ibid. vol. 2, 48-49.
24 Fortune, Disciples in Kentucky, op. cit., p. 73.
27 Ibid. p. 587.
the missionary work of that group. The Baptists of the state had known nothing of such controversial learning and ability as that displayed by Campbell. One person has said that many Baptists held their purse strings tighter than before, and the cause of missionary work, for a time, received a staggering blow in various places. Spencer says that the "Christian Baptist" greatly influenced the Baptists in Kentucky to the extent that preachers received less pay and missionary were dwarfed.

About 1826 Spencer Clark and George Waller began at Bloomfield, Kentucky, the publication of the "Baptist Register," later changed to "Baptist Recorder." Contributions were received from many sources. This magazine was an opposer of the Campbell movement. Many letters were exchanged between this magazine and the one published by Campbell. One among the early preachers who helped spread the Campbell movement through Kentucky, was John Smith, mentioned above, who had been a Baptist preacher. He read a copy of the prospectus to the "Christian Baptist" and

29 loc. cit.
30 Spencer, op. cit., pp. 593-594.
31 Ibid., p. 597.
subscribed for the paper. An account of his first meeting with Campbell has already been given. Some account of his work will be given later.

Much controversy was aroused over articles by Campbell in the "Christian Baptist" concerning the clergy and missionary work. An extract from a letter of April 22, 1824, to Campbell says: "I regret exceedingly the opposition you have made to the missionary and Bible society cause. It has greatly injured your usefulness, and put into the hands of your Paedo-Baptist opposers a weapon to break the heads of the Baptists." In opposing missionary societies, Campbell undoubtedly struck a serious blow in their direction, especially in some sections. A letter from Mason county, in February, 1825, stated that the "Christian Baptist" had well nigh stopped missionary operations in the state.

Campbell and Spencer Clark, the editor of the "Baptist Recorder", exchanged letters in which Clark lamented the fact that they were divided, and said that Campbell was teaching a new creed. In reply Campbell accused the "Recorder" of being

32 Williams, op. cit., p. 153.
33 Christian Baptist, vol. 1, p. 70.
34 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 66.
used for abuse and vowed his determination to continue to
advocate the restoration of the ancient order of things to
his last breath. In one of these letters which was published
in the "Christian Baptist," Clark sums up the situation by
saying: "Some are for you, others against you; some approve,
others censure and condemn; such is the state of affairs; and
the effect produced by your writings."

Campbell denies that his idea or intention was to establish
a new creed, or to add to the catalog of new sects. He stated
that his work was for the purpose of abolishing sectarianism
and uniting all Christians of every name upon the foundation
upon which the Apostolic Church was founded. If Campbell's
idea was a union of all Christians, he was doomed to disap-
pointment. Everybody did not accept his views. His own adherents
accepted his teachings and were deeply imbued with his spirit
as well. The Baptists who did not accept his views were very
much opposed to him, and regarded him as one who destroyed only.
His friends were busy disseminating his principles. Their number
grew until some were found in almost every Baptist church in

36 Loc. cit.
37 Ibid. vol. 6, p. 560.
38 Ibid. Vol. 4.
39 Spencer, op. cit., p. 596.
the state, at least in northern and central Kentucky. The opposition of the other denominations had already been organized through his debates with Walker and McCalla; so here we have an individual who is not only bringing the wrath of other denominations down upon his head, but is also arousing the antagonism of some of the group with which he is affiliated. Regardless of his stated desire to unite all Christians and to avoid forming a new sect, his opponents in Kentucky regarded his followers as a new sect, and some editors spoke of them as "Restorationers" or "Campbellites."

Campbell remarked that the most reproachful epithets were showered upon them because they had some conscientious regard for the Divine author and the divine authority of the New Testament. He further stated that this might do very well with some, but that all who feared God and kept His commandments would pity and deplore the weakness and folly of those who either thought to convince or to persuade by such means. Evidently the increased use of "Campbellism" must have provoked the article on that subject in the "Christian Baptist," which was written by Campbell in Kentucky, April 15, 1828. In this

40 Nowlin, op. cit., pp. 86-88.
42 Loc. cit.
article he says that "'Campbellism' is a nickname of reproach, invented and adopted by those whose views, feelings, and desires are all sectarian, who cannot conceive of Christianity in any other light than an 'ism'". It goes on to say: "We wish all the friends of the ancient gospel, and the ancient order of things, to remember that our motto is and we hope ever will be, to call no man Master or Father, in the things pertaining to the kingdom of our Lord."

In an editorial in the issue of December, 1827, Campbell answered many accusations of the "Baptist Recorder," the Baptist paper in Kentucky. In reply to the opinion that Campbell was losing ground in Kentucky, he said that the "Christian Baptist" was more generally read in Kentucky, and had more subscribers than ever before. Barton W. Stone, founder of the "Christians" in Kentucky exchanged letters with him, and although they showed points of difference, Campbell did not hold them great. Stone showed a great admiration for Campbell, and in 1827 spoke of a hope for union.

More fuel was added to the flames in 1827 when the Mahoning Baptist Association selected Walter Scott as an evangelist to travel among its churches. He had been in contact with the

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43 Ibid. vol. 5, pp. 97-98.
44 Ibid. vol. 5, pp. 43-44.
Campbells and other friends of the reformation for some time, and he became a powerful agent in the spread of their movement. Entering upon his work with much enthusiasm, he started a great revival wave which swept over Ohio, Kentucky and Virginia. It was due to his efforts that most of the churches of that association identified themselves with the new movement, although they still retained their affiliation with the Baptists.

By 1826 there was a sharp division between the "Reform" element in the Baptist church and the regular Baptists. Church membership and results of revivals failed to present a true picture. In reality, two distinct groups existed under one name. Revivals in 1827 and 1828 helped to bring things to a division in Kentucky. In conducting meetings such a contrast would be presented by the two groups and their preachers, that bitterness was inevitable. The regular Baptist viewpoint is very clearly set forth by the following: "Despite all efforts to stay the feverish excitement, Campbellism became a raging epidemic. The spirit of religious worship was almost banished from the churches. Church meetings were scenes of bitter cavil about creeds, confessions of faith, and church constitutions;"

the minister was constantly interrupted by impertinent
questions and pointed contradictions while preaching, and the
old songs sung so often, with joyous praise, for a whole genera-
tion, were made the butt of ridicule."

The Baptists felt that many of their cherished institutions
were being attacked, and that anything might happen next. The
"Reformers" had adopted for their motto, "Where the Scriptures
speak, we speak, where the Scripture is silent, we are silent."
Gates says: "The Reformers respected the silence of the
Scripture quite as much as the speech of the Scripture. Where
there was not 'Thus saith the Lord' for a Baptist belief or
usage, there was ready a 'Thus saith a Reformer' against it."
It seems that where the followers of Campbell were located in
greatest numbers, the additions to the church were most numerous
during the revivals from 1827-1836. In the Ilkhorn Association,
where the Creaths, William Horton, and Vardeman labored, sixteen
hundred were baptized. The Creaths and Horton fully favored
Campbell's views. Vardeman returned to the Old Dispensation,
but during the early years of the movement in Kentucky, he
preached baptism for the remission of sins. In the Tates Creek

50 Spencer, op. cit., pp. 597-598.
51 Errett Gates, The Disciples of Christ, (N. Y., Baker and
52 Spencer, op. cit., p. 598.
Association over sixteen hundred were baptized, mostly on reformation principles. Fifteen thousand were baptized in the state. Spencer says: "It is to be feared, the majority baptized were not converted in the Baptist definition of the term, especially in the northern and middle portions of the state." This statement would indicate that many additions to the Baptist church were in reality members of the Campbell movement. Under "Religious News" in the "Christian Baptist," Campbell states that between three and four hundred were immersed in Lincoln county and adjoining territory in a few months in 1825, under the labors of Ralph Anderson, Sterman and others. Also that since the previous fall, G. G. Boone had immersed about three hundred and fifty, Horton at least three hundred, Jacob Creath a great many, John Smith, of Montgomery, two hundred and ninety-four in about three months, and six hundred in a little over five months. Many of these were the same as recorded by Spencer, but the additions reported to the "Christian Baptist" were probably all identified with the Campbell movement. Throughout Kentucky such men as John Smith, F. S. Wall, John T. Johnson, the Creaths, Horton, John Secrest,

54
Spencer, op. cit., pp. 598-599.
55
loc. cit.
56
Christian Baptist, vol. 6, p. 15.
George W. Elley, and others, were contributing to the cause. A complete account of the movement would be the biographies of all those pioneer preachers who labored often without pay in the face of bitter opposition for what they believed to be a just cause. Not the least among these was John Smith before mentioned, who spent practically his entire life preaching in Kentucky. His biography is one of the most interesting that has ever come to the attention of the writer, and it is certainly a cross-section of the entire movement in Kentucky. Summing up the results of a few months' labor in 1828, he said to his wife: "Nancy, I have baptized seven hundred sinners and 57 capsized fifteen hundred Baptists." This is supplemented by a letter from Col. J. Mason to Campbell, written at Mt. Sterling, Kentucky, April 19, 1828, saying that the "Christian Baptist" has done much good in Montgomery and Bath counties. He also praised Smith very highly; said the people were following him in crowds, and that he was teaching them the ancient gospel with astonishing success. The "Christian Baptist" also quotes a letter to the editor written at West Port, Kentucky, February 28, 1828, from which the following is an extract:

"In the counties of Fayette, Clark, Jessamine, Bourbon, and Madison, there is a great revivals of religion. There has been

57 Williams, op. cit., p. 258.
from the best information had upwards of six hundred immersed into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in the course of three months. This revival seems, too, to be under the preaching of the ancient gospel, by brothers J. Creath, W. Horton, J. Vardeman, George Boone, and J. Hewett. May the Lord's kingdom continue to increase."

As the number of the reformers increased, their demands, if not more insistent, at least attracted more attention. They were very zealous, and hardly a community was free from their onslaughts. On the other hand the regular Baptists were not without their staunch defenders, and so the breach continued to widen. It was not a sudden occurrence, but was a gradual process over a period of years. The year 1830 is usually regarded as the year in which the principal part of the division took place in Kentucky, as this was the year in which so many of the Kentucky associations took action against the reformers.

The division once started, spread rapidly. Pent-up feelings were released, and almost everywhere Baptists separated themselves from the reformers. It was in Kentucky, however, and in certain portions of Virginia, where the principles of Campbell had been so widely scattered, that the greatest difficulties occurred.

60 Groton, op. cit., p. 126.
61 Richardson, op. cit., p. 321.
The position taken by Campbell in regard to this separation is somewhat unusual. He lamented the division but disavowed any responsibility for it. Although he had been perfectly frank to state his differences with the Baptists all along, yet he was accepted as such and welcomed as such in his early trips to Kentucky. Certain it is that it is principally due to him that the new ideas prevailed among so many of the Baptists of the state; and regardless of whether they were right or wrong, the existence of such finally led the regular Baptists to acts of separation. In speaking of this separation, Campbell said:

"Who is making divisions and schisms? Who are creating factions, swellings and tumults? We who are willing to bear and forbear, or they who are anathematizing and attempting to excommunicate? Let the umpires decide the question. For my own part, I am morally certain that they who oppose us are unable to meet us on the Bible; they are unable to meet us before the public; and this I say, not as respects their talents, acquirements or general ability, but as respects their systems. Thousands are convinced of this, and they might as well bark at the moon as to oppose by bawls and anathemas. If there be a division, gentlemen, you will make it, not I; and the more you oppose us with the weight of your censure like the palm tree, we will grow the faster. I am for peace, for union, for harmony, for co-operation with all good men. But I fear you not; if you will fling firebrands, arrows and discords into the army of the
faith, you will repent it, not we. You will lose influence, not we. We covet not persecution, but we disregard it. We fear nothing but error, and should you proceed to make divisions, you will find that they will reach much farther than you are aware, and that the time is past when an anathema from an association will produce any other effect than contempt from some and a smile from others."

By 1832, between twenty and thirty thousand of the reform elements in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and other states had been eliminated from the Baptists.

Tyler says that if it had not of been for the persecutions following his "Sermon on the Law" Campbell might have lived and died in the fellowship of the Baptist denomination. Be that as it may, the war was waged in the religious magazines and in the pulpits from 1823 on with increasing fervor. The regular Baptists seemed inclined to be patient, hoping for the issue to settle down. These new ideas, coming from members of their own sect, very probably received far more toleration than if they had come from some other. It seems that the movement for separation started outside the state. Campbell received a letter from a Baptist preacher in North Carolina saying nine churches of the

64 Tyler, op. cit., p. 30.
Raleigh Baptist Association had separated from the association because of missionary schemes and missionary beggars. They called themselves "Reformed Baptist Churches." Also that about fifteen churches in the Meade Baptist Association were about to separate over the same cause.

Action in Kentucky started as opposition to individuals. Those who were most active in their denominations of regular Baptist institutions, naturally would feel pressure first. Since many of these had built up a large following in the particular church or churches to which they ministered, division resulted in churches. The greatest agent of separation, however, was the action taken by the associations.

John Smith, who was preaching at Mt. Sterling, was charged with heresy in 1837, but the matter was postponed for another year. The next year no action was possible because he had made so many converts in the association that his friends were in the majority. Smith's work was principally in three associations, North District, Bracken, and Boone's Creek. To show the influence of Smith, when the division came in the North District Association, eighteen of the twenty-six churches stood for reformation. Mt. Sterling in which he had been preaching, was carried

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65 Spencer, op. cit., p. 609.
66 Fortune, Disciples in Kentucky, op. cit., p. 76-85.
to the reform movement.

Then the Green River Association met in August, 1830, the Mt. Zion Church sent up a query concerning "What ought to be done with a preacher in our union that publicly declares that our translation of the Bible is a very imperfect book, and that there is a human agency in the conversion of a sinner, and that man has got physical power to do all that the law requires of men."

In 1827, the First Baptist Church in Lexington began to call itself the "Church of Christ on Hill Street," under the guidance of Dr. James Mickleback. This gave great offense to the Alhambra Association, which rejected the letter of the new-styled church, and accepted the letter of the minority who clung to the old name.

Most of these dissenters of Lexington must have returned to the original church, however, because in the latter part of 1831 only nine were reported as belonging to the ranks of Campbell. These met for a time in private homes, and as their number increased, a meeting place was obtained. They were the

68 Spencer, op. cit., p. 366.
69 Minutes of 28th Green River Baptist Association, 1829, pp. 2-3.
70 Ward Russell, Church Life in the Blue Grass (Printed in United States, 1885), p. 79.
object of much ridicule, and such names as "Waterdogs", "Baptized Infidels", and "Campbellites" were applied to them. Mention has already been made to conditions in Louisville where the church pastorate was supplied by both John F. Carl and Benjamin Allen. Both these individuals became followers of Campbell; and of two hundred and ninety-four members, all but eighty-five followed them.

Elder R. Creath, Jr., in his "Letter to Elder John Taylor", dated November 30, and which appeared in the "Christian Examiner" of December, 1832, said that the Clear Creek Church, near Versailles, had already divided before he began preaching there in December, 1829. Creath denied the accusation that he had divided the church. In speaking of the division in this church in 1829, one writer says:

"Intruders pushed in and by their preaching, greatly divided and distracted the church, so that at present like many other distressed places in Kentucky, two Baptist churches worship or keep up a show of worship in the same house, forbear to commune together at the Lord's table, and have less friendly conversation together than thousands of men who know nothing savagely of the mean and lowly Jesus."

72 Weaver, op. cit., pp. 9-4.
73 Christian Examiner, vol. 1, (December, 1832), pp. 9e-9g.
74 Boone, Disciples in Kentucky, op. cit., pp. 85-84.
Craddock came to the Southikon Church, a member of the Franklin Association, in 1819. This led to a division in that church, with thirty-six members, who could not conform to regular Baptist traditions, forming an independent church.

In 1820, a group in the Crossy Mill Church refused to accept the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, and based their rule of faith on the acceptance of the Bible only. This group separated from the original church and formed the Somerset Church.

A letter from W. L. Boone to the editor of the "Christian Examiner" which appeared in the May, 1st issue of that magazine, says:

"It is generally understood that a division has taken place in David's Fork Church in Fayette County, and that many of the brothers have been excluded for "sedition and heresy"; these have since organized themselves into a congregation for the worship of Christ."

In 1828, the Beaver Association met near Pittsburgh and resolved to withdraw fellowship from the Fackling Association, because it had accepted the teaching of Campbell. In doing this, eight reasons were mentioned for the action. Silas N. Cool, pastor of the Frankfort church, sent a letter to the

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76 William, Am. cit., p. 240.
78 Spencer, ibid., p. 610.
Franklin Association, which met in September, 1826, asking
that some action be taken. The minutes of the Beaver Associa-
tion in regard to the Ziziling Association was published in the
minutes of the Franklin Association in 1826. This action of
the Franklin Association was that caused the division, which has
already been mentioned, in the South Denon church.

The Franklin Association resumed a more severe tone in
their meeting in 1830. The circular letter sent out said that
harmony had existed before Campbell visited Kentucky. A
definite course was adopted toward the "Reformers" as indicated
by the following extract:

"If you would protect yourselves as churches, make no
compromises with error, mark them who cause divisions; divest
yourselves of the last vestige of 'Campbellism.'" The letter
also says: "As an association, we shall deem it our duty to
drop correspondence with any and every association, or church,
where this heresy is tolerated."

Campbell quoted the following extract from the minutes of
the Franklin Association for 1830 in the "Millennial Harbinger":
"Immersed 27; dismissed by letter 90; excluded 116; dead 44;
total 1725." Campbell stated in the same article that the

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76 Ibid. p. 611.
77 Minutes Franklin Baptist Association, 1836, p. 331.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid., 1830, p. 332.
James Mellen of Mt. Sterling, in a letter to Campbell, May 25, 1800, said that he felt greatly disturbed on account of the present state of affairs in the religious world. He mentioned that a division had already occurred in the North District Association. In this association, ten churches had met on the fourth Saturday in June, 1820, at the Cowken meeting house. These ten churches, who constituted a minority of the association, were opposed to Campbell.

Then the Bracken Association met in Washington, Mason county, in September, 1820, division in some of its churches had already taken place. In the Papalick church, the majority were regular Baptists, and they were recognized as the church. At Bethel, however, the regular Baptists were in the minority, but nevertheless, they were recognized as constituting the church. Two letters were received also from the Ohio Valley church, but no action was taken in that case. In regard to the North District Association, the churches which had declared against Campbell were recognized as the Association. The Association stated that it believed the division in the North District
Association was caused by the common evil destroying Baptist society. The circular letter sent out by the Association that year shows a condition typical of practically every association in Kentucky. An extract that is especially striking follows:

"Dear Brethren: In addressing you at this time, we lament to have to say, that a dark and gloomy cloud evercreeds our horizon, unequalled since the establishment of the Baptist society in Kentucky. Associations and churches are dividing, and, of course, peace and harmony have departed."

The Millhorn Association of Baptists, meeting in Bourbon county, in August, 1830, by a vote of 42 to 14, dropped Versailles. The Providence church was also dropped for non-conformity and for receiving Jacob Creith, Jr. The exclusion of the two churches lost two hundred and sixty-nine members to the Association. The meeting took the same action as Breckenridge in recognizing the division in the North District Association. The Tates Creek Association which met in August of that year did not approve of such action, and they suspended correspondence with the Millhorn Association for dropping two of her churches, and recognizing the minority of the North District.

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86 Minutes Breckenridge Baptist Association, 1830, pp. 4-5.
87 Ibid. p. 5.
88 Minutes Millhorn Baptist Association, 1830, p. 4.
89 Minutes Tates Creek Baptist Association, 1830, p. 10.
The Minutes of the Pensa Creek Association, meeting in Madison county, 1829, show thirteen churches. The next meeting in Clark county, shows only seven. No mention, however, is made in the 1830 Minutes of the churches suspended. In the Minutes of the meeting in Fayette county, in 1831, the following extract is found: "On motion agreed that inasmuch as there was an omission in Minutes of last year respecting the cause of dropping off from the Association the following churches, to-wit: Mt. Union, Mt. Zion, Nicholasville, Liberty, Friendship, and Lower Bethel. Reason given they had departed from terms of general union and constitution of this assembly."

The Long Run Association meeting in New Castle, September, 1830, advised their brethren to discontinue writings of Campbell and his followers as they were in direct opposition to the constitution of the church. This Association in its circular letter of 1831 said in speaking of the "Reformers": "We should, therefore avoid them; for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ." Trouble finally came to a head in 1852 when a division took place. A letter from E. Allen, of Jefferson county, stated that the Long Run Association at its meeting in September excluded five churches because they would not agree to support the Philadelphia Confession of Faith."

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99 Minutes Pensa Creek Baptist Association, 1829, 1830, 1831, p. 231.
100 Minutes Long Run Baptist Association, 1830, p. 256.
101 Ibid. p. 43.
Division continued in other associations after 1831. In the Bracken Association meeting at Maylick 1831, the Lus Creek and Sherburn churches were dropped; they had sent no messengers to the meeting. The churches at Ohio Locust and Bracken had divided the majority of each going to the "Reformers". The minority of each church was recognized by the association.

By 1831 the movement for separation had penetrated into other parts of the state. The Bethel Association, which had its annual meeting at Hopkinsville in 1831, sent out a circular letter which stated that although they had been affected by the reform movement, only three churches had formed themselves as self-governing bodies. A few Reformers existed in every church of the association, and five preachers and about seventy members had separated entirely. The letter states that except in a few cases the separation was accomplished by friendly means.

The Minutes of the Green River Association show a division in 1831. The Association resolved to have no fellowship for, and to drop all religious intercourse with such as had departed from the doctrine, and order of the Association, and who had accepted any or all of the reforms advocated by Campbell. In

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93 Minutes Bracken Baptist Association, 1831, p. 5.
94 Minutes Bethel Baptist Association, 1831, pp. 7-8.
95 Minutes Green River Baptist Association, 1831, pp. 5-6.
the meeting of the Casper River Association the same year. William Tutia, the moderator, advocated shutting the doors against the doctrine taught by A. Campbell and his followers. The Concord Association declared against the new movement in this meeting in 1831. The following is an extract from their circular letter of that year:

"But this new doctrine called 'reformation' alias 'Campbellism,' in our humble opinion, is well adapted to the carnal mind."

A letter dated August 30, 1834, in the "Millennial Harbinger" from Samuel Carpenter, of Bardstown, stated that the Salem Association had passed the following decrees:

"Baptism by Reformers are invalid. Baptism by followers of Stone are invalid, and the churches of the Association are advised not to allow any followers of Campbell or Stone to preach in their churches." These decrees caused a division in the churches at Bardstown, Bloomfield, and Hill Creek.

Another event of great importance to the "Campbell Movement" was the union with the Christians or followers of Stone. Stone had recruited his followers largely from the Presbyterian church, while a large part of Campbell's followers were from

96 Minutes Casper River Baptist Association, 1831, p. 65.
97 Minutes Concord Baptist Association, 1831, pp. 5-6.
98 Millennial Harbinger, September, 1834, pp. 475-476.
the Baptist Church. Even as opponents to Campbell called his adherents "Campbellites", so the Christians were called "Stoneites" or "New Lights."

No attempt has been made by the writer to go into this union, which is a complete study within itself. The principal port of the union in Kentucky took place in 1832. The evangelical order of the "Christians" spread to the "Reformers", who had not been, with few exceptions, vigorous evangelists at first. As a result great numbers were added to the ranks.

Between 1829 and 1832, something like 10,000 withdrew from the Baptists, and this number increased by about eight thousand additions from the "Christian Union" gave the "Disciples" a number with which to be reckoned. The "Christians" and "Reformers" increased rapidly, and soon equalled or outnumbered the Baptists less the Anti-Mission group. The Baptist membership in 1829 was 48,442; in 1837 it was 59,263; of these 11,127 were Anti-Missionaries, leaving 28,142 nominal missionaries, a number hardly equaling that of the "Campbellites."

During the eight years from 1829-1837, the Baptists of Kentucky lost nearly one-third of their number, perhaps nearly

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96 Roberts, op. cit., p. 31.
100 Jennings, op. cit., p. 285.
101 Russell, op. cit., p. 77.
102 Jubilee Volume, op. cit., p. 10.
103 Ibid., p. 22.
two-thirds of their prestige and ministerial power. This
last statement is explained by the fact that such men as
Creath, Smith, Allen, Creath, Jr., Johnson, Hewett, Hall, and more than
fifty other Baptist preachers were cut off with the Campbell
schism, and indicates something of its strength.

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104 Ibid., p. 17.
105 loc. cit.
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