

THE HISTORY OF ARMINIANISM AND CALVINISM
among
BAPTISTS in AMERICA.

A Thesis

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INTRODUCTION.

The New Standard Dictionary gives as its first definition of a Thesis, that it is, "A proposition advanced, affirmatively or negatively, to be maintained or defended by argument; a position or proposition, the truth of which is not evident from the terms, but that requires evidence, explanation or proof."

Dr. Albert Henry Newman says that, "History in its broadest sense is the setting forth in literary or oral form of the development in time of the divine plan of the universe, in so far as this development has become an object of human knowledge. This definition involves a recognition of the fact that the universe was planned and created and has been continually sustained and ordered by an infinite God."¹

In writing upon *The History of Arminianism and Calvinism among Baptists in America*, it is not our purpose to write a history of the Baptists in America, a theology of the Baptists, nor a history of Baptist theology, but the history of Arminianism and Calvinism among American Baptists. We are not to discuss the merits or demerits of the history, but simply to record it. No attempt is made to give a history of all Baptist churches, nor an exhaustive account of any church, but what is necessary to present the Arminianism and Calvinism of American Baptists. This history is all the more necessary since the question as between Arminianism and Calvinism is no longer a live issue, but has passed beyond the range of discussion or thought in some of our theological institutions. Both systems have been greatly modified during the past century, which accounts in part, for the changed methods of treatment in chapters one and five.

The Statement of Calvinism and Arminianism is given in chapter I. The reader thoroughly familiar with the two systems may omit this chapter. The Prevalence of Arminianism over Calvinism, among Baptists in America prior to 1740, is given in chapter II; the Triumph of Calvinism over Arminianism from 1740-1815, in

"Manual of Church History", Newman, p 3.

chapter III; Causes *of* the Triumph of Calvinism, 1740-1815, in chapter IV; Modifications of the Calvinism among Baptists in America since 1815, in chapter V; and the Influences Modifying Calvinism among Baptists in America since 1815.

We had hoped to present a comparison of the text books on theology used in the Baptist Seminaries of America in chapter VII, but after correspondence with the professors of theology in these institutions, this was seen to be impractical. The professor of theology in Newton wrote, "No text book is used in my courses, but that required reading and reference relating to many books. Such books as Brown's and Strong's theologies are taken as representative of the two types of opinion." Dr. Vaughn then kindly favored us with a long list of the reference books. Colgate uses William Adams Brown's "Outlines of Christian Theology" as the text book. "The students are constantly referred also to the texts of Clarke, Strong and Mullins" (J. F. Vichert). No answer was received from our letter to Rochester. Dr. Meeser says: "We use no text book in Systematic Theology in Crozer Seminary. The Library - a multitude of volumes is our chief resort.... Calvinism vs Arminianism is not an issue in our classes, as it is not a living issue in theology today. We refer to all theologies from the extreme orthodox A. H. Strong, through William Newton Clarke to the radical George B. Foster." Dr. Smith, of the Divinity School, University of Chicago, says: "I use no text book in my classes. So far as your thesis is concerned probably there is an unconscious influence of Calvinism present in our thinking." The Northern Baptists Theological Seminary ~~uses~~, in Chicago, uses the theologies of Drs. Strong, and The Kansas City Theological Seminary uses the theologies of Drs. Strong and Mullins. The doctrinal position is that of the New Hampshire Confession, "definitely, but moderately Calvinistic." The Southern Baptists Theological Seminary and the Southwestern use, "The Christian Religion in Its Doctrinal Expression" by Dr. Mullins. The professor of theology in Bethel Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, answered: "For thirty years I have used as text books in Systematic Theology, either outlines in Swedish based on Dr. Hovey's and Dr. Strong's works, or Dr. Strong's own great work on Systematic Theology. No Armin-

ianism in our Seminary." Since most of the books referred to by these professors are reviewed in chapter five, the omission of chapter seven will not greatly detract from the Thesis.

We desire to extend special thanks to the brethren for their kindness in answering our letters, and to the Crozer and University of Chicago Librarians for the loan of certain old and rare volumes, otherwise not procurable.

Our highest hopes for this effort are that it may prove of some value to future students of this hitherto unwritten chapter in American Baptist history.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATEMENT OF CALVINISM AND ARMINIANISM.

Before writing the history of Calvinism and Arminianism among Baptists in America, the systems of Calvinism and Arminianism should be clearly and comprehensively stated, and that from authoritative sources. This chapter is such a statement.

I. THE FIVE POINTS OF CALVINISM.

1. Unconditional Election.

The Westminster Confession says: "Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose, and in the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ, unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith, or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving him thereto."¹

The Westminster Shorter Catechism in answer to question twenty teaches that: "God, having of his mere good pleasure, from all eternity, elected some to everlasting life, did enter into a covenant of grace, to deliver them out of the estate of sin and misery, and to bring them into an estate of salvation by a Redeemer."²

Synod of Dort: "This said election was made, not upon foresight of faith, and the obedience of faith, holiness or any other good quality or disposition, or a cause or condition before required in the chosen; but unto faith, and the obedience of faith, holiness, etc. And therefore election is the fountain of all saving good, from whence faith, holiness and the residue of saving gifts, lastly everlasting life itself, do flow, as the fruits and effects thereof."³

Second Helvetic Confession: "God hath from the beginning freely, and of his mere grace, without any respect of men, predestinated or elected the saints, whom he will save in Christ."⁴

The Orthodox Creed of English Baptists in 1679: "The decrees of God are founded on infinite wisdom, and situate in eternity, and are crowned with infallibility, as to the event. Now predestination unto life, is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby before the foundation of the world was laid, he hath constantly decreed in his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse

1. *Creeeds of Christendom*, Schaff, Vol. 3, p. 609. 2. *Ibid.* Vol. 3, p. 680.

3. *Calvinism and Evangelical Arminianism*, Girardeau, pp. 16-17.

4. *Girardeau*, p. 17.

and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ, and bring them to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honor through Jesus Christ, whom he hath elected before the foundation of the world, and is called God's elect in whom his soul delighteth, being the lamb foreordained, and so predestinated unto the superlative glory of the hypostatical union, being elected of mere grace, as are all the members of his mystical body... And so God the Father, that he might bring about the eternal salvation of his elect, chose the man Christ, with respect to his human nature, out of the fallen lump of mankind, which in the fulness of time he made of a woman, made under law, to redeem those that were under it, that we might receive the adoption of sons."¹

Calvinistic Confession of English Baptists in 1644: "All mankind being thus fallen, and become altogether dead in sins and trespasses, and subject to the eternal wrath of the great God by transgression; yet the elect, which God hath loved with an everlasting love, are redeemed, quickened, and saved, not by themselves, neither by their own works, lest any man should boast, but wholly and only by God of his free grace and mercy through Jesus Christ."²

Somerset Confession of 1656: "That God in his Son did freely, without respect to any work done, or to be done by them as a moving cause, elect and choose some to himself before the foundation of the world, whom he in time hath, doth, and will call, justify, sanctify and glorify. That those that were thus elected and chosen in Christ were by nature (before conversion) children of wrath even as others."³

John Calvin: "Before the first man was created God had established what he willed should take place concerning the entire human race. In this secret counsel of God it was determined that Adam should fall away from the integral (unimpaired) state of his nature, and by his defection should draw all his posterity into condemnation to eternal death. On this same decree depends the difference between the elect and the reprobate; because he adopted for himself some for salvation, others he destined to

1. *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, McGlathlin, p. 129. Art. 9.

2. " " " " " , p. 176. Art. 5.

3. " " " " " , p. 204. Arts. 9, 10.

eternal

eternal destruction. While the reprobate are vessels of God's just vengeance, the elect, on the other hand, are vessels of mercy; yet no other cause of the difference is to be sought in God than his mere will, which is the highest rule of justice. Although the elect receive by faith the grace of adoption, yet election is not dependent upon faith, but in time and order is prior."¹

2. Christ Died for the Elect.

The Westminster Confession: "As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, fore-ordained all the means ~~thereunto~~ thereto. Wherefore they who are elected, being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power through faith unto salvation, neither are any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only."²

Synod of Dort: "He hath chosen in Christ unto salvation a set number of certain men, neither better nor more worthy than others, but lying in the common misery with others; which Christ also from all eternity appointed the Mediator, and head of the elect, and foundation of salvation."³

The Calvinistic Confession of English Baptists in 1644: "That Christ Jesus by his death did bring forth salvation and reconciliation only for the elect, which were those which God the Father gave him."⁴

Somerset Confession of 1656: "That this man Christ Jesus suffered death under Pilate, at the request of the Jews, bearing the sins of his people on his own body on the cross, according to the will of God, being made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him, and by his death upon the cross, he hath obtained eternal redemption and deliverance for his church."⁵

The Baptist adaptation of the Westminster Confession, printed in 1677: "God did from all eternity decree to justify
1. Calvin's Works, Vol. 9, p. 713. Cf Review & Expositor, Oct. 1909, p. 567-8.
2. Creeds of Christendom, Vol. 3, pp. 609-610. 3. Girardeau, p. 16.
4. Baptist Confessions of Faith, McGlothlin, p. 180.
5. " " " " " p. 205.

the elect, and Christ did in the fulness of the time die for their sins, and rise again for their justification."¹

3. Total Depravity.

The French Confession: "We believe that out of this universal corruption and damnation, wherein by nature all men are drowned, God did deliver and preserve some, whom, by his eternal and immutable counsel, of his own goodness and mercy, without any respect of their works, he did choose in Christ Jesus. For some are not better than others, till such time as the Lord doth make a difference, according to that immutable counsel which he hath decreed in Christ Jesus before the foundation of the world; neither was any man able of his own strength to make an entrance for himself to that good, seeing that of our nature, we cannot have so much as one right motion, affection or thought, till God do freely prevent us, and fashion us to righteousness."²

Westminster Confession: "By this sin they fell from their original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all faculties, and parts of soul and body. They being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity descending from them by ordinary generation."³

Calvinistic Confession of English Baptists in 1644: "In the beginning God made all things very good, created man after his own image and likeness, filling him with all perfection of all natural excellency and uprightness, free from all sin. But long he abode not in this honor, but by the subtlety of the serpent, which Satan used as an instrument, himself with his angels having sinned before, and not kept their first estate, but left their own habitation; first Eve, then Adam, seduced did wittingly and willingly fall into disobedience of the commandment of their great Creator, for the which death came upon all, and reigned over all, so that all since the fall are conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity, and so by nature children of wrath, and servants of sin, subjects of death, and all other calamities due to sin in this world and forever, being considered in the state of nature, without relation to Christ."⁴

1. McGlothlin, p. 245. Chap. 11, Art. 4. 2. Girardeau, pp. 17-18.

3. Creeds of Christendom, Vol. 3. p. 615. 4. McGlothlin, p. 175.

The Somerset Confession of 1656: "That God gave Adam a just law, requiring obedience under the penalty of death, which law he brake, and brought himself and his posterity under the guilt and judgment denounced. Man being in this undone estate, God did in the riches of his mercy hold forth Christ as a promise. That out of this condition none of the sons of Adam were able to deliver themselves." ¹

The Baptist adaptation of the Westminster Confession printed in 1677: "Our first parents...fell from their original righteousness and communion with God, and we in them, whereby death came upon all; all becoming dead in sin, and wholly defiled, in all the faculties, and parts of soul and body. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions." ² "Man by his fall into a state of sin hath wholly lost all ability of will, to any spiritual good accompanying salvation; so as a natural man, being altogether averse from that good, and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto." ³

4. Irresistible Grace.

Westminster Confession: "By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life and others foreordained unto everlasting death. These angels and men thus predestinated and foreordained are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite, that it cannot be either increased or diminished." ⁴

Synod of Dort: "As God himself is most wise, unchangeable, omniscient, and omnipotent, so the election made by him can be neither interrupted nor changed, revoked nor disannulled, nor the elect cast away, nor their number diminished." ⁵

The Church of Ireland and Lambeth Articles: "God hath predestinated some unto life, and reprobated some unto death; of both which there is a certain number, known only to God, which can be neither increased nor diminished." ⁶

1. Arts. 4, 5, 7, McGlothlin, pp. 203-204.

2. Chap. 6. Arts. 3, 4. McGlothlin, pp. 237-238. 3. McGlothlin, p. 243.

4. Creeds of Christendom, Vol. 3, pp. 608-609. 5. Girardeau, p. 17.

6. Girardeau, p. 19.

The Baptist adaptation of the Westminster Confession printed in 1677: "God hath decreed in himself from all eternity, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably, all things whatsoever come to pass.... Yet hath he not decreed anything because he foresaw it as future, or as that which would come to pass upon such conditions. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory some men and angels are predestinated, or foreordained to eternal life, through Jesus Christ, to the praise of his glorious grace; others being left to act in their sin to their just condemnation, to the praise of his glorious justice. These angels and men thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number so certain and definite, that it can not be either increased or diminished."¹

5. Eternal Salvation.

Synod of Dort: "He decreed to give them to him (Christ) to be saved and by his word and Spirit effectually to call and draw them to communion with him; that is, to give them a true faith in him; to justify, sanctify, and finally glorify them, being mightily kept in the communion of his Son, to the demonstration of his mercy, and the praise of the riches of his glorious grace."²

The Westminster Confession: "They whom God hath accepted in his beloved, effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace, but shall certainly persevere therein to the end and be eternally saved. This perseverance of the saints depends, not upon their own free will, but upon the immutability of the decree of election, flowing from the free and unchangeable love of God the Father; upon the efficacy of the merit and intercession of Jesus Christ; the abiding of the Spirit and of the seed of God within them; and the nature of the covenant of grace; from all which ariseth also the certainty and infallibility thereof."³

Orthodox Creed of English Baptists in 1679: "Those that are effectually called, according to God's eternal purpose, being justified by faith, do receive such a measure of holy unction, from the Holy Spirit, by which they shall certainly persevere unto eternal life."⁴

1. Chap. 3. Arts. 1, 2, 3, 4. Cf McGlothlin, p. 233. 2. Girardeau, p. 16.
3. Creeds of Christendom, Schaff, Vol. 3, pp. 636-637. Cf McGlothlin, p. 251-252. 4. McGlothlin, p. 151.

Somerset Confession of English Baptists in 1656: "Those that are chosen by God, elected and justified, shall never finally fall from him, but being born from above, are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation."¹

II. THE FIVE POINTS OF ARMINIANISM.

1. Conditional Election.

The Five Articles of Arminianism drawn up by the Remonstrants in Holland, 1610: "That God, by an eternal, unchangeable purpose in Jesus Christ his Son, before the foundation of the world, hath determined out of the fallen, sinful race of men, to save in Christ, for Christ's sake, and through Christ, those who through the grace of the Holy Ghost, shall believe on this his Son Jesus, and shall persevere in this faith and obedience of faith, through this grace, even to the end; and on the other hand to leave the incorrigible and unbelieving in sin and under wrath, and to condemn them as alienated from Christ, according to the word of the gospel in John 3:16."²

John Wesley: "God from the foundation of the world, foreknew all men's believing or not believing. And according to this, his foreknowledge, he chose or elected all obedient believers, as such, to salvation."³ "Predestination is fore-appointing obedient believers to salvation, not without, but according to his foreknowledge of all their works from the foundation of the world. Election commonly means one of two things: a personal, absolute and unconditional appointment of particular men to particular work in the world, or a conditional divine appointment of some men to eternal happiness. God did decree from the beginning to elect or choose in Christ all that should believe to salvation.⁴ They were not elected till they believed.⁵ They were actually elected when they were made the Sons of God by faith."⁶ Watson says, "Election is not only an act of God done in time, but... it is subsequent to the administration of the means of salvation."⁷ Ralston: "If one man is elected to everlasting life and another ~~is~~ consigned to perdition... it is because one is good and the other bad; the one is righteous and

1. McGlothlin, p. 204. 2. Creed of Christendom, Vol. 3. p. 545.

3. Girardeau, p. 21. 4. Wesley's Works, Vol. 9. pp. 421-422. 5. *Ibid.* p. 435

6. *Ibid.* pp. 421-22. 7. *Ibid.* p. 435. 8. Girardeau, p. 28.

the other unrighteous; the one a believer and the other an unbeliever; one is obedient and the other is rebellious." ¹ Minor Raymond, "Election is conditioned upon repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." ²

The Confession of English Baptists published in 1611: "That God before the foundation of the world hath predestinated that all that believe in him shall be saved, and all that believe not shall be damned. This is the election and reprobation spoken of in the Scriptures, concerning salvation and condemnation, and not that God hath predestinated men to be wicked, and so to be damned, but that men being wicked shall be damned, for God would have all men saved, and come to a knowledge of the truth, and would have no man perish, but would have all men come to repentance, and willeth not the death of him that dieth. And therefore God is the author of no man's condemnation." ³

A Brief Confession of Faith published in London, 1660: "That God hath even before the foundation of the world, chosen, or elected, to eternal life such as believe, and so are in Christ.. The purpose of God according to election, was not in the least arising from foreseen faith in, or works of righteousness done by the creature, but only from the mercy, goodness and compassion dwelling in God.. whose purity and unwordable holiness, cannot admit of any unclean person, or thing, to be in his presence, therefore his decree of mercy reached only the godly man, whom God hath set apart for himself." ⁴

The Orthodox Creed of English Baptists published in 1679: "We do believe, that known unto God are all his works from eternity; therefore he foresaw Adam's fall, but did not decree it; yet foreseeing it in his eternal counsel and wisdom, did elect and choose Jesus Christ, and all that do or shall believe in him, out of the fallen lump of mankind. And hath manifested his love and grace by Jesus Christ, his elect or beloved Son, through the gospel means, to all; and hath given us his word and oath, to assure us that he desires not the death of the wicked, but rather that they repent, or return to him and live, and if any do perish, their destruction is of themselves." ⁵

1. *Elements of Divinity*, pp. 291, 92, 03. 2. *Systematic Theology*, pp. 420, 2
3. *McGlothlin*, p. 87. 4. *McGlothlin*, p. 114. 5. *McGlothlin*, p. 131.

Somerset Confession of General Baptists in 1791: "Concerning election we believe, not as some who express themselves after this manner, in these words, 'by the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated or foreordained to eternal life, through Jesus Christ; and that these angels and men, thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number so certain and definite, that it cannot be either increased or diminished.' We believe, that the infinitely wise and holy God, suitable to his name and nature, did elect or choose unto himself from eternity, and (merely of his own good pleasure) out of the whole body and bulk of mankind, an entire species or sort of men, namely those that in time do believe, and sincerely obey him, patiently continuing in the way of well doing unto the end."¹

Dann Taylor's Confession of Faith and approved by the General Baptist Society in 1785: "That God hath chosen or appointed, from the beginning, that believers should be saved, and that unbelievers should be damned, hence, in the New Testament, believers are called elect and unbelievers reprobate. These are not chosen because they are holy, but that they may be holy. The Scripture does not say, that they are chosen to faith, but through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth. As God foreknew all things, therefore his choice was made according to his foreknowledge, and this is what I understand by the election of grace."²

2. Christ Died for All.

The Remonstrant articles of 1610: "That agreeably thereto, Jesus Christ, the Savior of the world, died for all men and for every man, so that he has obtained for them all, by his death on the cross, redemption and the forgiveness of sins; yet that no one actually enjoys this forgiveness of sins except the believer, according to the word of John 3:16."³

Confession of English Baptists in 1660: "That there is one Lord Jesus Christ... whom God freely sent into the world... who as freely gave himself a ransom for all.. tasting death for every man. That no man shall suffer eternally in hell... for want of a Christ that died for him... Unbelief therefore being the

1. *History of English Baptists*, Crosby, Vol. 4. Appen. pp. 24-25.

2. *History of General Baptists*, Adam Taylor, p. 475.

3. *Creeds of Christendom*, Schaff, Vol. 3. p. 546.

cause why the just and righteous God will condemn the children of men; it follows against all contradiction, that all men at one time or other, are put into such a capacity, as that (through the grace of God) they may be eternally saved."¹

Orthodox Creed of 1769: "God the Father, out of his royal bounty and fountain of love, when all mankind was fallen by sin, in breaking off the first covenant of works made with them in Adam, did choose Jesus Christ, and sent him into the world to die for Adam, or fallen man. And God's love is manifest to all mankind, in that he is not willing, as himself hath sworn, and abundantly declared in his word, that mankind should perish eternally, but would have all to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. And Christ died for all men, and there is a sufficiency in his death and merits for the sins of the whole world, and hath appointed the gospel to be preached unto all, and hath sent forth his Spirit to accompany the word in order to beget repentance and faith; so that if any do perish, it is not for want of the means of grace manifested by Christ to them, but for the non-improvement of the grace of God, offered freely to them through Christ in his gospel."²

Dan Taylor's Confession of Faith approved by the General Baptists Society in 1785: "I believe, that, in our stead, Jesus has, by dying for us, made reconciliation for our iniquities, brought in everlasting righteousness, and provided a complete and free salvation for miserable sinners, and for all sinners without exception."³

Somerset Confession of General Baptists in 1791: "Concerning the extent of the death of Christ our dear redeemer, we believe that suitable to the great end of God the Father in sending him into the world, he gave himself a ransom for all mankind; for the world, for the whole world; and therefore the world has its present being; and that thereby there is a way of reconciliation, acceptance, and salvation opened for all men. From whence we conclude, that if any man comes short of obtaining reconciliation, acceptance and salvation, it is not for want of grace in the Father, 1. Cf McGlothlin, pp. 112-113. 2. McGlothlin, pp. 137-138. 3. History of the General Baptists, Adam Taylor, p. 474.

nor a sacrifice in the Son."¹

Tillet, in his "Personal Salvation", teaches that God has never created a human being that could not be saved. "No sinner lives now, or ever has lived, or ever will live, that Christ did not die for."²

3. Depravity, but not Total.

The Five Articles of the Remonstrants in Holland, 1610: "That man has not saving grace of himself, nor of the energy of his free will, inasmuch as he, in the state of apostasy and sin, can of and by himself neither think, will, nor do anything that is truly good (such as saving faith eminently is); but that it is needful that he be born again of God in Christ, through his Holy Spirit, and renewed in understanding, inclination, or will, and all his powers in order that he may rightly understand, think, will, and effect what is truly good, according to the word of Christ in John 15:5."³

Baptists Confession of 1611: "Men are by nature the children of wrath, born in iniquity and in sin conceived. Wise to all evil, but to good they have no knowledge... Therefore man is not restored unto his former estate, but that as man, in his estate of innocency, having in himself all disposition unto good, and no disposition unto evil, yet being tempted might yield, or might resist; even so now being fallen, and having all disposition unto evil, and no disposition or will unto any good, yet God giving grace, man may receive grace, or may reflect grace."⁴

The Orthodox Creed of 1679: "The first man Adam, in eating voluntarily of the forbidden fruit, incurred the curse of God upon himself, and all his posterity, that came of him by natural propagation, viz. corporal and spiritual death, in body and soul eternally; but this covenant was not only made with him, but with his seed also, which should descend from his loins by natural generation; he standing as a public person in the stead of mankind. Original sin, is the fault of corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally descendeth from Adam by natural generation, by means of which, man has not only lost that original righteousness, that God created him in, but is naturally inclined

1. *History of the English Baptists*, Crosby. Vol. 4. Appendix, p. 9.

2. Tillet, pp. 56, 57, 108. 3. *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. 3. pp. 546-7.

4. McGlothlin, pp. 86, 87.

to all manner of evil, being conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity; and as St. Paul saith, the flesh lusteth against the spirit. And therefore every man justly deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this concupiscence, or indwelling lust, remaineth even in the regenerate, that they cannot love nor obey God perfectly in this life, according to the tenor of the first covenant." ¹

The Somerset Confession of General Baptists in 1791: "Our first parents, by virtue of the first transgression, brought not only themselves, but their whole posterity, into a state of sin and death; together with those many inconveniences and miseries that are come upon mankind as the sad effects of sin, but that this transgression did procure in itself the second death, viz. in the lake of fire, or hell torments, either to Adam or any of his posterity, as is by some not only imagined, but affirmed; as it is a doctrine that is altogether scriptureless and so false, for it is altogether irrational; from whence it has no room in our faith." ²

Dan Taylor's Confession of Faith approved by the General Baptist Society in 1785: "That in consequence of this first sin, all mankind lost their primitive rectitude, and all are prone to rebel against God; and, when they come to understanding, do actually rebel against God, and are, in consequence of that rebellion, exposed to his wrath as the just punishment of it. That in consequence of this revolt from God and rebellion against him, mankind can never be happy, till their sins be pardoned and their hearts purified. That the moral law requires all men to love God, with all their hearts, with all their minds, with all their souls, and with all their strength; and to love their neighbor as themselves; and that this is the test of right and wrong, and the only rule of every man's conduct. That all men are transgressors of it both in temper and life, and are hereby exposed to condemnation; from which they cannot recover themselves by any duties they are capable of performing." ³

Tillet, in his "Personal Salvation", describes original sin as "That moral corruption or depravation of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby

1. *McGlothlin*, pp. 133, 134. 2. *Crosby, Hist. of Eng. Bapts. Vol. 4. App. pp. 6, 7.*
3. *History of the General Baptists, Adam Taylor*, pp. 472-73.

he is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, and that continually. All men are by nature inclined to do evil, and that continually; this universal bias toward evil is the ground upon which the whole race is declared to be fallen. Man is by nature wholly depraved; and this depravity, as we have seen is not total, only because Christ arrested the fall before it became complete, and brought into operation moral and spiritual forces to counteract the effects of sin."¹

4. Resistible Grace.

The articles of the REMONSTRANTS in Holland, 1610: "That this grace of God is the beginning, continuance, and accomplishment of all good, even to this extent, that the regenerate man himself, without preventient or assisting, awakening, following and co-operative grace, can neither think, will, nor do any good, nor withstand any temptation to evil; so that all good deeds or movements, that can be conceived, must be ascribed to the grace of God in Christ. But as respects the mode of operation of this grace, it is not irresistible; inasmuch as it is written concerning many that they have resisted the Holy Ghost."²

Daniel Whitby, in his Six Discourses, says: "Man in conversion is not passive and the grace of God is not irresistible."³

An Orthodox Creed of English Baptists in 1679: "Vocation, or calling, general or common, is when God by the means of his word and Spirit, freely of his own grace and goodness, doth ministerially acquaint mankind with his gracious good purpose of salvation, by Jesus Christ; inviting and wooing them to come to him, and to accept of Christ revealing unto them the gospel covenant, and those that with cordial hearts do improve this common grace, he in time worketh unfeigned faith, and sincere repentance in them; and by his grace they come to accept of Christ, as their only Lord and Savior, with their whole heart; and God becomes their Father in Christ, and they being then effectually called, are by faith united to Jesus Christ by grace unto salvation."⁴

Somerset Confession of General Baptists in 1791: "Notwithstanding all the power and abilities men have, are from the Lord,

1. Tillett, *Personal Salvation*, pp. 84, 87, 91. 2. *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. 3, p. 547. 3. Foster, *New England Theology*, p. 66. 4. McGlothlin, p. 140.

yet we are strongly inclined to believe, that the will and power of man is greatly debilitated by the fall, but not wholly lost; man, in all his parts is weakened by the fall, but no part wholly lost. We believe that there remaineth still in man, a power to will his own good. That man hath neither power nor will, nor a matter what to will for his own good, nor how, nor when, in respect of a seasonable time, but what he hath from God, for all power belongeth to God; yet we believe, that man ought to employ this will, yea, all the powers and faculties of his soul in and about spiritual things, which if men are faithful in, God would have the glory and they the advantage."¹

Tillett says: "Grace arrested man in his fall and placed him in a salvable state, and endowed him with gracious ability to meet all the conditions of personal salvation... It does not irresistibly act upon any man, but is imparted to all men, and is the fountain of that gracious ability for fulfilling the conditions of salvation which all possess, and which is the ground of their responsibility for continuing in sin."²

5. May Fall from Grace.

The Five Articles of Arminianism drawn up by the Remonstrants in Holland, 1610: "That those who are incorporated into Christ by a true faith, and have thereby become partakers of his life-giving Spirit, have thereby full power to strive against Satan, sin, and the world, and their own flesh, and to win the victory; it being well understood that it is ever through the assisting grace of the Holy Ghost; and that Jesus Christ assists them through his Spirit in all temptations, extends to them the hand, and if only they are ready for the conflict, and desire his help, and are not inactive, keeps them from falling, so that they by no power or craft of Satan, can be misled or plucked out of Christ's hands, according to the word of Christ, John 10:28. But whether they are capable through negligence, of forsaking again the first beginnings of their life in Christ, or again returning to this present evil world, of turning away from the holy doctrine which was delivered them, of losing a good conscience, of becoming devoid of grace, that must be particularly determined out of the Holy Scripture, before we ourselves can teach it with the full persuasion of our minds."³

1. *History of the English Baptists*, Crosby, Vol. 4, Appen. pp. 10-11.

2. Tillett, *Personal Salvation*, p. 117. 3. *Creeeds of Christendom*, Vol.

3, pp. 548, 549.

The Confession of the English Baptists in 1611: "That man may fall away from the grace of God, and from the truth which they have received and acknowledged, after they have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come. And after that they have escaped from the filthiness of the world, may be tangled again therein and overcome. That a righteous man may forsake his righteousness and perish. Therefore let no man presume to think that because he hath, or had once grace, therefore he shall always have grace, but let all men have assurance that if they continue unto the end, they shall be saved."¹

Somerset Confession of General Baptists in 1791: "We believe that it is possible for true believers, through their remissness and negligence in point of duty toward God, through the temptations of Satan, and corruption of their own sinful hearts, finally to apostatize from the truth they once made profession of, and in so doing render their latter end worse than their beginning."²

Tillett says: "It is impossible for God to make the believer's final salvation absolutely certain without destroying his moral free agency; and if that be destroyed, man is no longer man. There can be no true and consistent doctrine of moral free agency that does not involve the possibility of apostasy on the part of regenerate believers. Regenerate believers may both totally and finally fall away from the state of grace, and may continue in this fallen and sinful state unto the end and be eternally lost."³

The systems stated above are the foundations upon which our THESIS is built, and the five points in each system are those with which we are mainly concerned. However, scientific accuracy demands that the SEVEN POINTS of Arminianism, now being discussed by certain classes of theologians, be included in our statement, though they be not reverted to in the succeeding pages of this volume.

III. THE SEVEN POINTS OF ARMINIANISM.

The articles here presented are taken from the Encyclopaedia Britannica, volume two, page 577, of the 1910 edition. 1. *McGlothlin*, pp. 87-88. 2. *Crosby, Hist. of Eng. Baptists, Vol. 4. Appendix pp. 21, 22.* 3. *Tillett, Personal Salvation, pp. 331, 332, 335.*

1. "The decree of God is when it concerns his own actions absolute, but when it concerns man's conditional, i.e. the decree relative to the Savior to be appointed and the salvation to be provided is absolute, but the decree relative to the persons saved or condemned is made to depend upon the acts - belief and repentance in one case, unbelief and impenitence in the other - of the persons themselves."

2. "The providence or government of God, while sovereign, is exercised in harmony with the nature of the creatures governed, i.e. the sovereignty of God is so exercised as to be compatible with the freedom of man."

3. "Man is by original nature, through the assistance of divine grace, free, able to will and perform the right; but he is in his fallen state, and by himself unable to do so; he needs to be regenerated in all his powers before he can do what is good and pleasing to God."

4. "Divine grace originates, maintains, and perfects all the good in man, so much so that he cannot, though regenerate, conceive, will or do any good thing without it."

5. "The saints possess, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, sufficient strength to persevere unto the end in spite of sin and the flesh, but may so decline from sound doctrine as to cause divine grace to be ineffectual."

6. "Every believer may be assured of his own salvation."

7. "It is possible for a regenerate person to live without sin."

If we were writing a History of Arminianism and Calvinism among American Christians, instead of simply among Baptists in America, farther consideration of these *SEVEN POINTS* would be necessary, as they are becoming increasingly popular among the Methodists. They have never made any appreciable headway among American Baptists, therefore their dismissal upon statement, can in no way detract from the historical importance of this *THESIS*.

CHAPTER II.

THE PREVALENCE OF ARMINIANISM OVER CALVINISM AMONG
AMERICAN BAPTISTS PRIOR TO 1740.

The purpose of this chapter is to show that the Arminian Baptist churches greatly outnumbered the Calvinistic Baptist churches in America prior to 1740. They not only outnumbered the Calvinistic churches, but they had greater vitality, exerted a greater influence, and the outstanding Baptist churches were Arminian.

I. CALVINISM AMONG AMERICAN BAPTISTS PRIOR TO 1740.

The first Baptists in America were Calvinists. Roger Williams and his associates came to America as Calvinistic Separates, holding the type of theology prevalent at that time among the Independents of England.

1. Rhode Island.

The First Baptist Church of Providence (1639). The original members of the Providence church were Calvinistic, having come of Puritan antecedents. When the Providence church was organized by Roger Williams, there was no Calvinistic Baptist Confession in existence - the first being written in London in 1644, or five years later. The Providence church did not then, nor has it at any time since adopted "articles of faith or creedal test, or even any formal covenant." A few other Calvinistic Baptist churches were formed in America in the seventeenth century, but so far as known, no Confession of faith was either written or adopted. The introduction of Arminianism into the Providence church was due to Chad Brown, William Wickendon and Gregory Dexter who united with the church soon after its organization. These men came from the General Baptists in England. Roger Williams withdrew from the church after four months - some say four years, but are evidently wrong - and Chad Brown became pastor. Agitations now began in the church over Calvinism and Arminianism and continued until 1652, when there was a schism in the church; the Arminian majority under the leadership of Chad Brown, William Wickendon and Gregory Dexter, contending for general redemption and the laying on of hands as indispensable to fellowship; the Calvinistic minority, under the pastoral care of Thomas Olney, maintaining particular redemption and rejecting laying on of hands as an ordinance. The Olney party became extinct soon after 1682 (Vedder says about 1720). The larger party continued Arminian until 1771, when under the leadership of Pres. Manning, the majority of the members became Calvinistic, the minority withdrew and organized a church at Johnson.

1. Newman, p. 88. Vedder, Short. Hist. pp. 292-93. Cathcart, pp. 944-945. King, The Mother Church, p. 19.

The First Baptist Church of Newport (1644) was strictly Calvinistic. John Clarke was a Calvinistic Separate, and probably the organizer of a Congregational church at Newport in 1641. Between 1641 and 1644 he became a Baptist, organized a Baptist church and became its pastor. Cyril Lucar, a Particular Baptist from England, was one of the founders and for years a ruling elder. For years a correspondence was kept up between this church and the Particular Baptists of England. In 1652, a year after Mr. Clarke went to England for the colony, a controversy arose within the church over Calvinism, Arminianism and the laying on of hands; part of the members holding to Particular Redemption, and laying on of hands as immaterial; the others believing in a general atonement by the death of Christ, the free offer of salvation to all, and the laying on of hands upon all joining the church. In 1656 the Arminian members withdrew and formed an Arminian Baptist church with William Vaughn as pastor. The First church has always been Calvinistic. ¹

2. Massachusetts.

The First Baptist Church of Swansea, Massachusetts was formed in 1663, with Rev. John Miles as pastor, and composed chiefly of members of the Swansea Baptists church of Wales, constituted in 1649, who came to Massachusetts in 1663 and settled at Rehobeth, where they organized a Baptist church, which was removed to Swansea in 1667. This church became a strong Calvinistic body, having at one time two hundred and sixty-five members. So far as known, Rev. John Miles is the first Welsh Baptist minister to come to America. The Calvinism characteristic of the Welsh Baptists was ^{stamped} indelibly by him upon the members of the Swansea church. ²

The First Baptist Church of Boston was organized at Charlestown, March 28, 1665, with Thomas Gould as pastor. The membership was composed of converts from the Congregational churches who had come to believe in believer's baptism. They brought their theology with them, and the Calvinism prevalent among the Congregationalists of New England at that time, characterized the theology of the First Baptist Church of Boston. It remained Calvinistic until 1739, when

1. Knight, p. 245. Armitage, pp. 292-93. Vedder, Short Hist. of Bapts. pp. 294 and 295. Newman, p. 113. Cathcart, pp. 840, 841. 2. Vedder, *Ibid.* p. 298-299. Cathcart, p. 1125. Armitage, pp. 298-302.

Rev. Jeremiah Condy became pastor. His Arminianism and opposition to the Great Awakening caused the organization of the Second church of Boston in 1743, on a Calvinistic basis, and composed of members withdrawing from the First Church for that purpose.¹

3. Connecticut:

The first New Testament baptisms in Connecticut were in 1674. At that early date Baptist ministers of Rhode Island occasionally crossed the borders into Connecticut and immersed converts who united with the Baptist churches in Rhode Island. These missionary tours were regarded as unwarrantable innovations by the Standing Order, which invoked the secular powers to suppress them. One of these invasions took place at Waterford, where the first Calvinistic Baptist church in Connecticut was formed in 1710. Another church was organized in Wallingford, 1731; one in Southington, 1738; and one in North Stonington, 1743, all of which were either Calvinistic from the beginning or early became such.²

4. New Jersey.

When Lord Berkeley and Sir. George Carteret obtained possession of "Nova Caesarea", or New Jersey, about 1664, they guaranteed "liberty of conscience to all religious sects who shall behave well." This made New Jersey, next to Rhode Island, the most attractive Colony to Baptists.

Middletown (1688). Richard Stout and five others settled at Middletown, New Jersey, in 1648. In 1665 a company of thirty-six men, eighteen of whom were Baptists, emigrated from Rhode Island, came by Gravesend, Long Island, to New Jersey, and in 1667 purchased the Indian title to some lands. The Baptists soon observed public worship, some connecting themselves with the Baptist church at Pennepek, Pennsylvania. In 1688 they "settled themselves into a church state" in Middletown. Elias Keach lived and preached among them for a year (1690-91). The church prospered until the end of the century, when they began to quarrel, became divided into two factions, which mutually excluded each other and silenced their pastors, John Bray and John Okison. For the next ten or eleven years they fought about doctrine. To settle the contention and clear up the

1. Newman, pp. 197, 242, 243. Cathcart, pp. 116-17. Vedder, Short. Hist. pp. 299 and 300. 2. Vedder, Short. Hist. of Bapts. p. 302. Armitage, pp. 359-61. Cathcart, p. 268.

doctrinal confusion a council of churches was called, May 25, 1711, which recommended that they continue the silence imposed upon the pastors, subscribe to Elias Keach's Confession -written in London in 1697 -especially the covenant attached thereto, and those thus subscribing be regarded as the Baptist church. Forty-two of the sixty-six members subscribed and the church was reconstituted on the basis of Keach's Confession, and has since remained decidedly Calvinistic.¹

Piscataway(1689). In 1663 a large tract of land on the eastern side of the "Rarinton" was bought of the Indians by settlers from Piscataqua, Maine(now Dover, New Hampshire). The six Baptist settlers in the company were constituted a church by Rev. Thomas Killingsworth in 1689. "Three of the constituents -John Drake, Hugh Dunn and Edmund Dunham -were lay preachers." Drake was ordained pastor and served in that capacity for fifty years. The majority of the church were Calvinistic, though there was an Arminian minority.²

Cohansey(1690). A company of immigrants from Tipperary, Ireland, landed at Perth Amboy in 1683, and settled at Cohansey. Rev. Obadiah Holmes arrived from Rhode Island and began to make his influence felt in 1685. Rev. Thomas Killingsworth having moved into the neighborhood, united with nine males in constituting a church in 1690. Killingsworth was elected pastor and continued in that capacity until his death seventeen years later. In 1687 a company had come from the church of John Miles in Swansea, Rhode Island. For twenty years they kept themselves as a separate church, uniting with Cohansey in 1710. Dr. Vedder thinks the reason for their separate existence was that the Cohansey church was too Calvinistic for the comfort of the Swansea colony. Armitage says it was due to the question of laying on of hands, singing of psalms and predestination. The majority of the Cohansey church were Calvinistic, the minority Arminian.³

Cape May(1712). Among those coming to Cape May in 1675 were two Baptists -George Taylor and Philip Hill. Taylor had Bible readings and expositions in his own house until death. After his

1. McGlothlin, p. 294. Vedder, Short. Hist., p. 304. Armitage, pp. 329-30. Cathcart, p. 836. 2. Vedder, p. 304. Vedder, Hist of Bapts. in Mid. Sts. pp. 53-55. Armitage, p. 331. Cathcart, p. 837. 3. Vedder, p. 304. Vedder, Hist. of Bapts in Mid. States, p. 53-55. Armitage, pp. 331, 32. Cathcart, p. 837.

death in 1702, Hill continued the meetings. As early as 1688 Elias Keach visited the place and preached with success. The converts were baptized into the fellowship of the Philadelphia church until in 1712, when by advice of the pastor and two deacons of the Cohansey church, thirty-seven persons formed themselves into a church with Nathaniel Jenkins as pastor. The relationship of the Cape May church to the Philadelphia and Cohansey churches would indicate Calvinistic doctrines.¹

Hopewell (1715). This church continued to be a strong and flourishing body until early in the nineteenth century, when it adopted hyper-Calvinistic, antinomian sentiments. In 1826 the church withdrew from the Central New Jersey Association, and with other churches formed the Delaware Association of Old School Baptists. It is probably the strongest Old School Baptist church in the Middle States.²

5. Pennsylvania.

Cold Spring (1684). The persecution of Baptists in Ireland by Charles II drove Thomas Dungan to Newport, Rhode Island. In 1684 he removed to Cold Spring, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and organized a Baptist church, which maintained a feeble life until 1702. Morgan Edwards said of the church in 1770: "Nothing remains but a graveyard and the names of the families that belonged to it - the Dungans, Gardners, Woods, Doyles, etc." Even the graveyard has since been defaced, and the only trace left is a part of the church or cemetery wall.³

Pennepek (1688). A company of Welsh and Irish Baptists crossed the Atlantic and settled at Lower Dublin, Pennsylvania, otherwise known as Pennepek, a Delaware Indian word meaning pond, lake or bay, water not having a current. When nineteen years of age Elias Keach came to this country, dressed in black, wore bands and passed off as a preacher. While preaching in the house of a Baptist in Lower Dublin he was suddenly convicted of sin. He then went to Pastor Dungan of Cold Spring who led him to Christ, baptized and ordained him. In November 1687 Keach baptized four persons at

1. Vedder, *Short Hist.* p. 304. Cathcart, p. 837. 2. Vedder, *Short Hist.* p. 304. *Hist. of Bapts. in Middle States*, pp. 46-47. 3. Armitage, p. 326. Cathcart, p. 901.

Pennepek and in January of 1688 organized a Baptist church composed of twelve members. He continued their pastor until his return to England in 1692. This church was Calvinistic in theology and the seat from which Calvinistic influences radiated. Keach was a zealous evangelist, traveled at large, preaching at Trenton, Philadelphia, Middletown, Cohansey, Salem, and elsewhere, baptizing his converts into the fellowship of the church at Pennepek. All the Baptists of New Jersey and Pennsylvania were at one time connected with the Pennepek church, except the members of Cold Spring. Keach placed his Calvinistic stamp upon all these churches. The Pennepek church became divided about 1699 over absolute predestination, laying on of hands, distributing the elements, singing Psalms and the seventh day Sabbath. The other Baptist churches organized in Pennsylvania in this period were, Great Valley (1711), Brandywine (1715), Montgomery (1719), Tulpehocken (1738), and Southington in 1746.¹

Welsh Tract (1701). The Welsh Tract church was organized in Pembrokshire, Wales in 1701, and emigrated the same year to Pennsylvania. The members settled in the Pennepek region, but having their own pastor - Thomas Griffith, and differing in some points from the Pennepek church, they moved to Delaware in 1703, in which location they became one of the most influential churches in the Philadelphia Association. This church was the principal means of introducing singing, imposition of hands, and church covenants among American Baptists. Their part in shaping the theology of American Baptists will be found in chapter IV.²

6. Maine (1682).

The first Baptist we hear of in New England outside of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, is in a letter of Humphrey Churchwood, Kittery, Maine, and addressed (Jan. 3, 1682) to the Baptist church of Boston, asking for the establishment of a Baptist church at Kittery and that William Screven be ordained by the Boston church as pastor of the church at Kittery. Screven was ordained and the Kittery church was organized Sept. 25, 1682, adopting the Calvinistic Confession of Faith published by the Particular Baptists of England in 1679. Due to persecution by the

1. Armitage, pp. 327-28. Cathcart, p. 901. Benedict, Vol. 1. p. 581.

2. Newman, p. 208.

"Standing Order" the church moved to South Carolina in 1683, or 1684 and settled on the Cooper River, not far from the present site of the city of Charleston. After the removal of the Kittery church there is no Baptist church in Maine for eighty-five years, or 1768, when Hezekiah Smith organized a church in Berwick and another in Gorham.¹

7. South Carolina.

The first Baptist church in South Carolina was founded at Kittery, Maine, by Rev. William Screven, Deacon Humphrey Churchwood, and eight other brethren and some sisters. Driven from Maine this company arrived in South Carolina in 1683 or 1684 and settled on the west bank of the Cooper River. Some of the early colonists of South Carolina were Baptists from the west of England. These two bands from Old and New England constituted themselves a new church in 1684 or 1685. The church was removed to Charleston in 1693 due to the increased commercial importance of Charleston. In 1699 a church house was built. The Calvinistic Confession of English Baptists published in 1677 was adopted by the Charleston church in 1700. Screven died in 1713, leaving a church of one hundred members. In 1735 there was a schism in the church. A considerable number withdrew and formed a separate church, which existed for about fifty years, partly in Charleston and partly at Stono - sixteen miles distant. The original Charleston church was almost extinct in 1738, but was greatly revived and replenished under the preaching of Whitefield, beginning in 1739.²

There were but four Calvinistic Baptist churches in New England in 1729; one in Boston, one in Swansea, one in Newport, and a Seventh Day Baptist church in Westerley.³

II. ARMINIANISM AMONG AMERICAN BAPTISTS PRIOR TO 1740.

Many Calvinistic Baptist churches in America had been wrecked by Arminianism before 1740.

1. Rhode Island.

North Kingston (1665) and Tiverton (1685) were the only two Arminian Baptist churches in Rhode Island in the seventeenth

1. Armitage, p. 324. Burrage, *History of Baptists in N.E.*, pp. 55, 59, 60

2. Armitage, p. 324. Cathcart, p. 1074. *Minutes of Chas. Asso.*, pp. 6, 7.

Newman, pp. 308, 309. 3. Richard Knight, pp. 322, 323.

century. The North Kingston church was due to the efforts of Elder Thomas Baker, who moved there from Newport in 1664. The first records of the church date from 1710, when Richard Sweet was ordained as their pastor. In 1733 David Sprague was ordained colleague to Elder Sweet. After preaching for them for many years, Sprague began to preach predestination and was dismissed from the church, upon the presentation of a petition signed by seventy-four members in 1750. He was refused the privilege of preaching in the church building and moved to South Kingston, at which place we shall study him again.¹ Little is known of the Tiverton church, except that it was formed in 1685 and was Arminian in theology. The Smithfield church was organized in 1706 by Arminian Baptists. It grew rapidly for several years and had many branches. In 1785 it had five ordained elders, eight deacons, two clerks, and two hundred members. The membership began to decrease in 1795.² The Richmond church was organized in 1723. It was Arminian in theology, and in 1771 voted not to commune with or admit any one to membership but "Six Principle" Baptists.³ The Scituate church was constituted in 1725 of Arminian Baptists. The church was blessed with peace and prosperity until 1826, when it had one elder, five deacons and two hundred and seventy-six members.⁴ South Kingston was organized in 1725 by Daniel Everett and flourished for many years, David Sprague moved to South Kingston in 1750, after being dismissed from and refused the privilege of preaching in the North Kingston church, and began to preach predestination, election and reprobation. Divisions arose among the members and the church had become extinct prior to 1825.⁵ Warwick church was formed in 1730 of Arminian Baptists. The earliest church records begin with 1741 when there were seventy-five members.⁶ The Cumberland church was organized in 1732. It also was Arminian in theology and declined before 1825.⁷ The Second Baptist church of Newport was constituted in 1656 of twenty-one persons who withdrew from the First church, objecting to her use of Psalmody, undue restraints upon the liberty of prophesying, particular redemption, and indifference to laying on of hands.⁸

1. Vedder, *Short Hist. of Bapts.* p. 302. Knight, *Hist. of Genl. Bapts.* pp. 265-67. 2. Knight, pp. 267-70. 3. Knight, p. 263. 4. Knight, pp. 270-73. 5. Knight, pp. 278, 279. 6. Knight, pp. 273-78. 7. Knight, pp. 279-81. 8. Benedict, *Hist. of Bapts.* Vol. 1, p. 500. Cathcart, p. 841.

2. Massachusetts.

Second Swansea(1685). The third Baptist church in Massachusetts was the Second Swansea organized in 1685. It was as strongly Arminian as the First was Calvinistic. This church continued to grow until there were between three and four hundred members. But by 1825 the church had become wholly Calvinistic and the membership had dwindled until it numbered only sixty.¹ Richard Knight mentions an Arminian Baptist church at Dartmouth, Massachusetts, formed in 1684, but nothing more can be learned than this statement of Knight.² The first Arminian Baptist church in Rehobeth was constituted in 1733, and grew to have one hundred members in a year. It became discouraged and scattered about 1745. Afterwards the church was revived by a Calvinistic minister and became a Calvinistic Baptist church.³

3. Connecticut.

Groton(1705). In 1704 a few scattered Baptists in the southeastern part of Connecticut petitioned the General Court to be permitted to hold meetings and establish a Baptist church in Groton. The petition was unanswered. Undaunted the same band requested Valentine Wightman, a gifted young preacher of Rhode Island, to become their pastor. He accepted and organized the Arminian Baptist church of Groton in 1705, with less than twenty "firm, united and liberal minded members." At once the church presented the pastor with twenty acres of land, on which Deacon William Stark erected a suitable parsonage. The church flourished until the Revolutionary War, when all services were discontinued. After the war the church became Calvinistic.⁴

According to Newman there were three other Arminian Baptist churches in Connecticut before 1740 : New London(1726) due to the labors of Stephen Gorton; the Wallingford, of members from the New London church, and the Farmington(Southington). Knight says that the New London church was Arminian in theology, that it decayed and became extinct after twenty-five or thirty years. Vedder says these churches were either Calvinistic from the beginning or soon became such. The facts seem to be that the three churches were Arminian at first, but early became Calvinistic, possibly due to the Great Awakening, which moved Connecticut more deeply than any other Colony.⁵

1. Vedder, Short. Hist. p. 299. Knight, pp. 298-301. 2. Knight, p. 303.
3. Knight, pp. 303-305. 4. Armitage, pp. 359-60. Newman, p. 231. Knight, pp. 305-306. 5. Vedder, Short. Hist. p. 302. Newman, p. 231. Knight, pp. 305-7.

4. New York.

New York City(1714). The first Baptist minister to preach in New York City, so far as known, was Rev. William Wickendon of Providence, Rhode Island, in 1656. In that year he visited Flushing, preached, baptized and administered the Lord's Supper. Because the sheriff -William Hallett - permitted Wickendon to hold services in his house, Hallett was removed from office and fined fifty pounds. Failing to pay the fine he was banished. On November 8, 1656, Wickendon was fined one hundred pounds Flemish, sentenced to imprisonment till the fine be paid, and then banished from the New Netherland province. The court becoming informed of Wickendon's poverty, large family, and that he was a cobbler by trade, remitted the fine and costs and banished him at once, with the instruction that if seen again in New York he would be arrested and imprisoned until the fine and costs be paid. Whether Wickendon gathered a church is uncertain, but if he did it was soon scattered. Nothing is known of the Baptist cause in New York from 1659 to 1711, or 1712. The bread cast upon the waters by Wickendon was found after many years. In 1712, Elder Valentine Wightman of Groton, Connecticut, was invited to preach in the home of Nicholas Eyres. In 1714 he baptized twelve persons, including Eyres -seven men and five women. The next year the house of Eyres was licensed as a Baptist meeting place. The church was organized in 1714, but the recognition service did not take place until 1724, at which time Nicholas Eyres was ordained as pastor, in which capacity he served until 1731, when he removed to Newport. The church became virtually extinct in 1732, but was reorganized thirty years later as a Calvinistic Baptist church.

That this first Baptist church in New York City was Arminian is the unanimous verdict of contemporary history, though it is denied by David Benedict in the second edition of his "History of the Baptists". Benedict says: "All were set down as Arminians who did not come up to the highest point of hyper-Calvinism." Certain facts support the contemporary verdict as against the statement of Benedict. William Wickendon, who frequently visited and preached in the city(c 1656), and to whose efforts the church was largely due, was an elder in the Arminian wing of the Providence church. Rev. Valentine Wightman, who visited and preached in the city from 1711(or 1712) to 1714, and baptized the first converts of which we have any record, was the most eminent Arminian Baptist

preacher of his generation. Mr. Nicholas Eyres, in whose house the church met, went in 1731 as associate pastor to Daniel Wightman of the Second Baptist Church of Newport, which was established on an Arminian basis in 1656, and had not become Calvinistic in 1731.¹

Oyster Bay (1724). The second Baptist church organized in New York State was at Oyster Bay, Long Island. About 1700 William Rhodes, a Baptist minister, appeared at Oyster Bay and under his preaching a number of people were converted and baptized. Between 1700 and 1724 a Baptist church was organized with the aid of Arminian Baptist preachers from Rhode Island. In 1724 Robert Feeks, a member of the church, was ordained as pastor. Vedder says that this was the only Arminian Baptist church in New York in 1800. There were Arminian preachers and Arminian members in other churches, but they exerted no appreciable influence.²

5. Virginia.

Burleigh (1714). The first account we have of Baptists in Virginia is the statement of Morgan Edwards that there were Baptists in North Carolina in 1695, who had fled from the intolerance of the Virginia laws. By 1700 a number of General Baptists had emigrated from England and settled in and about Burleigh, Isle of Wight County, Virginia. They appealed to the London Assembly of General Baptists for a pastor. In answer, Robert Norden and Thomas White were ordained in London (May, 1714) and soon sailed for Virginia. Subscriptions were taken throughout the Kentish Association for years for the support of the Burleigh work. White died en route and Norden landed in the autumn of 1714 and gathered a church at Burleigh, which he served as pastor for twelve years, or until his death in 1726. In 1724 Norden wrote the London Assembly, and the next year a committee was appointed to determine whether he should return to England and raise the necessary funds for his support. Before the matter could be decided, Norden died at his post in 1726. The church again requested a pastor of the London Assembly and Elders Casper Metz and Richard Jones were sent, arriving in Burleigh in 1728. Jones was installed as pastor in Burleigh and Metz gathered another Arminian Baptist church at

1. Armitage, pp. 368-70. Vedder, *Hist. of B. in Mid. States*, pp. 22-26. Knight, pp. 310-12. Newman, pp. 234-35. 2. Vedder, *Short Hist.*, p. 304. Newman, p. 235. Vedder, *Hist. of B. in Mid. States*, pp. 26-27.

Surrey, where a number of the Burleigh members resided. We know little of the Surrey church, except a reference in a letter of Paul Palmer saying that the church existed and had thirty members in 1729. The Burleigh church was in a flourishing condition until 1742, when a wasting pestilence caused many of the members to migrate to North Carolina. This so enfeebled the church that it never recovered, so long as it remained Arminian.¹

6. North Carolina.

The earliest Baptist settlers in North Carolina, as in Virginia, were Arminian. Moore, in his "History of North Carolina", says that there were Baptists in the Albemarle region of North Carolina in 1653. Knight says there were General Baptists in North Carolina in 1690. Morgan Edwards says Baptist families lived in North Carolina in 1695. We know that there were General Baptists in North Carolina in 1702, as in that year they sent to the General Assembly of General Baptists in England for ministers and books. Samuel Keeling of White's Alley collected seven pounds and twelve shillings for books and was instructed to write the General Baptists in North Carolina. The records of the General Association are destroyed after 1709, and those of the General Assembly at Stony Stratford are missing, therefore our incomplete information concerning the final disposition of the matter. We know that Paul Palmer, born in Maryland, baptized at Welsh Tract, Delaware, and ordained in Connecticut, organized the first Baptist church in North Carolina on Chowan River, Perquimans County, in 1727. This church was composed mostly of emigrants from Burleigh, Virginia. It was a General Baptist church and was said to be the most negligent and least spiritual of any community of Baptists in America. Some of the ministers and many of the members were unconverted. Palmer sowed broadcast the seeds of Arminianism and for twenty-eight years the progress and prosperity of the General Baptists in North Carolina were phenomenal. In 1729 the Meherrin church was constituted by Joseph Parker, who was ordained by Paul Palmer. The third Arminian Baptist church in North Carolina was formed in 1740 at Sandy Run, of members dismissed from the Meherrin church. An Association of General Baptists in North Carolina was formed in 1729, which had sixteen churches affiliating in 1752.²

1. Knight, pp. 306-8. Montgomery, pp. 133-35. Benedict, Vol. 2, p. 24. Minutes of General Assembly of Gen. Baptists, Whitley, pp. 307-10. Portsmouth Asso. pp. 9-12. 2. Benedict, Vol. 1, pp. 97-99. Riley, pp. 23-24. Montgomery, pp. 135-36. Whitley, pp. 307-310. CARTER, p. 853. Armistead, p. 377.

7. South Carolina.

Stono (1733). History records but one Arminian Baptist church in South Carolina. In 1699 William Elliott gave the lot on which to erect the building of the First Baptist Church of Charleston. Later his son became an Arminian Baptist. In 1733 the church split over Arminianism and Calvinism; the Arminians, under William Elliott Jr., withdrew and constituted a General Baptist church at Stono - ten to sixteen miles west of Charleston - composed of thirteen males and eight females. The church at Stono then appealed to the General Assembly of General Baptists in England for a pastor. In 1739 Rev. Robert Ingraham (Whitley says Haywood) was sent. The church became extinct in about fifty years. The story of its future trials will be given in the next chapter.¹

SUMMARY.

In 1740 there were forty-seven Baptist churches in America, of which we have definite knowledge. Only seven of the forty-seven were south of what later became known as Mason and Dixon's Line. The membership of these churches was less than two thousand. These two thousand members were divided into Calvinistic and Arminian, Five and Six Principle, First and Seventh Day Baptists; facing legal persecution in many colonies and individual prejudice in all. As a denomination they were thought dangerous to the established churches and to the State, in that they would overthrow the church and undermine the morality of the State.

The early Baptist settlers in Virginia and North Carolina were Arminian, being mostly emigrants from the General Baptists of England. In North Carolina they acknowledged the General Baptist Confession of 1660. The earliest Baptists in New England and the Middle States were mostly Calvinistic, but Arminian sentiments soon began to leaven and divide the churches, until in 1740, all New England Baptist churches had become Arminian, save four or five. The Calvinistic peoples of New England believed that Arminianism would become the dominant type of theology in America, and feared lest its spread cause the withdrawal of God's Spirit from the continent and the opportunity for salvation be past. The revival under Whitefield, with its mild, evangelical Calvinism, turned the tide. The place of the Great Awakening in the overthrow of Arminianism and the triumph of Calvinism will be told in chapter *four*.²

1. Whitley, pp. 307-10. Benedict, Vol. 2, pp. 161-66. Montgomery, p. 133.

History of First Ch. Charleston, p. 94. Newman, p. 308. Vedder, Short Hist. p. 306. 2. Vedder, Short Hist. 307. Newman, pp. 242-43. McGlothlin, p. 308.

CHAPTER III.

THE TRIUMPH OF CALVINISM OVER ARMINIANISM AMONG BAPTISTS IN AMERICA, 1740 - 1815.

The rapid growth of Baptists in America began about 1740. At the close of the preceding period Baptist churches were firmly established in six colonies - Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and South Carolina, They were feeble in four colonies - Connecticut, New York, Virginia and North Carolina. By 1812 the Baptists had increased until they had 2 164 churches, 1 605 ministers and 172 972 members, well distributed throughout the seventeen settled states and had begun work in the more sparsely settled territories.¹

I. ARMINIANISM AMONG AMERICAN BAPTISTS, 1740-1815.

1. Massachusetts.

In July, 1743, seven members withdrew from the First Baptist Church of Boston, due to the Arminianism of Pastor Jeremiah Condy, and organized the Second church, now the Warren Avenue. Ephraim Bound was elected pastor, but it was with difficulty that men were found to ordain him. The Second Baptist Church of Rehobeth was constituted in 1753 of from thirty to forty Arminian Baptists. The church grew until it had a membership of one hundred and twenty-six in 1825. The Cheshire, or Lonesborough, members went to Nova Scotia in 1763, but returned, settled, and organized an Arminian Baptist church at Lonesborough, Berkshire County, Massachusetts in 1771. The pastor and a majority of the members united with a Calvinistic Baptist church in 1791, and the rest of the church ceased to exist in 1808. The third Baptist church of Rehobeth was formed in North Rehobeth in 1789. It was Arminian in theology, but never numerous, having only forty members in 1825. An Arminian Baptist church was constituted at Springfield, Massachusetts in 1793, and another at Uxbridge, County of Worcester, Massachusetts in 1826, but neither church ever became strong.²

2. Rhode Island.

An Arminian Baptist church was formed in East Greenwich about 1743, having a membership of fifty-three in that year, and the same

1. Newman, pp. 239, 379. 2. Benedict, Vol. 1. pp. 406-407. Knight, pp. 297-98, pp. 302-309.

number in 1825. The Fulling Mill church was constituted in 1744. Doctrinal difficulties and differences arose under Elder Pearce, which resulted in the dissolution of this Arminian church and the decay of the house of worship until after the Revolutionary War. In 1792 the church was revived and the house repaired. It was again dissolved in 1805. According to Barrus, the Baptist church in Gloucester was formed in 1749, though the earliest records date from 1796. Either date places this Arminian church within the period of this chapter. The church prospered for a time, but had declined before 1825. The Coventry church was formed in 1762 of twenty-six Arminian Baptists. The growth was so rapid that the church had five ordained ministers, four deacons and three hundred and forty members in 1825. Knight says of the members: "Holding forth the full and free salvation of God, through the atoning blood of the lamb that tasted death for every man, and through his rich love and precious promises, strengthening the saints, encouraging the seeking soul, inviting sinners to the gospel feast, and warning them of their danger in rejecting the counsel of God, and offer of mercy against themselves, as the only way to destruction; and exhorting one another to be faithful unto death and immortal glory."

First Cranston (1764). Services were held in Cranston as early as 1733, the Baptists having their membership in the Providence and Warwick churches. This delayed the organization of a church in Cranston until 1764. Soon after the organization of this Arminian church the members became confused, scattered, and the church was dissolved - the last entry on the books being in 1793. Part of the members returned to Providence, part to Warwick, and some joined other churches. Johnson (1770). In 1770 eighty-seven members of the Providence church seceded under Elder Samuel Winsor, because laying on of hands was not made a prerequisite to Communion. Both churches were Arminian at the time, the Providence church not reverting to Calvinism until ^{late 1770, or early} in 1771. After Elder Winsor's death in 1802 the Johnson church passed through trying times and had only thirty four members in 1825. In 1780, a band of Arminian Baptists having withdrawn from a Calvinistic Baptist church formed themselves into the Foster church. Ten years later they erected a commodious house of worship, but soon thereafter began to decline and were in a low state by 1825. The Second church of Gloucester was organized about 1780. The membership soon dwindled and scattered

until the church was almost extinct by 1825. A second church was formed in Cranston in 1816, of eighteen members, who withdrew from the Johnson church. The membership increased to seventy-one in three years. In 1819 Henry Tatum went to OPEN COMMUNION, and most of the members followed him; leaving fifteen members who called a council and had themselves confirmed as the Cranston church.¹

3. Connecticut.

The Thompson church was organized in 1750, increased rapidly for a time, and then decreased until it was almost dead. It was again revived in 1772, and later became numerous.²

4. Vermont.

The first Baptist church in what is now Vermont was organized in 1768 in the town of Shaftsbury, Bennington County. Knight says it was Arminian in theology and practically dead by 1805. Cathcart says it arose out of the New Light movement and had become the mother of three churches in the same town by 1788. Both are right. It was Arminian in origin, but the Arminianism could not withstand the evangelical preaching of the Great Awakening.³

5. New York.

In 1796, according to Knight, an Arminian Baptist church was organized at Oswego. Nothing more than the statement of Knight can be learned. For several years the General Baptists at Amsterdam, New York, were recognized as a branch of the General Baptist church at Richmond, Rhode Island. In 1795 William Allen was elected as assistant to Pastor Henry Justin of the Richmond church; Allen to preach for the Amsterdam congregation, which he did until 1806, when Justin was persuaded to leave Richmond for Amsterdam. The Amsterdam church was organized in 1807 with Justin as pastor and Allen as assistant. The growth of the church was so rapid that it was divided in 1811 for convenience. In 1827 the church had two elders, one deacon and one hundred and nineteen members. The Deuryter church was organized in 1811, as a branch of the Amsterdam, and was in turn divided for convenience in 1816. After 1822 the church was dissolved, the members joining other churches. In 1816 the Brookfield church was formed from the Deuryter, and had fifty members in 1825. The Eaton church was constituted

1. Knight, pp. 290-93; 293-294; 279-81; 284-88; 294-99; 282-84; 289-90; 290-91; 296-97. 2. Knight, p. 307. 3. Knight, p. 309. Cathcart, p. 1193.

in 1819 and had fifty-four members in 1820, and one hundred and eight in 1827. The Willet church, a branch of the Eaton, was formed in 1822. All of these churches were Arminian in theology.

Jacob Drake's church was formed in 1796, near New York City. It held meetings in eight places a month. The church was said by their neighbors to be Arminian in all doctrines, except falling from grace. They say of themselves: "*The Arminian principles we deny, believing salvation to be wholly and totally of grace; on the other hand, we deny particular election and special vocation.*"¹

6. Maryland.

Chestnut Ridge (1742). Henry Sater, a layman belonging to the General Baptists of England, came to Maryland in 1709 and purchased a tract of land on what was then known as Chestnut Ridge. Here he frequently entertained travelers from Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. Among these travelers, occasionally a Baptist minister was found. Sater invited these ministers to preach in his house, among whom were George Eglesfield of Pennsylvania; Paul Palmer, later of North Carolina, and Henry Loveall. Encouraged by the number attending the services, Sater erected a meeting house on his own land and at his own expense that he might provide a more suitable place of worship. He afterwards (November 17, 1742) deeded the ^{with} ~~house~~ one acre of land for a meeting house, burying place and other conveniences for the church and congregation for ever, or to the end of the world. Possibly Sater was the means of winning Eglesfield, Palmer and Loveall to the General Baptist position, as Eglesfield was preaching for the Calvinistic First church of Philadelphia, 1723-1724; and Paul Palmer had been baptized into the Calvinistic Welsh Tract church in Delaware. Palmer baptized nine persons at Chestnut Ridge, and afterwards came Henry Loveall, who baptized forty-eight more and organized a church in 1742. In writing to the civil authorities in the same year, their covenant is stated, in part, as follows: "We the humble professors of the gospel of Christ, baptized upon a declaration of faith and repentance, believing the doctrine of general redemption - or the free grace of God extended to all mankind - we do hereby, seriously, heartily and solemnly, in the presence of the searcher of all hearts, and before the world, covenant, agree, bind and settle ourselves into a church, to hold, to abide by, and contend for the faith once delivered to the saints---as published and maintained in the forms and Confessions of the Baptists in

¹. Knight, pp. 300; 313-14; 309-313.

England." This church increased rapidly at first, but in a few years began to dwindle due to the misconduct of pastor Loveall. Some of the members moved to Virginia and constituted the Opekon church.¹

The Second church of Baltimore was organized in 1795 by General Baptists, under the leadership of Elder John Healey, from Friar Lane, Leicester, England, who covenanted together before leaving England in 1794: "To remain together as a religious society and to maintain the worship of God among themselves in America." Mr. Healey and wife, Matthew Hulse and wife, William Lyons and wife, arrived at New York in the autumn of 1794, moved to Baltimore in 1795, and built the church in 1797. Lyons and wife went to the Methodists soon after reaching Baltimore; Hulse and wife died of yellow fever, leaving Healey and wife to carry on the work. Others soon filled the depleted ranks. For years there was no fellowship between the First and Second churches, because the former was Calvinistic and the latter Arminian. Healey remained as pastor for more than fifty years, or until death, June 19, 1848. To this church belongs the honor of establishing the first Sunday school in the South.²

7. Virginia.

Opekon (1743). In 1743, a small party of General Baptists from Chestnut Ridge, Maryland, under the leadership of Edward Hayes and Thomas Yates, moved into Frederick County, Virginia and settled on the Opekon Creek. Henry Loveall, who had been their pastor in Maryland, soon followed them, baptized fifteen and formed an Arminian Baptist church. Loveall was excluded for licentiousness, a little later, the church became disorganized, and in 1751 the members offered themselves for membership in a Particular Baptist church, being formed under the direction of Elders Benjamin Miller, John Thomas, and John Gano. Only three of the old members were accepted; six converts were baptized, and the church thus constituted was admitted to the Philadelphia Association in 1751.³

8. Georgia.

Rev. Jeremiah Walker, born in North Carolina in 1747, was a preacher of extraordinary ability as a thinker and speaker.

1. *Benedict*, Vol. 2, pp. 13-14. *Montgomery*, pp. 129-31. *Riley*, pp. 20-21. *Cathcart*, p. 753.
2. *Benedict*, Vol. 2, p. 18. *Cathcart*, p. 753.
3. *Newman*, p. 284. *Benedict*, Vol. 2, p. 34.

Beginning with 1769 he was pastor of the Nottoway church in Virginia, and established between twenty and thirty churches south of the James River. In 1774 he attempted a criminal assault upon a young woman, and upon another in 1785. Soon after his downfall in the latter year, he became an Arminian and excited no small degree of contention among the Georgia Baptists. Whether he moved to Georgia before or after the assault of 1774, we do not know. He traveled through both Virginia and Georgia, leaving his pamphlets and arguments in favor of Arminianism. A wreck in morals and doctrines, he died November 20, 1792. The Arminian movement among Georgia Baptists died with him.

9. Free-will Baptists. This denomination was a by-product of the Great Awakening. Its founder was Benjamin Randall of New Castle, afterwards of New Durham, New Hampshire, who was converted under the preaching of Whitefield in 1770. At first he united with a Congregational church, and then joined a Regular Baptist church at Berwick, Maine, in 1776. He soon began a remarkable work as itinerant evangelist in Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. His rejection of certain Calvinistic sentiments brought about a situation that caused his withdrawal from the Regular Baptist church, and June 28, 1780, he organized an Arminian Free-will Baptist church in New Durham, New Hampshire, which put forth these maxims: "All men have sinned and come short of the glory of God. Jesus Christ has died for all men, and by the grace of God hath tasted death for every man. The grace of God which bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men. Christ's ministers are commanded to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. Those who believe and are baptized shall be saved, he that believeth not shall be damned." In eighteen months nine churches were in fellowship with the church at New Durham. The denomination grew very rapidly, organized a General Conference in 1824, and published an Arminian Confession of Faith in 1834.²

SUMMARY.

Yearly meetings of the General Baptists in New England began about 1700. By 1729 they had organized the *Rhode Island Yearly Meeting*, a union of twelve churches and eighteen ministers. 1. Newman, p. 330. Benedict, Vol. 2. pp. 391. 2. Benedict, Vol. 2. pp. 410-12. McGlothlin, p. 308-29. Newman, p. 270. Cathcart, pp. 416-17.

The name was changed in 1769 to the *Rhode Island Association*, at which time it comprised the following churches: "Providence, Newport, Swansea, North Kingston, Richmond, Dartmouth, Rehobeth, Groton, New London, Smithfield, Scituate, Warwick, South Kingston, Cumberland, East Greenwich, Coventry, and perhaps others." These churches prospered from 1764 to 1774, the beginning of the Revolutionary trouble. Arminianism of the Wesleyan type appeared among the Baptists of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont about 1778. Benedict says that the Association in 1813 had thirteen churches, twelve ministers and eleven hundred members. Eight of the thirteen churches were in Rhode Island, the others in Massachusetts and New York. Montgomery says that the Association in 1827 had only eighteen working churches, some having gone over to the Calvinistic Baptists, and one had become a Free-will Baptist church. Mr. Wood, in his history of the General Baptists, says that they had fifty-seven able, laborious and useful ministers in 1824. Richard Knight gives a very clear account of thirty seven General Baptist churches which were associated together in the same bonds of union; seventeen in Rhode Island, three in Massachusetts, six in New York, one in Vermont, one in Pennsylvania, and two in Virginia. Montgomery rightly says that many of these had become Calvinistic, or Regular Baptist churches prior to 1815. In fact, Montgomery says, nearly all of the early churches and organizations of the General Baptists had been absorbed by the Calvinistic Baptists, which in turn had their Calvinism modified by the absorption.

II. CALVINISM AMONG AMERICAN BAPTISTS, 1740-1815.

1. New England.

The Providence church was Calvinistic from 1639 to 1652, when it became Arminian and so continued for one hundred and eighteen years, or until 1770, verging back to Calvinism with the beginning of Manning's ministry.

In 1756 a Calvinistic Baptist church was organized at Middleborough, Massachusetts with Isaac Backus as pastor, which position he held for fifty years. Backus was the chief champion of Baptist principles in New England, and his defence of

1. Montgomery, pp. 116-21. Newman, p. 269. Knight, pp. 318-23.

peculiar Baptist principles was as able as any of the eighteenth century. "Wise in counsel, fervent in evangelistic zeal, systematic and industrious in his pastoral and literary work, ever on the alert to defend his denomination from unjust attack, charitable toward his opponents and toward all," possessing a Calvinism that he could preach, his influence in the triumph of Calvinism over Arminianism among Baptists in New England was second to that of no other man of his day.

A Calvinistic Baptist church was formed in Haverhill, 1765, with Hezekiah Smith as pastor. This was one of the most progressive churches in the denomination. Whereas Backus was the polemicist of New England Baptists, Hezekiah Smith was the missionary, the evangelist. He was more than a faithful pastor of his church from 1765 until death in 1805, he was also a missionary to the destitute regions of New Hampshire and Maine. He was a whole missionary organization within himself. At least thirteen Calvinistic Baptist churches in New Hampshire and Maine owed their existence to Hezekiah Smith. Thus we see that James Manning, Isaac Backus and Hezekiah Smith were the leaders in turning the tide from Arminianism to Calvinism among New England Baptists.¹

2. New York.

About 1740 a Baptist church was organized at Fishkill, prospered for a few years and ceased to exist. Jeremiah Dodge, a member of the Fishkill church and a ship builder by trade, moved to New York City in 1745 and opened "a prayer, reading and singing meeting in his own house," unto which some of the members of the now extinct Arminian church under Mr. Evers resorted. As they were Arminian and Dodge a strict Calvinist nothing came of the meetings, except that Robert North - an Arminian of the Evers church - and Mr. Dodge invited John Pine, an unordained preacher of the Fishkill church, to visit and preach for them, and under his ministry some of the members of the Evers church were reconciled to Calvinism. By 1753 the number had increased to thirteen, and these united with the Baptist church at Scotch Plains, New Jersey, which had been organized in 1747, and whose pastor - Elder Benjamin Miller - preached and brake bread for the New York wing once in three months. By 1760 the New York thirteen had built a house and

¹ *Benedict, Vol. 1, pp. 486-87. Newman, pp. 248-53. Vedder, Short. Hist., pp. 310-313.*

the membership increased to twenty-seven. On June 19, 1762, these twenty-seven, having received letters of dismission for that purpose from the Scotch Plains church, formed the First Regular Baptist Church of New York City, with John Gano as pastor. The eloquent and pious Gano was one of the most popular ministers in the colonies, and in two or three years the membership exceeded two hundred, the house had to be enlarged, and was soon filled to overflowing. At the time the Calvinistic Gano became pastor, the church adopted as their articles of faith the Calvinistic Confession of English Baptists of 1689. Gano was pastor for twenty-six years.

By 1812 the Baptist cause was firmly established in the State of New York - having 239 churches with 18,499 members - and all the churches were Calvinistic, save the church at Oyster Bay. There were Arminian preachers and Arminian individual members scattered here and there in the churches, but they exerted no appreciable influence.¹

3. New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania.

An evangelical Calvinism prevailed throughout New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania. The churches enjoyed a gradual growth in membership, perfected their organizations, and were so well established in sound doctrine that the few doctrinal aberrations that appeared in individuals or churches scarcely caused a ripple. The place of Calvinism, the vigor and exactness of theological belief in the New Jersey churches, may be illustrated by a letter to the Philadelphia Association in 1776, which subordinates peculiar Baptist tenets to the points of Calvinism (the peculiar Baptist tenets are in parenthesis). The letter begins as follows: "The church of Christ meeting in Upperfreehold, in the County of Monmouth, New Jersey, holding Eternal Election, Particular Redemption, Irresistible Grace, and Effectual Calling, and Final Perseverance in grace (also the baptism of professing believers only, by immersion only)." The same may be further illustrated by the license of James Manning, dated December 1, 1762, which begins as follows: "The church of Jesus Christ, meeting together at Scotch Plains, in the County of Essex, Province of New Jersey, professing believer's baptism, laying on of hands, eternal election and final perseverance etc."²

1. Benedict, 1, pp. 536-39. Vedder, *Hist. of B. in Mid Sts.* pp. 27-29, 37. Vedder, *Short Hist.* p. 317. Newman, pp. 281-83. Cathcart, p. 846-47.

2. Newman, pp. 272-274. Keen, *First Bapt. Ch. of Phila.*, p. 34. p. 36.

4. Maryland.

The first Particular Baptist church in Maryland was founded in 1754 at Winter Run, Hartford County, and the church has since borne the name of Hartford Church. Besides the main establishment at Winter Run, the church in 1772 consisted of three branches; one near Chestnut Ridge, which worshipped in the house of the General Baptists; the second at Petapsco, and the third near Winchester. This church originated from the General Baptist church at Chestnut Ridge, some members of which being inclined to Particular Baptist sentiments, invited their ministers to preach for them. These Particular Baptist preachers continued until fourteen became Calvinistic Baptists, which were constituted a Particular Baptist church in 1754, Benjamin Griffith and Peter P. Vanhorn assisting. In the same year the church was received into the Philadelphia Association.

The First Baptist Church of Baltimore, the third Baptist and the second Calvinistic Baptist church in the State of Maryland, was organized January 11, 1785, of eleven members, all of whom except Pastor Lewis Richards, were dismissed from the Hartford church for that purpose.¹

5. Virginia.

In December of 1756, the Arminian Baptist church at Burleigh sent the following letter to the Philadelphia Association: "The Church of Jesus Christ, in the Isle of Wight County, holding adult baptism, etc., to the Reverend and General Assembly or Association at Philadelphia, send greeting. We the above mentioned church, confess ourselves to be under clouds of darkness concerning the faith of Jesus Christ, not knowing whether we are on the right foundation, and the church much unsettled; wherefore we desire alliance with you, and that you will be pleased to send us helps to settle the church, and rectify what may be wrong." The letter was signed by Casper Mintz, Richard Jones, and eleven others. The church was visited by messengers from the Philadelphia Association, probably John Gano, Benjamin Miller and Peter P. Vanhorn, who led the majority of the church to abandon their Arminianism. These were then organized into a Calvinistic Baptist church.²

1. Benedict, Vol. 2, pp. 15-17. Cathcart, p. 753. 2. Benedict, Vol. 2, p. 25. Newman, pp. 289-290.

The OPEKON church, organized in 1743 as an Arminian Baptist church, had become disordered by 1752, when it was visited by John Gano, John Thomas and Benjamin Miller, who reorganized the church upon a Calvinistic basis. Of all the Arminian members who offered themselves, only three were accepted. These three and six others who were baptized constituted the Calvinistic church. The Ketokton church, Loudoun County, was organized October 8, 1751; Smith's Creek, Frederick County, August, 1756; Broad Run, Fauquier County, Oct. 13, 1762; all of which were Calvinistic churches. The Opekon and the Ketokton churches were received into the Philadelphia Association in 1754, from which they withdrew in 1766 to form the Ketokton Association, composed of the four churches mentioned above. This was the fifth Calvinistic Baptist Association formed in America, being preceded by the Philadelphia, the Charleston, the Sandy Creek and the Kehukee. The Ketokton Association adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith. By 1790 the Association embraced thirty-six churches with more than two thousand members.

By 1770 the Regular Baptists had spread over the whole country in the Northern Neck above Fredericksburg; between 1770-1780, they spread over the Counties in the Northern Neck below Fredericksburg, crossed the Alleghanies, and established a Calvinistic Baptist church in Greenbrier County, now in West Virginia.¹

The Separate Baptist Association spent the day of May 27, 1775, discussing and debating: "*Is salvation by Christ made possible for every individual of the human race?*" The Arminians were led by Samuel Harris, Jeremiah Walker and John Weller; the Calvinists by William Murphy, John Williams and Elijah Craig. After an animated debate until late Monday afternoon, the matter was put to a vote and the Calvinists won by a small majority. The Arminians held a consultation that evening and decided to bring up the subject again on Tuesday morning. They did. The situation became distressing. The Arminians, having the moderator with them, withdrew from the building and continued their sessions in the open air. The Calvinists remained within the building and organized with John Williams as moderator. Communications were carried on between the two bodies until in the afternoon, when both sides made concessions,

¹. Newman, pp. 284-88. Benedict, Vol. 2, p. 34.

became reconciled, the Arminians returned to the building and business was resumed. From this time onward the Arminian tendencies rapidly disappeared.

When the General Association was dividing itself into sections in 1783, John Williams moved that a Confession of Faith be adopted as a standard of principles for subsequent action. The Philadelphia Confession was agreed upon, with this explanation: "We do not mean that every person is bound to the strict observance of everything therein contained, nor do we mean to make it, in any respect, superior or equal to the Scriptures, in matters of faith and practice; although we think it the best human composition of the kind now extant; yet it shall be liable to alterations, whenever the General Committee, in behalf of the Association, shall think fit."

On Friday, August 10, 1787, the Regular and Separate Baptists in Virginia united. The Regulars had made advances to the Separates for ~~some~~ years before they bore fruitage. The revival which began in Virginia in 1785 had a large part in bringing them together. The guarded adoption of the Confession of Faith and toleration of Arminianism by the Separates had been the chief difficulty. Both sides accepted the Philadelphia Confession, with this explanation: "To prevent the Confession of Faith from usurping a tyrannical power over the conscience of any, we do not mean that every person is bound to the strict observance of everything therein contained; yet that it holds forth the essential truths of the gospel, and that the doctrines of salvation by Christ, and free, unmerited grace alone ought to be believed by every Christian and maintained by every minister of the gospel. Upon these terms we are united, and desire hereafter that the names REGULAR and SEPARATE be buried in oblivion, and from henceforth we shall be known by the name of *United Baptist Churches in Virginia*." The union proved both happy and permanent.

John Waller, born in 1741, due to the influence of a Methodist by the name of Williams, embraced the whole system of Arminianism in 1775. In August of 1776, he preached before the Association from First Corinthians 13:11, in which sermon he argued his Arminianism, but gained no converts. The Association called him to account, but

1. Semple, pp. 82-84. Newman, pp. 299, 300, 302. Benedict, Vol. 2, pp. 56-57.
2. Newman, pp. 301-302. Semple, pp. 93-94; 101-102.

fearing to face trial, he withdrew with his adherents, set up an independent church, and proclaimed himself an independent Baptist. Camp meetings were adopted by him as the means of propagating his views. During his separation he ordained lay elders in every neighborhood. He was reinstated in 1787.

Silas Mercer, an ardent Calvinist, and Jeremiah Walker, a devout Arminian, were both present at the General Committee in 1791. Mercer preached his Calvinism on Sunday and Walker his Arminianism on Monday. Then they made preaching tours through Virginia, which resulted in a decrease of Arminianism among the Baptists of Virginia, and led some to become extreme Calvinists. p 37, 38

The Massaponax Baptist church was divided (c1788) by Mr. Mastin, an Arminian who led most of the church to accept his views. In 1801, Elder Kipkins Pitman, a Calvinist, moved within the bounds of the church and the next year won them back to Calvinism.

The revival from 1785 to 1791 or 1792 inclined some Virginia Baptist preachers to Arminianism. Disputations followed, and many in opposing Arminianism, became hyper-Calvinistic. The Arminian Baptist churches had disappeared in Virginia before 1815, though Arminianism had not been wholly eradicated from the Calvinistic churches.¹

6. North Carolina.

The first Association formed within the State was the Sandy Creek, in 1758. In 1754 or 1755, Shubael Stearns and company of sixteen, including Daniel Marshall and wife, moved to Guilford County, North Carolina, where he found a people almost destitute of religious privileges, but ready to hear the gospel. These sixteen Separate Baptists, holding an evangelical Calvinism, at once organized themselves into a Baptist church and began an aggressive work in the community and State. In 1758 the Sandy Creek Association was formed, and by 1775 the Sandy Creek church, to use the language of Morgan Edwards; "Had spread her branches southward as far as Georgia; eastward to the sea and Chesapeake Bay; and northward to the Potomac. It, in seventeen years, became mother, grandmother and great-grandmother to forty-two churches, from which sprung one hundred and twenty-five ministers. Many of whom are ordained and support the sacred character as well as any set of clergy in America." A membership of six hundred had been gathered.²

1. Benedict, Vol. 2, pp. 396-97; p. 92. Semple, pp. 202, 110-111.

2. Newman, pp. 293-94. Armitage, pp. 378-379. Cathcart, pp. 853-854.

The Kehukee Association was formed in 1765, mostly of churches that were formerly General, or Arminian Baptists, gathered by Elders Paul Palmer, Joseph Parker and William Sojourner. Palmer organized the Perquimans church in 1727, and Parker the Meherrin church in 1729, the story of which is found in the second chapter. In 1742, Elder William Sojourner came to North Carolina with a colony of Arminian Baptists from Berkeley County, Virginia, and settled on Kehukee Creek in Halifax County. An Arminian Baptist church was formed which had multiplied into sixteen churches by 1752. Most of these churches were transformed and constituted the Calvinistic Kehukee Association in 1765. Some did not become Calvinistic until 1794, and a few are said never to have yielded.

The remodeling of these Arminian churches on an Calvinistic basis began in 1751, when Mr. Robert Williams, a Calvinistic Baptist preacher of Welsh Neck, South Carolina, visited some of these churches and preached among them. Soon after the work of Williams, William Wallace, a layman, commonly called the "sleigh maker", took an active part in the reorganization. In May of 1755, Elder John Gano visited the Reedy Creek church, saw the situation, and probably reported the conditions to the Philadelphia Association. The following autumn Elders Peter Peterson Vanhorn and Benjamin Miller were sent to visit the churches and preach the gospel in the South. Through their ministry many people were awakened, church members convinced of error, and whole churches were organized anew and established upon Calvinistic principles. These reorganized churches formed the Kehukee Association in 1765, and adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith. Elder Paul Palmer probably died before the transformation. The other ministers embraced Calvinism, except Elders Winfield, William Parker and Joseph Parker. The churches of which they were pastors remained Arminian, and the *Original Free-will Baptists* of North Carolina today are their descendants. These Original Free-will Baptists had 167 churches and 11 684 members in 1890 (Vedder, p. 385).

The Kehukee Association of Regular Baptists made advances toward union with the Sandy Creek Association of Separate Baptists in 1772; the latter refusing because the Regulars were not strict enough in the reception of members, and their principles and practices were at variance, many who were baptized when unconverted being kept in their churches.

1. Montgomery, pp. 135-42. Newman, p. 290. Cathcart, p. 853. Benedict, Vol. 2, pp. p. 101.

The Kehukee Association, assembled in Elder James Bell's meeting house on Sappony, Sussex County, Virginia, in 1777, unan- imously adopted a Confession of Faith, containing the following articles bearing upon our theme: *people of God have no more*
Number three. "We believe that God before the foundation of the world, for a purpose of his own glory did elect a certain number of men and angels to eternal life; and that this election is particular, eternal and unconditional on the creature's part."
Number four. "We believe that when God made man at first, he was perfect, holy, and upright, able to keep the law, but liable to fall, and that he stood as a federal head, or representative of all his natural offspring, and that they were to be partakers of the benefits of his obedience, or exposed to the misery which sprung from his disobedience."

Number five. "We believe that Adam fell from this state of moral rectitude, and that he involved himself and all his natural off- spring in a state of death; and for that original transgression, we are all both filthy and guilty in the sight of anholly God."

Number six. "We also believe that it is utterly out of the power of men, as fallen creatures, to keep the law of God perfectly, to repent of their sins truly, or believe in Christ, except they be drawn by the Holy Spirit."

Number seven. "We believe that in God's own appointed time and way (by means of which he hath ordained) the elect shall be called, justified, pardoned, and sanctified; and that it is impossible they can utterly refuse the call; but shall be made willing by divine grace, to receive the offers of mercy."

Number nine. "We believe in like manner, that God's elect shall not only be called, and justified, but that they shall be converted, born again, and changed by the effectual working of God's Holy Spirit."

Number ten. "We believe also that such as are converted, justified, and called by his grace, shall persevere in holiness, and never fall finally away."¹

In 1794 the Association sent out a Circular Letter on "The Final Perseverance of the Saints" in which the following expressions are found:

"The subject is inseparably connected with, and a concomitant

l. Burkitt. and Reed, pp. 51-53.

of, that God-exalting, soul-reviving doctrine of particular election, and unmerited grace in Christ Jesus, we doubt not of its being cordially received by you, and pursued both with pleasure and satisfaction." "The people of God have no more reason to doubt of their security in Christ, and final perseverance in grace, than they have that God, contrary to his oath, will send a second deluge of water and drown the world. That man must have a front of brass, and not the fear of God before his eyes, that can dispute the point with his maker, and say the union may be dissolved, and believers in Christ may finally perish."¹

In 1827 the Kehukee Association opposed missions, Sunday schools, and other modern means of extending Christianity, left the missionary Baptists and became anti-Missionary, hyper-Calvinistic.²

The growth of Calvinistic Baptist churches in North Carolina was phenomenal toward the latter part of this period. In 1784 there were forty-two churches with 3 276 members. In 1812 there were 204 churches, 117 ministers and 12 567 members.³

7. South Carolina.

In 1745, the trustees of the First Baptist Church of Charleston having died without conveying their trust, the church petitioned the legislature to appoint their successors. A son of the donor of the lot on which the church was built had become a General Baptist, the minister of the Charleston church was in trouble with his members, and the General Baptists took advantage of the situation and petitioned the legislature for the property of the Calvinistic Baptists. Pastor Simmons is said to have been in his dotage, and during the misunderstanding the doors of the church were shut against him, but a small party forced the door and through violence he entered the pulpit. The court, looking upon both parties as anti-pedobaptists, and failing to distinguish between them, on May 25, 1745, appointed trustees from both Particular and General Baptists, saying, "As the General Baptists are anti-pedobaptists as well as the Particular Baptists, they

1. *Burkitt and Reed*, pp. 164-169. 2. *Newman*, p. 307. *Cathcart*, p. 854.
3. *Newman*, p. 307. *Cathcart*, p. 855.

shall have equal rights to the said property. "Both used the property until 1758, when it was agreed that the General Baptists have sole use of the church building, and the Particular Baptists the exclusive possession of the parsonage. The Particular Baptists had built another church house in 1746.

In 1756, the Arminian Baptist church of Stono - holding services partly at Stono and partly in Charleston, again applied to the General Assembly of General Baptists in England for a pastor, guaranteeing seventy pounds annually as salary. Next year they raised the guarantee to one hundred pounds, sending fifty pounds as an earnest of good faith. Daniel Wheeler was sent to them in 1758. Letters continued for five years between the church of Stono and the Assembly in England. Another application was made to the Assembly for a pastor in 1772, and Philip Dabell was sent, arriving the next year. Communications with the General Assembly now cease and when the Revolutionary War closed, the Calvinistic Baptists of Charleston came into peaceable possession of the whole property, the General Baptists being negligible in South Carolina by 1787.¹

By 1815 there were seven Calvinistic Baptist Associations in the State: Charleston (1751), Bethel (1789), Broad River (1800), Savannah River (1802), Saluda (1803), Edgefield (1808), and the Moriah in 1815, containing 154 churches and having 11 325 members.²

8. Georgia.

Among those coming to Georgia in 1733 with Oglethorpe were a few Baptists who settled there without forming a church. The first Baptist church in Georgia was founded by the Separate Baptist, Daniel Marshall, at Kiokee (now Applington) in 1772. The church was Calvinistic, but was more or less annoyed by Arminianism among Georgia Baptists until the Arminian features were removed from the Baptists of the State. In 1757, Nicholas Bedgewood, Whitefield's agent at the Orphanage, became a Baptist and was baptized by Oliver Hart into the fellowship of the Charleston church. Two years later he was ordained and began preaching at the Orphanage. Several connected with that institution became Baptists, among whom was B. Stirk, who moved about eighteen miles up the Savannah River and ministered until his death in 1770 to a few Baptists in Tuckaseeking, twenty miles farther up the river.

1. *Charleston Minutes*, pp. 59-61. *Benedict*, Vol. 2, pp. 120-22.

Whitley, pp. 307-310. 2. *Cathcart*, p. 1075. *Newman*, pp. 314-15.

The work at Tuckaseeking was continued in 1771 by Edward Botsford - educated under Oliver Hart, the Calvinistic pastor of Charleston - who organized the Botsford church in 1773. Botsford carried forward the work in Georgia with unflagging zeal until 1779, when he was forced to flee from the British. Before the war there were three or four Baptist churches in Georgia: Kiokee (1772), Botsford (1773), Red Creek (1774), and possibly Buckhead Creek church, which soon became extinct. Little Creek (1777) and Fishing Creek (1782) were formed during the war. In 1813 there were five Associations in Georgia with 164 churches, 109 ministers and 15 755 members. All these churches were Calvinistic.¹

9. Kentucky.

Most of the early inhabitants of Kentucky "were from Virginia and the Carolinas, principally from Virginia. Most of them were Baptists in their religion, and their early ministers brought the strong marks and earnest spirit of their ministry with them." The first Baptist church in Kentucky was the Severns Valley, constituted of eighteen members by Joseph Barnett and John Garrard June 18, 1781, and located forty miles south of Louisville. The second Baptist church in Kentucky was formed by the same ministers, July 4, 1781, and called Cedar Creek. The third was Gilbert's Creek, constituted in Spottsylvania County, Virginia, and moved to Kentucky in the autumn of 1781, under the leadership of Lewis Craig. Its first meeting in Kentucky was held on the second Sunday of December of that year. Four years later, 1785, three Associations were formed, the Elkhorn and Salem of Regular Baptists, and the South Kentucky of Separate Baptists.

The most Calvinistic of the Separates in Kentucky joined the Regulars, whereas the Arminian wing diverged more and more from the orthodox position until many grave heresies appeared among them, such as Universalism, or Universal Restoration - teaching that the wicked go to hell and remain there until they have suffered the penalty of their crimes. This might take a hundred years, a thousand, a million years or more, but afterwards they would enter heaven. The most prominent leaders of this heresy were John Bailey and William Bledsoe, who greatly annoyed the churches from 1790-1800. *l. Riley, pp. 26-33. Newman, pp. 316-32. Cathcart, pp. 441-43. Armitage, pp. 390-92.*

Eternal Justification, supposing all the elect of God were justified in his sight from all eternity, was advocated by William Marshall, who pressed it to such an extent that he was excluded from the Fox Run church.

The Regular Baptists in Kentucky were strictly Calvinistic. The Separates were moderate Calvinists, but some of the most distinguished Separates, in opposition to the high-Calvinism of the Regulars, went the full length of Arminianism. The Elkhorn Association adopted the London Calvinistic Confession, ^{of 1644} save chapters three and five, and chapter thirty-one was considered nonessential. The name "Regular" was adopted at first, but was dropped in 1789. The Association advised the use of all tenderness to reclaim those holding to conditional salvation.

Conventions were held to reconcile the differences and bring about an amalgamation of the Regular and Separate Baptists in Kentucky in 1785, 1788, and 1793. All were unsuccessful. However, the five ministers and churches most eager for union among the Separates, withdrew from the Separate Baptist Association in 1793, and four of them formed themselves into the *United Baptist Association*. The fifth church joined them the next year. After a few years they adopted the Standards of the Regular Baptists.

In 1792 the Elkhorn Association appointed a committee to consider a revision of the Confession of Faith. The committee reported at the May session in 1793: "Some phrases of the third and fifth chapters would be better put in words easier understood by weak minds," and in chapter twenty-four, instead of the words, "a lawful oath is a part of religious worship" they offered as a substitute, "an oath should be taken in religious fear." This was the sum of what they thought needed to be changed.

In the October session of 1793, the brethren appointed to meet a committee from those churches which had withdrawn from the South Kentucky Association reported, recommending a union with them on the terms that: "We do agree to receive the Regular Baptist Confession of Faith; but to prevent its usurping a tyrannical power over the conscience of any, we do not mean that every person is bound to the strict observance of everything therein contained; yet that it holds forth the essential truths of the gospel, and the doctrine of salvation by Jesus Christ, and free, unmerited grace alone, ought to be believed by every Christian, and maintained by every minister of the gospel, and that we do

believe in those doctrines relative to the trinity, the divinity of Christ, the sacred authority of the Scriptures, the universal depravity of human nature, the total inability of men to help themselves without the aid of divine grace, the necessity of repentance toward God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, the justification of our persons entirely by the righteousness of Christ imputed." The union was entered into in 1793, but dissolved the next year because of the objections of some churches in the Elkhorn Association.

In 1797 a committee from the Elkhorn Association met with a similar committee from the United Baptist Association. They agreed upon man's utter inability to recover himself; how and by what means man is saved; on justification, regeneration and perseverance of the saints. But a great revival of religion was needed before Regulars and Separates in Kentucky could unite. The revival began in 1800 and on October 2, 1801 the union of Regulars and Separates in Kentucky was consummated. The terms of union that bear upon our theme were:

3. "That we are by nature fallen and depraved creatures."
5. "That the saints will finally persevere through grace to glory."
7. "The salvation of the righteous and punishment of the wicked shall be eternal."
9. "Preaching Christ tasted death for every man shall be no bar to fellowship."

The names "Regular" and "Separate" were dropped and all Baptists in Kentucky took the name of *United Baptists*. In 1804 the Association was divided into Northern and Southern districts. There were many Arminians in the Southern, some of whom adopted Winchester's chimerical notion of "Universal Restoration". At the request of three churches the Association in 1805 appointed a committee to revise the Confession of Faith and report the next year. In 1806 the revision was referred to the next Association, and the churches advised to make themselves acquainted with the old and the new, and certify their opinions upon each separately in their church letters to the next Association. There is no record of any report made or action taken on this revision at any future session.

The Salem Association was organized, Oct. 29, 1785, and adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, and for years corresponded with the Philadelphia, Charleston and Ketokton Associations.

The Big Spring church adopted these articles of faith, October 17, 1812:

3. "We believe in the fall and apostasy of man, as expressed in the Scriptures, and that man by reason of sin is wholly incapable of restoring himself to divine favor. 5. We believe in the doctrine of electing grace in Jesus Christ, and in the effectual agency of the Holy Spirit in the work of regeneration. 7. We believe in the final perseverance of the saints through grace to glory."

In 1812, there were 285 Baptist churches with 22,694 members in Kentucky.¹

10. Tennessee.

There were Baptists in East Tennessee about 1765. Two churches were organized, but were driven out in 1774 by the Indians. About 1780 a large number of Baptists, with eight or ten preachers, moved from Virginia and North Carolina to Holston County, Tennessee. By 1781 five or six churches were organized and began to meet twice a year in conference. They remained members of the Sandy Creek Association until 1786, when the Holston Association was formed. Most of these Baptists were Separates, but no doctrinal discords existed among them. They adopted the Philadelphia Confession in 1786. Middle Tennessee began to be settled in 1780, and in 1791 Ambrose Dudley and John Taylor, of Kentucky, rode horseback two hundred miles through the wilderness to aid in organizing a Baptist church at the mouth of Sulphur Fork River. White's Creek church was formed in 1794. In 1795 a church that had been organized in North Carolina was transplanted to the head of Sulphur Fork. Two other churches were formed in 1796, and these five united to form the Mero Association in 1797. In 1801 or 1802 charges against the character of Joseph Dorris, pastor of the Sulphur Fork church, were brought to the Association. After trying to settle the matter without causing a division, the Association was disbanded and the Adherents of Dorris left out of the Cumberland Association, which was formed in 1803 to take its place.

The Tennessee Association, formed from the Holston in 1803, did not adopt the Philadelphia Confession, but proposed to hold the

1. Benedict, vol. 2, p. 237. Elkhorn Minutes, pp. 2-3; 53-54; 71-72. Spencer, Vol. 1, pp. 482-84; Vol. 2, p. 89; Vol. 1, p. 547. Benedict, Vol. 2, p. 241. Manly, pp. 30-31. Benedict, Vol. 2, pp. 242-43. Newman, pp. 333-36.

substance and spirit of it, with modifications of some articles.¹

11. The Philadelphia Association.

The Baptists about Delaware began to hold general meetings for preaching the gospel, administering the ordinances, etc., in 1688, meeting quarterly - one of which quarterly meetings was held yearly in Philadelphia beginning in 1689. In 1707 the Philadelphia quarterly meeting was transformed into "an Association authorized by their respective churches to meditate and execute designs for the public good."

The adoption of the Calvinistic Confession of English Baptists in 1689, by the Philadelphia Association in 1742 was the turning point in the early history of American Baptists and placed the stamp of Calvinism upon Baptist theology in America. The Association referred to the Confession of 1689 in 1724, 1727, and 1729, as their standard of doctrine, but did not adopt it until 1742, when it was ordered published. It was printed in 1743 by Benjamin Franklin, with added articles on the "Imposition of Hands", "Singing of Psalms in Public Worship" and a "Short Treatise of Christ Discipline". It thus became the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, probably the most important historic document that has appeared in American Baptist history, and is a carefully prepared body of divinity rather than a simple Confession of Faith.²

The Philadelphia Association has always been Calvinistic; its theology being an evangelical Calvinism substantially like that of Whitefield and the Separate Baptists. We shall do well to review this Calvinism as revealed in the Minutes of the Philadelphia Association. In 1748 the denial of God's foreknowledge is said to be a fundamental error and repugnant to the Scriptures, for it presupposes an imperfect God, and so no God. Deny foreknowledge and there would be no room for God to make provisions for man's redemption before the fall. The Association in 1752 expresses belief in unconditional election, original sin and final perseverance of the saints. "That personal election is a truth of God, Eph. 1:5; Matt. 24:24; and our infallible hope is proven by John 10:29; they are gifts of the Father to his Son Christ, who will and is able to keep them and secure their happiness. That we are

1. *Benedict*, Vol. 2, pp. 215-217. *Newman*, pp. 336-37. 2. *First Bapt. Ch. of Philadelphia*, Keen, pp. 460-461. *Newman*, p. 272

originally sinful, or partakers of the first sin of human nature, being all included in Adam when he was created, and partakers of that happiness, with which he was endued, as his rightful heir; but he, forgetting that great favor bestowed freely upon him and his posterity, we, as well as himself, are justly shut out of our native happiness and have lost our right thereunto forever, unless our title be restored by the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, by being effectually called in time."

The Association says of FOREORDINATION in 1761: "God worketh all things after the council of his own will. Whatever comes to pass, is either by his agency or permission, and though he permit sin to be, is not therefore the author of it."

In 1773 the Association began to discuss the articles of faith in their Circular Letters, dealing with the Scriptures in that year, the TRINITY in 1774, and the DECREES in 1775, of which they said:

1. "God, the supreme, who is self-existent, and every way an independent sovereign; the creator of all things, hath an absolute right to dispose of all his creatures; and before his works of old, to appoint and determine all things to a certain end."

5. "When all the human race, by the sin of the first man were involved in guilt (Ro. 5:12) and fallen under condemnation, and all become the children of wrath... God out of his mere grace and love, without any moving cause of the parties chosen, hath predestinated some unto life, through a mediator, together with all the means subservient to this end, their redemption by the blood of Christ, and renovation by the Spirit of holiness, to the praise of his glorious grace; the others left to act in sin, to their final destruction, to the glory of divine justice."

Depravity is thus described in 1780: "Man was made upright, righteous and holy after the likeness or image of God; happy in the favor of God and communion with him, endued with power to fulfil the law. But acting contrary to the command of God man fell, lost his creation excellence, his honor, his God--lost his life, even his natural or animal life being forfeited, and he became subject to death. He became woefully polluted throughout soul and body. Adam was the public head and representative of all his posterity; in him and with him all have sinned."

1. *Minutes*, pp. 58, 68-69; 82; 150 ; 171.

Speaking of ELECTION in 1781: "There was a council held in eternity, even from everlasting, respecting the recovery of man; that the Triune God did then contrive, find out, adjust and settle --who should be saved, by what means and after what manner." In 1782: "The Father having predestinated a select number of the fallen race to the adoption of children, by Jesus Christ, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord, now proposed the work of saving the elect, to Jehovah the Son--proposing to furnish him with a body and every way equip him for the discharge of his trust." The Association says of FREE WILL in 1783: "God is neither the author nor approver of sin. Man is a free agent. What is natural in an action is of God, what is sinful, i. e. powers of speech and faculties of mind are of God; the misuse and abuse of those powers are due to the corruption of our own hearts."

The Association thus explains the CALL (1784): "An act of sovereign grace, which flows from the everlasting love of God, and is such an irresistible impression made by the Holy Spirit upon the human soul, as to effect a blessed change." The called are such as God hath chosen and predestinated both to grace and glory, elected and set apart in Christ as redeemed by his blood, although by nature children of wrath even as others. The call brings its subjects to a piercing sense of their guilt, and the ability of Christ to save.

Final Perseverance is treated thus in 1791: "By asserting the perseverance of the saints in grace, we do not mean to convey an idea, that through various and powerful oppositions, with which they are beset in this state of spiritual warfare, none of them may fall into sin, be overtaken in transgression, to the wounding of their own souls, the tenderest feelings of their brethren, the churches of Christ, the interests of religion in general, and the displeasure of God; but that through this unspeakable grace and mercy he will not suffer them so to fall, and continue therein, as totally and finally to perish." He will by sore chastisements, or such other means as, in his wisdom shall seem best, bring them to an effecting sense of their sins, to genuine repentance for them, deep humiliation before him - as in the instances of Peter, David and others - and restore them. "We assert that those only will

persevere in the way of eternal life, and attain unto it, in whom the regenerating grace of God has, or will, take place."

The Circular Letter of 1795 says of the ATONEMENT:

"According to the Gospel, the atonement of Christ did not extend to every individual of the human race, and the gospel contains no conditional offers of salvation.. If atonement was made for all, it was God's intention that it should; that intention must have its full effect; the effect must be that all must and will be saved.. If Christ answered the demands of law and justice for all, and paid the price in full, then there must be guiltless persons in hell for want of being made meet for heaven. Christ has done his part, but the Spirit declines doing his. Why God should appoint satisfaction to be made for all, and afterwards not renew and sanctify all, and bring them to heaven, must be very strange and utterly inconsistent with the glory and perfection of him, who does nothing in vain, who never does a part, without doing the whole, who always finishes what he begins... To make salvation conditional, would rob God of his sovereignty, and make his glory depend upon man; while at the same time it would give room for boasting. It would also convert the Gospel of the grace of God into a new law."¹

12. *The Charleston Association*

The Charleston Association was formed in 1751 by Oliver Hart. It was modeled after the Philadelphia and consisted at first of four churches - the Charleston, Ashley River, Welsh Neck and Euhaw. In 1767 the Philadelphia Confession was adopted, omitting the article on Imposition of Hands. Being asked in 1785, as to the consistency of one who believes in eternal election and final perseverance, hearing preachers who deny both doctrines, the Association answered that it might not be inconsistent with duty, in some cases, yet they should be very cautious. One of the queries of 1787 was: "How far should the doctrine of election or predestination be enforced on the consciences of weak members of the church, or how far may liberty of opinion be allowed them, free from censure therein?" It was answered: "A contumacious opposition should not be allowed, but as there are a number of serious, godly persons, who labor under

1. Minutes, pp. 273-274; 311-312

difficulties respecting those high mysteries, we are of opinion that they should not be denied the privileges of the church, where they conduct themselves with meekness and humility, though they do not freely assent to the commonly received sentiments." The reason give in 1793 why the fatal contagion in Philadelphia has not swept the other cities and depopulated the whole country, "Is that Almighty hand, which *reins* the furious wind and stills the raging waves, that has been and still is our defence." Providence is again brought before the Association in 1805, by the query, "How may we know the will of God by the dispensations of Providence?" The answer was, "Providence is God's most holy, wise and powerful preserving and governing, all his creatures, and all their actions, by those common, regular laws, which operate in the course of nature."

The Charleston Association has been unwaveringly Calvinistic from the beginning, and has exerted a mighty influence throughout the South for the triumph of Calvinism over Arminianism.¹

13. New England Articles of Faith.

The prevalence of Calvinism among Baptists in New England may be briefly shown by quoting a few articles of faith. On January 28, 1768, the Baptist church of Berwick, Maine, adopted these articles: "That all the elect were chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world. That in Adam all the human race fell and lost their primitive rectitude. That supernatural grace is absolutely necessary to render our persons and services acceptable in the sight of God."

In 1781 a very wealthy man of Plymouth joined Backus' church at Middleborough, and though Backus had advised against giving certificates that entitled Baptists to exemption from ministerial taxes, the wealthy convert was given such a certificate. The Boston Gazette in February and again in July contained articles insinuating that Backus had been insincere and inconsistent, and that the new member of the Middleborough church joined the church to escape ministerial taxes. Backus then drew up articles of faith to show that the Baptists came nearest in faith and practice to the first planters in New England, save in the one article of sprinkling infants. The two articles that bear upon our thesis read: "That in infinite mercy the eternal Father gave a certain number of the
1. Newman, p. 310. *Charleston Minutes*, pp. 11, 2, 4, 7.

children of men to his beloved Son, before the world was to redeem and save; and that he by his obedience and sufferings, has procured eternal redemption for them. That by the influence of the Holy Spirit, these persons individually, as they came into existence, are effectually called in time, and savingly renewed in the Spirit of their minds."¹

The Bowdoinham Association adopted articles of faith, May 24, 1787, the third and fourth of which read as follows: "That God created man at first in his own moral image, in which man continued not, but sinned, lost his holiness, contracted guilt, became wholly indisposed to good, inclined to evil and justly exposed to temporal and eternal misery, and that such is now the character and condition of all Adam's posterity by nature. That the recovery of fallen, sinful man to holiness and eternal life is wholly of divine unmerited grace through the mediation and expiatory sacrifice of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, which grace is displayed in election, vocation, remission, justification and glorification."²

14. The Association in West Tennessee divided and adopted an "Abstract of Principles" sometime between 1808 and 1811. The theology was thus stated: "We believe in the doctrine of election, and that God chose his people in Christ before the foundation of the world. We believe the doctrine of original sin. We believe in man's impotency to recover himself from the fallen state he is in by nature, by his own free will and ability. We believe that sinners are justified in the sight of God, only by the imputed righteousness of Christ. We believe the saints shall persevere in grace and never fall finally away."³

This survey reveals the predominance of Calvinism over Arminianism in the churches, associations, and among the members throughout America in 1815. Whereas in 1740, there were few Calvinistic Baptist churches in America; in 1815, there were but few Arminian Baptist churches in America.

1. Burrage, *Baptists in Maine*, pp. 32-33; 52. Backus, Vol. 2, pp. 230-33.
2. Burrage, *Baptists in Maine*, p. 88. 3. Benedict, 2, pp. 225-26.

CAUSES OF THE TRIUMPH OF CALVINISM OVER ARMINIANISM
AMONG BAPTISTS IN AMERICA, 1740-1815.

Ten of the greatest causes of this triumph are presented in this chapter in their chronological order.

1. The Welsh Tract Church (1701).

This church was organized in Pembrokshire, Wales (1701) and emigrated the same year to Pennsylvania. They settled at first at Pennepek, but receiving a large tract of land on the Delaware in 1703, they moved to Iron Hill, in the Welsh Tract, New Castle County, Delaware (then Pennsylvania). A small meeting house was built in 1746. Their principles soon spread in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and to Pedee River in South Carolina. This was one of the five churches forming the Philadelphia Association in 1707. Before 1742 the Arminian Baptists were the leading, most enterprising and the dominating party among American Baptists. The Philadelphia Association turned the tide to Calvinism in the adoption of the Philadelphia Confession of Faith in 1742. The Welsh Tract church determined the theology of the Philadelphia Association, having overcome the Arminian influence of New England, New York and New Jersey, and made possible the adoption of the Philadelphia Confession in 1742. The Association having adopted Calvinism for itself now sent forth preachers to travel in New York, New England, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Kentucky preaching their Calvinism. The triumph of Calvinism in New England is signalized by the capture of the First Baptist Church of Providence, due to the influence of President James Manning and Rhode Island College in 1770. The triumph in the South may be illustrated in the formation of the Sandy Creek, the Kebukee and the Ketokton Associations.

2. Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758).

The contribution of Jonathan Edwards to the theology of Baptists in America might be included under the title of the Great Awakening, which was begun by Gilbert Tennant in New Jersey (1726), furthered by Jonathan Edwards (1734) at Northampton, and assisted by the visits of George Whitefield throughout the colonies from 1738 to 1770. However, we believe the contribution of Jonathan Edwards merits special treatment.

The Congregational preachers prior to 1729 held and preached views of divine sovereignty, human inability and regeneration which
1. Vedder, Baptists in the Mid. States, pp. 92-93. Cathcart, p. 1230.

created the general impression that man is dead, helpless, incapable of interest in divine things, wholly passive in the act of salvation, and has nothing to do but wait for God. To correct the prevalent conditions the HALF-WAY COVENANT and STODDARDISM were proposed. These measures added to the increasing spiritual dearth, revivals became less common, immorality more brazen, and the state of religion sank lower and lower. Religion reached its lowest point of decline in New England both practically and doctrinally about the time Jonathan Edwards began his ministry. Without regenerate material for a regenerate church, they sought to remedy the conditions, but failed because they did not reach the real cause. Theological modifications accompanied lax living and by 1720, it looked as if Calvinism was being supplanted by Arminianism.¹

Jonathan Edwards was God's man for the crisis. He set himself to defend the doctrine of divine sovereignty - the central idea of Calvinism - and at the same time meet the challenge of Arminianism, then entering New England. In 1731 Edwards was invited to preach the "public lecture" in Boston, and used as his subject, "God Glorified in Man's Dependence", in which he presented the absolute and universal dependence of the redeemed upon God as the one and only source of all good. In 1734 he preached in his own church upon "Divine and Supernatural Light Immediately Imparted to the Soul by the Spirit of God". These sermons were the first booming of a solitary cannon opening a great battle. The more special work of Edwards began⁷ in the same year (1734) when he preached upon "Justification by Faith", afterwards expanded into a treatise and published. He saw that conversions were the great necessity of the times, and that conversion required a deep, pervading, and divinely wrought work in the soul. The Arminian confusion of a "good moral life" with the Christian life, and dependence for salvation upon striking a moral balance-sheet at the day of judgment between good and bad deeds, was seen by Edwards to be an abandonment of the gospel. He began to preach the old doctrine of salvation by faith, by spiritual union with God, and by the free forgiveness of the sinner in the infinite grace of God in Jesus Christ. Under his preaching men were born again in great numbers, during the revivals of 1735 and 1740. Thus was the paralysis of New England broken. Edwards failed, at the time to see that the doctrine of inability was the cause of the paralysis. He held it so firmly himself that the freeness

1. *History of New England Theology*, pp. 12-42.

of God's grace and God's readiness to forgive were obscured for him. His preaching called upon men to give themselves completely to God, wholly surrender, fulfill every condition of the gospel, and then remain in entire uncertainty as to whether God would bless. His words were: "You must press toward the kingdom of God, and do your utmost, and hold out to the end, and learn to make no account of it when you have done. You must undertake the business of seeking salvation upon these terms, and with no other expectation than this, that if ever God bestows mercy, it will be in his own time; and not only so, but also when you have done all, God will not hold himself obliged to show mercy to you at all." This tone of exhortation to action sounded through all his preaching; moved men to repentance and faith, and broke down the doctrine of inability, as this doctrine cannot play an active part in man's thinking in times of revival. Religion to Edwards consisted in the holy choice of the will accompanied by the lively play of appropriate emotions. His attempts to put into practice his views as to who should be allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper, caused his dismissal from the pastorate at Northampton.

No theological writer of the eighteenth century exerted a greater influence upon Christian theology in America than Jonathan Edwards. His "Treatise on the Freedom of the Will" was epoch-making. It had a large place in molding Baptist theological thinking and should not be omitted from our consideration. In this volume Edwards made the serious mistake of dividing the MIND into three divisions; faculties, understanding and will. He confounded the emotions, the actions of which are necessary, with the will, the action of which is free, and attributed to the will all the necessity of the emotions, and thus his theology became deterministic. This confusion made his use of the word "inclination" ambiguous; being used in the same sentence to denote an emotion in one place, and a volition in another. The Arminians said the will determined itself. Edwards said the will is determined by the motive which it actually follows. The prevailing motive determines that the action shall take place, and how it shall take place. The choices of the will are as necessary as the events of the physical world. This does not infringe upon the liberty of man, as it leaves him able to do what he wills. This is the only meaning of liberty to Edwards. His system is that of necessity. Moral inability consists in the lack of will.

The impression created by this volume of Edwards was

enormous. The Arminian doctrine of free will had much to commend it to the common man and when Edwards championed necessarianism and defended the old position with such acuteness and with an air of invincibility, the world wondered and the defenders of the old Calvinistic doctrines went back to the old theories with a feeling of safety and security. Judged upon its merits as an intellectual creation, the work was a logical failure upon a large scale. The fundamental position was wrong, in the threefold division of the mind, and the confusion of emotions and will. The infinite series of causation would do away with God, for if God is required as a cause of the world, a cause would be required for God. The work was only original in its fulness. As a permanent answer to the Arminians, it was a philosophical failure, but it met them more successfully in the theological sphere. With all its defects it saved the theology of New England from becoming Arminian and brought it back to Calvinism. The Arminianism Edwards faced was a Pelagianizing Arminianism that emphasized the manward side of theology too much, just as extreme Calvinism had overly stressed the Godward side. Edwards' volume determined that the new school of theological thought should be Calvinistic, evangelical, effective and thorough.

In many places whole Congregational churches came over to the Baptists in the Great Awakening and many of the best leaders of the Baptists came from Congregationalism, where they had been schooled in the theology of Edwards. These churches and pastors brought their theology with them, and thus the theology of Edwards did much to determine the type of Calvinism prevalent among Baptists in America, as well as to aid in the triumph of Calvinism over Arminianism.

3. The Great Awakening. Baptists as a whole did not cooperate in the Great Awakening, because the revivalists were Calvinists and the Baptists at that time were mostly Arminian. Nevertheless, Baptists profited more than any other denomination from the Awakening. To appreciate the Great Awakening, we must have clearly in mind the religious conditions of America from 1700 to 1740. A church was formed in Hartford, Connecticut (1696), and another in Boston (1699) upon the expressed principle that baptism alone - without evidence of conversion - should admit to full communion. Other churches followed and soon the most rigid of Congregationalists welcomed to the Lord's Supper all baptized persons who

1. Foster, New Eng. Theol. pp. 51, 54, 55, 56, 57, 62-81.

would give a formal assent to the Covenant. Learning came to be about the only requisite of a Christian preacher. Dr. Chauncey, a pastor in Boston, taught that "unconverted ministers whose lives are visibly contrary to the gospel", may be baneful to the church, but not unconverted ministers who, "from what outwardly appears, ought to be well spoken of." Piety was almost dead in ministers and members. Gilbert Tennant wrote: "The body of the clergy of that generation were as great strangers to the feeling experience of the new birth, as was their predecessor Nicodemus." Twenty ministers of the Standing Order in Massachusetts were converted in the Great Awakening. Edwards' preaching begot a revival (c1733), so powerful that for five or six weeks an average of thirty persons a week were converted. The revival continued until 1735 and closed for lack of material. But so low was the moral life of Congregationalism in New England that only three ministers could be found in Berkshire and Hampshire Counties to sustain Edwards in teaching that only the regenerate should be admitted to church membership, the Lord's Supper and the ministry. By the advice of an ecclesiastical council his Northampton church dismissed him for demanding it.

Whitefield came to Savannah, Georgia in May of 1738, remained three months and returned to England to receive priestly orders for himself and collect funds for an orphanage in Georgia. He returned to America in 1739, landing at Philadelphia. He traveled to New York and back again, preaching at every town on the way. Seeing the eagerness of the people everywhere to hear the gospel, he traveled by land to Savannah, Georgia, preaching en route at every halting place. Arriving in Savannah in January 1740, he laid the foundation of the orphanage and in March returned to Philadelphia. Once more he journeyed to New York and back preaching at every place of halting. He then sailed for Newport, Rhode Island, landing in September (1740), and remained in New England two or three months, during which stay he preached one hundred and seventy-five sermons, mostly in Massachusetts. Leaving Boston, Whitefield sent Gilbert Tennant to New England for the winter (1740-1741). By 1742 there were from thirty thousand to forty thousand converts. Whitefield revisited New England in 1744, 1754, 1764 and in 1770. He saved New England from cold and hypocritical formality.

Due to the Great Awakening Calvinistic Baptist churches

leaped into existence and went forward with a growth that was phenomenal. From 1750 to 1780 an average of two Baptist churches a year were formed in Massachusetts alone, mostly by the secession of New Light or Separate churches which became Baptist. The old Calvinistic Baptists of New England and the Middle Colonies were awakened to new life and devotion. The Separate Baptists did a great work in New England and the South. The Great Awakening gave unto the Baptists Isaac Backus, James Manning and Hezekiah Smith, as leaders in New England, and Shubael Stearns and Daniel Marshall as flaming evangelists in the South. These men preached the mild, evangelical Calvinism of Whitefield, checked the spread of Arminianism among the Baptist churches and did heroic work for the triumph of Calvinism among American Baptists. ¹

4. The Evangelism of the Separate Baptists.

Many churches of the Standing Order arrayed themselves against Whitefield; others were indifferent. Harvard and Yale, the Congregational Colleges of New England, took official action against him. Dr. Chauncey wrote a book against Whitefield, and the General Court of Connecticut enacted laws restricting ministers to their own pulpits, unless especially invited by the pastor of another parish, and making it unlawful for an unsettled minister to preach. The converts of the Awakening, finding either open opposition or a cold welcome in the Congregational churches, sought church homes elsewhere. In many cases they formed churches of their own and became known as SEPARATES. Backus says thirty-one persons were ordained as pastors of Separate churches between September 1746 and May 1751. These churches found themselves much nearer the Baptist than the Congregationalist position, and many came over bodily to the Baptists.

Of momentous importance for the diffusion of Baptist views and the triumph of Calvinism among American Baptists was the conversion of Shubael Stearns and Daniel Marshall, New Light, or Separate Baptists from New England (1754 onward). Daniel Marshall heard Whitefield preach and caught his enthusiasm. He was converted, and became apostolic in zeal and labors. Becoming a Baptist when forty-eight years of age, he gave himself to evangelistic preaching with such enthusiastic devotion, that in the thirty years of life remaining to him, he was instrumental in the *I. Moss*, pp. 5-9. *Bacon*, pp. 163-169. *McGlothlin*, p. 308. *Scaff-Herzog*, pp. 470-471.

conversion of multitudes and in planting numerous churches in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. Shubael Stearns was equally zealous and more highly gifted. He is said to have been second only to Whitefield in magnetic power over audiences. His tones were captivating, his eyes almost magical, his personality attractive, his heart on fire. Trembling, weeping, screaming and catilepsy were common under the spell of his impassioned appeals. The first Separate Baptist church in Virginia¹ was constituted in 1770, with Dutton Lane as pastor. Lane was a convert under Marshall in 1758. Under these Separate Baptist evangelists converts came to Christ in throngs, churches were constituted, Associations were formed, and the grip of Calvinism extended. In 1770 there were two Separate Baptist churches in Virginia north of the James River, and about four south of it; by 1774 there were twenty-four Separate Baptist churches north of the river and thirty south of it, that sent letters to the Association. The ministers traveled almost constantly and preached everywhere. Cathright says: "Sometimes the floor of the house where the meeting was held was covered with people struck down with conviction of sin, and frequently the ministers were raised up at night to point weeping penitents to Jesus. A torrent of saving grace descended upon Virginia, North Carolina, and other states through the labors of Separate Baptists, which has never been exceeded in saving power in one section of country since the Savior ascended into heaven." Largely due to the influence of the Separate baptists, who united with the Regular Baptists in Virginia in 1787, in 1812 there were 108 843 members of Baptist churches in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee; whereas Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut had 32 372, and New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Maryland had 26 852 members. Virginia had 35 655 members of Baptist churches; or three thousand more than all of New England, and nine thousand more than New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland combined. The glorious success of these evangelists reacted to the eradication and extermination of the dead and extreme elements of Calvinism among Baptists and to the triumph of an evangelical, Calvinistic theology over the Arminianism of the Baptists in the South.¹

1. Armitage, pp. 339-340. Newman, pp. 292-293. Cathcart, pp. 1041-1042. Schaff-Herzog, Vol. 1, p. 472.

5. The Activity of the Philadelphia and Charleston Associations. 7

Beginning with 1742 the Philadelphia Association sent Elders Gano, Vanhorn, Miller and Thomas to visit the scattered and unorganized Baptists of Virginia and North Carolina. These missionaries won many from Arminianism to Calvinism, introduced better church discipline, and secured the organization of the Kehukee Association (1765), composed of churches in Virginia and North Carolina. Through the labors of David Thomas, as a missionary of the Philadelphia Association, several Calvinistic Baptist churches were constituted in the northern part of Virginia and formed the Retokton Association in 1766, with the approval and cooperation of the Philadelphia Association.

In the spring of 1755 the Charleston Association commissioned John Gano and Robert Williams to travel northwards and correct the evils of Arminianism. These evangelistic commissioners from the two Calvinistic Associations turned the tide against Arminianism and in favor of evangelical Calvinism by 1765, when the Kehukee Association was constituted. Their stoutest opponent in the South was Joseph Parker of the Meherrin church, but even Parker's influence succumbed and Calvinism triumphed permanently among Southern Baptists. Calvinistic Baptists of the South owe an incalculable debt to the Philadelphia and Charleston Associations. 1

6. The Freewill Baptists. 7

Benjamin Randall, a member of a Congregational church in New Hampshire, was converted under the preaching of Whitefield in 1770. He soon thereafter became a Baptist and was baptized by the Reverend William Hooper into the Herwick, Maine Baptist church, August 14, 1776, and began to preach. In his preaching he invited sinners to accept the offered pardon of God. He had never heard Arminianism and Calvinism discussed. "As the doctrine of Calvinism had not been in dispute among us, I had not considered whether I believed it or not. But as the Lord had shown me a universal atonement and fulness enough in Christ for all men - the appearance of grace to all men - that the call of the gospel was to all,

1. New Schaff-Herzog, Vol. 1. p. 472. Riley, pp. 24-27. 7
1. 50/11
7

and that God was not willing that any should perish -that same love constrained me to go forth, and call upon all to come to Christ and be saved." In 1779 Mr. Randall was asked in public why he did not preach the doctrine of election as Calvin held it. A discussion followed which led Randall to ask for dismissal from the church to which he belonged. The church would not grant it. In organizing a new church at New Durham, New Hampshire, he had no thought of starting a new denomination. But other churches were constituted of members of similar faith. The breach between them and the Regular Baptist churches gradually widened until a separation took place that continued until 1911, when the Freewill Baptists united with the Regular Baptists, turning over their educational and missionary property to the respective societies of the Northern Baptist Convention.

The discussions that attended the beginnings of the Freewill Baptists modified the views of the Regular Baptists in those parts of New England where the Freewill Baptists were the most numerous. The rapid growth of the Freewill churches and their modified Arminianism, being midway between extreme Arminianism and Calvinism, modified both the Calvinism of the Regular Baptists and the Arminianism of the General Baptists. For a time they opposed the use of Confessions, but their General Conference, organized in 1827, took up the matter in 1832, and voted for a Confession of Faith. The work was finished and published in 1834. It was revised in 1868-1869. The characteristics of their Arminian theology can best be shown by quotations from this Confession.

"Our first parents, in their original state of probation, were perfectly righteous; they naturally preferred and desired to obey their Creator, and had no preference or desire to transgress his will, till they were deceived, inclined and influenced by the tempter, to disobey God's commands. Previously the only tendency of their nature was to do righteousness. In consequence of the first transgression, the state of trial, under which the posterity of Adam came into the world, is so far different from that of Adam, that they have not that righteousness and purity which Adam had by creation; are not naturally willing to obey God, but prefer to disobey him, and are naturally inclined to evil rather than good. Hence, none by virtue of any natural goodness, can become the holy children of God; but they are all dependent for salvation upon the redemption effected through the blood of Christ, and

upon being created anew unto holiness through the operation of the Spirit; both of which are freely provided for every descendant of Adam."

"ATONEMENT. As sin cannot be pardoned without a sacrifice, and the blood of beasts could never actually wash away sin, Christ gave his life a sacrifice for the sins of the world, and thus made salvation possible for all men. He died for us, suffering the penalty of the law in our stead, to make known the righteousness of God, that he might be just in justifying sinners, who believe in his Son. Through the redemption effected by Christ, salvation is actually enjoyed in this world, and will be enjoyed in the next, by all who do not in this life refuse obedience to the known requirements of God."

"The Gospel Call. By virtue of the atonement, which is designed to counteract the effects of the fall, man is placed in a salvable state; the grace of God, the influences of the Holy Spirit, and the invitations of the Gospel are given to all men, and by these they receive power to repent and obey all the requirements of the gospel. Hence it appears a perfect inconsistency to suppose that God would provide salvation for a less number than he really loved. As his love extended to all mankind, if he provided salvation for one, he must necessarily for all, there being nothing in his nature, nor in man's nature, whereby this provision should be limited. The facts being admitted that God loves all men, that Christ died for all men, that the Holy Ghost reproves all men, and that by virtue of these, all men have the ability to repent and believe, what other conclusion can be drawn than that the salvation of all is possible? We mean only to say, that salvation is possible, for though in its provisions it is free and absolute, yet in its application it is expressly conditional."

PERSEVERANCE. "As the regenerate are placed in a state of trial during this life, their future obedience and final salvation are neither determined nor certain. It is, however, their duty and privilege to be steadfast in the truth, to grow in grace, persevere in holiness, and make their election sure."

When these Freewill Baptists united with the Baptists in the Northern Baptist Convention, nothing was said about theological agreements or disagreements, thereby revealing the changed ~~conditions~~ theological conditions in both bodies since 1770.

1. Burrage, pp. 282-84. McGlothlin, pp. 311-29.

7. Ministerial Education.

The early Baptists of America were either indifferent or hostile to an educated ministry, caused by the undue importance ascribed to liberal culture by the leaders of the more popular churches; the lack of profound earnestness and true spirituality in many preachers possessing the learning of the schools; the influence of Pedobaptist views which were supposed to pervade the highest seats of learning in the land; the deep conviction and inward assurance of many uneducated men that God called them by his Spirit to preach the gospel; and the blessed work that followed the labors of these untrained men in the awakening of sinners and leading them to Christ.

The Great Awakening brought great numbers into the Baptist churches, and in places whole churches were added to the ranks. These rapidly increasing churches needed pastors. The two schools of New England - Harvard and Yale - were controlled exclusively by the Congregationalists, and were especially unfriendly at this time to Anabaptists and the New Lights or Separates. The college at Princeton, New Jersey, had been established by the Presbyterians, while Columbia, New York, William and Mary in Virginia, and the University of Pennsylvania were under Episcopal control. In 1756 the Philadelphia Association "concluded to raise a sum of money towards the encouragement of a Latin and Grammar School, for the education of learning among us, under the care of Rev. Isaac Eaton, and the inspection of our brethren Abel Morgan, Isaac Stell, Abel Griffith, and Peter P. Vanhorn." This was the first school among American Baptists for the literary and theological training of young men for the ministry. The success of the Hopewell Academy inspired the friends of learning in the denomination with renewed confidence and incited them to attempt the establishment of a college. Many of the churches "Being supplied with Able pastors from Mr. Eaton's Academy, and being thus convinced from experience, of the great usefulness of human literature to more thoroughly furnish the man of God for the most important work of the gospel ministry, the hands of the Philadelphia Association were strengthened and their hearts encouraged to

...to the treasurer of the college. The notion of 1762 led to the organization of Rhode Island College, under James Manning, etc.

encouraged to extend their design of promoting literature in the society (denomination), by erecting on some suitable part of the continent, a college or university which should be principally under the direction and government of the Baptists." The South was at first thought to be the best location, but the rapid growth of Baptists in Rhode Island, the fact that Rhode Island had no public school or college, and that it was first settled by Baptists, combined with the geographical position and increased probability of securing a charter under her government, led to the selection of Rhode Island.

When the Philadelphia Association was meeting in the Lutheran church on Fifth St., Philadelphia, in 1762, a motion was made that a Baptist college be established in which "education might be promoted, and superior learning obtained, free from any sectarian test." Morgan Edwards says, "The first mover was laughed at as the projector of a thing impossible. Many of the Baptists themselves discouraged the design, prophesying evil to the churches in case it should take place, from an unhappy prejudice against learning." The tasks of a new settlement, such as enclosing farms, building roads, gaining a living from the soil - in many places not very productive - pressed sorely upon the people and left little time and less means for books, schools and colleges. The Baptists especially were poor. In New England there were thirty-nine churches, including both General and Particular. There were twenty-nine churches connected with the Philadelphia Association, representing Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. Other churches in the Carolinas and Georgia formed the Charleston Association. Baptists had less than seventy regularly constituted churches with five thousand members in America. They were "without wealth, and without social or political influence, in many places fined, scourged and imprisoned, for their religious opinions, and scorned everywhere, except in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Rhode Island." A sidelight upon the poverty of Baptists is seen in the recommendation of the Philadelphia Association in 1764 that "every member pay six pence sterling yearly for three years to the treasurer of the college." The motion of 1762 led to the organization of Rhode Island College, under James Manning, at

Warren, Rhode Island in 1764, which was moved to Providence in 1770 and later became known as Brown University. Some have criticised the charter, but possibly none less liberal could have been secured and no strictly sectarian school could have succeeded at that time, under the patronage of a despised and oppressed denomination of seventy churches and five thousand members scattered from Maine to Georgia.

James Manning was first called by a congregation of Baptists residing in Warren, Rhode Island, but who were members of the Baptist church of Swansea +three miles distant -in February of 1764. His second call was from the Baptist church in Warren, composed of twenty-five members dismissed from the Swansea church for the purpose, and others converted under the ministry of Manning from February to November of 1764. "The church of Christ in Warren, in the Colony of Rhode Island, baptized upon a personal profession of faith, holding to the doctrines of regeneration, perseverance in grace etc., being constituted and organized a church, this fifteenth day of November, 1764, present to the Rev. James Manning, late of Nassau Hall, in New Jersey, their Christian salutation. "The call followed. Manning's first step in reference to the college was to open a Latin School, with an ultimate view to college instruction. The Latin School flourished from the beginning and Manning continued to either teach or superintend instruction in the school for many years, in addition to his duties as pastor of the church and president of the college. The Grammar School was moved to Providence in 1770, and in 1780 a brick building was erected for its accomodation. It has always been an efficient and invaluable auxiliary to the College and University. "It was understood from the beginning that Manning was to receive his support from the church of which he was to be pastor and the Latin School, the infant College having no funds. "For eight years Manning continued to teach in the Latin School. The students boarded for years in private families, paying for the same one dollar and twenty-five cents a week. How things have changed! In 1770 it was voted that the president have £100 and house out of the corporation treasury-

We have gone rather minutely into the early history of Rhode Island College because it best reveals the struggles of the early Baptists of America for a better educated ministry, and

it was the only Baptist college in America prior to 1815. There were several academies formed during this period. The Hopewell Academy- mentioned above - was formed in 1756-1757 for the better education of ministers. Dr. Jones' Academy at Lower Dublin, Pennsylvania lived from 1766 to 1794, and had a total of sixty-nine students. William's Academy at Wrentham, Massachusetts was opened in 1776 to teach languages, arts and sciences, etc. Mr. Robert's Academy opened at Statesbury, South Carolina in 1800. The Mount Enon Academy, due principally to Dr. Holcombe, was opened near Augusta, Georgia in 1806. In 1812 "The Baptist Education Society of the Middle States" was formed at Philadelphia to educate Baptist students for the ministry.

In 1790 there were only twenty-five Baptist preachers in America having any collegiate degree. Three were Bachelors of Arts, eighteen Masters of Arts, and four Doctors of Divinity. No Baptist preacher south of Maryland possessed any degree. But since 1790 the proportion of educated ministers has steadily increased and is now very large. The better educated ministers and members made possible the triumph of evangelical Calvinism among American Baptists.¹

S. Home Missions.

Many Baptist churches in America started from the family altar of a Christian home. Often for years the only Baptist church in the new settlement was "in their house". A home would be opened for prayer and other homes invited in; together they prayed, studied the Bible, souls were saved, and a church came into being from the household meetings. These scattered flocks were looked upon as providential calls for help unto the pastors and churches of the more settled regions. To find these household groups and preach to the unsaved was the cause of the genesis of home mission work. Home missionaries went forth, such as Dr. Joseph Bellamy in Connecticut (1740); Rev. Ashbel Hosmer, in New Jersey and Rev. William Fristoe in Virginia (1742); Richard Furman, Abraham Marshall, Edmund Botsford, Oliver Hart and others in South Carolina; Shubael Stearns and Daniel Marshall in North Carolina. The first gospel sermon preached in Illinois, was in 1787 by Rev. James Smith. The earliest fruit of his ministry was James Lemen, a native of Virginia, of

1. Moss, pp. 125-152; Benedict, Vol. 2, pp. 443-469. Guild, pp. 20; 8, 9; 10-11; 18-19; 22; 45; 50-51; 82; 142; 188. Burrage, Hist of Bapts in New England, pp. 69-79.

Scotch-Irish descent, who settled at New Design and having no church privileges, "he in conjunction with a few others, seriously inclined like himself, used to assemble once a week, on a Sabbath, to read the Scriptures, a published sermon or two, and sing; going through the forms of public worship, with the exception of prayer, for which no one of their number felt qualified." In 1794 he was baptized by Rev. Josiah Dodge, then on a missionary tour in Illinois.

Prior to the organization of Home Mission societies the missionary work was conducted under the auspices of the District Associations. In 1802 Mr. Blood left his home in Vermont for a three weeks tour of the western part of New York and Canada. Joseph Carnell, a missionary of the Massachusetts Domestic Missionary Society, spent some weeks in Upper Canada. About the year of 1800 he made a six months missionary tour of New England and Canada, during which he often traveled as many as six hundred miles without meeting a minister of the gospel.

The Boston Female Society for Missionary Purposes was constituted in 1800 of fourteen women, part of whom were Baptists and a part Congregationalists. They raised one hundred and fifty dollars the first year. One task of the society was to form "Female Mite and Cent Societies." The Massachusetts Domestic Missionary Society was formed in 1802, with Massachusetts, Maine, western and southern New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, and Lower Canada as the field. The policy was to fix upon important centers, from which to make excursions, supply churches with pastors or preachers for a part of the time, and itineracy. The Philadelphia Association considered sending missionaries to the back parts of Pennsylvania and northeastern Ohio in 1800. A Missionary Society of the Charleston Association was formed in 1803 to send the gospel to the Catawba Indians. A New York Missionary Society was formed in 1806. Since 1800 some New York Baptists had done missionary work with Presbyterians, from whom they withdrew in 1806 and formed their own society. The Lake Missionary Society in central and western New York began in 1807, composed of twenty members paying one dollar each. Operations were to be in the Lake region, hence the name. The name was changed to the Hamilton Missionary Society in 1809, and the treasurer reported \$150 collected for the year. A Female Mite Society was constituted in Boston in 1809, and similar societies

soon sprang into existence elsewhere. The rule was to contribute one cent a week, or fifty-two cents a year to missions. When the New Jersey Association withdrew from the Philadelphia in 1811, it established a missionary society which received \$200 for the year of 1812. Benedict says that all missionary societies from 1800 to 1813, raised about \$30 000, in addition to what the New York brethren contributed ~~while~~ with the Presbyterians, and the moneys raised to support Judson and Rice. The spread of missions and the missionary spirit tended to make the Calvinism of American Baptists thoroughly evangelical, and in becoming evangelical, its triumph over Arminianism became assured.¹

9. Andrew Fuller.

The early Baptist preachers in America, especially those of English and Welsh descent, were strong Calvinists, and few felt at liberty to plainly call sinners to repentance and faith, due to their doctrine of inability. In 1785 Andrew Fuller, the gifted Baptist pastor at Kettering, England, published his "Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation". A conflict ensued between Fuller and his hyper-Calvinistic brethren, in which Fuller proved himself a true and heroic leader. His "Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Examined and Compared", and his "Gospel Its Own Witness", modified the Calvinism of both Old and New England, where they were eagerly read. Fuller's influence caused American Baptists to avoid circumlocutions in speaking to the unconverted of repentance and faith, and to appeal directly for immediate decision. The preachable Calvinism of Fuller met a long felt need.²

In "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation", Fuller says: "If faith were not more a duty than election or redemption, which are peculiar to God; the want of one would be no more ascribed to the evil disposition of the heart, than the other. If the inability of sinners to believe in Christ, were of the same nature as that of a dead body in a grave to rise up and walk, it were absurd to suppose that they would, on this account, fall under the divine censure. No man is reprov'd for not doing that which is naturally impossible; but sinners are reprov'd for not believing and given to understand, that it is solely owing to their criminal ignorance, pride, dishonesty of heart and aversion from God."

1. Moss, pp. 155-193. Benedict, Vol. 2. pp. 440-444. 2. Burrage, Bapts. in N. E., pp. 280-84. Benedict, Fifty Yrs among Bapts., pp. 138-140.

Fuller says in "Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Examined":
"The incapacity of God to show mercy without an atonement, is no other than a righteous governor, who, whatever good will he may bear to an offender, cannot admit the thought of passing by an offence, without some public expression of displeasure against it; that while mercy triumphs, it may not be at the expense of law and equity, and of the general good."

FREE AGENCY: "We as freely preserve our inclinations in spiritual, as in natural things; we as freely yield ourselves to be servants of sin, or of God, as ever we chose to eat, drink or sleep. Man lost his moral rectitude by the fall. All that was entrusted into his hands was lost. But we might as well say he had lost his reason, his conscience or his memory, as to say he had lost his free-agency, and this would be supposing him to have lost his intellectual nature, and to have become literally a brute." Total depravity does not forbid gospel appeals to sinners. "The human heart is by nature totally destitute of love to God, or love to man as the creature of God, and consequently is destitute of all true virtue. A being may be utterly destitute of good, and therefore totally depraved, and yet capable of adding iniquity to iniquity without end. While men are rational beings they are accountable for all they do, whatever be the inclination of their hearts, and so long as they are not consigned to hopeless perdition, they are the subjects of a gospel address.... Repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ were the ground articles on which they (Christ and his apostles) insisted. So far from hesitating to exhort their carnal creditors to what was spiritually good, it may be safely affirmed, that they never exhorted them to anything else."

Discussing the custom of many Calvinistic preachers who disapprove of all exhortations to sinners, except to merely external obedience, or things which contain in them nothing truly or spiritually good, he says:

"A Christian minister if he takes his views simply from the Scriptures, will find nothing in his doctrines to hinder the free use of ~~wap~~ing, invitations and persuasions, either to the converted or the unconverted. Not that he will found his hopes of success on the pliability of the human mind; but on the power and grace of God, who while he prophesieth to the dry bones as he is commanded, is known to inspire many with the breath of life.

"Instead of being a question whether ministers should exhort their carnal auditors to anything spiritually good, it deserves to be seriously considered, whether it be not at their peril to exhort them to anything short of it. If any duty consists in the genuine operations and expressions of the heart, it must be utterly wrong for ministers to compromise matters with the enemies of God, by exhorting them to mere external actions, or to such a kind of exercise as may be performed without the love of God. It is disloyalty to God; betraying his just authority over the heart, and admitting that in behalf of him which we would despise if offered to ourselves from a fellow-creature. Nor is it less injurious to the souls of men; as it tends to quiet their consciences, and to cherish an opinion that, having complied with many of the exhortations of their minister, they have done many things pleasing and acceptable to God; while in fact, every thought and imagination of their hearts has been only evil continually."¹

This kind of Calvinistic preaching was at no disadvantage in facing the Arminianism of the day; it was a great improvement over the hyper-Calvinism hitherto proclaimed from many Baptist pulpits, and thus much credit is due Andrew Fuller for the triumph of Calvinism among Baptists in America. In unshackling the Calvinism of American Baptists, he helped prepare them for the great progress made by Baptists in America since 1800.

10. Foreign Missions.

The East India Company, chartered under Queen Elizabeth in 1600, opened India to the gospel. But almost two centuries passed before English Christianity was ready to follow where English commerce had led the way. In 1757 Robert Clive, at the battle of Plassey, secured India to British dominion and turned a trading establishment into an empire. In 1792 William Carey invaded India for Christ, through the opening made by commerce and war. The example of Carey and the calls of Providence begot a missionary impulse among American Christians. American Baptists did not earlier follow the lead of their English brethren, because they lacked a consciousness of power sufficient to project and sustain an independent mission among the heathen. Carey corresponded with American Baptists and his letters were published in *1. Fuller's Works, Vol. 1, p. 56; Vol. 2, p. 95; Vol. 4, p. 28, 30, pp. 42, 64-65.*

"The Massachusetts Missionary Magazine" with the result that by 1807 there were many Baptists in America who desired to engage in foreign work. Carey counseled work among the Indians, and the natives of Cuba and Santo Domingo. In 1806 or 1807 six thousand dollars were raised were raised in America for the Serampore mission. Five or six years later societies were formed to promote translations of the Scriptures into Eastern languages, the accounts of collections for this purpose were published in the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine of March 1812. Earnest spirits brooded in secret and counseled together over the duties of the church and the misery of the unevangelized world. Such a group at Andover led to the formation of the "American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions" in 1810. The sending out of Newell, Judson, Nott, Hall and Rice by the Congregationalists in 1812, aroused the Baptist leaders to consider their obligation for a similar work. In January 1812, "The Salem Bible Translation and Foreign Missionary Society" was organized to aid Carey in his work of translating the Scriptures into Eastern languages, "or if deemed advisable at any time to assist in sending a missionary or missionaries from this country to India."

Later a letter was received by Dr. Thomas Baldwin of Boston, telling of Mr. and Mrs. Judson's change of views and application to the English Baptist missionaries for Baptism. Before departing from America for India, Mr. Judson had suggested the formation of a foreign missionary society among Baptists in America to Dr. Bolles of Salem. The baptism of the Judsons (Sept. 6, 1812) and of Luther Rice (Nov. 1, 1812) at Calcutta, thus providing American Baptists with trained, competent missionaries, already on the foreign field, was looked upon by Baptist leaders in America as a voice from heaven, a divine command laid upon them to go up and possess the land; the neglect of which would be to fly in the face of Providence. God had selected the field, the missionaries and the time for them to begin. They dare not fail to accept the divine entrustment. Dr. Marshman wrote Dr. Baldwin: "It seems as though Providence itself were raising up this young man (Mr. Judson), that you might at least partake of the zeal of your Congregational missionary brethren around you. After God has thus given you a missionary of your own nation, faith and order, without the help or knowledge of man, let me entreat you humbly to accept the gift."

Judson wrote that he was ready to become the missionary of American Baptists. The news of the conversions caused the Baptist nerve to vibrate from Portland, Maine to Savannah, Georgia. "The Baptist Missionary Society for Propagating the Gospel in India and Other Foreign Parts" was formed in the home of Dr. Baldwin in Boston (1813) and the support of the Judsons at once undertaken. Similar societies were formed in Rhode Island and Connecticut. A convention composed of delegates from these and similar societies met in Philadelphia (May 18, 1814) and formed the "General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions", to meet once in three years; and the convention to be composed of delegates from societies contributing one hundred dollars annually to the general missionary fund. Thus the providential call was answered. Adoniram Judson was appointed missionary and Luther Rice was assigned the task of arousing American Baptists to support the Judsons.

Providential compulsion chose Burma as the field. Mr. Judson thought of Ambago - a Dutch possession. Driven to the Isle of France, he decided to found a mission at Penang, but failing to find passage thither, he was compelled to go to Madras. Being forced to leave Madras, no passage could be found except to Rangoon, Burma. The thought of a mission to Rangoon was regarded with horror, but it was either that or be shipped back to Europe. Mr. and Mrs. Judson arrived at Rangoon, July 14, 1813. How similar to Paul's experiences in Asia Minor when being directed by God toward Europe, were those of the Judsons in being conducted to Burma as the God-chosen spot for their missionary ministry!

The American Baptists of 1812 believed in Providence as firmly as in election, and following the providential leadership of God in the missionary enterprise, Calvinism triumphed over Arminianism, and was greatly modified in the conquest.

1. Burrage, *Baptists in N. England*, pp. 150-155. Moss, pp. 197-228.

CHAPTER V.

MODIFICATIONS OF CALVINISM AMONG BAPTISTS IN AMERICA
SINCE 1815.

We shall study these modifications as found in articles of faith, theologies and general articles.

I. AS REVEALED IN FORMAL EXPRESSIONS OF FAITH.

1. ^{of the} Sandy Creek Association. In 1816 the Sandy Creek Association adopted the following articles:

3. (We believe) "Adam fell from his original state of purity, and that his sin is imputed to his posterity; that human nature is corrupt, and that man, of his own free will and ability, is impotent to regain the state in which he was primarily placed."

4. "We believe in election from eternity, effectual calling by the Holy Spirit of God, and justification in his sight only by the imputations of Christ's righteousness. And we believe that they who are thus elected, effectually called, and justified, will persevere through grace to the end, that none of them be lost."

Articles were again adopted in 1845, the third, sixth, eighth and ninth of which deal with Calvinistic principles, and are as follows:

FALL of MAN. "That man was created in a state of holiness, under the law of his maker; but by voluntary transgression fell from that holy and happy state; in consequence of which all mankind are now sinners; not by constraint, but by choice: being by nature utterly void of that holiness required by the law of God, wholly given to the gratification of the world, of Satan, and of their own sinful passions, and therefore under just condemnation to eternal ruin, without defence or excuse."

FREENESS of SALVATION. "The blessings of salvation are made free to all by the gospel; that it is the immediate duty of all to accept them by a cordial and obedient faith; and that nothing prevents the salvation of the greatest sinner on earth, except his own voluntary refusal to submit to the Lord Jesus Christ; which refusal will subject him to an aggravated condemnation."

GOD'S PURPOSE OF GRACE. "That election is the gracious purpose of God, according to which he regenerates, sanctifies and saves sinners: that being perfectly consistent with the free agency of man, it comprehends all the means in connection with the end; that it is a most glorious display of God's sovereign goodness, being

infinitely wise, holy and unchangeable; that it utterly excludes boasting, and promotes humility, prayer, praise and trust in God, and active imitation of his free mercy; that it encourages the use of means in the highest degree; that it is ascertained by its effects in all who believe the gospel; is the foundation of Christian assurance, and that to ascertain it with regard to ourselves, demands and deserves our utmost diligence. "

PERSEVERANCE. "That such only are real believers as endure unto the end; that their persevering attachment to Christ is the grand mark which distinguishes them from superficial professors; that a special providence watches over their welfare; and they are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation. "¹

2. Of The Elkhorn Association.

The Corresponding Letter of the Elkhorn Association in 1832 pleads for unity as to the doctrines of: "The fall of man from his primal state of rectitude, and his consequent total inability to do anything to reinstate himself in the favor of God... That this wonderful plan of salvation was laid in divine wisdom, before the world began and is of free unmerited grace, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord... God is unchangeable in all his attributes, from everlasting to everlasting, without the beginning of days, or end of time; and, therefore the sons of Jacob are not consumed, and the saints shall finally persevere through grace unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord. "²

3. Of The Buck Run Church.

"The Baptist Church of Christ on Buck Run", adopted a Constitution and drew up Articles of Faith (Jan. 31, 1818), among which are found the following:

"That by the disobedience of the first Adam all his posterity became guilty, and sinful in every part, and helpless as to any aid they can give in the great work of converting their own souls. "

"That according to God's foreknowledge, previous to time, he did predestinate his people unto life - and being chosen in Christ, before the world began, he did as our second Adam, the Lord from heaven, assume human nature, yet without sin - and by

1. History of the Sandy Creek Asso., Purefoy, pp. 10r-105; 199-214.

2. Minutes of Elkhorn Asso. pp. 245-246.

his obedience, in his incarnation, making an atoning sacrifice for sins, brought in an everlasting righteousness for the rebellious - and when said blessed merit is imputed, or applied to them through faith in his blood, they are thereby justified before God, and being effectually called by his grace and Holy Spirit, shall finally persevere therein, to happiness and eternal glory." ¹

4. The New Hampshire Confession of Faith.

By 1830 New England Baptists desired a better expression of their faith than the Philadelphia Confession. The New Hampshire State Convention (June 24, 1830) appointed a committee to prepare a "Declaration of Faith and Practice, together with a Covenant", as may be thought agreeable and consistent with the views of all Baptist churches in the State of New Hampshire. At the next annual meeting the committee reported progress, but at its own request was discharged, and Rev. Ira Pearson - one of the committee - was appointed to complete the work and report as soon as convenient. He submitted a draft (June 26, 1832) which was received and referred to a committee of three, together with the author. Two days later the committee reported in favor of adopting the draft with slight alterations, but after discussion the matter was referred to the Board. The Board referred the articles to Rev. Baron Stow and Rev. J. Newton Brown for revision. In October of 1832, Mr. Brown submitted the revised articles, which after consideration were accepted and Mr. Brown requested to prepare a copy, including the alterations suggested by the Board. Still further alterations were made at a subsequent meeting of the Board, and the amended copy received the unanimous approval of the Board (in 1833), and was recommended to the churches of the State. Rev. J. Newton Brown, on his own authority (1853) revised the Confession and added two articles. In this form it has been circulated widely, being used especially in the North, East and West, where Calvinism has been most modified by Arminianism. ^{at} Emerging from the region where Arminian influences have always been the strongest, it is the briefest and most moderately Calvinistic of all Calvinistic Baptist Confessions. It is perhaps the most widely used and the most influential statement of doctrine among American Baptists at the present time. It has been adopted by the Kansas City Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Mo., and the Southwestern

1. History of Ten Baptist Churches, John Taylor, pp. 138-139.

1. Surrage, Baptists in N. E., pp. 285-286. McBeth in, pp. 299-301, 301, 97.

Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, the latter changing ARTICLE XIII by striking out the word "visible" and inserting "particular", so as to read "particular church" instead of "visible church". Since this is the most influential statement of doctrine among American Baptists at the present time, we can best see the modifications of Calvinism among American Baptists by considering the Calvinistic statements of the Confession.

FALL OF MAN. "WE believe that man was created in a state of holiness, under the law of his maker; but by voluntary transgression fell from that holy and happy state; in consequence of which all mankind are now sinners, not by constraint but choice, being by nature utterly void of that holiness required by the law of God, wholly given to the gratification of the world, of Satan, and of their own sinful passions, therefore under just condemnation to eternal ruin, without defence or excuse."

FREENESS OF SALVATION. "We believe that the blessings of salvation are made free to all by the Gospel; that it is the immediate duty of all to accept them by a cordial, penitent, and obedient faith; and that nothing prevents the salvation of the greatest sinner on earth except his own inherent depravity and voluntary refusal to submit to the Lord Jesus Christ, which refusal will subject him to an aggravated condemnation."

ELECTION. "We believe that election is the gracious purpose of God, according to which he graciously regenerates, sanctifies and saves sinners; that being perfectly consistent with the free agency of man, it comprehends all the means in connection with the end; that it is a most glorious display of God's sovereign goodness, being infinitely free, wise, holy, and unchangeable; that it utterly excludes boasting, and promotes humility, love, prayer, praise, trust, in God, and active imitation of his free mercy; that it encourages the use of means in the highest degree; that it is ascertained by its effects in all who truly believe the gospel; that it is the foundation of Christian assurance; and that to ascertain it with regard to ourselves, demands and deserves our utmost diligence."

PERSEVERANCE. "We believe that such only are real believers as endure unto the end; that their persevering attachment to Christ is the grand mark which distinguishes them from mere professors; that a special Providence watches over their welfare; and that they are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation."¹

¹ Burrage, *Bapts in N. E.*, pp. 285-286. McGlothlin, pp. 299-301; 301. 97.

5. The Articles of Faith of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary adopted by the Southern Baptist Convention, assembled in Greenville, South Carolina, April 30, 1858. Those bearing upon our THESIS are as follows:

PROVIDENCE. "God from eternity decrees or permits all things that come to pass, and perpetually upholds, directs and governs all creatures and all events: yet so as not in any wise to be the author or approver of sin, nor to destroy the free will and responsibility of intelligent creatures."

ELECTION. "Election is God's eternal choice of some persons unto everlasting life - not because of foreseen merit in them, but of his mere mercy in Christ - in consequence of which choice they are called, justified and glorified."

FALL OF MAN. "God originally created man in his own image, and free from sin; but, through the temptation of Satan, he transgressed the command of God, and fell from his original holiness and righteousness, whereby his posterity inherit a nature corrupt and wholly opposed to God and his law, are under condemnation, and as soon as they are capable of moral action, become actual transgressors."

MEDIATOR. "Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, is the divinely appointed mediator between God and man. Having taken upon himself human nature, yet without sin, he perfectly fulfilled the law, suffered and died upon the cross for the salvation of sinners. He was buried, and rose again the third day, and ascended to his Father, at whose right hand he ever liveth to make intercession for his people. He is the only mediator, the Prophet, Priest and King of the church and sovereign of the universe."

JUSTIFICATION. "Just is God's gracious and full acquittal of sinners, who believe in Christ, from all sin, through the satisfaction that Christ hath made; not for anything wrought in them or done for them; but on account of the obedience and satisfaction of Christ, they receiving and resting on him and his righteousness by faith."

PERSEVERANCE. "Those whom God hath accepted in the Beloved, and sanctified by his Spirit will never totally or finally fall away from the state of grace, but shall certainly persevere to the end, and though they may fall, through neglect and temptation, into sin, whereby they grieve the Spirit, impair their graces and comforts, bring reproach on the church, and temporal judgments on

themselves, yet they shall be renewed again unto repentance, and be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation."¹

6. Articles of Faith of the First Baptist Church of Newton, Massachusetts. These articles are given by Hovey in his "Christian Teaching and Life", published in 1895, but the date of adoption of the articles is not given.

3. "Man was created holy, but by willful disobedience to God he fell from the state of holiness, and became guilty and depraved. In consequence of this fall, the whole human race is depraved; moreover, all responsible human beings have actually sinned, and are justly exposed to condemnation in the sight of God. The sinful character of men consists in this, that they are destitute of love to God, and self-willed, instead of obedient to him."

4. "The only way of deliverance from this state of sin and condemnation is through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, who is the Eternal Word in personal union with human nature. He freely offered himself as a substitute, to suffer and die in behalf of all men. In thus offering himself to God, he became a perfect Savior, by whom all who will may be saved. All men are invited to accept him as the Savior of their souls, and to all who do so accept him, he is the actual ground of justification and eternal life."

5. "All who truly obey the gospel were chosen in Christ 'before the foundation of the world', by him who sees the end from the beginning; and, in consequence of God's purpose and grace, they are regenerated by the Holy Spirit, without whose regenerating influence none would ever repent and believe."

6. "Nothing can separate true believers from the love of God; but they will be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation; the sure and final proof that they are true believers consisting in the continuance of their attachment and obedience to Christ unto the end of life."²

7. Articles of Faith of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia, adopted in 1896.

"We believe that God created man in his own image, pure and upright; that our first parents fell from this original state

1. *Charters and Fundamental Arts. of SOU. Bapt. Theol. Sem.* pp. 10-13.

2. *Christian Teaching and Life, Hovey,* p. 179.

by their transgression of the divine law; that in consequence of their transgression their descendents of the whole human family have been made sinners and placed in a state of guilt, condemnation and wrath."

"We believe that this boundless compassion and sovereign grace, irrespective of anything in man, God has devised and published a glorious plan of recovery and salvation - a plan by which the entrance of sin into the world shall be finally overruled to his own glory."

"We believe that it was the gracious purpose of God before the foundation of the world that no uncertainty should attend his plan of salvation, but that 'a seed' should be given to the Redeemer, 'to the praise of the glory of his grace'. We believe that this sovereign purpose and electing grace of God, as stated in the Bible, is in harmony with the position of man as a free and responsible creature of God, and perfectly consistent with the diligent use of all the appointed means of grace."

"We believe that all who are truly converted to God will be kept by his almighty power through faith unto salvation."¹

An amusing sidelight on the Modifications of Calvinism among American Baptists since 1815, is found in the fact that the same sermon which Dr. Holcombe preached in the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia, and the deacons thought full of error, or too lenient to the Arminian view, was preached from memory by the pastor of the same church in 1899, at the conclusion of which the deacons smacked their lips and said, "what doctrine"! "That is the pure word." "That is the kind of preaching to save souls."²

III. AS REVEALED IN THEOLOGIES: THEOLOGY.

^{AS TO}

1. **Decrees.** The New Standard Dictionary defines DECREE as "The eternal purpose of God, whereby for his own glory he has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass; also, any specific purpose embraced in this one." DAGG, in his "Manual of Theology" published in 1857, does not use the word DECREE, but treats the PURPOSE of God. The substance of his treatment may be thus summarized: God's

1. *Bicentennial Celebration of First Bapt Ch. Phila., Keen, pp. 409-13.*
2. *Commonwealth, January 19, 1899.*

purpose or intention is never changed. God wills whatever he does. God does whatever he wills. Whatever he does is according to a purpose that is eternal, unchangeable, perfectly free and infinitely wise. The purpose does not interfere with the free agency of man, so long as it is only a purpose. God is not the author of man's sin, though he purposes good through his sins. Joseph's brethren sold him into slavery and God purposed through the presence of Joseph in Egypt to save much people alive. God purposes to educe good out of evil, but he does not purpose the evil itself. He is the author, not of the moral evil which he permits, but of the good of which he makes it the occasion. God is the author of holiness, he permits sin. Though he purposed the final condemnation of the wicked, he did not create them to damn them. What God does and why he does it, are equally included in the divine purpose. When we cannot see the wisdom and goodness of his works, we should rest assured that his plan when fully unfolded will be found righteous and most wise.

Pendleton says, in his "Christian Doctrines" published in 1878: "The eternity of the divine purpose cannot be severed from the eternity of the divine existence. As we cannot think of the sun apart from the light and heat which he sends forth, so we cannot think of God apart from his purposes. The reason for their formation (God's purposes) were all in himself, for there were no external influences to work on him." God might have formed different purposes. The world might have been larger or smaller, might have had more or less suns; he might have purposed the salvation of some or all fallen angels, or more or less of the human race than will be saved. "God in forming them was infinitely at liberty to do his pleasure. There is a reason for his purpose, but it is known only to God. The infinite wisdom of God renders needless a change of his purposes. No lack of power on the part of God will ever render it necessary for him to change his purposes." There was on the part of God, no approval, no sanction of the sin of Adam, yet it was permitted. The introduction of sin was among the permissive purposes of God, else God would have prevented its entrance. He permitted sin and expressed his condemnation of evil in the flood, the fires of Sodom, captivity, fall of Jerusalem, and

1. Dagg, *Manual of Theology*, pp. 99, 102; 105-107. from the standpoint of reason. "If God is really the eternal, all-wise, omnipotent water
2. Pendleton, *Christ Doctrines*, pp. 97, 98-100; 101-103

in many other ways. The efficient and permissive purposes of God have not prevented man's freedom. "The question is not as to what prompts the action. The point is that the action is free."²

Boyce, in his "Abstract of Theology" published in 1887, teaches: ⁽¹⁾ "The decrees of God may be defined as that just, wise and holy purpose or plan by which eternally and within himself, he determines all things whatsoever that come to pass... Though what he permits may be unrighteous, or foolish, or sinful, these characteristics belong to it because of others: while his will, purpose or plan continues just, wise and holy." Kerfoot's Revision of 1899 says: "The decrees of God may be defined as that purpose or plan, by which and eternally within himself, God determines all things whatsoever come to pass."⁽²⁾ The decrees "are properly defined to be God's purpose or plan", and the purposes and plans of God were formed eternally and within himself.⁽³⁾ "By this purpose or plan God determined all things which it included. The knowledge of the futurity of any event, over which any one has absolute control, is the result of his purpose, not its cause. And, as God has such absolute control over all things, his knowledge that they will be, must proceed from his purpose that they shall be. It cannot be from mere perception of their nature, for he gives that nature, and in determining to give it, determines what it shall be, and thus determines the effects, which that nature will cause. Nor is it from mere knowledge of the mutual relations which will be sustained by outward events or beings, for it is he that establishes these relations for the accomplishment of his own purposes. To say that this nature and these relations are from God, and not from his purpose, is in the highest degree fatalistic, for it would involve that they originate in some necessity of the nature of God, because of which he must give them existence without so willing, and even against his will." (Kerfoot omits section three).⁽⁴⁾ "This plan, or purpose, includes all things whatsoever that come to pass; not some things, but all things; not all things in general, but each thing in particular. So interwoven are these things, that the lack of purpose, as to any one, would involve the same lack as to a multitude of others, indeed as to every other connected in the slightest degree with the one not purposed." Kerfoot inserts a page to prove the doctrine from the standpoint of reason. "If God is really the eternal, all-wise, omnipotent ruler
2. Pendleton, Christ. Doctrines, pp. 97, 99-100; 101-103

of the universe, he assuredly has had a plan concerning the universe. If he is really omniscient, he must have known everything that would come to pass. God is the actual ruler of the universe, upholds all things by his power and nothing can happen independently of him. The difficulty from a rational point of view, is not in accepting the doctrine, that everything that ever came to pass has been always in God's plan. The real difficulty is to see how anything, even sin, has come to pass without God's having been responsible for it."

Boyce follows Hodge and summarizes the Decrees of God as eternal, immutable, comprehending all events, unconditional, sovereign, include the means, determine the free actions of men: the decree renders the event certain; while God has decreed the free acts of men; the actors have been none the less responsible; God himself works in his people that faith and obedience which are called the conditions of salvation."¹

Dr. Strong's Systematic Theology of 1889 and of 1907 teaches: "By the decrees of God we mean that eternal plan by which God has rendered certain all the events of the universe, past, present and future. The decrees are many only to our finite comprehension; in their own nature they are but one plan, which embraces not only the ends to be secured, but also the means needful to secure them. The decrees, as the eternal act of an infinitely perfect will, though they have logical relations to each other, have no chronological relations. They are not therefore the result of deliberation, in any sense that implies short-sightedness or hesitancy. Since the will in which the decrees have their origin is a free will, the decrees are not merely instinctive or necessary exercise of the divine intelligence or volition, such as pantheism supposes. The decrees have reference to things outside of God. God does not decree to be holy, nor to exist as three persons in one essence. The decrees primarily respect the act of God himself, in creation, providence and grace; secondarily, the acts of free creatures, which he foresees will result therefrom. The decree to act is not the act. The decrees are an internal exercise and manifestation of the divine attributes, and are not to be confounded with creation, providence and redemption, which are the execution of the decrees.

1. Boyce, pp. 115, 117, 124. Kerfoot, pp. 126, 130-131.

"The decrees are therefore not addressed to creatures; are not of the nature of statute law; and lay neither compulsion nor obligation upon the wills of men. All human acts, whether evil or good, enter into the divine plan and so are objects of God's decrees, although God's actual agency with regard to the evil is only a permissive agency. While God's total plan with regard to creatures is called predestination, or foreordination, his purpose so to act that certain will believe and be saved is called election, and his purpose so to act that certain will refuse to believe and be lost is called reprobation."¹

Clarke teaches, in "An Outline of Christian Theology" published in 1894:

1. "God has a uniform method of conducting the universe. In general God's method is evolutionary. God has unfolded, developed, evolved the universe of today, bringing it forth from other forms of being; and to still other forms he is bearing it on. Change is incessant, rest unknown. This evolutionary method does not necessarily preclude acts of creation in the course of the general movement. A free Spirit is not in bondage to his own methods. A method of growth does not rule out acts of implanting; conceivably it might imply them."

2. "God has a spiritual purpose in the universe. The order, unity and uniformity of method that pervade the universe attest the presence of such purpose. Since God is a Spirit this final end must be spiritual."

3. "God as the good creator has full right of control throughout the universe... The living God is a good being, perfect in holiness and love, and as the good creator he has full right over all that exists. All beings, each according to its nature, ought to be controlled by him. Each free spirit ought to do his will because his will is good, and seek to be like him because he is perfect. His right is as perfect as himself."

4. "God exercises direct control throughout the universe, save as he has set off spiritual beings with a certain independence, able to do their own wills instead of his... Throughout the material realm, where there is no room for moral operations, we are sure that his will works independently and alone. But God has created spirits intelligent and free, with a constitution that implies moral agency... He has called other wills into being, and given ~~the~~ to each one

1. Strong, One Vol. Ed. pp. 171-172. Three Vol. Edit. pp. 353-55.

a limited field of genuine sovereignty...He must treat the free as free, and he cannot by will decide to treat it as unfree, any more than he can decide to treat rock as water."

5. "God's attitude toward the universe is that of a wise, holy, faithful creator, who is at once Father and servant to his creatures. God is as actively at work in the universe today and all the days, as ever he was in creating it, and his work is perpetual ministrat-ion. The universal sovereign is the universal servant, and if he ceased to serve the universe would cease to be."

6. "God's sovereignty over free beings is exercised through paternal moral government. His administration of their life proceeds upon simple and intelligible principles, intends their good and continues in its present form until they have reached a definite and final moral state."

7. "God does not by predestination destroy that freedom in men which is essential to moral government. The acts of free beings cannot be predestinated. The Scriptures do not discuss the abstract principle of predestination. The Scriptures teach that the success of God's gracious work is predetermined in his mind, and certain. The 'eternal purpose' of which Paul speaks (Eph. 3:11) is the purpose to send Christ and save men through him. God carries on the movement of the world with steady mind; he has always intended to do for man what he is doing; and the successful outcome of his work is foreordained and sure. He has not begun without purpose to finish, and this is true not only of his work as a whole, but of his work in individuals - he intended it, and intends to complete it. It is foreordained that his children shall be made like Jesus. These predestined certainties are not announced in order to perplex men, but in order to give sure foundation for hope and comfort to those who trust in the grace of God. Romans IX-XI was written, not to establish a doctrine of predestination and election, but to refute an extravagant and a narrow doctrine on those points, and to assert the right of God to exercise free grace wherever he will. Acts of free beings cannot be predestinated; and acts predestinated are not those of free beings. The two ideas are mutually exclusive. Whatever room for predestination there may be in the universe, the acts of men are not included in it, if men are free."

God exercises a providence over his universe; by which is meant that care and direction of his works by which he conducts them toward the end of their creation. If there is a providence, there must be a wise, kindly, faithful administration of human life intended for spiritual good. Providence includes control of the unfree, moral government over the free, and mysterious guidance of the free from above their freedom. It is universal, constant, paternal, and uses natural means along with spiritual agencies helpful to spiritual purpose. Evidence of this higher sovereignty meets us whenever we find our lives falling into line, and working out a purpose that we did not form or entertain. An analogy of this higher sovereignty is seen among men, when one man secures from another the doing of some noble thing he desires; while the other's will, far from being crushed, is acting at its noblest."

God has not prevented evil from entering his creation, but knows how to use it in the administration of the universe. Physical evil, apparently inseparable from bodily existence, is not useless. Moral evil came by misuse of freedom. It is the dark mystery of creation, but God has use for it as a servant to good; and to the good God we can trust even a sinful universe."¹

Johnson in "An Outline of Systematic Theology" (1895): "The decrees of God are the eternal and sovereign purposes for which he created all things. They embrace not only the universe as a whole but every object in it; not only consummations, but every subsidiary event; not only the active furtherance of good, but the incidental permission of evil."²

2. As to Providence.

Dagg (1857) says in substance: The world is an object of God's constant care, and his hand is concerned in all its movements. All created things are kept in power by the will and power of God. God is more to the world than an architect to the house. At God's will the world came to be; at his will it continues to exist. All created things are so under God's control that their changes take place according to his purpose. God's control is extended to all events, causing them to cooperate in the fulfillment of his purpose. As God's greatness permitted him to create

1. Clarke, pp. 128-161. 2. Johnson, p. 76.

the minutest of his works, so it permits him to take care of them; and this care is as easy and undisturbing to him as if his whole energy were directed to the care and benefit of a single man or angel. The laws of nature are the modes in which the providence of God works. They are the orders of sequence in which it is his will, that the changes of natural things should occur. Divine control extends over all agents, animate and inanimate, rational and irrational, and are so ordered by him as to fulfill his purpose. "Physical agents are controlled as physical, and moral as moral agents." But moral agents act as freely as if no providence existed. The gardener has a rivulet, he directs the fertilizing stream as he pleases, but the stream moves according to its own natural tendency. Rebellious subjects cannot move but by God's permission. If God stood aloof from all that is sinful, he would necessarily abandon all human affairs, for they are mixed with sin. Wicked men are called the rod, the staff, the axe, the saw, in God's hands (Isa. 10:5-15). Acts of wicked agents are attributed to God in the cursing of David by Shimei, and in Absalom lying with his father's wives. God exercises a perfect control over every sinful agent in all his acts.¹

Pendleton (1878) teaches that providence is God's control of what he has made. He orders all events, such as time and place of birth, whether to splendors of wealth or privations of poverty. God controls occurrences during life, his plan including poverty or riches, disease or health, where, when and how we die. All events of life are under the direction of God.²

Boyce (1887) and Kerfoot (1899) are the same in substance in their treatment of providence, though differing in arrangement, due possibly to Kerfoot's desire to simplify the doctrine that students might grasp it the easier. Providence is said to be closely allied to predestination, and yet distinct from it. "The purpose of God is his predetermined plan as to what shall be done in his creation by himself or by others. It fixes the events which shall happen, and the methods and agency by which they shall take place. But providence is the actual doing, or permitting the things thus purposed, and securing the ends thus designed. The purpose also is formed in eternity; the providential acts are performed in time." Both declare that providence is universal, accords with the nature of God, and with the

1. Dagg, pp. 116-19; 130-131.

2. Pendleton, pp. 134-135.

nature of that which is governed -the material universe, plant and animal life, and the free agency of man.

Bro. Strong (1889) defines PROVIDENCE as follows: "Providence is that continuous agency of God by which he makes all the events of the physical and moral universe fulfill the original design with which he created it. Providence is not to be taken merely in its etymological sense of *foreseeing*. It is *forseeing* also, or a positive agency in connection with all the events of history. Providence is to be distinguished from preservation. While preservation is a maintenance of the existence and powers of created things, providence is an actual care and control of them. Since the original plan of God is all-comprehending, the providence which executes the plan is all-comprehending also, embracing within its scope things small and great, and exercising care over individuals as well as over classes. In respect to the good acts of men, providence embraces all those natural influences of birth and surroundings which prepare men for the operation of God's word and Spirit, and which constitute motives to obedience. In respect to the evil acts of men, providence is never the efficient cause of sin, but is by turns preventive, permissive, directive and determinative."

In the three volume edition of 1907 he adds: "As creation explains the existence of the universe, and as preservation explains its continuance, so providence explains its evolution and progress. Since Christ is the only revealer of God, and he is the medium of every divine activity, providence is to be regarded as the work of Christ. Providence is God's attention concentrated everywhere, His care is microscopic as well as telescopic. The problems of God's providential dealings are intelligible only when we consider that Christ is the revealer of God, and that his suffering for sins opens to us the heart of God. All history is the progressive manifestation of Christ's holiness and love, and in the cross we have the key that unlocks the secret of the universe. With the cross in view, we can believe that love rules over all, and that 'all things work together for good to them that love God'."

In discussing providence and the evil acts of free agents in the one volume edition of 1889 and the three volumes of 1907 he says: "Here we must distinguish between the natural agency and the moral agency of God, or between acts of permissive providence and

1. Boyce, pp. 217; 223-226. Kerfoot, pp. 179; 184-187.

acts of efficient causation. We are ever to remember that God neither works evil, nor causes his creatures to work evil. All sin is chargeable to the self-will and perversity of the creature; to declare God the author of it is the greatest of blasphemies. But while man makes up his evil decisions independently of God, God does, by his natural agency, order the method in which this inward evil shall express itself, by limiting it in time, place, and measure, or by guiding it to the end which his wisdom and love, and not man's intent, has set. In all this, however, God only allows sin to develop itself after its own nature, so that it may be known, abhorred, and if possible overcome and forsaken. In cases of persistent iniquity, God's providence still compels the sinner to accomplish the design with which he and all things have been created, namely, the manifestation of God's holiness. Even though he struggle against God's plan, yet he must by his very resistance serve it. His sin is made its own detector, judge, and tormentor. His character and doom are made a warning to others. Refusing to glorify God in his salvation, he is made to glorify God in his destruction. "¹

Johnson(1895): "God not only maintains all things in existence, but he directs all things toward the ends for which he made them. And since his own glory and blessedness are secured through the well-being of his creatures, the divine providence is not improperly as in effect his care for his creatures, in particular for man. Particular or special providence is the divine care over individuals. It covers all our personal interests, as well as those of God's kingdom so far as the individual can effect these, and has regard to the minutest conditions involved, physical as well as spiritual. "²

Dr. Mullins in "The Christian Religion in its Doctrinal Expression"(1917): "By the providence of God we mean his control or direction of the universe toward the end which he has chosen." The divine purpose in the control of the universe is that God may "reproduce himself in a kingdom of free spirits." The providential control of God implies divine sovereignty. But "foreordination must not cancel human freedom, else God is responsible for man's sinful acts. Man's sinful acts are foreordained in a permissive sense only and not efficaciously." The chief purpose in God's

1. Strong. One Vol. Ed. pp. 207-208; 220. Three Vol. Ed. pp. 419, 20; 441-42.
2. Johnson, pp. 101-102.

sovereignty is the establishment of his spiritual kingdom in Christ. It means that " he keeps the reins of government in his own hands. He guides the universe to his own glorious end," This providential government is in accordance with physical and moral laws, respects human freedom, makes use of the unity of the race, extends to individuals, to the smallest events, at times employs miracles, and provides for prayer and its answer, admits of pain and suffering among men.¹

3. As to Creation.

Dagg (1857) interprets the "image of God" as referring to man's mental endowments, his spirituality and immortality. Man was endowed with true holiness and righteousness. He knew God and loved him supremely. Dominion over all inferior creatures was given him, and until man rebelled against God inferior creatures were not permitted to rebel against him.²

Boyce (1887) and Kerfoot (1899) both teach that man was created spiritual and with all the peculiarities of a true spirit. "He is a personal being with individual conscious existence and action. He has the intellectual powers by which he knows all things within the sphere of his being. He has that power of contrary choice which constitutes him a free agent, although controlled in that choice by the prevailing motive - by which is meant the motive which most pleases him and which is, therefore, that to which his own nature gives prevalence. This moral nature as originally existent must have been not only without taint of sin, and without tendencies to sin, and not merely a condition of such equipoise between sin and holiness as would make the soul indifferent to the one or the other, but must have been entirely inclined towards the right, with a holy taste for the holiness of God, having capacity to discern its beauty, and inclination to love him as its possessor, accompanied by readiness to obey the law of God, and perception of man's duty to serve him. Perpetuity of existence also belongs to the nature of created spirit."³

Kerfoot adds: "The fall of a spiritual being may be prevented, either by not appointing to it a probation, or presenting the trial under such circumstances as will leave no temptation to choose the wrong, or by God's so influencing the mind as to counteract all the power of such temptation. But, that God has a right to

1. Mullins, pp. 265-280. 2. Dagg, pp. 142-43. 3. Boyce, pp. 214-15 Kerfoot, pp. 176-177.

test his creatures is unquestionable, as well as that he is not bound to surround him with such circumstances, or so to counteract the power of all temptation, as to make sinning impossible. But if he should thus protect or decline to test, the natural fallibility of the creature would still be a fact. He is under these circumstances not liable to fall, simply because God protects him from that liability. He has not an infallible nature."¹

Strong (1889, 1907) says: "Man was created a personal being, and was by this personality distinguished from the brute. By personality we mean the twofold power to know self as related to the world and to God, and to determine self in view of moral ends. By virtue of this personality man could at his creation choose which of the objects of his knowledge - self, the world or God - should be the norm and center of his development. This natural likeness to God is inalienable, and as constituting a capacity for redemption gives value to the life even of the unregenerate. In addition to the powers of self-consciousness and self-determination just mentioned, man was created with such a direction of the affections and the will, as constituted God the supreme end of man's being, and constituted man a finite reflection of God's moral attributes. Since holiness is the fundamental attribute of God, this must of necessity be the chief attribute of his image in the moral beings whom he creates. That original righteousness was essential to this image, is also distinctly taught in Scripture."²

Johnson (1895) teaches that the image of God refers to man's personality and original moral excellence. "God made man faultless. He was spontaneously correct in all relations. Toward God his natural relation was one of reverence, submission, trust, and love; toward human beings it was one of love, respect and helpfulness; toward inferior creatures one of kindness and authority; for himself it was the proportionate exercise of his powers, and distaste for excess in the use of any."³

Mullins (1917) thus summarizes the doctrine of creation: "Man was created as body and soul, of both physical and spiritual nature, the spiritual being in the image of God, which means, that man resembles God in being rational, moral, emotional; possessed of will, free; originally free from sin and inclined to righteousness; 1. Kerfoot, p. 178. 2. Strong, One Vol. Ed. p. 262. Three Vol. Ed. pp. 515-17. 3. Johnson, pp. 138-139.

possessed dominion over the lower orders of creation, and is immortal." The theory of traducianism -that both body and soul are produced by natural generation - is accepted.¹

4. As to the Fall.

Dagg (1857): Adam placed under a covenant of works violated it and brought its penalty on himself and his descendants. The death penalty for sin meant to be cut off from the communion and favor of God, and be banished from his presence.²

Pendleton (1878) teaches that our first parents were in their finite nature as holy as God is holy; in a state of innocence, integrity, uprightness and purity. Sin made man mortal; subject to disease, infirmity and desolation. The natural death of Adam and his posterity are due to Adam's sin. Had there been no sin, there would have been no physical death. The effects of Adam's sin were transmitted to all his posterity; to every human being that has lived, or is now living. As the federal head, the representative of the race, he ruined both himself and his posterity by his offence. Adam's descendants choose his sin as their own, and all are guilty in their helplessness, and helpless in their guilt.³

Strong (1889, 1907): "The Scriptures, however, refer the origin of this nature (sinful nature) to that free act of our first parents, by which they turned away from God, corrupted themselves, and brought themselves under the penalties of the law." The consequences of the fall to Adam were physical death, or the separation of the soul from the body; and spiritual death, or the separation of the soul from God. The consequences of sin to Adam's posterity: "As a result of Adam's transgression, all his posterity are born into the same state into which he fell. But since law is the all comprehending demand of harmony with God, all moral consequences flowing from transgression are to be regarded as sanctions of law, or expressions of the divine displeasure through the constitution of things which he has established."⁴

5. As to the Will.

Hovey's treatment of the will is thus summarized in his Manual of Theology (1877):

1. "That every man has whatever power of will is necessary

1. Mullins, pp. 252-253. 2. Dagg, pp. 149-150. 3. Pendleton, pp. 160-175. 4. Strong, One Vol. Edit. pp. 302, 306-7. Three Vol. Edit. pp. 582; 590-91; p. 637.

to make him justly responsible for the moral good or evil in his character and conduct. 2. That this power is inalienable, no degree of progress in holiness or sinfulness having any tendency to destroy it. However holy Gabriel may be, he possesses it; however wicked Satan may be, he also possesses it. 3. That even the moral bias of man's heart is in a most important sense voluntary; since all spiritual activity is at once intellectual, emotional and voluntary. 4. That moral character, as a permanent thing, may be discovered most readily in the state of the moral susceptibilities and feelings. 5. That conscious choice and volition indorse, express, and deepen this character or these susceptibilities; while the latter in turn have great influence upon the former. 6. Hence, that virtue and sin cannot be traced wholly to either function of man's spirit -to his moral taste or to his will. 7. Yet a certain power of choosing his end or aim in life appears to be the rational basis of responsibility." ¹

Clarke(1894): "The will is the power by which a man determines whether and how he shall act, and puts forth his energy in action.. In determining whether and how he shall act, any man proceeds under the influence of various considerations favoring the decision that he makes; and other considerations opposing it or favoring other actions he may reject. These considerations suggesting or favoring action are called MOTIVES. Motives are not constraints upon the will, dictating and demanding their own course of action; they are simply the considerations among which a man chooses and decides which one to follow. Motives are not separate forces, definite and measureable; the quality that induces the decision does not reside in the motive itself, but in the man to whom it offers its appeal, with his constitution, habits, tastes and character. A motive is strong or weak according to the character of the person concerned. A man really makes his own motives, and determines -not by his will, indeed, but by his character -the power that any given motive can exercise upon him." The freedom of the will "really means that there is nothing in human nature or life that prevents a man from being the one that determines whether or how he shall act." The sphere of free-will is narrower than life, for much enters into every man's life that lies beyond the sphere of his volition. And the free-will is diminished by want of harmony among the man's

powers. The man cannot do the thing he wills. "This is moral inability: the will has its natural power of direction, but for moral reasons it has not its normal control over the quality of action. This occurs when sin has weakened the good and strengthened the evil in man."¹

Johnson (1895): "Man possesses formal freedom, because he prefers the course which he follows; but he has lost real freedom, because the preference for sin is a bondage which he cannot break."²

6. As To Depravity.

Dagg (1857) teaches that all men are by nature totally depraved, that is, the grand principles of morality are wanting. There is no exception. All are born under the just condemnation of God. They are unfit for the favor and enjoyment of God. The descendants of Adam, their habitation, their employments and their enjoyments, have all come under the curse of God. Adam's sin is set to our account, as if we had personally committed the deed. His case differed from that of all fathers since, in that Adam's responsibility was the greater. Men are unable to free themselves from condemnation or depravity. They lack the disposition to free themselves from depravity. Men love sin and hate righteousness. They are without power, strength, are captives, bound, asleep, dead. All efforts to work out their own salvation in their own strength are unavailing.³

Hovey (1877): "That all men, with the single exception of Jesus Christ, are morally depraved at birth, and, if they live long in this world, are found guilty of personal sin. By moral depravity is meant a state of the human soul which naturally leads to sin, which can only be explained as an effect of sin." As "man came from the hand of his Creator, he was inclined to good rather than to evil; but, since the fall, all men are inclined to evil. The spiritual state of all men is evil, and this evil state is the result of the sin of our first parents."⁴

In 1895 Hovey wrote in "Christian Teaching and Life": "That all men inherit from Adam the moral condition or tendency to sin which he originated in himself by transgression, though they are not held accountable for this action, except in so far as they

1. Clarke, pp. 212-214. 2. Johnson, p. 146. 3. Dagg, pp. 153-173.

4. Manual of Theology, Hovey, pp. 140-143.

give their assent and endorsement to it. Hence all men, who have any knowledge of the divine will coming from within, or from without, are so predisposed to evil that they commit sin voluntarily and against the protest of conscience." He rejects the idea, "That in an important sense all the posterity of Adam were in him, and therefore shared in his disobedience. In other words, the human race is spiritually as well as physically one, and so the action of the source of the race was the action of the whole race. The germinal nature fell into sin, and with it fell all that were to flow out of it and become personally distinct from it." He also rejects the teaching that "There is no deep moral connection between the first sin of Adam and the moral condition and conduct of his posterity. They do not inherit from him any predisposition to self-will or rebellion against God. Their moral state is right at birth, and every one of them stands or falls for himself, as did Adam."¹

Pendleton (1878): "Man is totally depraved in the sense that there is in his heart no love for God." He does not seek God because he does not love him. Nothing can be done by man in the way of atoning for his sin. Neither by doing nor suffering can man save himself. He rests under the condemnation² of the law, and must remain, if he depends on self-deliverance.

Boyce (1887) and Kerfoot (1899) both speak of total depravity as follows: "Man is not only depraved, he is totally depraved; that is, he is depraved in every part of his nature." The soul is corrupted with all its faculties; the mind with darkness and ignorance, being subjected to the sensitive part and strongly prejudiced against the things of God; the conscience with stupidity and insensibleness; the will with stubbornness and rebellion; the affections are become carnal and placed either upon unlawful objects or upon lawful in an unlawful manner or degree; the thoughts and imaginations are full of pride and vanity and disorder. As for the body, that is become a clog, instead of being serviceable to the soul, and all its members and senses instruments of unrighteousness to sin. In general a universal depravation of every part in man since the fall; and more particularly it consists in a privation of all good, in an enmity to God and the things of God, and in a propensity to all evil." It does not mean that all are equally developed

1. Hovey, pp. 102-103. 2. Pendleton, pp. 178-153.

in sin -one drop of poison in a glass of water poisons the whole glass, but not as much as it might be poisoned; does not destroy the freedom of the will; moral ability; accountability or responsibility; but does destroy ability for spiritual things.¹

Boyce held to the FEDERAL HEADSHIP OF ADAM and taught that "By natural generation they (the children of Adam) must be born with sinful natures such as his, and must therefore be corrupt and guilty, eternally destitute of God's complacent love, and liable to natural death. While the above would follow from mere natural law, the Scriptures teach us that Adam was not merely the natural, but also the federal head of the race. This shows that the mass of mankind proceeding from Adam by natural generation sinned in him, not consciously, but representatively, and therefore are justly treated as though they had consciously sinned, because they are responsible for the act of their representative. This adds nothing to the penalty which must have been suffered nor to the guilt which would have accrued from natural headship; for guilt is simply just liability to punishment."²

Kerfoot (1899) denies the federal headship of Adam for the following reasons:

1. "It is admitted at the outset that the theory of natural headship alone would have sufficed to account for all the effects of Adam's sin."

2. "The claim that because 'Christ was federal head, therefore Adam must have been federal head also', will hardly stand testing. Christ and Adam were alike in some things and in some relations, but very different in others. Adam could do his work as natural head; Christ could not do his work in that way. There is apparently no more reason for saying that Adam must have been federal head because Christ was federal head, than for saying that Christ must have been natural head because Adam was natural head."

3. "Some of the author's (Boyce) claims as to the 'principle of representation among men' may be questioned. But if everything that is claimed on this point be granted, it still would not prove that in this particular case the relation in which Adam acted for the race was that of representative, or federal head."

4. "It is strange, if this doctrine is true, that only two passages in the word of God can be cited as giving any proof of it (Romans 5: 12-21; 1Co. 15: 22, 45-49). The Scriptures abound in state-

1. Boyce, pp. 245-246; Kerfoot, pp. 214-215. 2. Boyce, p. 251.

ments as to the federal headship of Christ, they say absolutely nothing as to a federal headship of Adam, unless it may be inferred from these two passages."

5. "These passages do not seem at all to justify the inference. In First Corinthians XV Paul is discussing the resurrection, not the headship of Adam; and in the passage in Romans V he only narrates the fact that 'by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all sinned'; and over against the ruin brought in by Adam came the redemptive work of Christ. There is not a word as to the method by which Adam did his work, or Christ his. Other passages teach that Christ's was as federal head."¹

STRONG (1889, 1907): "The Scriptures represent human nature as totally depraved. That every sinner is totally destitute of that love to God which constitutes the fundamental and all-inclusive demand of the law. Chargeable with elevating some lower affections or desire above regard for God and his law. Supremely determined in his whole inward and outward life, by a preference of self to God. Possessed of an aversion to God, which though sometimes latent, becomes active enmity, so soon as God's will comes into manifest conflict with his own; disordered and corrupted in every faculty, through this substitution of selfishness for supreme affection toward God; credited with no thought, emotion, or act of which divine holiness can fully approve; subject to a constant progress in depravity, which he has no recuperative energy to enable him successfully to resist."²

Dr Strong believes in the Augustinian theory of imputation and the doctrine of inability. "The Scriptures declare the total inability of the sinner to turn himself to God or to do that which is truly good in God's sight.... Yet there is a certain remnant of freedom left to man. The sinner can avoid the sin against the Holy Spirit; choose the less sin rather than the greater; refuse altogether to yield to certain temptations; do outwardly good acts, though with imperfect motives; seek God from motives of self-interest. But on the other hand the sinner cannot by a single volition bring his character and life into complete conformity to God's law; change his fundamental preferences for self and sin to supreme

1. Kerfoot, p. 226. 2. Strong, *One Vol. Edit.*, pp. 340-342. *Three Vol. Edit.*, pp. 637-639.

love for God; nor do any act, however insignificant, which shall meet with God's approval or answer fully to the demands of law."¹

Clarke(1894): "What the race-connection perpetuates is depravity, or corruption of the common stock of mankind. The human nature that is passed from generation to generation always possesses in itself the elements of the old strife between the higher and the lower. It is also depraved; that is, it is so affected by previous evil in the race as to have predispositions to the wrong. Depravity is the moral badness that has been imparted to that common stream of life out of which successive individuals are produced. It is corruption of the common stock, perpetuated through heredity and the influences of life. In consequence of this perverted strain in the transmitted humanity, children are not born either wholly good or neutral between good and evil, but with evil tendencies which grow into sin when responsible life begins. This corruption of the stock appears in various degrees, but experience finds it everywhere, and confirms the testimony that all have sinned."²

Johnson(1895): "No unconverted man loves God supremely, and his motives are always wrong by defect. But he loves his own way supremely, as when the law of God demands the surrender of his will he finds his will perverse. All his powers are disordered by sin. This is so familiarly true of the appetites that 'the flesh' in scriptural and in popular language, is used concretely for sin. The understanding also is darkened, men are alienated from the life of God because of the ignorance that is in them...they loved the darkness rather than the light." He disbelieves in the federal headship³ of Adam, and accepts the natural headship and the traductionian theory.

Mullins(1917): Total depravity means "That all the parts of our nature have been affected by sin. It does not mean that human nature is destitute of all good impulses in the moral sense. It means rather that human nature as such, and in all its parts in its unregenerate state, is under the dominion of sin."⁴

1. Strong, One Vol. Edit., p. 342. Three Vol. Edit., p. 640. 2. Clarke, pp. 243-244. 3. Johnson, pp. 144, 146. Mullins, p. 294.

7. As to the Atonement.

Dagg(1857): The Son of God in coming into the world had the salvation of a peculiar people in view. Redemption will not be universal in its consummation, . . . and cannot have been universal in its purpose. "Atonement cannot be universal."¹

Pendleton(1878): Christ's death was sufficient for all. "While the atoning merit of the blood of Christ is infinite, its saving efficacy is restricted to its application. All who come to God by Christ are saved, and none are saved who do not come to God by Christ."²

Boyce(1887) states the five points of the Calvinistic theory of the atonement thus on page 317:

1. "That the sufferings and death of Christ were a real atonement. 2. That in making it Christ became the substitute of those whom he came to save. 3. That as such he bore the penalty of their transgressions. 4. That in so doing he made ample satisfaction to the demands of the law, and to the justice of God. 5. That thus an actual reconciliation has been made between them and God." He summarizes the points a little fuller on page 340 in this way:

1. "Christ did actually die for the salvation of all, so that he might be called the Savior of all; because his work is abundantly sufficient to secure the salvation of all who will put their trust in him."

2. "Christ died, however, in an especial sense for the elect, because he procured for them not a possible, but an actual salvation."

3. "The death of Christ opens the way for a sincere offer of salvation by God to all who will accept the conditions he has laid down."

4. "That same death, however, secures salvation to the elect, because by it Christ also obtained for them those gracious influences, by which they will be led to comply with those conditions."

5. "The work of Christ, contemplated as securing the means of reconciliation, is a full equivalent to all that the advocates of a general atonement claim; for they do not suppose that more than this was done for mankind in general; while Calvinists readily recognize that this much has been done for all."

6. "But while the making of an actual atonement for the elect is not inconsistent with the securing of a method of atonement for

1. Dagg, pp. 324, 326. 2. Pendleton, p. 245.

all, the assertion that such was the special work done for them complies with the nature of the atonement as heretofore seen, and shows how Christ could be especially their Savior, and also the Savior of all."

Kerfoot (1899) objects to the former statement of Boyce (the one found on page 317) as placing too much emphasis upon the limitations, and not enough upon the general atonement. He would add a sixth point to the five of Boyce, namely, "A way was opened whereby all might be saved." The second statement of Boyce made room for such an addition. Kerfoot would say: "For the elect he died as the actual personal substitute, while for the non-elect he secured the means, or opened up a way, for possible reconciliation." Kerfoot also objects to the statement of Boyce that the facts as to a general atonement must be "so explained as to harmonize with the nature of the atonement, and its relations to those for whom it was specially made", claiming that there is no more reason for this than for holding that the "special atonement passages should be so explained as to harmonize with the facts of a general atonement." Both classes of passages should be given equal recognition, and both ideas held as mutually consistent. "Leave the features of limitation to God, since that is his part, and he will surely take care of that whether we do or not. But it may be a matter of serious consequence if we fail to emphasize the idea that Christ died for all." The entirely satisfactory statement of the atoning work of Christ to Kerfoot is as follows: "That while for the elect he made an actual atonement, by which they were actually reconciled to God, and, because of which, are made the subjects of the special divine grace by which they become believers in Christ and are justified through him; Christ at the same time and in the same work, *wrought out a means of reconciliation for all men, which removed every legal obstacle to their salvation, (italics Kerfoot's)* upon their acceptance of the same conditions upon which the salvation is given to the elect."¹

Dr Strong (189, 1907) presents an Ethical Theory of the Atonement as the one accepted by him, which is altogether different from the Ethical Theory presented by Boyce and Kerfoot.

1. Boyce, pp. 317, 340. Kerfoot, pp. 274, 276, 278, 293, 296.

"The Ethical theory of the atonement holds that Christ stands

The theory accepted by Dr. Strong is as follows:

"The Ethical theory holds that the necessity of the atonement is grounded in the holiness of God, of which conscience in man is a finite reflection. There is an ethical principle in the divine nature, which demands that sin shall be punished. Aside from its results, sin is essentially ill-deserving. As we who are made in God's image mark our growth in purity by the increasing quickness with which we detect impurity, and the increasing hatred which we feel toward it, so infinite purity is a consuming fire to all iniquity. As there is an ethical demand in our natures that not only other's wickedness, but our own wickedness, be visited with punishment, and a keen conscience cannot rest till it has made satisfaction to justice for its misdeeds, so there is an ethical demand of God's nature that penalty follow sin."

"Punishment is the constitutional reaction of God's being against moral evil -the self-assertion of infinite holiness against its antagonist and would-be destroyer. In God this demand is devoid of all passion, and is consistent with infinite benevolence. It is a demand that cannot be evaded, since the holiness from which it springs is unchanging. The atonement is therefore a satisfaction of the ethical demand of the divine nature, by the substitution of Christ's penal sufferings for the punishment of the guilty."

"This substitution is unknown to mere law, and above and beyond the powers of law. It is an operation of grace. Grace, however, does not violate or suspend law, but takes it up into itself and fulfils it. The righteousness of law is maintained, in that the source of all law, the judge and punisher, himself voluntarily submits to bear the penalty, and bears it in the human nature that has sinned."

"Thus the atonement answers the ethical demand of the divine nature that sin be punished if the offender is to go free. The interests of the divine government are secured as a first subordinate result of this satisfaction to God himself, of whose nature the government is an expression; while, as a second subordinate result, provision is made for the needs of human nature, -on the one hand the need of an objective satisfaction to its ethical demand of punishment for sin, and on the other the need of a manifestation of divine love and mercy that will affect the heart and move it to repentance."

"The Ethical theory of the atonement holds that Christ stands

in such relation to humanity, that what God's holiness demands Christ is under obligation to pay, longs to pay, inevitably does pay, and pays so fully, in virtue of his two-fold nature, that every claim of justice is satisfied, and the sinner who accepts what Christ has done in his behalf is saved."

"We have seen how God can justly demand satisfaction; we now show how Christ can justly make it; or, in other words, how the innocent can justly suffer for the guilty. The solution of the problem lies in Christ's union with humanity. The first result of that union is obligation to suffer for men; since, being one with the race, Christ had a share in the responsibility of the race to the law and the justice of God. In him humanity was created; at every stage of its existence humanity was upheld by his power; as the immanent God he was the life of the race and of every member of it. Christ's sharing of man's life justly and inevitably subjected him to man's exposures and liabilities, and especially to God's condemnation on account of sin."

"Christ's share in the responsibility of the race to the law and justice of God was not destroyed by his incarnation, nor by his purification in the womb of the virgin. In virtue of the organic unity of the race, each member of the race since Adam has been born into the same state into which Adam fell. The consequences of Adam's sin, both to himself and to his posterity, are: depravity, or the corruption of human nature; guilt, or obligation to make satisfaction for sin to the divine holiness; penalty, or actual endurance of loss or suffering visited by that holiness upon the guilty."

"If Christ had been born into the world by ordinary generation, he too would have had depravity, guilt and penalty. But he was not so born. In the womb of the Virgin, the human nature which he took was purged from its depravity. But this purging away of depravity did not take away guilt or penalty. There was still left the just exposure to the penalty of violated law. Although Christ's nature was purified, his obligation to suffer yet remained. He might have declined to join himself to humanity, and then he need not have suffered. But once born of the Virgin, once possessed of the human nature that was under the curse, he was bound to suffer. The whole mass and weight of God's displeasure against the race fell on him, when once he became a member of the race."

"This guilt which Christ took upon himself by his unity with

humanity was: (1) not the guilt of personal sin - such guilt as belongs to every adult member of the race; (2) not even the guilt of inherited depravity - such guilt as belongs to infants, and to those who have not come to moral consciousness; but (3) solely the guilt of Adam's sin, which belongs, prior to personal transgression, and apart from inherited depravity, to every member of the race who has derived his life from Adam. This original sin and inherited guilt, but without the depravity that ordinarily accompanies them, Christ takes, and so takes away. He can justly bear penalty, because he inherits guilt. And since this guilt is not his personal guilt, but the guilt of that one sin in which all sinned - the guilt of the common transgression of the race in Adam, the guilt of the root-sin from which all other sins have sprung - he who is personally pure can vicariously bear the penalty due to the sin of all."

"His own share in the sin of the race is not the sole reason why he suffers; it furnishes only the subjective reason and ground for the proper laying upon him of the sin of all. Christ's union with the race in his incarnation is only the outward and visible expression of a prior union with the race which began when he created the race. As 'in him were all things created,' and as 'in him all things consist,' or hold together, it follows that he who is the life of humanity must, though personally pure, be involved in responsibility for all human sin, and 'it was necessary that the Christ should suffer.' This suffering was an enduring of the reaction of the divine holiness against sin and so was a bearing of penalty, but it was also the voluntary execution of a plan that antedated creation, and Christ's sacrifice in time showed what had been in the heart of God from eternity."¹

Clarke (1894). The work of Christ has been called "forensic, commercial, vicarious, substitutionary, penal, vice-penal, governmental, ethical, moral. But the adjectives that lead most helpfully into the subject are 'direct' and 'vital'. When it is said that the work of Christ is direct, it is meant that the end in view was sought not indirectly but directly, by a work of the same kind with the result that was to be accomplished by it. The end in view was the great reconciliation, or the establishment of

¹ I. Strong, *One Vol. Edit.*, pp. 410-413. *Three Vol. Edit.*, pp. 751-758.

moral and spiritual fellowship between God and men; and toward that end Christ wrought directly. His work was not a transactional ground for the desired fellowship, but the direct and reasonable way into the fellowship itself. And when it is said that the work of Christ was vital, it is meant that by his vital unity with God and men he was the means of affecting true union of men with God. His personality is the meeting-point for the great reconciliation. "Reconciliation is not regarded as "an agreement or settlement of differences, but as a spiritual union of persons, a meeting of God and men in genuine spiritual fellowship. That the Christian reconciliation is thus personal and spiritual when it becomes a matter of experience, all Christians know. What is now asserted is that the work of Christ as Mediator and Redeemer was of the same order as the result brought about, -not something different from it on which it might be based, but something like it in which the result itself might be realized; and further, that this work preceded from the divine-human constitution of Christ himself, to the divine-human experience of spiritual reconciliation and fellowship. The action of God in the work of Christ was self-expression with reference to sin, -expression of God as hating sin, as Savior to sinners, and as sin-bearer. The twofold object in making this expression was to win men and satisfy God. In Christ the expression of God was made within humanity; thus the human joined with the divine, man with God, in making the expression, and a new humanity was provided for and established, in which men are reconciled to God."

God's attitude toward sinners is that of one who desires to save them; and this truth is expressed in Christ. It was not Christ alone that came to save us, but God. It was God who gave himself for us to save us. God is the great sin-bearer; and this truth he expressed in Christ. He bears sin first by way of endurance, as a hater of sin and a lover of men. A sinful world throws upon God the burden of a Savior's work. Sin burdens God. But we need to remember, or to learn, the great truth that the endurance of redemptive suffering is the highest bliss.

"The moral influence theory of the work of Christ is often thought to be inadequate, but no Christian can doubt that it is true in its place, or fail to cherish the truth that it contains. When once it is seen that God, in his inflexibly righteous ab-

horrence of sin, is satisfied if redemptive suffering swallow up all other suffering for sin by bringing sinners to himself, who can resist the drawing of such love and righteousness as we here behold? To draw men to himself by such appeals as these God sent forth his Son and expressed himself to the world in him."

"It is plain that in giving himself to such a death he was giving himself 'for us', and 'died for us'. It was all in our behalf, for our advantage, that we might be blessed by it. It was not in any technical sense in our stead, but it was for our sake. It is for the sake of the sheep that the good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep. If he died in defending them, his life in a true sense may be said to be given instead of theirs. So in a broad sense we may say that Christ suffered in our stead, if we carefully remember that the significance is spiritual, not legal or technical ... The vicarious element in this life and death is that real vicarious element which comes from community of life, depth of sympathy, and intensity of love. It was not appointed to him, but natural to him. The vicariousness of his sufferings is of a kind that is possible to any one that loves with his love, but the degree of it is beyond our reach, because of the divineness of his sympathy."

"Here is the reality of Christ's Mediatorship. Christ is between God and men, as it were, as a medium of vision. God looks toward the world, and sees it as the world that Christ lived and died to save. He looks toward the men who are trusting Christ, and sees them in Christ, and Christ in them; and in Christ they possess the full blessing of his fatherhood and fellowship. Men look toward God, and what they see is the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ; looking for God they cannot see any God but the one whom Christ has manifested, for the reason that there is no other; and in him they find peace and newness of life. Thus in Christ God and men find genuine reconciliation, and live in abiding fellowship; God freely loves and helps men, and men freely love and trust God. Here is real unity, the very relation for which man was created; and all is initiated and sustained in Christ."¹

Johnson(1895): "The Lord Jesus by what he was and is, by what he did and bore, has made every provision required by the holy nature of God and the fallen estate of man to deliver men from the dominion and the penalties of sin. In nature and office Christ was the

I. Clarke, pp. 338-339; 340-343; 347-348; 352-354; 362.

real representative of God and man. As such he actually bore the sins of mankind. In bearing sin he made expiation for it unto God. In bestowing expiation his atoning work effects, through the Holy Spirit, the moral renewal of believers."¹

Hovey (1895): "The New Testament Epistles represent the self-sacrifice of Christ as being made with reference to all mankind, and possibly with reference to other orders of being as well."² He does not name the other orders of beings.

Dr. Mullins (1917): "The atonement of Christ was the means adopted by God, in the exercise of his righteous love toward sinful men, to secure the full and free activity of that love in bestowing forgiveness, and in perfecting individual men and women in a holy society of sons and daughters of God. "Christ voluntarily identified himself with the race he came to redeem and died for them. It was necessary that Christ die to redeem, due to the necessary connection between sin and death, the power of the "sin-death principle" over man, which must be overcome by the "obedience-life principle" operative in Christ. "The death of Christ on the cross was thus the God of holy love projecting himself into the life of the race by overcoming the sin-death principle in the race."³

S. As to the Extent of the Atonement.

Hovey (1877): "His (Christ's) suffering was to be especially rewarded by their eternal purity, love, blessedness and homage. God purposed from the first to save certain persons out of our race. These persons were given to Christ in a special sense, to be his flock; and, he had their actual salvation particularly in view when he laid down his life." Hovey teaches that the atonement is sufficient for all men, and it was made so *intentionally*. "That God designed by means of the atonement, to make provision for the pardon of all men - to give all a fresh probation and offer of life, by the economy of grace, as well as to lead some to repentance by the renewing power of his Spirit." Therefore Christ died for more than the elect.⁴

Strong (1889, 1907): "The Scriptures represent the atonement as having been made for all men, and as sufficient for the salvation of all. Not the atonement therefore is limited, but the application of the atonement through the work of the Holy Spirit. The atonement of Christ secures for all men a delay in the execution of the

1. Johnson, pp. 223-24. 2. Hovey, p. 110 (Christian Teaching and Life).
3. Mullins, pp. 313-20. 4. Hovey, Manual of Theol., p. 228.

sentence against sin, and a space for repentance, together with a continuance of the common blessings of life which have been forfeited by transgression. If strict justice had been executed, the race would have been cut off at the first sin. That man lives after sinning, is due wholly to the cross.

The atonement of Christ has made objective provision for the salvation of all, by removing from the divine mind every obstacle to the pardon and restoration of sinners, except their wilful opposition to God and refusal to turn to him. That the atonement of Christ has procured for all men the powerful incentives to repentance presented in the cross, and the combined agency of the Christian church and of the Holy Spirit, by which these incentives are brought to bear upon them. Christ would not need to suffer more, if all men were to be saved. Christ is especially the Savior of those who believe, in that he exerts a special power of his Spirit to procure their acceptance of his salvation. This is not however a part of his work of atonement; it is an application of the atonement."¹

Mullins(1917): "The atonement of Christ was for all men.... All men do not share equally in the benefits of the atonement of Christ. Those who remain in unbelief are not saved. Yet even they share many of the common blessings of life through the work of Christ. God's anger against human sin is restrained in order that men may repent. Every motive and appeal is provided in the gospel to induce them to do so."²

9. As to Election.

Dagg(1857): All who will finally be saved were chosen to salvation by God the Father, before the foundation of the world and given to Christ in the covenant of grace. God has an elect people. God's people are chosen to salvation. "It is not a choice merely to the means of salvation, but a choice to salvation itself." Election of grace is from eternity. It is a part of God's eternal purpose. Election is of grace, not of works; not on the ground of foreseen faith or obedience. It is antecedent to all holiness, faith or acceptable obedience."³

Pendleton(1878): "God chose in Christ certain persons of the fallen race of Adam, before the foundation of the world, unto eternal glory, according to his own purpose and grace, without regard to the their foreseen faith and good works, or any condition performed by
1. Strong, One Vol. Edit. pp. 421-22. Three Vol. Edit., pp. 771-72.
2. Mullins, p. 336. 3. Dagg, pp. 310-312.

them; and from the rest of mankind he withheld his grace and left them to dishonor, and the just punishment for their sins." Election is personal, being a choice of persons as distinguished from nations. A choice of certain individuals as distinguished from other individuals. In electing some God has left others as they were. They are where they would have been, had there been no election. Election is eternal, being inseparable from the divine purpose. It is as eternal as the purpose and the life with which it has to do. Election is not dependable upon foreseen faith and good works. It is not because of holiness, but in order to holiness. They believe because elected, not elected because they believe. Election is irreversible. The security of believers is due to the fact that the Father gave them to the Son in the purpose of election. This purpose is irreversible. God has purposed to leave some to themselves, to give them over to a reprobate mind; to leave them to dishonor and the just punishment of their sins. It is a determination to treat those who live and die in impenitence as they deserve to be treated.¹

Boyce (1887) and Kerfoot (1899) are agreed in their doctrine of elections, the differences being those of arrangement. Both teach that election is:

1. "An act of God, and not the result of the choice of the elect." 2. That this choice is one of individuals, and not of classes. 3. That it was made without respect to the actions of the persons elected. 4. By the good pleasure of God. 5. According to an eternal purpose. 6. That it is an election to salvation and not to outward privileges."

Boyce has a section dealing with REPROBATION, in which he teaches that, "The Scripture statements as to reprobation are that God, in eternity when he elected some, did likewise not elect others; that as resulting from this non-election, but not as efficiently caused by it, he passes by these in the bestowment of the special favors shown to the elect, and in like manner yet further resulting, condemns men because of sin to everlasting destruction, and while they are in the state of sin and condemnation, he effects or permits the hardening of their heart, so that his truth is not appreciated, but actually rejected."

Kerfoot calls it NON-ELECTION and thus states the doctrine:

1. Pendleton, pp. 105-107; 107-114. 779, 783-785.

"That for some reason, unknown to us, God does not bestow upon the non-elect certain special constraining grace as he bestows it upon the elect. Up to a certain point he seems to treat all precisely alike. He provided an atonement for all, he sends an unlimited offer to all; he issues a universal call; the invitation is to every one alike, 'Whosoever will, let him come'. But from this point we may see a difference. God becomes, so to speak, partial. He makes some -those whom he has elected -the objects of special grace. He sees to it that they are saved. Others, the non-elect, he leaves to their own choice and to all the consequences of their choice." Kerfoot then inserts a section of three pages, not found in Boyce, dealing with God's "Special Dealing with the Non-Elect", in which he calls attention to the ample atonement made for them, the universal invitation extended to them, the work of the Holy Spirit upon their hearts, and their abandonment by the Holy Spirit. He omits the most harshly Calvinistic paragraph of Boyce, claiming it needlessly harsh, and virtually declares it untrue. (Compare Boyce page 364, paragraph three, and Kerfoot, page 326, the footnote).¹

Strong (1889, 1907): "Election is that eternal act of God, by which in his sovereign pleasure, and on account of no foreseen merit in them, he chooses certain out of the number of sinful men to be the recipients of the special grace of his Spirit, and so to be made voluntary partakers of Christ's salvation. This purpose cannot be conditioned upon any merit or faith of those who are chosen, since there is no such merit -faith itself being God's gift and foreordained by him. Since man's faith is foreseen only as the result of God's work of grace, election precedes rather upon foreseen unbelief. Faith, as the effect of election, cannot at the same time be the cause of election. The depravity of the human will is such that, without this decree to bestow special divine influences upon some, all, without exception, would have rejected Christ's salvation after it was offered to them; and so all, without exception must have perished. Election, therefore, may be viewed as a necessary consequence of God's decree to provide an objective redemption, if that redemption is to have any subjective result in human salvation."²

1. Boyce, pp. 348-364. Kerfoot, pp. 310-326. Strong, One Vol. Edit., pp. 427, 430-431. Three Vol. Edit., pp. 779, 783-785.

Clarke(1894): "Though grace is free, God's actual operation in the history of his kingdom appears in the Scriptures to have proceeded upon a method of selection... According to the teaching that runs through the Bible, no one was chosen primarily for his own sake and advantage, but all were chosen for service. The idea of 'election' that runs through the Bible refers to God's choice to service rather than to salvation. The choice, which is a divine act, is a summons to the side of God, to be fitted for his service and to be used therein. The elect of the New Testament, like the elect of the Old, are chosen and called of God that he may use them for the good of other men. Like Israel, the Christian people are chosen of God for the good of the world. Instead of holding that the elect are the only ones who can be saved, it is more accordant with the Scriptures to hold that the elect are elect for the sake of the non-elect, that is, they are chosen by God to serve for the saving of those who have not yet been brought to God as they have been. The non-elect in God's own time may become the elect." The argument of Paul in Romans IX-XI "was not intended for the establishment of a doctrine of election; there was no need of that, for the Jews were already resting in a doctrine that was only too strict and exclusive. The argument was intended to release the doctrine of election from the bondage of exclusiveness and spiritual pride, and present it as a doctrine of divine freedom, fulfilling the purpose of divine love."¹

Hovey(1895): "According to the wise and eternal purpose of God, Christ may move his servants to preach the gospel to some nations at a given time rather than to others, or to seek the conversion of some persons rather than others in apparently similar conditions, or to persist in efforts for some longer or more hopefully than for others; and, on the other hand, he may do more to prepare certain nations or individuals to receive the gospel than he does to prepare others for the same message; but always for good reasons, though possibly beyond our comprehension."²

Dr. Mullins(1917) makes election synonymous with God's initiative in man's salvation, that God "took the first steps and continued his gracious action until men believed and were saved."

1. Clarke, pp. 393-394. 2. *Christian Teaching and Life*, pp. 113-114.

"The calling of sinners effectually to repentance, their regeneration and conversion, all are attributed to God's initiative and grace." But "God's grace is not irresistible as a physical force is irresistible. Grace does not act as a physical force. It is a moral and spiritual and personal power."

"God's appeal to men through the gospel is addressed to the faculties and powers in man which distinguish him as a moral, spiritual and personal being.... Men have ever been prone to think of electing grace as if it were dynamite or some other kind of material force compelling men instead of a moral force persuading men. Grace does not become effective until men freely respond to it... To reach men through the divinely given powers and faculties, God employs a system of means." God does not elect men because of any merit of any kind on their part. Men are elected for service, as well as to salvation. "God's election pursues the course which will yield the largest results in the shortest time. Men may be placed in relation to other men that their election could easily become an avenue of approach to others, and these in turn to others. There might thus arise the principle of electing strategic men, through whom God's widening purpose might swiftly realize itself. This would not imply merit on the part of those chosen. In some cases, indeed, the strategic man might be among the worst of men morally, and yet so related to others, or so endowed, that he could be employed best for the ends of the kingdom... In bowling the aim of the bowler is to hit the king pin so that it will knock down the other nine. It is not that the king pin is in any essential way different from the others in itself, but rather that it is so related to the other pins that to hit it right means the largest results. It occupies a strategic position in relation to other pins. We may assume, therefore, in the light of God's universal purpose for the race of man, that he has ever pursued this plan."¹

10. As to Calling.

Dagg (1857) says that the "Holy Spirit effectually calls all the elect to repent and believe. Regeneration is the same as effectual calling."²

Boyce (1887) and Kerfoot (1899): "The atoning work of Christ was not sufficient for the salvation of man. That work was only Godward, and only removed all the obstacles in the way of God's

pardon of the sinner. But the sinner is also at enmity with God, and must be brought to accept salvation, and must learn to love and serve God. It is the special work of the Holy Spirit to bring this about. The first step here is to make known to man the gospel, which contains the glad tidings of this salvation, under such influences as ought to lead to its acceptance. The gospel is commanded to be proclaimed to every creature, inasmuch as there in the work of Christ a means of redemption for every one. This is the external call of the gospel. This proclamation, however, meets with no success because of the wilful sinfulness of man, although, in itself, it has all the elements which should secure its acceptance. God knowing that this is true, not only of mankind in general, but even of the elect whom he purposes to save in Christ, gives to these such influences of the Spirit as will lead to their acceptance of the call. This is called EFFECTUAL CALLING."

The "offer of the gospel meets of itself with no success. Not from want of evidence, nor from intellectual doubt, but always because of something sinful, either in the heart or will." Boyce then gives thirty-one reasons for the failure.

Boyce and Kerfoot are the same in treatment, save Kerfoot devotes a page to the "Responsibility for Rejection", in which he says in part: "All men are ruined by sin; all are responsible for this ruin; God has provided for all a way of escape; he offers to all the way or plan thus provided... But the nature of man is such that where there is only this outward offer, he is without exception sure to reject it; and he is guilty in God's sight for the rejection. Did God stop at this point, therefore, Christ would have died in vain so far as actually saving man in concerned (italics his). None would accept. The whole world would remain in sin, without God and without hope, guilty and under condemnation."¹

Strong (1889, 1907): "Calling is that act of God by which men are invited to accept, by faith, the salvation provided in Christ. The Scriptures distinguish between the general, or external, call to all men through God's providence, word and Spirit; and the special, efficacious call of the Holy Spirit to the elect. "Man's inability" is not a physical but a moral inability, consisting simply in the settled perversity of an evil will, therefore, there can be no insincerity in offering salvation to all, especially when the offer is within itself a proper motive to obedience. The

sincerity of God's general call is no more inconsistent with his determination that some shall be permitted to reject it, than it is with his foreknowledge that some will reject it."

In asking and answering, "Is God's special call irresistible?" he says: "We prefer to say that this special call is efficacious, that is, that it infallibly accomplished its purpose of leading the sinner to the acceptance of salvation. The operation of God is not an outward constraint upon the human will, but that it accords with the laws of our mental constitution. We reject the terms 'irresistible', as implying a coercion and compulsion, which is foreign to the nature of God's working in the soul. That the operation of God is the originating cause of that new disposition of the affections, and that new activity of the will, by which the sinner accepts Christ. The cause is not in the response of the will to the presentation of motives by God, nor in any mere cooperation of the will of man with the will of God, but is an almighty act of God in the will of man, by which its freedom to choose God as its end is restored and rightly exercised."¹

Mullins(1917): "Calling is the invitation of God to men to accept by faith the salvation in Christ. It is sent forth through the Bible, the preaching of the gospel, and in many other ways. Nothing can be clearer from the teaching of Scripture than the fact that the call and invitation are universal, and that there is a free offer of salvation to all who will hear and repent and believe. "God goes as far as the interests of his moral kingdom will admit; and as far as human sin and human freedom permit the righteous God to go."²

11. As to Perseverance.

The teaching of Dagg(1857) may be briefly summarized thus: That which is produced in regeneration is immortal. The union of the believer with Christ is indissoluble. The promises of God secure the preservation of the believer in Christ. The cases of final apostasy are accounted for by the absence of true religion.³

Hovey(1877) discusses the doctrine of perseverance under the title of "Certainty of Sanctification". He says: "If it be true that some are chosen to eternal life, and that they are the same as

1. Strong, *One Vol. Edit.* pp. 434-436. *Three Vol.*, pp. 790-793.
2. Mullins, pp. 365-366. 3. Dagg, pp. 287-288.

those regenerated by the Spirit of God, it follows that they will be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation; but the clause 'through faith' should never be overlooked." "Christ as mediator has received power to keep his own, and sanctify them, and that it agrees with our idea of the divine mind, that he should complete the work of their redemption which was begun by the new birth."¹

Pendleton(1878): "All who are in the state of acceptance with God will continue therein through life, and finally reach heaven. Saints shall persevere in a state of grace to one of glory. "The persevering power is divine; is exerted through faith and unto salvation. Those who do not persevere are not saints."²

Boyce(1889) and Kerfoot(1899): "The doctrine of the final perseverance of the saints teaches that those who are effectually called of God to the exercise of genuine faith in Christ will certainly persevere unto final salvation. This is not taught of a class of mankind in general, as something that will usually be true of the persons composing that class, but of each individual in it, so that not one will apostatize or be finally lost; but each will assuredly persevere and be saved."³

Strong(1889, 1907): "The Scriptures declare that in virtue of the original purpose and continuous operation of God, all who are united to Christ by faith will infallibly continue in a state of grace and will finally attain unto everlasting life. This voluntary continuance, on the part of the Christian, in faith and well-doing, we call perseverance. Perseverance, is, therefore, the human side or aspect of that spiritual process which, as viewed from the divine side we call sanctification. It is not a mere natural consequence of conversion, but involves a constant activity of the human will from the moment of conversion to the end of life. Adam's holiness was mutable; God did not determine to keep him. It is otherwise with believers in Christ; God has determined to give them the kingdom. Yet this keeping of God, which we call sanctification, is accompanied and followed by a keeping of himself on the part of the believer, which we call perseverance."⁴

1. Hovey, pp. 297-299. 2. Pendleton, pp. 321-328. 3. Boyce, pp. 425-426; Kerfoot, pp. 377-378. 4. Strong. One Vol. p. 491. Three Vol. p. 881.

Clarke(1894): " Human freedom is not bound, even to the good. Yet because of God and his grace we are justified in saying that the divine life, once begun, is destined in every case to be continued and carried on, through its own characteristic processes, to perfection.....The whole gospel is a declaration of God's intention to do a complete work. Man is able to fall, and God is able to keep him from falling; and through the various experiences of life here and hereafter, God will so save his child out of all evil that he shall be morally incapable of falling. Human freedom always implies risks; but when God has begun his work in a man by regeneration, human freedom in his case is thenceforth included in the broad sweep of a divine purpose, and God who is able to guide men from above their freedom will progressively influence his child into that holiness which is perfection. "¹

Hovey(1895): "Though the new life is imperfect here, there is much to be said in favor of the view that the grace of God will not suffer it to perish. By warning, by encouragement, by trial, by the Spirit's presence, and by a thousand influences consistent with moral freedom, Christ guards his people through faith unto a salvation ready to be revealed at the last time. "²

Johnson(1895): "Perseverance is persistence until death of the life begun in regeneration. All truly regenerated persons, being divinely kept from apostasy, persevere unto eternal life. "³

Mullins(1917): "The writers of the New Testament seem to imply by their exhortations and warnings that all believers if left to themselves are in real danger of falling away; and secondly, that God purposes and preserves men unto salvation, though this is not a process regardless of man's conduct, but a process involving man's active response to God's gracious working; and thirdly, that it is unscriptural and wrong to ignore either the divine purpose and grace and power on the one hand, or the human response and cooperation on the other. Ultimately of course the decisive factor is God's grace and power, not man's weakness. Through that grace and power man is enabled to overcome... God's method is moral and personal and not physical. He does not preserve us by irresistible grace as by something which overrides the will; but by constraining grace which enlists the will. He does not preserve us in spite of transgressions and backslidings, but by

1. Clarke, pp. 418-24. 2. Hovey, p. 132. 3. Johnson, p. 279.

renewing us unto repentance for sins and return from backslidings. The personal God deals with personal man in a free personal manner. The result is not uncertain. But the certainty is not that of a mechanical law working through natural forces. It is the certainty of moral suasion and spiritual influence exerted in a personal way. God's method is that of training, not towing." Dr Mullins then gives the illustration of a mother who had trained her child to cross the street without danger, rather than accompany the child to lead across. The training is the process God uses for Christians in the pilgrimage of life.¹

III. AS REVEALED IN GENERAL STATEMENTS.

In 1883 Dr. A. H. Strong had an article on "Modified Calvinism" in which he taught:

"The highest freedom is not simply an absence of external or internal constraint of the necessity of willing evil. Nor is it a self-determining indecision, evenly balanced between good and evil, and equally ready to walk upon the heights of virtue, or to plunge into the abyss of sin. It is rather such an inworking of law into the heart of man that there is a spontaneous and infallible choosing of the right." Man can work evil without God, but he cannot work anything truly good. "In a fallen state man is solely responsible for evil; but not he alone is to be credited with good, that is due to God." Cecil said that the preacher who preaches the whole truth of God will at times be accused of being a hyper-Calvinist and again an out and out Arminian. F. W. Robertson said that he was in great trouble so long as he sought to discover the bond of connection between God's sovereignty and man's free agency, and found rest only when he concluded both were true and he would preach both. Paul discovered an inner harmony between divine and human activities and wrote, "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God who worketh in you both to will and to work for his own good pleasure" (Phil. 2: 12-13). "Paul does not urge human duty by denying or underestimating divine activity. He does not magnify man's work by disparaging God's." He recognizes both and bases the duty of man upon the fact of God's activity. "To know that God is at work in us gives hope and courage. All things are possible to him who believes

1. Mullins, pp. 432-438.

this." But to be thrown back upon self and the strength of my unstable will for my security of salvation, this is weakening and depressing. In our working we are to recognize already the working of God and pledge of victory.

This is no equal partnership, no cooperation of a tandem team, but "God is in all, and man in all, so that man is to go forward joyfully, in the faith that every movement is a revelation of a divine energy within him, and that his success is not by might nor power of his own, but by the Spirit of the Lord." Whatever stage of progress he may reach he shall know that in some true sense it is God who has wrought out all his works in him, that unto these very works he has been created in Christ Jesus, according to the eternal ordination of God, and therefore he shall cry: "Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory." While God is said to be the worker of all good he is not said to be the worker of all evil. We can hold man evil only on the assumption that man is himself, in some proper sense the originator of it. No man's evil disposition can be accounted guilty unless their origin can be traced back to some self-determined transgression committed either in his individual capacity or in his connection with the race. We are guilty only of that sin which we have originated or have had a part in originating. There is no other sin than this. Sin is never God's work, but always man's.

It is not true that the only probation is that of the race in Adam. There is also an individual probation in which each man decides his own destiny. "Man is not borne on irresistibly by his evil nature, so that, apart from the spiritual power of God, he must at once and inevitably commit the sin against the Holy Spirit. There is power in man to check or modify his prevailing inclination. The sinner has freedom *from* as well as freedom *to*, and this freedom is possessed apart from ordinary grace." Christian ethics is bound to found responsibility upon freedom. Somewhere we must find an originating act which, either we ourselves committed, or in which we had a part. Somewhere we must find a point where we can say it might have been otherwise. In everything which the conscience recognizes as sin, the plea of absolute necessity bars all guilt, remorse of punishment."

The error of one form of Calvinism is in putting the link of necessity between man's fundamental disposition and his individual choices. "Volitions are conceived of as mere hands upon the dial that indicate the internal structure of the clock. Upon this theory there would be no power of suspending evil action in any given case, no power of directing the attention to opposing considerations, no power of summoning up motives to good, no power of seeking help from God."

Christian character does not bind the Christian to be holy. Adam's and Satan's originally holy characters did not absolutely bind them. They had powers not only to choose ways of acting out their fundamental choice, but they had power to change that choice. Not only had they power to choose between different expressions of motive, but between the motives themselves. Both at the fall and in conversion there is such a new choice of motive. Motives are not properly causes, but only occasions of action. Motives do not compel, they persuade the will. The will acts in view of motives. "Free agency is the soul's power to choose between motives and to direct its subsequent activities according to the motives thus chosen."

"I recognize such a thing as character-affections set in the direction of wrong or right, and endowed with power to persuade the will, and that with infallible certainty -because the will itself has made them what they are, and even now cherishes them. Even in the case of congenital bias toward evil, we are responsible for the evil affections we inherit, because we are not simply individuals, but also members of a common humanity, which, in its first father determined itself against God. But the complementary truth must never be forgotten, that these affections formed as they are, are still subject in some degree, to will, and that will is continually under the necessity either of resisting or reaffirming them. The man's opportunity to choose between motives is a constant one, and whether he actually change his motive or not, he knows that he is not yet wholly deprived of his power to change it."

The will infallibly chooses according to motive, but is not determined by motive. The will is itself the determiner. Motive is simply the man in a certain state of feeling or desire. Will is nothing but this same man choosing. The man may have many desires, and so many motives, some lower and some higher, but prior to his

decision, no one of these motives may be stronger than another. It is the soul's choosing to yield to one rather than to the other that gives that one its strength.

When Adam sinned and fell, all there was of human nature sinned and fell in him. By an act of freewill he corrupted his nature, and all his posterity possess by inheritance that nature which corrupted itself in him. Adam's act of will was an act of permanent choice, and we partake of it. The result of that act was a depraving of his affections, and we share them. Man can change his evil desire, but he has no desire to change. **C**annot is simply a will not; though until the Spirit of God deliver him, that will not is a bondage as terrible and remorseless as any imprisonment behind iron bars. But it is a bondage for which the sinner is responsible and guilty, because it consists in nothing but his own active choice of will.¹

This lengthy chapter will be brought to a close with two quotations from the "Fraternal Address of Southern Baptists", prepared by Drs. E. Y. Mullins, J. B. Gambrell, Z. T. Cody, L. R. Scarborough, and Mr. William Ellyson, the committee appointed for the purpose by the Southern Baptist Convention in Atlanta, Georgia, in May of 1919.

ATONEMENT." We believe that in the incarnation Jesus Christ identified himself completely with the state of sinners, while remaining himself without sin. He became subject to the operation of the law of sin and death when he became one with the sinful race of men. He endured the agony of the cross in order that by dying he might break the power of death. In his resurrection from the dead he proved himself to be the conqueror of sin and death. Thus he was able to break the power which held men in bondage and redeem them unto God and righteousness. In his atoning death he vindicated and established the righteousness of God, He suffered instead of sinners that sinners might go free. There is and can be no repetition of the sacrifice of Christ. His atonement was made once for all and brought to an end all previous forms of sacrificial offerings through priest and altar and slain animals.

1. Strong, *Baptist Quarterly*, Vol. 5, of 1883, pp. 219-243.

He thus opened the way for sinners into the most Holy Place of the divine presence. Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom also we have our access into the divine grace wherein we stand. Christ ascended into heaven and ever liveth at the right hand of God to make intercession for us."

REGENERATION AND ATTENDANT BLESSINGS. "We hold that the natural man is not subject to the law of God. The direct action of the Holy Spirit is necessary in order that sinful men may be regenerated or born again into the divine kingdom. The Spirit of God makes use of the truth of the Gospel in his regenerating work. It is conditional upon personal repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Repentance is a sincere renunciation of sin, and faith is genuine trust in the atoning Christ as Savior and Lord. Justification is God's declaration freeing the sinner from the consequences of his transgressions and adopting him as a member of the divine family."¹

In 1794, Rev. Jesse McCreedy began preaching in Eastern Kentucky, with peculiar power to "excite false professors, to awaken a dead church and earn witness and lead them to seek the new spiritual life which he himself had found." There came later the BAKER brothers, John and William - one a Presbyterian and the other a Methodist - began to preach in the power and spirit of John the Baptist in Kentucky. The American camp meeting was born. In 1801 Martin L. Stone journeyed across the State to see for himself the wonderful revival. Returning, he reported what he had seen and heard, and a similar revival broke out in Bourbon County which drew people from Ohio and other distant parts. Methodist and Baptist preachers aided in the work. Curious physical phenomena accompanied the revival, but beneath the externals of the surface there was a genuine work of grace. Out of this revival came two new denominations, the Unsharpened Presbyterians and the Disciples.

About the same time a growing earnestness and attentiveness to spiritual things manifested itself in the East. Pastoral labors began to be rewarded by large gatherings of genuine believers.

1. Fraternal Address of Southern Baptists, pp. 6-8. "Returned the tide of truth and virtue and toward genuine religion in late the revivals in Kentucky and the East saved the church from its low

INFLUENCES MODIFYING THE CALVINISM OF AMERICAN BAPTISTS SINCE 1815.

Within the brief compass of this chapter only a sketch of the most important ones can be given.

1. The Revival of 1800-1830.

The revival of 1800-1830 did much to modify the Calvinism of American Baptists. In these thirty years the membership increased from one hundred thousand to three hundred and thirteen thousand and one hundred and thirty-eight. "The closing years of the eighteenth century show the lowest low-water mark of the lowest ebb-tide of spiritual life in the history of the American church." Bishop Provost of New York laid down his functions, and Bishop Madison of Virginia and Chief-Justice Marshall thought the Protestant Episcopal church too far gone to be revived. Dr. Jacobs, the historian of American Lutherans, writes the word "Deterioration" over the period. The Methodists lost four thousand members annually in 1794, 1795, and 1796.

In 1796, Rev. James McCready began preaching in Logan County, Kentucky, with peculiar power to "arouse false professors, to awaken a dead church and warn sinners and lead them to seek the new spiritual life which he himself had found." Three years later the MAGEE brothers, John and William - one a Presbyterian and the other a Methodist - began to preach in the power and spirit of John the Baptist in Kentucky. The American camp meeting was born. In 1801 Barton W. Stone journeyed across the State to see for himself the wonderful revival. Returning, he rehearsed what he had seen and heard, and a similar revival broke out in Bourbon County, which drew people from Ohio and other distant parts. Methodist and Baptist preachers aided in the work. Curious physical phenomena accompanied the revival, but beneath the excrescences of the surface there was a genuine work of grace. Out of this revival came two new denominations, the Cumberland Presbyterians and the Disciples.

About the same time a growing earnestness and attentiveness to spiritual things manifested itself in the East. Pastoral labors began to be rewarded by large ingatherings of genuine believers. Pres. Timothy Dwight, who came to Yale College in 1795, turned the tide against infidelity and toward genuine religion in Yale. The revivals in Kentucky and the East saved the church from its low

estate and empowered for the stupendous tasks soon to be faced.

Charles G. Finney was the most celebrated evangelist of the revival of 1800-1830. Untrained in the schools of theology, and coming from the law directly into the ministry, he brought the ways of a lawyer into his work. He looked upon sinners as a jury before whom he plead the Lord's cause, and he appealed directly to man's judgment for an immediate verdict, or surrender to Christ. The extreme Calvinists objected to the methods of Finney, being unwilling to admit the self-determining power of the human will. They urged their hearers to use the means of grace and wait on the Lord, until it become God's good pleasure to renew them. They made conversion follow regeneration, a mysterious process wrought in the heart of the elect by the Holy Spirit. Finney, on the other hand, assumed that the sinner had power to accept or reject salvation, and nothing but his stubborn, sinful will prevented his salvation at any time. Therefore he sought to sweep away every excuse, and exerted himself to the utmost to bring the lost to an immediate decision for Christ. At first this was thought an infringement upon the province of God and was opposed by Calvinistic Baptists. But the success of Finney - it is estimated that one hundred thousand persons united with the church due to his evangelism - gradually broke down the opposition and the methods of Finney were more or less adopted by the evangelistic preachers.

Contemporary evangelists among Baptists were Jacob Knapp and Jabez S. Swan. They, like Finney, indulged in doctrinal preaching, and appealed directly to the conscience rather than to the emotions. This evangelism was so successful that it had a far reaching effect upon the preaching of the times. To a large extent the manuscript was banished from the pulpit and preaching became more pungent and personal. The old type of doctrinal sermon gradually disappeared. Pulpit style became greatly simplified; preachers ceased to indulge in florid rhetoric and stilted language. They talked in the language of ordinary life. The vital piety of church members increased, and new life characterized the Christendom of the day. By 1844 there were 9 385 Baptist churches, 6 364 ministers and 720 046 members. The revival made possible the great increase in members, led to great activity in State Missions and modified the Calvinism of American Baptists.

1. Bacon, pp. 230-245. Vedder, Bapts in Mid. Sts. pp. 154-158. Newman, p. 442. Strong, Christ in Creation etc. pp. 364-387. Memoirs of C. G. Finney.

2. Campbellism.

The hyper-Calvinism of Baptist churches in Pennsylvania and the Southwest made possible the rise of Campbellism. Alexander Campbell and wife, his father and mother, his sister and two others were baptized by Rev. Mathias Luce, a Baptist minister on June 12, 1812. At the next meeting of Brush Run church thirteen other members requested immersion, which was administered by Thomas Campbell. Most of the Baptist churches of that region had adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith as a bond of union. The Brush Run church was violently opposed to all such creeds, nevertheless, it was admitted to the Redstone Association of Baptist churches in 1813, presenting at the time a paper of eight or ten pages stating their objections to all human creeds as bonds of union or communion, and demanding the privilege of preaching whatever they learned from the Scriptures. Immediately there was a party of opposition in the Association. The Baptist ministers were hyper-Calvinistic and their preaching was more doctrinal than practical. The Campbells were Arminian, believed in a universal atonement, and placed too much stress upon the free-will of man to suit the Calvinists. These antinomian, hyper-Calvinistic preachers acted as if called of God to proclaim and vindicate a few abstruse and barren points of Calvinistic theology. This kind of preaching made the people ready to listen to any messenger whose message was more practical, to anything with more juice, though it have less truth. The principal successes of Campbellism were in the West and Southwest where hyper-Calvinism held sway. The Disciple movement was a reaction from the hyper-Calvinistic abuses of the time. In the Eastern communities where a more evangelical type of doctrine prevailed, and where Baptist practice was more nearly like the New Testament command, Campbellism made little or no progress. Almost no impression was made in the churches of Pennsylvania and New York, but in the South the denomination was rent in twain and Baptist growth retarded for a generation. Newman thinks it probable that had the Baptists of the Southwest been thoroughly evangelical the secession under Alexander Campbell would not have occurred.¹

In parts of the country Baptist churches "were infected with an antinomian spirit and blighted by a heartless, speculative, 1. Vedder, *Hist. of Bapts in Mid. Sts.* pp. 181-83; 192-94. Newman, p. 440. Jeter, *Campbellism Examined and Reexamined*, pp. 79-80.

hair-splitting orthodoxy. The churches were most penurious, opposed to Christian missions, and all enlarged plans and self-denying efforts, for promoting the cause of Christ. "The members neglected study of the Bible, the religious education of their children, proper observance of the Lord's Day, reasonable support of pastors, and true devotion to God's cause.

Campbell attacked the clergy, creeds, benevolent societies and Baptist insistence upon Christian experience as a prerequisite to church membership. "It will be difficult to find a sentence commendatory of any institution, plan, custom, labor or interest of Christendom, apart from his own cherished 'Reformation'." His teaching was almost entirely negative. "He was neither a Unitarian nor a Trinitarian; neither a Calvinist nor an Arminian; but what he really was or desired to be, none could certainly affirm." His preaching and his meetings had the charm of novelty, and this coupled with the fact that his views were uncommon, made him acceptable to some. The appeal was simple, belief in one fact - that Jesus is the Christ; submission to one rite - immersion; and conformity to the apostle's doctrine. Campbell's opposition to missions, benevolent societies and a paid ministry appealed to the covetous. His teachings were in harmony with the selfishness of human nature, the money-loving propensity of the age, and they thereby secured the concurrence of the covetous, the ignorant, the prayerless and the Christless Christians. While he attacked the clergy, he flattered the people, preaching that they did not need to hire priests to instruct them, as they could read and expound the Scriptures for themselves.

Mr. Campbell taught that all the converting power of the Holy Spirit is in the Scriptures. "We plead that all the converting power of the Holy Spirit is exhibited in the divine record. Can men just as they are found when they hear the gospel believe? Just as easily as I can believe the well-attested facts concerning the person and achievements of George Washington. As the moral power of man is in his arguments, so is the moral power of the Spirit of God in his arguments." The Spirit exerts an influence on man in conversion exactly like that of one man influencing another, only stronger in proportion to increased clearness in argument.¹

1. Jeter, pp. 25-26; 75; 24; 76-79; 80-81; 119-120; 123.

Mr. Campbell underestimates the inveteracy of human depravity. He depends upon knowledge of divine truth without special influence of the Spirit to secure conversion. Sinful man needs only light, arguments, words, persuasion, to be saved -lost due to ignorance, saved due to light - according to Campbell. All the converting power of the Spirit is thereby limited to moral suasion. He also taught baptismal salvation. "The Holy Spirit calls nothing regeneration except the act of immersion"(page 119). "Now as soon as, and not before, a disciple, who has been begotten of God, is born of water, he is born of God, or of the Spirit. Regeneration is therefore the act of being born: God is the Father, water the mother"(page 203). "No prayers, songs of praise, no acts of devotion, in the new economy are enjoined on the unbaptized"(page 217). "Every one of them who, in the belief of what the apostle spoke, was immersed, did, in the very instance in which he was put under the water, receive the forgiveness of sins, and the gift of the Holy Spirit. If men are conscious that their sins are forgiven, and that they are pardoned before they are immersed; I advise them not to go into the water, for they have no need of it."

The creed of Campbellism has but one article, "I believe that Jesus the Nazarene is the Messiah." According to Dr. Jeter: "He may along with the Rationalists deny the inspiration of the Scriptures; he may in company with the Pelagians, deny the doctrine of man's innate depravity; he may, in agreement with various classes of Unitarians, pronounce Jesus the Nazarene, a creature, a man, a mere man, fallible man; he may maintain as do the Universalists, there is no punishment of sin, except in this life; he may with the philosophic Priestley, insist that the soul of man is material, and perishes with the body; he may believe that Joe Smith was a prophet, and the Book of Mormon is a new revelation from God -but he is entitled to a place in the Church of Christ."

Campbellism soon came to adopt the things Mr. Campbell had condemned in others, such as, Associations, Bible Societies, Sunday schools, Mission Societies, Colleges, educated ministry, paid preachers, missionaries and Boards.

The doctrines of Campbell preached by Campbellites within Baptist churches for years and afterwards without the churches, had much to do with modifying the Calvinism of American Baptists since 1815.

1. Jeter, p. 130; pp. 203; 221-223; 308

3. *Anti-missionism.*

There had always been two parties among American Baptists, one of which inclined to an extreme form of Calvinism. The two were never agreed and when the greater part of the Baptist churches began missionary work at home and abroad, the hyper-Calvinistic minority protested. From 1820 onward these anti-mission Baptists became aggressive and in many cases malignant. The formation of State Conventions brought out all their latent hostility to missions, education, Sunday schools, Bible and Tract Societies, as "human institutions". "The encroachments of the Methodists, the Cumberland Presbyterians, and the followers of Alexander Campbell, with their Arminian teachings, tended by arousing the antagonisms of these hyper-Calvinistic Baptists to drive them to the extremes of antinomianism." The crisis was reached in the Middle States in 1835, when the Chemung Association, composed of eight churches in New York and Pennsylvania, discontinued correspondence with the Philadelphia, Abingdon, Bridgewater, Franklin, Madison, Steuben, and other Associations supporting missions, Sunday schools, founding educational institutions, and assisting in Bible Society work. In 1840 the Warwick Association issued a circular saying: "God carries on his work without the least instrumentality whatever. All the preaching from John the Baptist till now, if made to bear on one unregenerate sinner could no more quicken his poor, dead soul than so much chattering of a crane or a swallow."

Many think that the Old School Baptists have steadily declined since 1835, but Dr. Vedder says that they had 61 162 members in 1844, 122 347 members in 1890, and 102 311 members in 1906; that few of their churches have become wholly extinct, but most of them have declined in numbers and influence. Their churches have failed to keep pace with the growth of the community and adjoining churches. They are insignificant in comparison with those from whom they separated in 1835.

In 1829 the Portsmouth Association in Virginia passed the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas, the Kehukee Association has declared she will hold no fellowship with churches or individuals who promote Bible, Mission or Tract Societies, and Theological Seminaries,

Resolved, That we regard this measure as opposed to the spirit

of the gospel and undeserved by the institutions to which it refers; they being preeminently calculated, in our opinion, to promote the kingdom of our Redeemer.

Resolved, That while the Kehukee Association shall persist in her resolutions, we cannot continue our correspondence with that body."

The three leaders of anti-missionism in the South were John Taylor, Daniel Parker and Alexander Campbell. Parker was opposed to missions because of his lack of education and hyper-Calvinistic theology; Campbell's opposition was due to the fact that he considered himself a REFORMER; John Taylor's opposition was apparently caused by his hyper-Calvinistic theology, his lack of education and his prejudices. His theology caused him to look upon the missionary program as an unholy intrusion into the things of God; an attempt to thwart the will of God by seeking the salvation of those whom God decreed to damn before the foundation of the world. His lack of education led him to misinterpret motives and be given to indiscriminate condemnation of the innovations of Luther Rice in raising funds to finance the missionary program. His prejudice against "Yankees" - people from the North - played a large part. About 1812, Samuel Mills and a ministerial companion named Schermerhorn, while on a missionary tour through Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Natchez settlement to New Orleans, were induced to travel sixty miles out of their way to visit Taylor. Pleading with him in behalf of missions, they unwisely said that to secure missionary contributions meant increased liberality all along the line, and especially in pastoral support. This remark was as a spark to the tinder. From this time we find him arguing against missions, saying they are impelled by a love of money. He misinterpreted Judson's appeal for "men of an amiable, yielding temper, willing to take the second place, to be the least of all, for one wrong-headed, conscientiously obstinate man would ruin us," to betray a deep-concerted scheme of self-aggrandizement, a "mercenary plan of priestcraft to build up a church government hierarchical in tendency and design."¹

1. Newman, pp. 433-434., 439. Portsmouth Assn. p. 35. Carroll, pp. 89-96.

Only an antinomian theology, an untrained mind and bitter prejudice could have blinded one of such apostolic labors as Taylor from discerning that his whole life had been given to missionary labors. His words coming from one who had been mobbed, driven from his preaching places by persecution, who had crossed the Alleghanies into the wilderness to escape persecution in Virginia, made a profound impression upon the uneducated constituency of his day.

Daniel Parker opposed missions, saying the missionaries "sin in attempting a work that alone belongs to the divine being." He wanted Bible translation, colonization of the heathen etc. to be "conducted under the direction of our civil government." He would have the devil scatter rather than a Board send missionaries.

Thus was born the anti-missionary movement, "the saddest and most discreditable feature of modern Baptist history." The anti-mission Arminians among the Baptist became Disciples, the anti-mission Calvinists -for the most part -became "Hardshells". Both of these movements from within the Baptist denomination did much to modify the perverseness of doctrine, the unamiable spirit of a large portion of the Baptists in the South and Southwest, and upon the denomination in general the imperative need of a milder and more evangelical form of Calvinism among American Baptists. The Calvinism was modified, became more evangelical, more preachable, with the result that the membership of Baptist churches increased from about 200 000 in 1814 to 720 046 in 1844, and to more than seven millions in 1916(7 236 650).¹

4. Methodism.

Bacon believes that Methodism had much to do with the hyper-Calvinism among Baptists in the South. "When the South and Southwest opened itself as the field of a wonderfully rapid expansion before the feet of the Baptist evangelists... Their collaborators and sharp competitors in the great and noble work of planting the gospel and the church in old and neglected fields at the South, and carrying them westward to the continually advancing frontier of population, were to be found in the multiplying army of the Methodist itinerants and local exhorters, whose theology,

1. Carroll, pp. 97-107. Newman, p. 433; p. 440. United States Bureau of Census.

enjoined upon them by their commission, was the Arminianism of John Wesley. No explanation is apparent for the revulsion of the great body of American Baptists into a Calvinism exaggerated to the point of caricature, except the reaction of controversy with the Methodists. The tendency of the two parties to opposite poles of dogma was all the stronger for the fact that on both sides teachers and taught were alike lacking in liberalizing education."

Bacon is probably correct as far as he goes, but he has told only one part of the story. The Methodists did much to cause some Calvinistic Baptists to become hyper-Calvinists, but they did more to modify the Calvinism of a far larger number of Baptists. The Baptists and Methodists were easily foremost in the pioneer work of the churches since 1815. The success of Methodist preachers emphasizing the freedom of the will, the universal atonement, and the direct appeal for immediate surrender to Christ, resulted in scores of Baptist ministers modifying, either consciously or unconsciously, the Calvinistic note in their preaching. Like priest, like people, so modified Calvinism in the pulpit begot the same in the pew.

5. Better Educated Ministry.

Prior to 1814 Baptist ministers were educated by studying theology under individual pastors. In 1814 the "Massachusetts Baptist Education Society" was formed, declaring education is "peculiarly useful to ministers of Christ, and that more assistance should be given to those seeking it." The Andover Seminary had opened in 1808, the Princeton in 1812, and by 1815 young men of the Baptist faith were asking for similar educational facilities. The Foreign Missionary enterprise had begun to enlarge the views and move the hearts of thousands in the churches, and the importance of education to those who should be sent to the foreign fields was clearly perceived. In 1817 a literary and theological institution commenced at Waterville, Maine, but the theological work ceased in 1822. In 1818 a theological institution was opened at Philadelphia under the auspices of the Baptist General Convention formed in 1814, and the Baptist Education Society of the Middle States formed in 1812. Dr. William Staughton and Rev. Irah Chase were the first instructors. In 1821 it was transferred to Washington, D. C.

I. Bacon, p. 223.

District of Columbia, and became the theological department of Columbian College. While in Philadelphia the students grew in number from one to more than twenty -the first class of five graduated in 1821.

"The Hamilton Literary and Theological Institute" opened in 1820 for the "purpose of educating pious young men to the gospel ministry." The privileges of the school were limited to candidates for the ministry until 1839, when others were admitted, provided, "No change should be made in the course of instruction to favor such students, that they should in no case exceed the number of those preparing for the ministry, and in no other way should the privileges of the latter be abridged by reason of this arrangement." The name was changed to that of Madison University in 1846, and later to Colgate.

The Newton Theological Institute was opened November 28, 1825, by transferring the theological department of Columbian College and placing the work under the auspices of the Massachusetts Education Society. Rev. Irah Chase was transferred from Columbian College as president and Henry J. Ripley was appointed as his colleague. The Massachusetts Society hoped with the cooperation of the other New England States (to adequately provide for and properly maintain the school. In 1826 the Furman Academy and Theological Institution was established; Georgetown College opened at Georgetown, Kentucky, in 1829, the Virginia Baptist Seminary at Richmond in 1832. February 5, 1840 the Western Baptist Theological Institution was founded at Covington, Kentucky, and there sustained for thirteen years. The school ceased to exist in 1853, and the funds were divided between the Northern and Southern trustees. The Northern trustees incorporated under the name of Fairmont Theological Seminary and erected buildings in a suburb of Cincinnati, which finally died. The Southern trustees transferred their funds and property, valued at \$48 000 to Georgetown College. Additional institutions for ministerial education have been established as follows: Rochester Theological Seminary (1850) at Rochester, New York; Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Greenville, South Carolina (1859), in Louisville, Kentucky since 1877; Divinity School of the University of Chicago (Baptist Union Theological Seminary, Morgan Park, Ill. 1867); Crozer Theological Seminary at Upland, Pennsylvania (1868); Pacific Coast Baptist

Theological Seminary(1890) at Berkeley, California; Kansas City Baptist Theological Seminary(1901), Kansas City, Mo.; Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (1907) at Fort Worth, Texas; and the Northern Baptist Theological Seminary(1913) at Chicago, Ill. These institutions have property and endowments amounting to more than seven million dollars, with over one hundred instructors and more than twelve thousand students. In 1908 the denomination had about one hundred colleges and universities of various grades with property and endowments aggregating forty-five million dollars with about two thousand instructors and thirty thousand students.

An index to the better education of the Baptist ministry during this period is seen in the fact that Baptists in America had not a dollar invested, not a teacher employed, not a student enrolled in theological institutions in 1814, but today Baptists have many theological institutions, over twelve hundred students enrolled and more than seven million dollars invested. Southern Baptists have pledged twenty millions for Christian education during the next five years(1919-1924). The better education of Baptist ministers, North and South, has modified the Calvinism preached from Baptist pulpits and accepted by the members of Baptist churches.

6. Missions.

One of the most important results from the foreign mission movement among Baptists in America was the formation of domestic missionary societies, such as, State, Home and City Missions. The Baptist Missionary Convention of the State of New York was formed in 1822, and the Hamilton Missionary Society united with it in 1825. The General Associations of Virginia and Alabama were formed in 1822; of Maine and Massachusetts in 1823; of New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut in 1824; the Ohio State Convention in 1826; the State Conventions of Pennsylvania and New Jersey in 1830, of North Carolina in 1820, of South Carolina in 1830, and of Kentucky and Louisiana in 1832. The America Baptist Home Missionary Society was formed in 1832 in New York City. In 1845 the Southern Baptist Convention was organized and foreign and home missions societies established.

1. Moss, pp. 125-152. Schaff-Herzog, Vol. 1. p. 474.

These missionary organizations testify to the end of antinomianism and hyper-Calvinism among American Baptists. God's decrees and Christ's fulfilment of them are seen ^(to) no more ^{to} dispense with human activity in the redemption of the world than in the salvation of the individual. Baptists recognize that "the world will never be saved until the church takes upon its lips the words, 'I will declare the decree: The Lord hath said unto me, this day have I begotten thee,' and with the holy boldness of conscious union with Christ its Lord begs God to give the world for its possession."

"For the period of a thousand years the doctrine of election was so taught and believed by many Christians as to relieve them of the sense of responsibility for the world's evangelism and for the growth of the Redeemer's kingdom." But today the decree of God instead of being a barrier to work, has become an encouragement. In the certainty that God's decree will be executed, we can work! "Everything else may perish or fail of accomplishment, every other plan may go wrong, every other hope be disappointed; but one thing shall stand, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, and that is, that every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord." "The choice of some does not involve the abandonment of the rest. Election is not the choice of some with the end of exclusion of the rest; it is the prior choice of some with the view to including others."

"Heaven and earth shall pass away, but his word shall not pass away. Even now the government is upon Christ's shoulder. He is conducting the march of civilization. He is turning and overturning the systems of philosophers and the thrones of kings. He is the Sun of Righteousness, and the Sun has risen upon the world; he is pressing back the darkness of heathenism and of ancient wrong; soon his beams shall enlighten every land; soon the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ. Our work is sure of success because he holds us in the hollow of his hand; we are his instruments, his members, linked to him, parts of his very body, and he is the omnipotent Revealer of God, the one and only Executor of God's plan. "Mission work has broadened ^{ed} our horizon, given us a clearer and truer view of God's purposes and thereby rectified much of our theological thinking."

1. Strong, *Christ in Creation and Ethical Monism*, pp. 268-283.
Carr, *All The World in All The Word*, pp. 16-23.

7. Sunday Schools.

Prior to 1791 the Congregationalists in New England and the Seventh Day Baptists in Pennsylvania had organized schools to provide religious instruction for the young, but the efforts were limited in influence and transient in nature. Sunday schools were permanently organized in 1791, when the "First Day, or Sunday School Society" was organized in Philadelphia. The first Sunday school in America was opened in February of 1791 exclusively for females and the instruction was confined to "writing and reading from the Bible, and such other moral and religious books as the society may from time to time direct." The teacher was paid eighty dollars a year for tuition and room rent. The hours of instruction were from eight to ten-thirty in the morning, and one to three and four to six-thirty in the afternoon. Afterwards one dollar for each additional pupil was added to the teacher's annual salary.

Shortly afterwards a teacher was employed by some mill owners at Passaic Falls, New Jersey, to give instruction on Sundays to the children of their employees. At Pawtucket, Rhode Island, Mr. Samuel Slater established a school on Sundays to prevent children of the employees of the mill growing up in ignorance. The teachers were paid for their services. The Pawtucket school is said to have been suggested by David Benedict, a Baptist ministerial student in Brown University, between 1799 and 1804. The Second Baptist Church of Baltimore, Maryland established the first Sunday school in the South in 1804. It was designed solely for religious instruction and thus differed from the other schools then in existence. September 21, 1815, three ladies of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia formed a Sunday school for poor, ignorant and degraded children. One of the ladies had her own son accompany her and thus prepared the way for making the school a place of religious instruction for all classes and conditions. These women met with indifference and opposition. The pastor, Dr. Henry Holcombe, had no greater encouragement than to say: "Well, sisters, you can but try it; blossoms are sweet and beautiful even if they produce no fruit." The first Sunday school in Boston was formed in June, 1816, in the Charles Street Baptist Church. The first Sunday school in the

country began at West Dedham, Mass., in 1817, under Mrs. Betsey Baker, a member of the Baptist church of Medfield, Mass. She gathered sixteen children in her home on Sunday and taught them the Bible. In 1800 there were only sixteen books in America especially adapted to children. The American Baptist General Tract Society (now the American Baptist Publication Society) came to the kingdom for such a time as this (1824) and began in 1840 to make the promotion of Sunday school efficiency in the schools established and to establish new schools a prominent part of its work.

The HARDSHELL Baptists bear unwitting witness to the modifying powers of the Sunday school on Calvinism by their bitter hostility to and their violent attacks upon these schools. Often we have heard their preachers say from the pulpit that they preferred their members and children to go fishing on Sunday, rather than attend a Sunday school. The schools exist to impart Bible information, to lead in Bible study; and Bible knowledge is the best preventative against and the best corrective of hyper-Calvinism. The Bible teaches Calvinism, but it is an evangelical, spiritual, preachable, practical kind, and the Sunday schools have aided in making that the type of theology prevalent among American Baptists at the present time.¹

8. Baptist Papers and Periodicals.

Dr. Edward F. Merriam says: "Religious journalism is the Bible brought down to date. Its plan and purpose are exactly those for which the holy Scriptures were given: to tell the dealing of God with men, to examine and display the principles of the acts of God to men, and to reveal the correct relations of man to God and to his fellow-men, and so to promote and forecast the advance of the kingdom of God on earth; these comprehend the true objects and proper efforts of the Bible and religious journalism. As no one can be a true, intelligent and useful Christian, serviceable to God and man, without a knowledge of the Bible gained by careful and constant reading and study of the Bible, so no one can today be an intelligent and useful

1. Moss, pp. 229ff. Compare. Cathcart, Article, Sunday School.

Christian, serviceable to God and man, without habitual reading of such religious journals as will supply adequate information of the dealings of God with man in this age. "The growth of religious journalism has been an important factor in the growth of Baptists, and equally so in shaping the Baptist theology of today. The papers have been a medium for the exchange of ideas, an open forum where Baptist doctrines were discussed by brethren of all shades of opinion. Point by point these doctrines have been brought forth to be criticised, commended or condemned, but above all else to be studied. The membership have pondered the printed pages, have prayed over them, mediated upon them, and from many minds of many opinions, changes of emphasis, of statement, of presentation, have been made, until the theology of American Baptists today is midway between the two extremes of hyper-Calvinism and Arminianism. The increasingly large place of religious journalism in Baptist denominational life may be seen by tracing the growth of Baptist papers and periodicals from the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine of 1803, the Christian Watchman of 1822, the Columbian Star (1822), the Christian Secretary (1822), the Religious Herald (1828), Journal and Messenger (1831), Western Recorder (1835), until the birth of "The Baptist" in Chicago (Feb. 1920), the latest born denominational periodical of which we have heard to date (March 28, 1920), the official organ of the Northern Baptist Convention, brought about by the purchase of every Baptist paper in the North except the Watchman-Examiner.* The year book of 1918 reported 127 Baptist periodicals in this country, of which fifty are weekly journals, whereas in 1815 the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine was the only Baptist periodical in America. Through the press brethren came to know each other better, indulged in the mutual exchange of ideas, were mutually drawn together in their theological views. It has been somewhat like placing a red hot and an ice cold ball of iron side by side, the hot warms the cold, and the cold cools the hot, and both tend to have a common temperature.¹

1. Newman, pp. 423-426. Burrage, Baptists in N. England, pp. 295-296. Watchman-Examiner, Centennial Number, pp. 599-604 (May 8, 1919).

* The Baptist Banner of West Va. } should be named with the
" " " Iowa } Watchman-Examiner
" " Observer, of Ind. }

9. Growth of the Social Consciousness

There has been an increased interest in social life among Baptists in America since about 1800. The death of Alexander Hamilton (July 1804), in a duel with Aaron Burr aroused the conscience of American Christians to duelling as a national sin. Georgia's treatment of the Cherokee Indians further awakened Christians to their social obligations. Then came the fight against slavery (1830 onward), against intemperance, and other evils, until there is a "deepened sense of the likeness of likemindedness of men, of their mutual influence, of the value and sacredness of the person, of mutual obligations, of love" among Christians today. The growth of the social consciousness has greatly influenced the theological thinking of all Christians. The deepening sense of the likeness of men affects theological thinking "By modifying the thought of election through emphasis upon the choice for service, and through the clear recognition that there are no prime favorites with God; by strengthening the conviction that the great common qualities and interests are the most valuable, and that genuinely and largely common ideals may be found under very diverse forms and conditions; and thus, on the one hand, by opposing the denial of the physical likeness of men, and, on the other hand, by bringing us to larger sympathy with men, to larger faith in men, and to larger hope for men; and finally, by laying new emphasis upon judgment according to light, and upon the moral reality and freedom of the future life." King says again that we feel "Increasingly that each race and each individual have their calling and have their compensating advantages; and that, when it comes down to the final test of opportunity, the differences in opportunity between individuals are less than they seem; for to each one is given the possibility of the largest service any man can render - the possibility of touching closely with the very spirit of his life a few other lives." The growth of this consciousness with its emphasis upon service has greatly modified the Calvinistic theology of American Baptists during the past century.

1. Bacon, pp. 261-291. Burrage, Bapts in N.E., pp. 289-292. King, Theology and the Social Consciousness, pp. 117, 134-135.

10. The New Note of Personalism in Philosophy.

Dr. Mullins has well said that "Personalism is one of the finest flowers of philosophic thought today." The principle of reverence for personality is the ruling principle in ethics and in religion, the truest and highest test of either the individual or the citizen. "Reverence for personality is the characteristic that most clearly distinguishes the modern world from the ancient, the most modern from the mediaeval, and the Occident from the Orient." Personalism asserts a system of selves related through a supreme personality. "It conceives of the supreme person as existing in and through the concrete continuous exercise of his personality, thinking, willing, and sustaining all things." Personalism may be defined as "that system of philosophy which views personality as the active ground of the world, and as containing in the mystery of its own unique being the key to all the antinomies of metaphysics." "The world of things is not a mere succession of phenomena, but depends upon the casual activity of a divine personality. The mutual relations and interactions spring from the unity of the supreme will. All that exists is the result or manifestation of a supreme, active, purposive intelligence which creates and sustains the world of lesser intelligences and things."

Human freedom is a part of the divine purpose within certain limits allotted to man. "Foreknowledge does not include those individual facts which lie within the range of human action, but applies rather to that larger purpose, the development of character, which would be impossible apart from freedom. It may well be that from the eternal view-point an eventual world of voluntary righteousness is of vaster importance than a world of involuntary sinlessness. The thing desired seems to be a growing moral personality in man like that which exists in God. Personality, then, which we must believe to be the supreme treasure of the eternal consciousness, is likewise the supreme gift and task of man." "The human personality is not the prey of driving molecules and brain-storms. In the recesses of personality lie the possibility of starting new successions of cause and effect. Personalism affirms that the only real unity of which we are directly aware is the unity of free and conscious self. The self survives the passing events of experience, relates them to itself under the forms of time and space, and makes itself the center of the changing world."

That there is any higher unity is due to the fact that one is not alone, but is surrounded by a world of self-conscious intelligences, themselves comprehended in synthesis by a supreme personal intelligence. Through self-conscious and self-acting personality alone can the world be brought into substantial unity."

Personalism sees clearly that "life is more than thoughts, more than presentations and ideas. Personalism emphasizes the synthetic unity of consciousness, including the will and feelings as well as the intellect. It takes man in the totality of his relations, to nature, to other persons in human society, and to God. It recognizes the common experiences of men and the law of reason by which they understand each other and their own experience. Its conclusions are that the ultimate reality is a person; that we as the creation of his hands are true persons; that we are endowed with freedom; that the divine person is working out a purpose in human society, and that the goal of history is a perfect society of men and women in fellowship with God. Personalism maintains that the key to the meaning of physical nature is the divine purpose which runs through it; that the crown and goal of nature is its highest outcome, man himself; that we must understand the beginning in the light of the outcome and not attempt to cancel the higher elements in the outcome."

This note of Personalism in philosophy has necessitated in theology a recognition of the moral powers of initiative in man, that man has a real will of his own, and the recognition of the personal relations of personal man to the personal God has sounded the death knell of the mechanical and metaphysical conceptions of the relations of man to God, that heretofore existed to the detriment of the personal, and thus made possible the hyper-Calvinistic thinking of the "Hardshell" Baptists, in reacting from which some Baptists in the preceding generations became Arminian.

The combined force of the ten influences as outlined in this chapter have tended to make American Baptist theology become more and more characteristically personal, ethical, social, historical, Biblical and Christian, in its

The better our understanding of the character and activities of God, the more precise our knowledge of man, the broader the horizon of our Christian lives, the keener our sympathy with and love for the unredeemed, the deeper our insight into human destiny, the more sacred does every human being become to us, and the more convinced we are that "The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some count slackness; but is longsuffering to youward, not wishing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance" (2P. 3:9). "As I live, saith the Lord Jehovah, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel" (Ezek. 33:11). "As many as received him, to them gave he the right to become children of God, even to them that believe on his name" (John 1:12).¹

FINIS.

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The books, pamphlets, papers and periodicals listed below have all been consulted in the preparation of our Thesis, though all of them are not quoted in the footnotes, where several sources gave the same facts, though often differing in details, we have thought it unnecessary to cite all authors consulted, preferring to give a complete list in the BIBLIOGRAPHY. The arrangement is alphabetical, rather than by subjects, for the convenience of those who wish to trace any of the references.

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