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THE GLASITE OR SANDEMANIAN INFLUENCE ON THE "RESTORATION" MOVEMENT OF THE "DISCIPLES OF CHRIST"

I

At various periods in the history of the Church there have arisen groups of Christian people who, dissatisfied with the prevailing types of religion, have banded themselves together to restore what they believed to be Primitive Christianity. Among such movements in modern times one of the most outstanding is that from which has grown the large and influential denomination known in America as "Disciples of Christ" and in Great Britain, Australia, and elsewhere as "Churches of Christ".

Foremost among the leaders of the Restoration Movement were Thomas and Alexander Campbell, father and son, who more than any of their associates shaped the thought, policy, and development of the Disciples. Thomas Campbell was a Presbyterian minister, pastor of an Anti-burgher Seceder Congregation at Ahoey, Co. Armagh, in the north of Ireland. In 1807, for health reasons, he emigrated to America. On his arrival he was welcomed by the Anti-Burgher Synod then in session at Philadelphia, and shortly afterwards took up ministerial work within the Presbytery of Chartiers, Washington County, Pennsylvania. It was not long, however, before his catholic sympathies brought him into trouble with his Presbytery which censured him for admitting to the Lord's Table Christians belonging to other denominations. Campbell appealed to the Associate Synod, which annulled the censure but expressed disapproval of his general attitude towards the standards of his Church. Feeling himself out of harmony with the denominational authorities, he reluctantly decided to withdraw from the Synod, but had no intention of leaving the Secession Church. He continued to preach, and gathered a number of supporters, who while retaining their ecclesiastical connections,

desired to form themselves into a religious society which held as its main principle, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent". A society calling itself "The Christian Association of Washington" was formed in August, 1809. There was no thought of founding a new denomination. The Association was merely a society of Christian people after the pattern of the early Methodist Societies in England and the Haldaneite societies in Scotland. In explanation and justification of this step Thomas Campbell drew up his notable *Declaration and Address* in which the object of the Association is clearly stated—"to restore unity, peace, and purity to the whole Church of God", which restoration is to be effected by obedience to the revealed will of God and the observance of the divine ordinances as exemplified in the practice of the Primitive Church. This *Declaration* was not proposed as a formulated creed, but as a religious manifesto. It embodies, however, the principles which determined the later organization of the Disciples Churches, and its composition by Thomas Campbell entitles him to be regarded as the initiator of the Restoration Movement which was developed by his son Alexander. "Its ground principles," declares Dr. J. R. Kellems, "were all thought out by him, and the work well under way, before his distinguished son left Scotland's shores to take his part in it. . . . The father created the movement; the son made it to live". (*Alexander Campbell and the Disciples*, 8, 9).

It was while the sheets of the *Declaration and Address* were passing through the press that Alexander Campbell, a young man of twenty-one, arrived in America. Already, as we shall see, he had been unconsciously prepared for his future work. On rejoining his father, both were pleasantly surprised to find that independently they had reached similar conclusions on religious questions. Alexander approved of the principles enunciated in his father's "Declaration", and immediately threw himself whole-heartedly into the service of the new Association. Writing several years later he says, "My faith in creeds and confessions of human device was considerably shaken while in Scotland, and I commenced my career in this country (America) under the conviction that nothing that was not as old as the New Testament should be made an article of faith, a rule of practice, or a term of communion among Christians. In a word, that the whole of the Christian religion exhibited

in prophecy and type in the Old Testament was presented in the fullest, clearest, and most perfect manner in the New Testament, by the Spirit of wisdom and revelation. This has been the pole-star of my course ever since". (*The Christian Baptist*, One vol. edition, 92).

From this time events moved rapidly. In 1810 the refusal of the Pittsburg Synod to admit Thomas Campbell "into Christian and Ministerial Communion" compelled him and his friends to reconsider their ecclesiastical position, and in the following year they decided to form themselves into an independent church founded on the principles of the "Declaration". Accordingly the Christian Association was re-organized as a Church at Brush Run, Washington County. Thomas Campbell was chosen as Elder, and Alexander licensed to preach. Arrangements were also made for the weekly observance of the Lord's Supper. "This step," remarks Dr. W. E. Garrison, "involved the complete acceptance of the principle of Independency in church government." (*Religion Follows the Frontier*, 101). On New Year Day, 1812, Alexander was ordained to the ministry—an event which marked a further departure from Classical Presbyterianism.¹

Shortly afterwards Believer's Baptism was adopted as of Scriptural authority, and the Campbells, along with others, were immersed on their public confession of faith in the Lordship of Christ. The following year (1813) the Brush Run Church was admitted to the Redstone Baptist Association, but it was not long before new difficulties arose. A sermon preached by Campbell before the Association in 1816, in which he maintained that the Christian Church was not subject to the Old Testament law, met with much disapproval from the conservative Baptists who now began to regard him with suspicion as a heretical innovator. Campbell's reputation as a preacher, theologian, and controversialist continued steadily to grow. In 1823 he commenced the publication of *The Christian Baptist* in which he enunciated his views and advocated "the restoration of the ancient order of things". His teaching caused considerable stir, and won for him both friends and opponents.

¹ Dr. T. Witton Davies, *Trans. Baptist Hist. Society*, VII, 148, speaks of Alex. Campbell as "ordained Secession minister", but this is inaccurate. A recent writer, F. M. Masters, rightly says, "He was never licensed to preach nor ordained to the ministry under the authority of the Seceder Presbyterian Church", *The Western Recorder*, Louisville, Ky., October 5, 1939. Campbell brought to America credentials of membership but no certificate of license. His ordination was "congregational".

Among the former were two men who were later to become his colleagues in the development of the Disciples Communion. One was a Scotsman, Walter Scott, who after emigrating to America became a Haldaneite Baptist; the other was Barton Warren Stone, a Presbyterian minister who founded the "Christian Connection". Ultimately Campbell, now pastor of a "Restoration" church at Wellsburg, Va., transferred his membership to the Mahoning Baptist Association which included many sympathisers. In 1830 this Association, influenced by the new ideas, dissolved its constitution. "With this act," says Dr. Garrison, "the separation of the reformers, now coming to be called 'Disciples', from the Baptists may be considered to be fairly complete" (op. cit. 128). The increasing opposition of the Baptist leaders made it impossible for the "reformers" to remain in the Baptist Communion. "All the world must see," wrote Campbell, "that we are forced into a separate communion." The final break came in 1832 when the followers of Campbell united with those of Stone to form the new body assuming the designation "Disciples of Christ".

II

The purpose of this essay is not to trace the subsequent development of the Disciples of Christ as a distinct denomination, but to show that in certain important respects the Restoration Movement was indebted to an earlier Scottish movement which also had as its objective a return to "the ancient order of things".

The pioneer of restoration was John Glas, sometime minister of Tealing, near Dundee, who in 1730 was deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland on the ground of following divisive and schismatic courses. Early in his pastorate Glas, alarmed at the backward state of spiritual religion in his parish, gathered a group of nearly a hundred people who "agreed to join together in Christian profession, to follow Christ the Lord, as the righteousness of his people, and to walk together in brotherly love, and in the duties of it, in subjection to Mr. Glas as their overseer in the Lord". At this time Glas had no intention of seceding from the National Church, for he continued to fulfil his duties as a parochial minister. The Tealing fellowship was also a society after the Methodist plan,

but some of his critics regarded it as practically an independent Church within his parish. Such it virtually was, and it is scarcely surprising that gradually Glas approximated to the Independent position respecting the nature and constitution of a Christian Church, or that eventually he should come into conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities. His views found expression in his book entitled *The Testimony of the King of Martyrs Concerning His Kingdom* (1729)—a work which exercised a widespread influence in evangelical circles. After his deposition in 1730 a number of small churches were organized on a congregational basis, with the New Testament as the norm of doctrine, order, and discipline. Through the writings and labours of his son-in-law, Robert Sandeman, Glas's doctrinal and ecclesiastical views were introduced to England, Wales, and New England, causing no little excitement. Glas's fundamental principle is embodied in the following statement: "If we would escape the corruption of Christianity, we must firmly hold the things delivered to us in the New Testament, without adding to them, or taking from them. We must not satisfy ourselves with an idle confession that the New Testament is the word of God, but we must hold fast by it, as our only rule, in opposition to all other rules that have been added to it, or come in the place of it; we must hold fast the things delivered there in our practice, without turning to the right hand or to the left" (*Works*, second edition, II, 243). Hence the Glasites endeavoured to restore the Apostolic faith and order and to reproduce in detail the customs of the primitive churches, regarding such conformity as obligatory upon all Christian believers.

Glas's influence was not confined to those who sought membership in the Churches of his connection. Later in the eighteenth century other bodies came into existence in Scotland, the leaders of which were all directly or indirectly indebted to the teaching of Glas and Sandeman, though, strange to say, all were inclined to minimise their indebtedness. Earliest of these new groups was the body known as the "Scotch" Baptists, the founders of which were Archibald M'Lean, a Glasgow printer, and Robert Carmichael, formerly an Anti-burgher Secession minister, both of whom had a previous though brief connection with the Glasites. After their separation they embraced Baptist views and later became co-pastors of the first Baptist Church in Edinburgh. Though without

academic training, M'Lean was a man of keen intellect and deep spiritual culture, and to his powerful advocacy the Baptist connection in Scotland owed its growth. Within a few years "Scotch" Baptist Churches were established in various parts of Britain and also in America. In matters of faith and order, with the exception of Baptism, the followers of M'Lean resembled so closely those of Glas and Sandeman that they have frequently been described as "Sandemanian Baptists"—a designation which, though repudiated by themselves, is not altogether unwarranted, for their doctrines, principles, and practices, are scarcely indistinguishable from those of the Glasites.

The second group is that denominated the Old Scots Independents whose leaders were James Smith, Robert Ferrier (afterwards a Glasite), and David Dale. Disturbed by the writings of Glas and Sandeman, Smith and Ferrier, both ministers of the Church of Scotland, resigned their livings and gathered an independent church at Balchristie, in Newburn parish of which Smith had been minister, where they became co-elders or pastors. A second church was formed in Glasgow by David Dale, the father of the Scottish cotton industry (and incidentally, father-in-law of Robert Owen, the famous sceptical socialist, who afterwards publicly debated with Alexander Campbell) and Archibald Paterson, a wealthy candlemaker. Ferrier joined Dale as co-pastor of this church. Both Dale and Paterson were influenced by Glas's *Testimony of the King of Martyrs*. Later other churches were formed on like principles.

The third group owed its origin to the evangelical movement associated with the names of the brothers Robert and James Alexander Haldane. At the outset the Haldanes, who were members of the Church of Scotland, had no thought of establishing bodies outside the National Establishment, and their later separation was due to the pressure of unforeseen circumstances, not the least of which was the antagonism of many of the Scottish clergy. In course of time the Haldane Movement gave rise to two denominations—the New Independents and the New Baptists. The Haldanes were joined by the Rev. Greville Ewing, a Church of Scotland clergyman, and soon churches of the Congregational order sprang up in various parts of Scotland. It was natural that the leaders of the new movement should acquaint themselves with the principles of

the old Independency represented by the Glasites and the Old Scots Independents. Almost from the beginning the churches born of the evangelical revival were affected by the sentiments of Glas and his disciples. It was from them that Greville Ewing derived his changed views on the nature and constitution of the Church. Though he did not accept all their teaching, his appreciation went so far as to evoke the disapproval of the Haldanes. But in course of time the Haldanes themselves approximated to Glasite views. Ewing states that Robert Haldane admitted to him that he had changed his opinion respecting the value of the writings of Glas and Sandeman. In 1805 James Haldane published his book on *Social Worship*. The traces of Glasite influence are manifest throughout this work in which the author comes forward as a strenuous advocate on behalf of the restoration of Primitive Christianity. In his preface he states that as the Christian religion is one connected whole in its doctrines, precepts and institutions, no one part can be overlooked without the force of all being weakened. Christ has revealed His will and instituted ordinances which are so many sensible images of the doctrines He taught (*Social Worship*, pp. 3-4). In 1808 the Haldanes adopted Baptist views, and soon the Churches separated into two groups. The Churches which remained Independent gradually discarded peculiarities of belief and practice due to Glasite influence, but those which became Baptist generally accepted the principles expounded in Haldane's *Social Worship* with the addition of Believer's Baptism. The Haldaneite views of church order were carried to Ireland and America.

Brief reference must also be made to the "restoration" movement in Ireland of which the prime leader was John Walker, of Dublin, a clergyman of the Episcopal Church and Fellow of Trinity College. Walker records that early in the nineteenth century a number of Christians in Dublin came to see "that all the first Christians in any place were connected together in the closest brotherhood; and that as their connexion was grounded on one apostolic gospel, so it was also regulated by the precepts delivered to them by the apostles, as the divinely-commissioned ambassadors of Christ" (*Essays and Correspondence*, ed. Burton, I, 157). A society was formed to promote Christian fellowship, but the following year (1804) the conclusion was reached that "the same divine rule, which

regulated their fellowship in the gospel, forbade them to maintain any religious fellowship with any others" (ibid.). This group became known as "Separatists" and "Walkerites".

William Jones holds that Walker owed his ideas to the "Scotch" Baptists, but it is more probable that his indebtedness was to Glas and Sandeman. Andrew Fuller, who met him just before his secession from the Church of Ireland, described him as a "Sandemanian clergyman", while a later writer calls him "the Robert Sandeman of the present (19th) century". Walker admits "that many things in Sandeman have contributed to this better furnishing me for my work", (ibid. II, 162). Elsewhere he says, "From the name of Sandemanianism, considered as a name of Christian reproach, I am far from anxious to vindicate myself and others" (ibid. II, 407). His works reveal acquaintance with Glasite literature, and he commends the Glasites "as having juster views than most others, of the principles of church fellowship—I refer particularly to their profession of holding sacred all the institutions delivered to the first churches, in opposition to the ungodly liberality which, in other societies, tolerates disobedience to them" (ibid. II, 340).

III

To what extent was the Restoration Movement in America influenced by the earlier movement initiated by John Glas? Were the Campbells, more particularly Alexander, indebted to Glas, Sandeman, and other leaders of "reform" such as M'Lean, Haldane, who themselves shared some of the Glasite views, doctrinal and ecclesiastical? These questions have been warmly debated, both in Alexander Campbell's own day and in more recent times. Some of his early critics openly charged him with Sandemanianism,¹ asserting that he owed his main principles to the Glasites, the "Scotch" Baptists, and the Haldaneites. Dr. Robert B. Semple, his Baptist opponent, wrote to him in 1823: "So far as I can judge by your writings and preaching, you are substantially a Sandemanian or Haldanian. I know you differ from them in some points, but in substance you occupy their ground" (*The Christian Baptist*, 227). A similar charge was made more than sixty years later by another Baptist controversialist, Dr. W. H. Whittsitt, who declared

¹ "Sandemanianism" is the generic term commonly applied to the opinions of Glas and his school of thought.

that "the Disciples of Christ, commonly called Campbellites . . . are an off-shoot of the Sandemanian sect in Scotland" (*The Origin of the Disciples of Christ*, 1888). William Jones, the distinguished "Scotch" Baptist, strongly maintained that the new movement in America was influenced by the "Scotch" Baptist movement in Scotland. In one of his letters addressed to Campbell in 1835, he speaks of "the Scotch Baptist churches, out of which yours in America took their origin, as I think you will not deny" (*The Millennial Harbinger*, ed. Jones, 1835, I, 74).

Campbell himself repudiated the imputation that he was a follower of Glas, Sandeman, M'Lean, or Haldane, or that the Restoration Movement was directly indebted to the movements with which their names were connected. In his first reply to Semple he said that others also, with little knowledge of the writings of Sandeman and Haldane, had made similar charges against himself (*The Christian Baptist*, 227). He adds that he had not read all the works of these writers, but had read more than he approved. In a later letter to Semple he emphatically states, "To call me a Sandemanian, a Haldanian, a Glasite, an Arian, or a Unitarian, and to tell the world that the Sandemanians, Haldanians, &c., &c., have done so and so, and have been refuted by such a person, is too cheap a method of maintaining human traditions, and too weak to oppose reason and revelation. . . . I do most unequivocally and sincerely renounce each and every one of these systems. He that imputes any of these systems to me, and ranks me among the supporters of them, reproaches me" (*ibid.* 399).

Campbell's critics certainly went too far in pronouncing him a disciple of Glas, Sandeman, M'Lean, Haldane, and in describing his movement as an "off-shoot of the Sandemanian sect". This charge has been rebutted not only by a Disciple historian like G. W. Longan, but also by the eminent Baptist scholar Professor H. C. Vedder. Longan rightly maintains that the Disciples were never connected with the Sandemanian sect or any branch of it (*vide The Origins of the Disciples of Christ*, 26), while Vedder declares that "the utmost that Dr. Whittsitt's thesis can mean is, that in spirit, in doctrine and in church order, the Disciples have drawn more largely from the Sandemanians than from any other body of Christians" (*The Baptist Quarterly Review*, American, July 1888).

Campbell did not deny that he was in some measure

indebted to previous advocates of a return to apostolic teaching and order. He claimed to be well acquainted with the controversy which followed Glas's assertion that "Christ's Kingdom is not of this world", and frankly acknowledged himself a debtor to Glas, Sandeman, M'Lean, as well as to other reformers early and late. To William Jones he said, with a touch of humour, that there was a sense in which he was indebted to someone for every idea on every subject, adding, "I may, therefore, indirectly be indebted to Archibald M'Lean, for example, much more than I am aware" (*The Millennial Harbinger*, 1835, I, 340). How much the Reformation movement "is indebted to the labours of the revered fathers of the Scotch Baptist Churches", he is unable to say, but he proceeds to remark that M'Lean and the Edinburgh school had themselves "drawn largely and liberally" from Robert Ferrier, James Smith, and John Glas. "*The Testimony of the King of Martyrs*, rejected by the Synod of Angus and Mearns, 1728, I regard as the foundation of the Edinburgh reform school; and with all the developments and prominent incidents in the history of that controversy, I made myself fully acquainted before I commenced my career in the work of reformation" (*ibid.* 341). But, he concludes, after all due acknowledgments have been made, he has no hesitation in saying that in the new movement there may "be found views of Christian institutions *wholly new* as far as the works of all the schools to which I have alluded are concerned" (*ibid.* 344).

Notwithstanding Campbell's tributes and acknowledgments to previous reformers, readers of his letter to Jones are left with the impression that he seeks to minimize his indebtedness and to vindicate his own claim to originality. We may venture to suggest, however, that Campbell was more indebted to his predecessors than he was aware, and that his indebtedness was of long standing, going back indeed to his youthful day in Ireland and Scotland, before he proceeded to America as an advocate of Primitive Christianity.

At Richhill, a few miles from Campbell's early home in Ireland, there was an Independent church of Haldaneite sentiments with which church and its pastor Thomas Campbell was on friendly terms. Occasionally he and his son Alexander, then a mere youth, attended special services at Richhill where they heard distinguished preachers, including Rowland Hill, James

Haldane, and John Walker, of Dublin. On one of these occasions the Campbells are known to have had a prolonged conversation on religious matters with Walker, whose views on Church order and fellowship were undergoing a change. This association with the Independents at Richhill cannot have passed without the Campbells learning something of their theological and ecclesiastical opinions. Dr. Kellems remarks that it is impossible to say how far they were influenced by the Richhill friends, and that there is no evidence to prove that they had made a study of the Glasite or Sandemanian doctrine of faith with which later "they were assuredly in partial accord" (op. cit., 20). He inclines to think that when father and son migrated to America their outlook both theologically and ecclesiastically was substantially Presbyterian. Be this as it may, there is good reason to believe that already a reaction against a dogmatic and rigid Presbyterianism had taken place in both their minds.

Moreover, the year which Alexander Campbell spent in Glasgow prior to his departure for the New World was one of the most determinative in his career. He left Ireland with the intention of preparing himself for the ministry of the Secession Church, and with this end in view commenced his studies at the University of Glasgow. In Scotland, however, his main contacts appear to have been Independent not Presbyterian. He brought with him a letter of introduction to Greville Ewing, who was head of the Haldane Academy in Glasgow. From Mr. Ewing he received many personal kindnesses, and doubtless it was through him that he became acquainted with other prominent leaders of the Haldane Movement. It was at this period that the Haldane Churches were passing through the throes of controversy which led to their division. As the friend of Ewing, Campbell naturally inclined to his side. Writing to Semple some years later he says, "As to James Haldane, I am less indebted to him than most of the others. I was much prejudiced against his views and proceedings when in Scotland, owing to my connexion with those who engaged in a controversy with his brother Robert, and against the system in general" (*The Christian Baptist*, 229). Dr. Richardson states that it was from the Haldane Movement that Campbell "received his first impulse as a religious reformer", and that it "may be justly regarded, indeed, as the first phase of that religious reformation which he subsequently carried out successfully

to its legitimate issues" (*Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, I, 149). The Independent influences were sufficiently strong to shake Campbell's confidence in the divine right of Presbyterianism. Says Dr. Garrison, "Whatever the causes—and it seems overwhelmingly probable that the chief among them were the Haldane movement and the personal influence of Mr. Ewing—Alexander Campbell became dissatisfied with his connexion with the Seceder Presbyterian Church during that year" (*op. cit.*, 84). It has been said that before he left Glasgow he severed his connexion with the Seceder Church in that city. This, however, is doubtful, for he himself states that when he arrived in America he bore credentials certifying that he had been a member in good standing of the Secession Church. But as we have seen, on his own admission, his faith in creeds and confessions had been shaken while in Scotland, and also that he had made himself conversant with the history and principles of the Glasite and other kindred bodies before he commenced his advocacy of a return to apostolic doctrine and order. Had it not been for his early contacts with Independents, both in Ireland and in Scotland it is questionable if he would have removed far from the standards and practices of orthodox Presbyterianism.

It is not here contended that Campbell was a conscious imitator of Glas, Sandeman, M'Lean, Haldane, or Ewing, but that the movements initiated by these leaders materially helped to mould his own thought, and determine, to some extent, the characteristics of the Restoration Movement in America. Longan holds that if Sandeman or M'Lean has any claim to be regarded as the "real leader to whom our divine movement owes its origin" (*op. cit.*, 53), it is simply due to "priority of discovery", and nothing more. But, apart from this priority of discovery, would Campbell have reached the same position and discovered for himself the main principles which he afterwards taught? Possibly he might have done so, but the fact remains that his attention was first attracted to them by the discoveries of earlier teachers. He says "that he had been taught to take nothing on trust, but to think for himself". Without doubt he was a man of independent judgment, unwilling to accept any teaching unless he was convinced of its harmony with the Divine revelation in the New Testament.

It now remains to indicate briefly the most important

points in which Campbell and his colleagues resemble their "restorationist" forerunners.

The doctrinal resemblance relates to the nature of Saving Faith which Campbell defines as the acceptance of the testimony of the New Testament that Jesus is both Lord and Christ. "Faith is only the belief of testimony, or confidence that the testimony is true. . . . The measure, quality, and power of faith are always found in the testimony believed. Where testimony begins, faith begins: and where testimony ends, faith ends" (*The Christian System*, English ed., 122). This was the position previously contended for by Glas, Sandeman, M'Lean, Haldane, and also by Andrew Fuller, who opposed them on other points. "Regarding the nature of faith, as then debated", says Longan, "he (Campbell) agreed with Sandeman, M'Lean, and Fuller, as they confessedly agreed with each other" (*The Origins of the Disciples*, 67). On the further question, whether regeneration preceded or followed faith, Campbell held with Sandeman and M'Lean against Fuller that faith came before regeneration (vide *Millennial Harbinger*, British, XIV, 1861, 313-318). Longan ventures to assert that Campbell's view of the priority of faith "was the most fundamental conception of what may be called his theology", and "That the question whether regeneration—meaning thereby change of heart—is before faith, or through faith, is the chief theological issue we (the Disciples) make with the denominations of our time" (op. cit., 73, 76). It may be doubted if such an affirmation would be endorsed by all Disciples, but with some qualification it does represent Campbell's conception of the beginnings of the life of faith. He strongly contended against what he considered a pernicious popular error, viz., "that the nature or power and saving efficacy of faith is not in the truth believed, but in the nature of our faith, or in the manner of believing the truth". There is, he declares, no other way of believing a fact than to accept it as true. If it is not so received, it is not believed (*The Christian System*, 123).

Campbell considered that, in the controversy aroused by Sandeman's *Letters on Theron and Aspasio*, Sandeman had proved himself a giant among dwarfs (*The Christian Baptist*, 228), but he did not wholly agree with the Sandemanian definition of faith as the bare belief of the Gospel testimony. This seemed too cold and purely intellectual a conception. "I agree with

Sandeman in making faith no more than the belief of the truth. . . . But I differ from Sandeman in making this belief the effect of physical influence" (ibid. 615. Cf. *Millennial Harbinger*, I, 329, 330). Campbell could not exclude from his view all the holy dispositions which accompany faith. Indeed, he approached more nearly to the Haldaneite position which added the element of trust in Christ to the belief of the testimony. He regarded the principle of faith as personal and experiential, not as doctrinal and theoretical. "No man can be saved by the belief of any theory, true or false; no man will be damned for the disbelief of any theory" (*Millennial Harbinger*, II, 21). Religion is essentially a personal relationship between the believer and his Lord—a relationship established by faith and perfected in obedience. "Faith in Christ is the effect of belief. Belief is the *cause*; and trust, confidence, or faith in Christ, the *effect*. . . . The belief of what Christ says of Himself, terminates in trust, or confidence in Him: and as the Christian religion is a personal thing, both as respects *subject* and *object*, that faith in Christ which is essential to salvation is not the belief of any doctrine, testimony, or truth, but belief *in* Christ; trust, or confidence in Him as a person, not a thing" (*Christian System*, 57). But like Glas, Sandeman, M'Lean, Haldane, and other representatives of the Scottish school of thought, he suspected all claims to religious experience which rested on a merely subjective basis, and entered his protest against the popular theology which identified saving faith with mystical feeling and emotional experiences.

Like his predecessors Campbell, especially in the early stages of his career, attached great importance to the restoration of "the ancient order of things" which included matters of order as well as of faith. "The Christian institution," he says, "has its facts, its precepts, its promises, its ordinances, and their meaning or doctrine. These are not matters of policy or arrangement or expediency; but of divine and immutable ordination and continuance. Hence the faith, the worship, and the righteousness, or the doctrine, the piety and morality of the gospel institution are not legitimate subjects of human legislation, alteration, or arrangement. No man or community can touch these and be innocent" (*The Christian System*, 74). Under the influence of the earlier school Campbell inclined to stress matters of order and to inveigh against all departures from

the practice of the New Testament Churches. In the pages of *The Christian Baptist* which he edited from 1823 to 1830, there runs what might be called a negative legalism, and in his book, *The Christian System*, published in 1837, we still find the emphasis placed on restoration of the primitive order. But in course of time he moved away from a rigid definition of what constituted apostolic order. "There was no diminution of zeal for the restoration of the primitive pattern of the Church in all its essential elements, but there was a tendency toward more liberal views, with reference to the legitimacy of supplementary devices and 'expedients'" (Garrison, op. cit., 147). He still believed that the New Testament provided the norm of Christian practice as well as doctrine, but did not consider that restoration necessitated a literal reproduction of every detail found in the early Church. While maintaining the old tradition respecting the independence of the local church, mutual exhortation, and the weekly observance of the Lord's Supper, he did not follow the Glasites, "Scotch" Baptists, and Haldaneites, in observances such as love-feasts, the kiss of charity, and other practices which seemed to have had a temporary or local significance. Even the earlier insistence on a "plurality of elders" in each congregation was not regarded as absolutely binding. In an article contributed to the *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* Campbell summarizes the order of the Disciples as follows:

"The immersed believers are congregated into societies according to their propinquity to each other, and taught to meet every first day of the week in honour and commemoration of the resurrection of Jesus, and to break the loaf which commemorates the death of the Son of God, to read and hear the living oracles, to teach and admonish one another, to unite in all prayer and praise, to contribute to the necessities of saints, and to perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord.

"Every congregation chooses its own overseers and deacons, who preside over and administer the affairs of the congregations; and every church, either from itself or in co-operation with others, sends out, as opportunity offers, one or more evangelists, or proclaimers of the word, to preach the word and to immerse those who believe, to gather congregations, and to extend the knowledge of salvation where it is necessary, as far as their means extend. But every church regards these evangelists as its servants, and therefore they can have no control over any congregation, each congregation being subject to its own choice of presidents or elders whom they have appointed."

J. T. HORNSBY.

Edinburgh.