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The Influence of the Lockian Empiricism on the Theology of Alexander Campbell

William J. Moore

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE LOCKIAN EMPIRICISM
ON THE THEOLOGY OF ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

by

WILLIAM JOSEPH MOORE

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts

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1935
Modern scholarship, in its effort to render a true account of the facts of existence, has placed much emphasis on what is sometimes called the historical method of study. The presupposition of this method is that the essence of reality lies in development, growth, and adaptation, whether the reality sought is that of an organic formation, an institution, or an idea. It is assumed that one cannot satisfactorily understand a thing until one knows the sources from which it sprang, the processes by which it came into being, and the changes which it has experienced in becoming adapted to its varying conditions. So, to study the religious views of a man, according to this historical method, would involve an understanding of the rise and development of the stream of thought which his views embodied, and the adaptation of that thought to the special circumstances which he encountered. Such an investigation would not result in a critical evaluation of the worth of the religious views in question. It would merely yield their history.

This thesis is an attempt to study the religious views of Alexander Campbell, by the historical method. The field has been narrowed to an investigation of the philosophical sources of the reformer's thought; thus
excluding an examination of important influences such as the views of the Dutch covenant theologians (Cocceius, Witsius, etc.). A further limitation is made in restricting the study of the philosophical influences to the empiricism of John Locke. Undoubtedly this philosopher was more influential than any other, but Campbell was acquainted with the philosophy of men like Reid and J. Beattie¹ during his university days. Whatever influence they may have had on him is beyond the scope of our study. It is our purpose in this thesis to show that the religious views of Alexander Campbell of the nineteenth century were influenced greatly by the philosophy of John Locke of the seventeenth century.

Aside from the obligation we feel toward Dean Frederick D. Kershner for help rendered in the collection of material for this dissertation, we are greatly indebted to this scholar for the inspiration we have received from contact with him in the classroom during the last four years. His breadth of scholarship and careful scientific approach to truth, coupled with a wholesome Christian philosophy of life, have ever been a challenge to the highest intellectual achievement of which the writer is capable.

1. C. Athearn, Rel. Ed. of Alex. Campbell, 164-5; Campbell & Owen Debate, 48; Christian Baptist, 662.
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Chapter I

Introduction

1. The Restoration Movement.

During the decade leading up to and that following the beginning of the nineteenth century there were several efforts initiated by different people in various parts of the Anglo-American world to reform the church of Christ. These movements to which we refer, while they arose in different denominations and appeared generally to be independent of one another, had certain common characteristics. The leaders of these religious reformations believed that the divided state of the Protestant world was disastrous to the mission of the church. They thought that the divisions were caused because of too much emphasis on speculative opinions and not enough adherence to the Christian ideal of the Bible. They advocated a return to simple New Testament Christianity with the Bible as the only guide book in matters of faith and practice. In that these efforts were put forth with the desire to reform the church they may be designated as movements of Reformation. But in that they represented endeavors to restore the Christianity of the Bible they
may be called Restoration movements.

The leaders of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century purposed to reform the existing church rather than restore the church of the New Testament. Subsequent reformers, such as Wesley in the eighteenth century, endeavored to correct particular errors, but did not propose the sweeping program of restoring the church of apostolic days. These reformers succeeded in eliminating some of the abuses of the church, but their success was bought at the cost of the multiplying of sects and parties and the loss of the unity of the body of Christ. Those men to whom we have referred, who endeavored to reform the church in the period around 1800, had a peculiar motive. They did not want to create new denominations. They attempted not to found a church, but to restore the church founded by the apostles, that church whose structure is outlined on the pages of the New Testament. It has been said of them:

They groped their way, for the most part, independently of each other, toward what they felt to be the light. But they had one thing in common, — the genius of a common Protestantism. They sought to get back of the variant and contradictory forms of Christianity to the eternal Word of God behind all. They opened their Bibles anew, to find there "the way, the truth and the life," apart from the dominant ecclesiastical and doctrinal systems. They saw in these the dogmas and traditions of men. They sought to do for the current Protestantism what
Luther had done for the Catholicism of his time. They claimed to be the ultimate and logical Protestantism, to leave the farthest behind the remains of the Roman Church. They were rightly called the "Reformers!"...

2. The Reformers.

We will give a brief statement of the work of the most important of these religious reformers.

(1) James O'Kelly.

James O'Kelly, born about 1735, was a Methodist preacher in North Carolina. When the Methodist church adopted the episcopacy, O'Kelly, who appears to have been an extreme individualist, clashed with the leaders of the organization. He withdrew from the church in 1793. With others who were in favor of the congregational form of church government, he organized a group known as the Republican Methodist church. In 1794, less than a year after the secession from the Methodists, O'Kelly and his associates decided to take the name of "Christian" only, and to accept the Bible as the only creed.

(2) Abner Jones.

A few years after, and entirely independent of, this movement in the South, a similar venture was made in New England. Abner Jones left the Calvinistic Baptists and organized an independent church at Lyndon, New Hampshire.

1. H. Van Kirk, Hist. of Theology of Disciples, 80.
Hampshire, in 1801. Jones advocated the abandonment of human creeds and a return to the order of the New Testament church. He persuaded Elias Smith of Portsmouth, who was dissatisfied with his denominational affiliation, to give up the name Baptist. Together they organized a Christian church at Portsmouth. In 1811 these "Christians" of New England united with the "Christians" associated with the O'Kelly movement in the South.

Barton W. Stone was a Presbyterian minister at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, when the great revival broke out there in 1801. An enormous crowd (variously estimated between thirty and fifty thousand) attended this famous revival, and thousands professed conversion. At the close of the meeting, which was characterized by an interdenominational fraternity, an attempt was made by an outside preacher to "Calvinize" the converts. Barton W. Stone and others objected and a split resulted in the ranks of the Presbyterians. Stone and five others withdrew from the Lexington synod and formed the Springfield presbytery. These dissenters published a statement of their position in a book called "The Apology of the Springfield Presbytery". This work denounces all human creeds and urges a return to the Bible and the Bible alone. Later it was decided to dissolve the "presbytery" and to wear the name of "Christian" only
as churches and individual believers. At this time, when the Springfield Presbytery voluntarily died, Stone and his co-laborers issued a document called the "Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery", a significant statement of the case for Christian union on the basis of the return to the Bible as the only guide. This group of "Christians" from the Presbyterians in the West later joined with the "Christians" from the Baptists in the East and the "Christians" from the Methodists in the South. Thus the body known as "Christian Connection" was formed. Many of its members, particularly in Kentucky, joined with the Reformers. But the group maintained an independent existence until 1929 when a union was consummated with the Congregationalist denomination.

(4) Robert and James Haldane. These brothers, wealthy laymen of the Church of Scotland, were dissatisfied with the barren formalism of their church and left its fold to form an independent congregation in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1799. The Haldanes and their followers endeavored to reform the church by casting out its human innovations and teaching what the apostles had taught and doing what the apostles did. Theirs was a Restoration movement. Their work has much in common with that of Alexander Campbell, who had close association with it while he was in Scotland.
Dissension arose in the ranks of these Scottish reformers and their efforts at Restoration were not so successful as were those initiated by the reformers in America.

(5) Alexander Carson.

Alexander Carson of North Ireland, who had left the Presbyterians and joined the Independents, had some contact with the Haldanean movement, and adopted some of its ideals. He led in the organization of a church after the New Testament pattern at Tubemore, Ireland in 1807. This movement in Ireland, like that of the Haldanes in Scotland, did not make very significant progress.

(6) J. R. Jones.

A movement for the restoration of the New Testament church was begun in Wales a few years before the close of the eighteenth century. Jones was the leader of a restoration church at Criccieth, Wales until his death in 1822. This reformatory movement became well established and in 1841 allied with the work led by the Campbells in America.

(7) Thomas and Alexander Campbell.

Later we shall devote a large portion of this dissertation to the work of the Campbells. Here it is sufficient for us to make a few general statements con-

The movement they represent was the most important of all these efforts to restore the New Testament church. Thomas Campbell in Pennsylvania in 1809 laid down the basis for the nineteenth century Reformation in his work, the "Declaration and Address". Alexander Campbell, working on the foundation established by his father, became the real leader and was responsible more than any other man for the development and rapid growth of the cause. At the time of his death in 1866 the adherents of the restoration movement numbered about 300,000.

It may be readily seen that the Reformation or Restoration antedates the Campbells (Thomas as well as Alexander). It was a general movement, springing from many different sources. Concerning it and Alexander Campbell's relation to it, it has been said:

Originating independently from distant and diverse soils, its factors found means of communication and progressive union through the publications of Alexander Campbell. But this man, admittedly the greatest spirit of the movement, was only the voice, not the source; a product, not the founder of the Disciples of Christ; a brother in the Lord, and not the father of us all. He brought the principles of the movement to their most classical expression. In so far he became a model for all who followed.

3. Preliminary Observations to Our Study.

The thesis that we are setting out to prove is that the philosophy of John Locke was of primary importance in the formation of the religious views of this reformer of the nineteenth century. Before we undertake this task, it is advisable to make some preliminary observations that seem to be pertinent to our study.

1. The appellation "Campbellites" has been applied frequently to the members of the Restoration movement, usually by those who are not sympathetic towards that movement. It would be just as appropriate to call them "Stoneites" or "Scottites," but the fair critic will recognize that such labelling is unjust and conducive to a misunderstanding of the nature of this cause. As a matter of fact the movement does not owe its existence to any one man. The purpose of the fathers of the Restoration was to renounce all allegiance to fallible men and return to the church ideal of the inspired Scriptures. The restoration movement is not the creation of Alexander Campbell.

2. Although Alexander Campbell's thought has helped to shape the thinking of many of the members of the Christian church, it cannot in any sense be considered as authoritative with them. The idea of having a particular, authoritative, theological platform is foreign
to the genius of the nineteenth-century Reformation. It was dominated by a practical motive, not a speculative. It is quite significant that Campbell, Stone, and Scott differed among themselves on theological points, while working harmoniously on the practical program of restoring the New Testament church. At the inception of the Restoration movement, and many times since, men of widely different theological backgrounds have been led to an acceptance of this practical solution for the ills of a divided Christendom.

(3) Alexander Campbell's theology is just his own private theological views. It is interesting as a subject of study because it is the thought of a very intelligent and unusually influential man. The particular purpose which engages our attention in this thesis is to show the philosophical background for the theological views of the reformer. Pursuing this course we should be led to a better understanding of Campbell's position in the history of the church, and a richer appreciation of the influence of the great, "common sense" philosopher of the seventeenth century, John Locke.
Chapter II

The Life and Work of John Locke

1. Biography.

On August 29, 1632 John Locke was born at Wrington, Somersetshire, the firstborn of a Puritan family. John Locke Sr., a small landowner and attorney, and a Roundhead sympathizer, fought on the parliamentary side in the Civil War. These were turbulent years in England. From the monarchy of 1640, followed by efforts toward reform culminating in the civil war, England had passed to the republic of 1649, and after further disturbance, to the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660. The young Locke, writing in the year of the restoration, could truly say, "I had no sooner perceived myself in the world but I found myself in a storm, which has lasted almost hitherto."

The first fourteen years of Locke's life were spent at home. The early training in these formative years undoubtedly left its life-long marks on the young lad. Locke had great respect and affection for his father, who, apparently, was a man of more than ordinary intelligence. In the year 1646 the boy was sent to Westminster School, where he spent the next six years of his life. In 1652 he gained a scholarship at Christ Church, and he made his home at Oxford for fifteen years. Locke had little respect for the scholastic training then in vogue at Oxford.
A college friend said of him that he spent no more time than he could help at the "disputations"; for he never loved them, but was always wont to declaim against the practice, as one invented for "wrangling and ostentation rather than to discover truth". In 1659 Locke was appointed as tutor at Christ Church. He lectured in Greek, rhetoric and philosophy.

Locke's original intention was to enter the ministry, but his broad views on Christianity stood in the way. Although he was never a great reader of philosophical works, he was attracted to Descartes and was influenced very much by the Cartesian writings. His interests turned to scientific and medical studies, and he became a close friend of Robert Boyle, the famous chemist, and Sydenham the noted physician. He engaged in an amateur medical practice at Oxford during the latter part of his sojourn there (before 1660), and then and thereafter he was known among his friends as "Doctor Locke".

In the course of his medical practice in 1666 Locke met Lord Ashley, afterwards first earl of Shaftesbury, who figured so prominently in the political affairs of that day. Their common sympathy with liberty — civil, religious, and philosophical — led these two into a close and lasting friendship. In 1667 Locke moved to London to become confidential adviser to the nobleman and tutor to

1. A.C. Fraser, Locke, p. 9.
his son. Shaftesbury was dismissed from office in 1673, and Locke spent the next few years in France. In 1679 he returned to England to assist Shaftesbury once more, but because of the unhealthy political atmosphere surrounding the latter, he retired to Holland in 1683. He did not return to England until 1689, after the revolution and the coming of William of Orange to the throne of England. Locke became influential under the new king, with whom he was on intimate terms. He filled various posts of importance and used his influence on behalf of the freedom of the press, tolerance, rational currency, trade laws, and the improvement of the poor-law system.

From 1691 onward Locke lived mostly in retirement. These last years of his life were spent at Oates Manor in Essex, the country seat of Sir Francis Masham, whose wife, the accomplished daughter of Ralph Cudworth, had been his friend before he went to Holland. Locke, who had been frail of body all of his life, in his later years suffered acutely from asthma. He died at Oates on October 28th, 1704.

A contemporary scholar, Sydenham, said of Locke:

"...A man whom, in the acuteness of his judgment, and in the simplicity, that is, in the excellence of his manners, I confidently declare to have amongst the men of our own time few equals and no superior."

1. A.C. Fraser, Locke, 30.
2. The Literary Activities of John Locke.

Although he was a voluminous author, John Locke wrote nothing (with the exception of a few verses in his youth) until relatively late in life. His first publications appeared in the Bibliothèque Universelle, 1686-88. Commenting on this interesting and significant fact of his tardiness as an author, his biographer says:

"It agrees with the intellectual sobriety and caution that belong to his character, and is a contrast to the impetuous ardour which hurried Spinoza, Berkeley, and Hume to present to the world in youth their bolder and more comprehensive speculations."1

Locke's chief work, his great contribution to philosophy, the Essay concerning Human Understanding, was begun as the result of a chance incident, which occurred in the winter of 1670-71. In his "Epistle to the Reader" prefixed to the Essay, Locke tells us of this memorable circumstance:

"Were it fit to trouble thee with the history of this Essay, I should tell thee, that five or six friends meeting at my chamber, and discussing on a subject very remote from this, found themselves quickly at a stand, by the difficulties that rose on every side. After we had awhile puzzled ourselves, without coming any nearer a solution of those doubts which perplexed us, it came into my thoughts that we took a wrong course; and that before we set ourselves upon inquiries of that nature, it was necessary to examine our own abilities, and see what objects our understandings were,"

1. A.C. Fraser, ed., Essay, Prolegomena, xxxvi - xxxvii.
or were not, fitted to deal with. This I proposed to the company, who all readily assented; and thereupon it was agreed that this should be our first inquiry. Some hasty and undigested thoughts, on a subject I had never before considered, which I set down against our next meeting, gave the first entrance into this Discourse; which having been thus begun by chance, was continued by intreaty; written by incoherent parcels; and after long intervals of neglect, resumed again, as my humour or occasions permitted; and at last, in a retirement where an attendance on my health gave me leisure, it was brought into that order thou now seest it."

The "difficulties" arose while the five or six friends were discoursing on the "principles of morality and revealed religion". It was twenty years before this essay was completed and published (1690).

In addition to the famous Essay concerning Human Understanding some of his most important works are:

- The Letters concerning Toleration, 1689 ff.
- The Two Treatises on Government, 1690.
- Some Thoughts concerning Education, 1693.
- The Reasonableness of Christianity, 1695.
- A Discourse of Miracles, 1706.
- The Conduct of the Understanding, 1706.
- The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, 1720.
- Elements of Natural Philosophy, 1720.

In his writings Locke attempts to show the futility of empty verbiage and spineless acquiescence in traditional opinions and assumptions. He would have men bring the instrument of reason to bear on the facts of life. Nothing should take the place of honest intellectual inquiry and common sense. Freedom and reason should take the place of mere tradition, irrationality, and restrictive forces in the political, the religious, and the philosophical realm.

"Locke's writings have made his intellectual and moral features familiar. Large, 'round-about' common sense, intellectual strength directed by a virtuous purpose, not subtle or daring speculation, sustained by an idealizing faculty, is what we find in Locke. Defect in speculative imagination appears when he encounters the vast and complex final problem of the universe in its organic unity. He initiated criticism of human knowledge, and diffused the spirit of free inquiry and universal toleration which has since profoundly affected the civilized world. He has not bequeathed an imposing system, hardly even a striking discovery in metaphysics, but he is a signal example of the love of attaining truth for the sake of truth and goodness."

3. The Philosophy of John Locke.

"Perhaps no philosopher since Aristotle has represented the spirit and opinions of an age so completely as Locke represents philosophy and all that depends upon philosophic thought, in the century which followed his death — especially in Britain and France."

2. A.C. Fraser, Locke, Preface v.
Bacon's philosophy, insisting upon observation and induction in place of speculation, was just becoming popular at Oxford when Locke studied at that institution. The rising spirit of scientific inquiry and practical interest in philosophy was represented well by the young John Locke. Impatient of authority and "the jargon of the schools", he rebelled against the scholasticism he found in Oxford. He sought to see the truth of things clearly for himself and trusted firmly in the power of the human intellect to interpret satisfactorily the facts of life. This practical, empirical attitude predominates in the Essay concerning Human Understanding. The author makes no pretension to give the reader a carefully worked out philosophical system. He is concerned only with the matter-of-fact and the practical.

"Our business here is not to know all things, but those which concern our conduct. If we can find out those measures, whereby a rational creature, put in that state in which man is in this world, may and ought to govern his opinions, and actions depending thereon, we need not to be troubled that some other things escape our knowledge."

The purpose of the Essay, he declares, is:

"... to inquire into the original, certainty, and extent of human knowledge, together with the grounds and degrees of belief, opinion, and assent;- I shall not at present meddle with the physical consideration of the mind;"
or trouble myself to examine wherein its essence consists; or by what motions of our spirits or alterations of our bodies we come to have any sensation by our organs, or any ideas in our understandings; and whether those ideas do in their formation, any or all of them, depend on matter or not. These are speculations which, however curious and entertaining, I shall decline, as lying out of my way in the design I am now upon.

The method by means of which he proposes to pursue his practical inquiry, Locke asserts is as follows:

First, I shall inquire into the original of those ideas, notions, or whatever else you please to call them, which a man observes, and is conscious to himself he has in his mind; and the ways whereby the understanding comes to be furnished with them.

Secondly, I shall endeavor to show what knowledge the understanding hath by those ideas; and the certainty, evidence, and extent of it.

Thirdly, I shall make some inquiry into the nature and grounds of faith or opinion: whereby I mean that assent which we give to any proposition as true, of whose truth yet we have not certain knowledge. And here we shall have occasion to examine the reasons and degrees of assent.

(1) The origin of knowledge.

The first question that Locke proposes to answer is, "How does the individual mind come to have knowledge?"

In the introduction to the Essay, he clears the ground for his answer by defining the term idea. It stands for;

2. Ibid. p28.
... whatsoever is the object of the understanding when a man thinks, I have used it to express whatever is meant by phantasm, notion, species, or whatever it is which the mind can be employed about in thinking.¹

Locke's "idea" covers such a wide range of meaning that Fraser suggests the use of the term phenomenon as a synonym.²

Locke's first concern is to attempt to prove that there are no innate ideas of any sort. Even the moral laws are not innate. If they were, they ought to appear universally, even in children and primitives. The mind is a "tabula rasa". The elements of all possible knowledge come from experience and from experience only. The mind is fitted to receive impressions made on it either through sensation (external experience) or by the mind's own operations when it reflects on them (internal experience).

External objects furnish the mind with the ideas of sensible qualities, which are all those different perceptions they produce in us; and the mind furnishes the understanding with ideas of its own operations.

These, when we have taken a full survey of them, and their several modes, (combinations, and relations,) we shall find to contain all our whole stock of ideas; and that we have nothing in our minds which did not come in one or these two ways. Let any one examine his own thoughts,

and thoroughly search into his understanding; and then let him tell me, whether all the original ideas he has there, are any other than of the objects of his senses, or of the operations of his mind, considered as objects of his reflection.  

These simple ideas of sensation and reflection are the data of knowledge. In acquiring these ideas the mind is passive and receptive. But the mind is spontaneous and originative in the formation of complex ideas. It modifies and compounds simple ideas and thus builds the structure of knowledge by composition (complex ideas), association (ideas of relation), and abstraction (abstract ideas).

(2) The nature and validity of knowledge.

Knowledge then seems to me to be nothing but the perception of the connexion of and agreement, or disagreement and repugnancy of any of our ideas. In this alone it consists. Where this perception is, there is knowledge, and where it is not, there, though we may fancy, guess or believe, yet we always come short of knowledge.  

Knowledge consists in the connection of our ideas. It depends for its certainty and extent upon the clearness and distinctness, the reality, and the adequacy of our ideas. Clear and distinct ideas are necessary, because obscure and confused ideas make the use of words uncertain. Real ideas (as different from fantastical) are such that have a foundation in nature, such as have a conformity with the real being and existence of things, or with their

archetypes. Adequate ideas are those which perfectly represent those archetypes which the mind supposes them taken from; which it intends them to stand for, and to which it refers them. Knowledge is certain when the connection of ideas is clearly and distinctly perceived. Knowledge is certain and real when, in addition to the clear and distinct perception of the idea in the mind, there is the assurance that something exists to which the idea in some way corresponds.

There are three degrees of knowledge, intuitive (the most certain), demonstrative, and sensitive knowledge (the least certain). Intuitive knowledge is self-evident. It is the perception of the agreement or disagreement of two ideas immediately by themselves, without the intervention of any other idea. Demonstrative knowledge is that wherein the connection of ideas is certain, but is perceived indirectly by means of an intermediate idea. It is certain knowledge, but the evidence of it is not altogether so clear and bright, nor the assent so ready, as in intuitive knowledge. Sensitive knowledge is the assurance we have that some object extrinsic to the mind actually exists when we have the idea of that object in our minds. We know of our own existence by intuition (self-evident). We know of the existence of God through reason. We know of the existence of the external world by our senses. This latter form of
knowledge is always only probable.

Knowledge is the perception of the connection of agreement or disagreement of ideas. The sorts of agreement or disagreement of ideas may be reduced to four: identity or diversity, relation, coexistence or necessary connection, and real existence. (a) Identity or diversity:

"It is the first act of the mind, when it has any sentiments or ideas at all, to perceive its ideas; and so far as it perceives them, to know each what it is, and thereby also to perceive their difference, and that one is not another."


(b) Relation: This sort of agreement or disagreement is the perception of the relation between any two ideas, whether substances, modes or any other. This group is exemplified in pure mathematics and abstract ethics. (c) Coexistence or necessary connection: This category belongs particularly to substances. There are complex ideas in particular substances, material or spiritual. A certain idea always accompanies a certain complex idea which represents a substance; e.g., weight is necessarily connected with the complex idea of gold. (d) Real existence: There is the agreement or disagreement of our ideas with the real existence of the particular substance which they then manifest to us.
Within these four sorts of agreement or disagreement is, I suppose, contained all the knowledge we have, or are capable of. For all the inquiries we can make concerning any of our ideas, all that we know or can affirm concerning any of them is, That it is, or is not, the same with some other; that it does or does not always co-exist with some other idea in the same subject; that it has this or that relation with some other idea; or that it has a real existence without the mind. Thus, 'blue is not yellow', is of identity. 'Two triangles upon equal bases between two parallels are equal', is of relation. 'Iron is susceptible of magnetical impressions', is of co-existence. 'God is', is of real existence. Though identity and co-existence are truly nothing but relations, yet they are such peculiar ways of agreement or disagreement of our ideas, that they deserve well to be considered as distinct heads, and not under relation in general. 1

(3) The limits of knowledge.

Knowledge, as has been said, lying in the perception of the agreement or disagreement of any of our ideas, it follows from thence, that we can have knowledge no further than we have ideas.

Our great ignorance is due to: (a) Want of ideas: We do not have a positive, clear, distinct idea of substance even. We are prevented from having ideas of some things because of their remoteness, and of other things because of their minuteness. (b) Want of a discoverable connection between the ideas we have: "Several effects come every day within the notice of our senses, of which we have so far sensitive knowledge: but the causes, manner,

2. Ibid. 190.
and certainty of their production... we must be content to be very ignorant of. 1 (c) Want of tracing and examining our ideas: We are often ignorant because we are not able to trace those ideas which we have or may have, and we do not find those intermediate ideas which may show us what habitude of agreement or disagreement they have one with another. The ill-use of words contributes most to this weakness of ours.

(4) Probable knowledge.

Certainty in knowledge is not to be found except in the agreement and disagreement of our ideas, and, as we have pointed out above, certainty is possible only for intuitive and demonstrative knowledge. Sensitive knowledge gives us nothing more than probability. We may arrive at certainty in ethics and natural theology but never in the field of science.

As to a perfect science of natural bodies, (not to mention spiritual beings,) we are, I think, so far from being capable of any such thing, that I conclude it lost labour to seek after it. 2

Thus it is that most of the propositions with which our minds are engaged are such that we cannot have undoubted knowledge of their truth. But we are reminded that we do not have to depend on the certainty of intuition and demonstration to live satisfactorily.

2. Ibid, 223.
The understanding faculties being given to man, not barely for speculation, but also for the conduct of his life, man would be at a great loss if he had nothing to direct him but what has the certainty of true knowledge. For that being very short and scanty, as we have seen, he would be often utterly in the dark, and in most of the actions of his life, perfectly at a stand, had he nothing to guide him in the absence of clear and certain knowledge. He that will not eat till he has demonstration that it will nourish him; he that will not stir till he infallibly knows the business he goes about will succeed, will have little else to do but to sit still and perish.

Man, not able to attain unconditional certainty, in his intellectual intercourse with nature, is driven by the limits of his understanding to accept reasonable probability and to live by its standards. The grounds of this reasonable probability, that supplies the defect of his knowledge, and guides him where that fails, are:

First, the conformity of anything with our own knowledge, observation, and experience.

Secondly, the testimony of others, vouching their observation and experience. In the testimony of others is to be considered: 1. The number. 2. The integrity. 3. The skill of the witnesses. 4. The design of the author, where it is a testimony out of a book cited. 5. The consistency of the parts, and circumstances of relation. 6. Contrary testimonies.


(1) Revelation and faith.

Among the beliefs accepted on testimony, those based on revelation "challenge the highest degree of our assent.

2. Ibid. 365-66.
...whether the thing proposed agree or disagree with common experience, and the ordinary course of things or no". ¹ Our assent to this testimony concerning revealed things is faith, which

...as absolutely determines our minds, and as perfectly excludes all wavering, as our knowledge itself; and we may as well doubt of our own being, as we can whether any revelation from God be true. So that faith is a settled and sure principle of room for doubt or hesitation. Only we must be sure that it be a divine revelation, and that we understand it right: else we shall expose ourselves to all the extravagences of enthusiasm.²

Faith does not have the certitude common to intuition and demonstration. And although we must accept the revealed matter even when it disagrees with common experience, "we must be sure that it be a divine revelation". It must not contradict the highest reason.

Nothing that is contrary to, and inconsistent with the clear and self-evident dictates of reason, has a right to be urged or assented to as a matter of faith.³

Revelation is natural reason enlarged by a new set of discoveries communicated by God immediately; which reason vouches the truth of, by the testimony and proofs it gives that they come from God. So that he that takes away reason to make way for revelation, puts out the light of both, and does much what the same as if he would persuade a man to put out his eyes, the better to receive the remote light of an invisible star by a telescope.⁴

² Ibid. 383.
³ Ibid. 425-426.
⁴ Ibid. 431.
(2) Miracles.

Because of his aversion to "enthusiasm" and the "certainty of internal light", Locke was disposed to look for the criteria of real revelation among external things of sense. He believed that physical miracles, "outward signs", were the chief test for distinguishing what is truly revealed from mere illusion. A miracle is defined by Locke as "a sensible operation, which, being above the comprehension of the spectator, and in his opinion contrary to the established course of nature, is taken by him to be divine."¹ A miracle is an operation which is above the comprehension of the spectator. It is not an event which violates or supersedes all law. It is an occurrence determined by higher laws than the spectator knows. It accords with a rational moral universe. Indeed, the ultimate ground for faith is the moral excellency inherent in Christianity rather than the physical miracles attending it. Writing of miracles, Locke gives expression to this fundamental moral faith by saying, "no mission can be considered as divine if it delivers anything derogatory to the honor of the one only true God, or inconsistent with natural religion and the rules of morality."²

1. J. Locke, Discourse of Miracles, 256.
(3) Knowledge of the existence of God.

Though God has given us no innate ideas of himself; though he has stamped no original characters on our minds, wherein we may read his being; yet having furnished us with those faculties our minds are endowed with, he hath not left himself without witness; since we have sense, perception, and reason, and cannot want a clear proof of him as long as we carry ourselves about us."

For Locke the fact that God exists is as demonstrable as any truth in mathematics. He presents the usual causal and teleological proofs. Man is certain that he himself exists. He knows that nothing cannot produce a being. So to account for his own being, man must postulate a supreme Being, who must be all-powerful and all-intelligent to account for the power and intelligence of human beings. Although we can be certain that God exists yet we cannot know his real essence. We do not know substances. It is significant that Locke avoided entanglement in the Trinitarian controversies going on in England in his day.

(4) The reasonableness of Christianity.

Locke offered a common-sense defence of the "Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures". Casting aside the traditions and the dogmas of the ecclesiastical schools, which bred disunity and hatred, he presented the case for the simplicity and beauty of New Testament

Christianity as a basis for unity and agreement. The articles of saving faith were few for the essential Christianity of the Scriptures, and what was sufficient to make a man a Christian in New Testament times is sufficient still i.e. the belief in Jesus as Messiah, and repentance, or living the good life. Christianity is a reasonable system. Its essential features may be comprehended by the laboring class and the illiterate.

The writers and wranglers in religion fill it (the Christian religion) with niceties, and dress it up with notions, which they make necessary and fundamental parts of it, as if there were no way into the church but through the academy or lyceum.  

That the poor had the gospel preached to them, Christ makes a mark, as well as business of his mission, Matthew 11:5. And if the poor had the gospel preached to them, it was, without doubt, such a gospel as the poor could understand; plain and intelligible.  

(5) Views on toleration.

Locke's favorite theme was liberty. In the Essay on the Human Understanding it is intellectual, in the Treatise on Government it is political, and in the Letters on Toleration it is religious freedom. "Absolute liberty, just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty, is the thing that we stand in need of." In advocating the religious liberty of the individual Locke was expressing a revolution from the dogmatic authority characteristic of the Middle

2. Ibid. 158.
Ages, but persisting still in his generation. In making his plea for toleration, the philosopher proposed to define the respective provinces of the state and the church. He argues that the civil magistrate has not jurisdiction over the regulation of religious worship and beliefs, except as that worship or those beliefs may interfere with the ends of civil government. In expounding the nature of the church Locke refers back to the New Testament church (not to any existing ecclesiastical organization) as the one and only standard. That church, he insists was a free and voluntary society. It was:

A voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God, in such a manner as they judge acceptable to him and effectual to the salvation of their souls.

But Locke's toleration did not extend to Roman Catholics and atheists. The former were not to be tolerated, not because of their theological dogmas but because of their practical attitudes which were considered as dangerous to the state. In Locke's estimation atheism meant practical rejection of the principle of order and reason in the universe, and the atheist, consequently, was a menace to citizenship and society.

5. The Place of Locke in the History of Thought.

The teachings of John Locke had an influence wider in its extent, more varied in its expression, and longer in duration than that of most philosophers. His writings furnished a starting point for many lines of thought in the years following their appearance. It has been said of him, as it was of Bacon, that he "rang the bell to call the other wits together". The following general statement of the importance of Locke in the history of thought will give some idea of his significance.

His Essay was the first attempt at a comprehensive theory of knowledge in the history of modern philosophy and inaugurated the movement which produced Berkeley and Hume and culminated in Kant. His empirical psychology became the source from which English associationism (Browne and Hartley) and French sensationalism (Condillac, Helvetius) drew their nourishment. His ethical philosophy was continued and corrected by the work of Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Ferguson, Hume, and Adam Smith. His theory of education influenced the great French author Rousseau and, through him, the entire world. His political ideas found brilliant exponents in Voltaire, Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois*, and a radical continuation in Rousseau's *Contrat social*; while the spirit of his entire thought gave an impetus to the religious movement of the deists in England and in France. In Locke the forces that were making for enlightenment were concentrated and reflected more faithfully than in any thinker before him. He represents the spirit of the modern era, the spirit of independence and criticism, the spirit of individualism, and the spirit of democracy, the spirit which had sought utterance in the religious Reformation and in the political revolutions of the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries, and which reached its climax in the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century.

While recognizing the Lockian influence in psychology, ethics, politics, etc., we are more concerned about his impression on philosophy proper and theology. The Essay holds a unique place in the history of philosophy. It was the first deliberate attempt in modern philosophy to engage in epistemological inquiry, a branch of philosophical investigation emphasized particularly in the eighteenth century. Locke inaugurated a new era by his introduction of common sense into philosophy. Human reason, divorced from prejudice, superstition, and dogmatic authority, is altogether sufficient to deal with the problems relating to satisfactory living.

Horace Walpole (writing in 1789) probably expresses the average opinion of the English reading public of his time, when he says that Locke (with whom he couples Bacon) was almost the first philosopher who introduced common-sense into his writings. Nor was it only that he was supreme in popular estimation. His influence is apparent in almost every philosophical and quasi-philosophical work of the period. It may especially be mentioned that the doctrine of Innate Ideas went out of fashion, both word and thing, and, when a similar doctrine came into vogue at the end of the century, under the authority of Reid and Stewart, it was in a modified form and under a new appellation, that of primary or fundamental beliefs. 

Even in recent times,

when the topics and conditions of philosophical speculation have undergone so much change, there are few philosophical authors of eminence who do not make frequent reference to Locke's Essay.  

The theological implications of Locke's philosophy are very significant. Religious ideas, like any others, are not innate. They come through the operation of the mind working upon the simple ideas of sensation. God is known through revelation attested by miracles, the evidence of which must be subjected to human reason. Faith is an intellectual act, not a mystical experience. It is the belief of testimony concerning revealed truth. The religious thought of Locke led directly to Deism. Accepting Locke's principle of reason as the ultimate test of revelation the Deists fashioned a rational religion, rejecting all mysticism and seeking the true revelations of God in the laws of nature.  

Locke objected to the methods of the Puritans of interpreting texts apart from contexts and reading spiritual meanings dogmatically into scripture passages. In the place of these methods he sought to understand the circumstances in which the words were written and their relation to the period and country in which they appeared. For this reason he may be considered as anticipating the  

1. T. Fowler, Locke, 196.
biblical criticism, practiced by the German critics so effectively, and accepted so widely in modern times.

Locke's lasting effect upon religious thought in these two centuries is seen in the ever-widening conviction among Christians that religion and Christianity must, like other beliefs, be exposed to the test of free criticism, and to the response of the rational, as well as the moral and spiritual, or supernatural, constitution of man.

Campbell and Jane Cornicle were united in marriage in a simple community among the hills of the county of Antrim in Northern Ireland. On September 12th, 1788, the year after the celebration of this marriage, a son, Alexander, was born. The boy began life with a heritage and an environment admirably suited to fit him for the life-work he was to undertake. On his father's side his ancestry was rooted in the hardy Campbells of Argyll. His mother was a descendant of Huguenots who chose exile from France rather than compromise and surrender of their religious convictions. Thomas Campbell, a minister in the Seceder church or the Presbyterian church, was an intelligent, deeply religious character possessing a genial and lovable disposition. Of the character of his mother Alexander has written:

"She made a deeper impression on me than the acknowledged ideal of a Christian mother than any one of her sex with whom I have had the pleasure of forming a special acquaintance. I can but gratefully add, that to my mother, as well as to my father, I am indebted for an early life almost all the
Chapter III

The Life and Work of Alexander Campbell

1. Biography.

(1) Early years in Ireland.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century Thomas Campbell and Jane Coreigle were united in marriage in a simple community among the hills of the county of Antrim in Northern Ireland. On September 12th, 1788, the year after the celebration of this marriage, a son, Alexander, was born. The boy began life with a heritage and an environment admirably suited to fit him for the life-work he was to undertake. On his father's side his ancestry was rooted in the hardy Campbells of Argyle. His mother was a descendant of Huguenots who chose exile from France rather than compromise and surrender of their religious convictions. Thomas Campbell, a minister in the Seceder branch of the Presbyterian church, was an intelligent, deeply religious character possessing a genial and lovable disposition. Of the character of his mother Alexander has written:

"She made a nearer approximation to the acknowledged beau ideal of a Christian mother than any one of her sex with whom I have had the pleasure of forming a special acquaintance. I can but gratefully add, that to my mother, as well as to my father, I am indebted for having memorized in early life almost all the..."
writings of King Solomon—his Proverbs, his Ecclesiastes—and many of the Psalms of his father David. They have not only been written on the tablet of my memory, but incorporated with my modes of thinking and speaking."

Fortunate indeed would be the child of such parents. Under their care the boy Alexander was surrounded with the conditions favorable for a normal development. His first instructors were his father and his mother. But in due time he was sent to the schools of the community in which he lived, and later to an academy conducted by his uncles in the town of Newry.

At this period in his life Alexander Campbell displayed none of the intellectual perspicacity which characterized him in later life. His over-fondness for play caused his father much anxiety, and the latter, desirous of applying a corrective, put him to work on the farm. But this procedure did not immediately drive the lad back to his books. He loved the farm work with its invigorating out-door life. However, the apparent lack of interest in the wiles of the gentle Minerva was but an eddy in the stream of his life, for when about sixteen years of age, he gave evidence of the awakening of his great intellectual nature. He now sought the books that had been thrust upon him in the past. He became filled with an ardent

desire for literary distinction, and declared his purpose to be "one of the best scholars in the kingdom". Under his father's guidance he mastered the common branches of knowledge and at the age of seventeen assisted in teaching in the academy conducted by Thomas Campbell to supplement his meager salary as a pastor.

In the favorable atmosphere of a devout minister's home it is natural that Alexander Campbell should experience a normal religious development. His conversion, with its struggles and periods of uncertainty, is typical of the time in which he lived. He wrote:

"From the time that I could read the Scriptures, I became convinced that Jesus was the Son of God. I was also fully persuaded that I was a sinner, and must obtain pardon through the merits of Christ or be lost for ever. This caused me great distress of soul, and I had much exercise of mind under the awakenings of a guilty conscience. Finally, after many struggling, I was enabled to put my trust in the Saviour, and to FEEL my reliance on him as the only Saviour of sinners. From the moment I was able to feel this reliance on the Lord Jesus Christ, I obtained and enjoyed peace of mind. It never entered into my head to investigate the subject of baptism or the doctrines of the creed."

He united with the Presbyterian church at Ahorey, and, from that time on; labored consistently at theological studies.

(2) The departure from Ireland.

The heavy responsibilities of church and school were more than the constitution of Thomas Campbell could endure. Broken in health, he journeyed to America in 1807 to seek a home for his family in the new world. The welfare of his wife and children and the management of the academy he committed to the care of his eldest son, Alexander, then nineteen years of age.

A year later the Campbells embarked for the passage to America to join the absent husband and father. But scarcely had they left the harbor when they fell foul of a storm, which wrecked the vessel on the rocky coast of Western Scotland. The trying hours in the storm at sea when death threatened to take its toll brought a crisis in the life of Alexander Campbell. Seated on the stump of a broken mast as the ship, stranded on a rock, seemed to be at the mercy of wind and wave, he meditated on the real issues of life and resolved that, if he were saved from the present peril, he would devote himself wholly to the ministry of the gospel.

Fortunately relief appeared before any lives were lost, and the Campbells, when they had recovered from the effects of the disaster, resolved to spend the winter in Scotland. This unwelcome delay furnished Alexander with an opportunity to further his education. The family moved
to Glasgow and he entered the university of that city, his father's Alma Mater. For the short time, (less than one year), that he was in the university the young man, athirst for knowledge, labored indefatigably to prepare himself for his life-work.

During his stay in Glasgow, he became acquainted with Greville Ewing and the Haldane brothers, Robert and James. These men, dissatisfied with the conditions that prevailed in the church, were leading a reformation in the city of Glasgow. They had a profound influence on the thought of Campbell, who at this time severed his connection with the Seceder Presbyterian denomination.

(3) An immigrant to America.

The university session ending, Alexander accepted a position as tutor for a short time, and then, in August 1809, embarked with his mother and the other members of the family on the voyage to America. In the meantime, Thomas Campbell, who had gone to Western Pennsylvania in 1807, had become well established in that country.

The meeting of father and son was looked forward to with anxiety on both sides. Alexander wondered how his father would react to his liberal views which had led him to break with the Seceders. On the other hand, Thomas Campbell, who had been severely criticized by the Pennsylvanian Seceders for his liberal views (particularly
for inviting those not of his sect to the communion service), had tendered his resignation to his synod, and he, too, was without a denominational affiliation. Father and son, separated by thousands of miles, had come to approximately the same conclusions, without any knowledge of each other's doings. So they met, when the family was reunited in America, as ministers without a denomination in which to minister.

The Campbell family made their home in the village of Washington, Pennsylvania. Alexander, in addition to binding himself down daily to a rigorous schedule of studies, participated in community activities, labored aggressively in behalf of social reform, and took an active part in his father's program of Christian union. Before the arrival of Alexander Campbell, the Christian Association of Washington was formed (August 1809) under the guidance of the elder Campbell. This group of Christians did not consider itself a church, but simply an organization for the promotion of Christian union. It represented a practical reaction from the evils of denominationalism.

In 1810, after he had arrived at the age of twenty-two years, Alexander Campbell was persuaded to preach his first sermon. He consented with reluctance, uncertain yet of his ability. But at the end of the address the universal judgment of his hearers was that he could preach
even better than the talented Thomas Campbell. From this time the services of the young man were in constant demand, and during the first year he preached more than one hundred sermons.

(4) Life at Bethany.

Just beyond the western border of Pennsylvania lived a close friend of the elder Campbell, John Brown. Alexander, on missions from his father, had occasion to visit the Browns, and there became acquainted with eighteen-year-old Margaret, tall, slender, graceful, and unusually sweet and attractive. Occasions for making frequent journeys to the home of the Browns were found, and on March 12, 1811, Alexander Campbell and Margaret Brown were united in marriage. The young married couple made their home with Mr. Brown, and Alexander assisted his father-in-law in the management of his farm. He still continued his intensive studies, and in the first year of his married life read thirty-five volumes, containing some 8,354 pages. He arose early and studied while others slept. He utilized the noon-hour rest from labor by reading, and

When his horses, weary with the plow, were resting for a little while in the shade, he would take from his pocket the New Testament he always carried, and spend the time in committing a portion of it to memory, or in tracing out the order and method of a discourse upon some important theme.

The members of the Washington Association found it necessary to form an independent church. This they did and the Brush Run church came into existence in May, 1811. In January, 1812, Alexander Campbell was ordained to the ministry upon the recommendation of the Brush Run congregation. Guided by the principle, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent," the reformers were led to a position similar to the Baptist concerning the ordinance of baptism. In the fall of 1813, the Brush Run church yielded to the persuasions of Baptist neighbors and joined the Red Stone Baptist Association.

Alexander Campbell was dissatisfied with the progress of the reformation as it was functioning through the Brush Run church, so in the year 1814 he listened favorably to a suggestion to migrate with his congregation and to plant a religious colony in the neighborhood of Zanesville, Ohio. Mr. Brown, who looked with disfavor on the removal of his son-in-law and daughter to such a distant part, offered to present Campbell with his farm as an inducement to stay. He decided to remain, and the others, unwilling to go without him, also gave up the idea of moving. This farm home became the headquarters of the activities of the reformer. In later years the name Bethany came to have a peculiar meaning for the thousands scatter-
ed throughout the Middle West who looked to the master of Bethany as the great leader of the nineteenth-century Reformation.

(5) Literary activities.

Mr. Campbell pursued his labors in the ministry (without financial remuneration of any sort) and continued his work on the farm. As a farmer he was very successful and soon became recognized in his own and surrounding communities for his ability. He was a man of many parts and in addition to agricultural pursuits and preaching he engaged freely in literary activities. In 1823 he began a monthly, religious journal call the Christian Baptist. This magazine was used with great effect in disseminating far and wide the principles of the reformation, the opposition to the religious denominational system, and the plea for union on the basis of the New Testament alone. The Christian Baptist was discarded in 1830, and a new journal begun. It was entitled the Millennial Harbinger. This paper was a mighty instrument in behalf of reformation for the remainder of the lifetime of Alexander Campbell. The reformer found time for writing much valuable and scholarly materials in addition to the editing of the two periodicals to which we have referred. Some of his best known published works are:
Christian Baptist, 1823-1830.
Millennial Harbinger, 1830-1863.
Debate with Walker, 1820.
Maccalla, 1823
Owen, 1829.
Purcell, 1837.
Mice, 1843.
Skinner, (Published by Mr. Skinner) 1840.
Christian System, 1835.
Christian Preacher's Companion, 1836.
Christian Hymn Book, 1866.
Christian Baptism - Its Antecedents and Consequents, 1851.
Life of Thomas Campbell, 1861.
Popular Lectures and Addresses, 1863.

(6) The debates.

Although Mr. Campbell is said to have been "the greatest religious debater since the days of the Apostles," it was with difficulty that his friends first persuaded him to undertake this method of propagating his views. After repeated requests, he consented to meet John Walker a Seceder Presbyterian in 1820 to debate the subject of "Baptism". A debate on the same subject followed in 1823, with the Presbyterian W. L. Maccalla defending the Paedobaptist cause. In 1830 he debated the subject "Christianity versus Skepticism" with Robert Owen, the famous socialist. In 1837 Mr. Campbell was the representative of Protestantism in a debate with the skilful Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati on the subject of "Roman

Catholicism. The debate with N. L. Rice on "The Principles of the Restoration" in 1843 is said to have been "in all probability the greatest religious discussion ever recorded in human history." Immediately after the Purcell debate Mr. Campbell carried on a written debate with Mr. Skinner on the subject of "Universalism." This written discussion continued in the Millennial Harbinger for more than two years.

(7) Other interests.

The founding of Bethany College in 1841 is typical of the interest in education betrayed by the intellectual reformer. The talented, educated men sent out from the halls of Bethany raised the standards of the ministry and furnished a mighty impetus to the reformation.

Mr. Campbell made frequent and extensive journeys, usually in the interests of his religious reformation. In 1847 he made a trip that carried him beyond the shores of America. He visited the Continent, England, Scotland, and Ireland. In the United Kingdom he had many opportunities of presenting his religious views. His published works had preceded him, and prepared the way for his coming. Consequently he was constantly engaged in addressing large assemblies.

Mr. Campbell was one of the delegates to the constitutional convention of Virginia which met in October, 1829. Some of the most enthusiastic advocates of Campbell's candidacy were people who opposed him on religious issues. His superior intellectual acumen and his impressive platform appearance, together with his high moral idealism were recognized by friend and foe alike. This was the only time the reformer ever actually held a political office. In 1850, while he was visiting Baltimore, he received a pressing invitation from both Houses of Congress to deliver a discourse to them in the Capitol. This he did, addressing the assembly from John 3:17, "exhibiting the divine philanthropy in contrast with patriotism and human friendship, reasoning in a grand and masterly manner from creation, providence, divine legislation and human redemption, and holding the audience in the most fixed attention during the time of the address which occupied an hour and a half."\(^1\)

Alexander Campbell had a beautiful home life. He was deeply devoted to his family, and, whether he was at home or away on one of his many journeys, he was ever solicitous for their welfare. His first wife died in 1827, and in 1829 he married Miss Selina Bakewell. He

was the father of fourteen children, many of whom were taken by death during his lifetime. His own end came on March 4, 1866 after a brief illness. Up till the last few days of his life he took an active part in the varied interests of his busy career, although he had long since passed the three score years and ten mark.

While Alexander Campbell was visiting Louisville in the year 1858 the following eulogy from the pen of editor G.D. Prentice appeared in the "Louisville Journal".

Alexander Campbell is unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of our time. Putting wholly out of view his tenets, with which we of course have nothing to do, he claims, by virtue of his intrinsic qualities, as manifested in his achievements, a place among the very foremost spirits of the age. His energy, self-reliance and self-fidelity, if we may use the expression, are of the stamp that belongs only to the world's first leaders in thought or action. His personal excellence is certainly without a stain or a shadow. His intellect, it is scarcely too much to say, is among the clearest, richest, profoundest ever vouchsafed to man. Indeed, it seems to us that in the faculty of abstract thinking—he has few, if any, living rivals. Every cultivated person of the slightest metaphysical turn who has heard Alexander Campbell in the pulpit or in the social circle, must have been especially impressed by the wonderful facility with which his faculties move in the highest planes of thought. Ultimate facts stand forth as boldly in his consciousness as sensations do in that of most other men. He grasps and handles the highest, subtlest, most comprehensive principles as if they were the liveliest impressions of the senses. No poet's soul is more crowded with imagery than his is with the ripest forms of thought. Surely the life of man thus excellent and gifted, is a part of the common
2. Alexander Campbell, the Reformer.

(1) Early associations in the church.

At an early period in his life Alexander Campbell developed an antipathy to sectarianism. His grandfather, Archibald Campbell, had been born a Roman Catholic, but had later become identified with the Church of England. Thomas Campbell joined the Seceder sect of the Presbyterian denomination and served as a minister with that group. The ecclesiastical world in which the young Alexander lived might well have disappointed any thoughtful youth. The Roman Catholic church with its superstitions and corruptions was abhorrent to the young man. But the condition that prevailed in Protestantism was not much less distasteful. Party spirit, and petty denominational jealousy and hatred were on every hand. Even his own Presbyterian church was divided into a number of warring sects, — National church, Seceders, Burghers, Anti-Burghers, Old Lights, and New Lights. Thomas Campbell had objected to the disunity and hatred and had taken active steps to unite the people of his own church. No doubt the father's attitude in these matters helped to mold the thinking of

the son.

(2) Separation from the Presbyterians.

When Alexander Campbell went to Glasgow, he expected to be a minister in the Seceder church, but events which transpired there during his brief stay led him away from this expectation. Greville Ewing and the Haldanes, with whom Campbell became intimate, were prominent leaders of reform at this time in Scotland, and the mind of the young university student proved fertile soil for the seeds of their reformatory principles. He said, "my faith in creeds and confessions of human device was considerably shaken while in Scotland." The teaching on the sufficiency of the Scriptures and the advocacy of the congregational form of church government emphasized by these Scotch reformers were attractive doctrines to Alexander Campbell. He was reluctant to sever his connections with the church to which his family belonged, so, at the time of the semi-annual communion season of the Seceders, he applied for the token which every one who wished to commune was required to obtain. But as the time for communion approached he came to a momentous decision. He was unable to recognize the Seceder church as the church of Christ, and he resolved to act accordingly. He cast his metal token on

the plate that was passed, and declined to partake of the elements of the communion when they were served.

It was at this moment that the struggle in his mind was completed, and the ring of the token, falling upon the plate, announced the instant at which he renounced Presbyterianism for ever—the leaden voucher becoming thus a token not of communion but of separation. This change, however, was as yet confined to his own heart. He was yet young, and thought it unbecoming to make known publicly his objections, and as he had fully complied with all the rules of the Church, he thought it proper to receive at his departure the usual certificate of good standing.

(3) The important influence of Thomas Campbell.

Previous to the arrival of Alexander Campbell in America, Thomas Campbell had severed his connection with the Seceder Presbyterians. As a minister of that denomination in Pennsylvania he invited the members of other Presbyterian churches to partake of the communion with the Seceders. This simple expression of Christian love and fraternity was contrary to the laws of the "closed-communion" Seceiders, and the minister was censured by the Presbytery of Chartiers for this breach of the rules. He appealed to the Synod of North America, but without success, and saw nothing to do but to withdraw from the Seceders. This he did, and on August 17, 1809 he organized the "Christian Association of Washington, Pa."

published his famous "Declaration and Address", which is considered the Magna Charta of the nineteenth century Reformation or Restoration. This document purported to be a statement of the purposes and aims of the "Association." The purpose was said to be the promoting of simple New Testament Christianity. There was no desire to form a church or separate religious society. They intended not to observe the church ordinances. The "Association" was merely a voluntary society advocating the reformatory ideal of the union of all Christians. A condensed summary of the thirteen propositions of the "Declaration and Address" has been made as follows:

1. The unity of the church of Christ.
2. Congregational diversity.
3. The Bible the only rule of faith and practice.
5. All human authority disallowed in the church.
6. Deductions from the Bible are not binding upon Christians.
7. Opinions can not be made tests of fellowship.
8. The only creed of the church is faith in the divine Christ.
9. All who accept this creed and live by it are brothers in Christ.
10. Sectarian divisions among Christians are unchristian.
11. The cause of such divisions is the neglect of God's word and the introduction of human innovations.
12. Human expedients in the church, when permissible, are not to usurp the authority granted to the Scriptures.

1. Note: We are using these terms interchangeably in the thesis.
2. F.D. Kershner, The Restoration Handbook, Series I, p. 16
Alexander Campbell said:

The first proof-sheet that I ever read was a form of my father's "Declaration and Address," in press in Washington, Pennsylvania, on my arrival there in October, 1809. There were in it the following sentences: "Nothing ought to be received into the faith or worship of the Church, or be made a term of communion amongst Christians, that is not as old as the New Testament. Nor ought any thing to be admitted as of Divine obligation, in the church constitution and management, but what is expressly enjoined by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles upon the New Testament church; either in express terms or by approved precedent." These last words "express terms" and "approved precedent" made a deep impression on my mind, then well furnished with the popular doctrines of the Presbyterian church in all its branches. 1

It is evident that the principles of the Restoration movement had been determined and stated by Thomas Campbell independently of his son. The latter accepted these principles, and made a practical application of them to the existing religious conditions, laboring untiringly with voice and pen to disseminate these views through the Christian society of the old world and of the new. He says:

I commenced my career in this country 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, and I thank God that he had enabled me so far to prosecute it, and to make all my prejudices and ambition bow to this emancipating principle."

(4) Significant developments.

Guided by his "pole-star", and speaking only where the Scriptures speak, Alexander Campbell was led to some very positive convictions of great significance for the future of the infant Restoration movement. With reference to church government he said:

I continued in the examination of the Scriptures, ecclesiastical history, and systems of divinity, ancient and modern, until July 15, 1810, on which day I publicly avowed my convictions of the independency of the church of Christ, and the excellency and authority of the Scriptures.  

Besides congregational independency, Campbell's course led him to a radical change of view with respect to baptism.

In conformity to the grand principle which I have called the pole-star of my course of religious inquiry, I was led to question the claims of infant sprinkling to divine authority, and was, after a long, serious, and prayerful examination of all means of information, led to solicit immersion on a profession of faith, when as yet I scarce knew a Baptist from Washington to the Ohio, in the immediate region of my labors, and when I did not know

2. Ibid, 92.
that any friend or relation on earth would concur with me. I was accordingly baptized by Elder Henry Spears, on the 12th day of June, 1812.

Thomas Campbell and most of the members of the Christian Association, being persuaded that their guiding principle led them to baptism by immersion, followed its leading and were baptized accordingly. Alexander was the first to recognize the place of baptism, and from the time of his baptism he became the real leader of the movement. Thomas Campbell had proposed and developed the basis of Christian union. It was left to the youthful and talented Alexander to carry the principles developed to a successful conclusion.

It is significant that Alexander Campbell was immersed "on a profession of my faith", as he says. At his baptism he refused to follow the custom of the Baptists of giving a narration of his religious experience. He simply made his confession of faith that "Jesus is the Christ", according to the New Testament standard.

(5) Period of independence, 1809-1813.

After the Christian Association had been in existence about a year, Thomas Campbell, encouraged by friends in the presbytery, made a petition to unite with the Pres-
Presbyterian church. His request was refused by the Synod, which gave, among other reasons for its rejection of Campbell, the following objections:

"For expressing his belief that there are some opinions taught in our Confession of Faith which are not founded in the Bible, and avoiding to designate them; for declaring that the administration of baptism to infants is not authorized by scriptural precept or example, and is a matter of indifference, yet administering the ordinance while holding such an opinion; for encouraging or countenancing his son to preach the gospel without any regular authority; for opposing creeds and confessions as injurious to the interests of religion."

The members of the Christian Association formed the Brush Run church on May 4, 1811 and this church continued its independent course for the next two years.

(6) Union with the Baptists.

Alexander Campbell's discovery of the New Testament teaching on baptism produced a radical change in the group of Reformers. They became a body of immersed believers. From paedobaptist in sympathies they swung over to a position similar to that of the Baptist denomination. The Baptists were quick to realize this and urged the members of the Brush Run church to align with them. After due consideration this proposal was adopted.

and the Brush Run church joined the Red Stone Baptist Association during the fall of 1813. But the Reformers did not join the Baptists unconditionally.

In our overtures to the Baptists we fully and faithfully gave them in writing an explicit statement of the points in which we concurred with them, and of the points in which we differed, asserting out willingness to co-operate with them on the principle of mutual forbearance on all matters of opinion, and of united action in all matters of faith, piety and morality. They covenant-ed to form such a union, and in good faith of this agreement we entered into it September, 1813. On the Bible, as our only rule of faith, piety and morality, we solemnly covenanted, as the Records of the Red Stone Baptist Association will show.

This move on the part of the Reformers was an effort toward Christian union, and in no way could it be considered an expression of the acceptance of Baptist doctrine. The Brush Run church did not adopt the Philadelphia Confession of Faith as its creed, as the Baptist churches commonly did. The Bible was its only standard. Thus it was still a reformatory body, but attached to a denomination, and not a free-lance movement outside of all denominations. The position of the Brush Run church, rejecting creeds and claiming the Bible as its only standard, set a precedent which later was followed by many of the Baptist churches as they became infected with the principles of the Reformation. There were some on

1. The Millennial Harbinger, 1837, 147.
both sides who looked on this union with disfavor, and in the years that followed much misunderstanding and bitterness disturbed the ecclesiastical peace.

At a meeting of the Red Stone Association in 1816, Alexander Campbell was the occasion of an increase in hostilities between the Reformers (as they commonly were called now) and the Baptists, by the preaching of the "Sermon on the Law". In this sermon he made his familiar distinction between the Law and the Gospel, the Old and the New dispensations, Moses and Christ. The insistence on the authority of the New Testament alone sounded like heresy in the ears of the all-ready-suspicious Baptists, and Campbell was branded as a dangerous heretic.

The debate with John Walker at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in 1820, introduced Campbell favorably to the Baptists of Ohio. He made many friends in the Mahoning Association, and regularly he visited the meetings of this association, with the result that the views of the Reformers came to be accepted by most of these Baptists. In 1823 relations between the Reformers and the Baptists in the Red Stone Association became so strained that Alexander Campbell with a number of his friends withdrew from the Brush Run church and formed the Wellsburg church. This church united with the Mahoning Association shortly
The Wellsburg church was the second in the Reformation. The third church to join the movement was the Pittsburg Baptist church led by Sidney Rigdon, which had united with the Haldanean church of that city under the leadership of Walter Scott. Then the Baptist church at Louisville, of which Philip S. Fall was pastor, came over into the Reformation. Fall moved to Nashville and the church there also joined the movement. In rapid succession Baptist churches left their denomination to join the Reformers. The usual procedure, by means of which a Baptist church made this change, was for the congregation to vote out the Philadelphia Confession of Faith and to take the Bible as the sole standard.

The cause progressed rapidly because of the ever-widening influence of its leader. Campbell was recognized even by those who disagreed with him, as a man of unusual ability, and because of his debates with Walker (1820) and Maccalla (1823) his fame spread, particularly among the Baptist brethren. He made frequent preaching tours in his own and neighboring states, and in this way brought his reformatory principles to the attention of a great host of people. Not the least factor in the growth of the Reformation was the wide circulation of the Christian Baptist which was published first in 1823 and was
continued until 1830.

The Reformation was advanced greatly by the winning of Walter Scott, the fiery evangelist. In 1827 he was chosen general evangelist for the Mahoning Association in Ohio, and in the first year he had over one thousand converts. He was the first Reformer to present the gospel "plan of salvation" with the logical "steps": hearing, faith, repentance, confession, baptism, the remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Spirit.

(7) Separation from the Baptists.

The friction between the Baptists and the Reformers, in evidence even when the Brush Run Church joined the Red Stone Association in 1813, became more acute as the years passed. It was accentuated by the "Sermon on the Law" (1816) and Campbell's frequent clashes with the ministers of the Baptist churches. In the late 1820's owing largely to the division of Baptist associations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, and Kentucky by the Reformation, a very definite cleavage could be seen between the two groups. The final break came about 1830. In 1829 the enraged Baptists of the Beaver Association of Pennsylvania passed a resolution disfellowshipping the Mahoning Association (now thoroughly indoctrinated in the principles of the Reformation), and drew up a syllabus of the errors of the Reformers. Similar action was taken by other Baptist
groups. The Reformers were branded as "heretics" and "schismatics" and anathematized freely as the Baptist feeling mounted. In two articles entitled "Reformers not Schismatics" Campbell met the charges of his enemies. He said:

That we have been separated rather than separatists, is, if our history was truly written, as susceptible of proof as any historic fact of the last three centuries. That we were always willing to bear with them, and that we have forborne, is evident from all that has been written on the subject, and from one single fact—viz. that in no instance has a majority in any of our churches ever cast out a minority of Baptists for any difference of opinion. But how often their majorities have cast out our minorities during the last ten years it would pain me to record. Yet we are schismatical! Is the separatist or the separated the schismatic?

Because of the treatment they received at the hands of the Baptist Associations, and because they found no precedent for "associations" in the New Testament, the Reformers disbanded the Mahoning, Washington, Stillwater and other associations in which they were organized and became simply independent congregations.

(8) Union of Reformers and Christians.

In the year 1824 Alexander Campbell, while visiting

2. Ibid, 146.
3. Ibid, 149.
Kentucky, formed an acquaintance with a man who was to play a very significant part in the course of the Reformation. Barton W. Stone was recognized as the principal leader of the "Christians", a body of believers which came into independent existence as a result of the Cane Ridge revival of 1801. In 1802 Stone and some associates, dissatisfied with the conditions in the denominational world, withdrew from the Lexington synod and formed the independent Springfield presbytery. In 1804 the Springfield presbytery issued its "Last Will and Testament", and disbanded, willing that, "this body die and sink into union with the body of Christ at large", and willing also that, "the people henceforth take the Bible as the only sure guide to heaven". These people, calling themselves "Christians" only, increased in numbers under the leadership of the hard-working Stone, and by the time of the meeting of the latter with the leader of the Reformers had become a rather large, aggressive body. The two leaders were struck by the similarity of their programs. Stone said:

"I saw no distinctive feature between the doctrine he preached and that which we had preached for many years, except on baptism for

1. W.W. Jennings, Orig. & Early Hist. of Disc., 70.
remission of sins. Even this I had once received and taught, as before stated, but had strangely let go from my mind, till Brother Campbell revived it afresh."

Because of the agreement on fundamental doctrines, and in spite of the divergence in many matters of opinion, the two groups concomitted a union in 1832. At a meeting in connection with this union of Reformers and Christians, John Smith representing the former group said:

"While there is but one faith, there may be ten thousand opinions; and hence, if Christians are ever to be one, they must be one in faith, and not in opinion .... Let us then, my brethren, be no longer Campbellites or Stoneites, New Lights or Old Lights, or any other kind of lights, but let us all come to the Bible, and to the Bible alone, as the only book in the world that can give us all the Light we need."

Representatives from both bodies went throughout Kentucky gathering the Reformers and Christians together and organizing them into single congregations. In this state the union was very successful but in other states it was looked upon with disfavor. The venture marked a pronounced advance in the cause of the Reformation and illustrated the practicability of the plea for Christian union on a New Testament basis. The following is a pertinent observation concerning the advantages of the fusing of these

1. quoted by W.W. Jennings, Orig. & Early Hist. of Disc, 191.
2. Ibid, 192.
two bodies:

With the Christians the idea of union of all men under Christ was predominant; hence communion and baptism were not stressed. Moreover, this same union sentiment led to the gathering in of as many as possible, and the consequent emphasis on preaching, revivals, and the mourners' bench. With the Disciples, exact conformity to primitive faith and doctrine was dominant. They believed in gathering in the good and casting away the bad; hence the emphasis was placed on teaching. The two elements working together formed a mighty force.¹

From the time of the union of the Reformers and Christians the cause of the Reformation spread rapidly. When the Reformers and the Baptists separated in 1830, the number of the former amounted to about 12,000. The union with the Christians brought in about 10,000 more in 1832. By 1840 there were about 40,000; by 1850 about 118,000; by 1860 about 225,000; and by 1870 about 350,000. In the forty years following the union in 1832 the movement multiplied its membership sixteen times.²

Near the close of the 19th century an ardent admirer of the talented reformer of Bethany said:

The little church at Brush Run, over which Mr. Campbell was the presiding genius, has grown into a great Christian brotherhood, more than a million strong, with a score or more of educational institutions, with a

². see W.E. Garrison, Rel. Follows the Front., 200.
current literature second to none, with mission stations encircling the globe. But these facts and figures, remarkable as they appear, are among the least of the results that have followed the labors of this man. A much larger religious circle, while not consenting to accept his leadership, are adopting many of the principles for which he so vigorously contended, and are working out along kindred lines the great problems that consumed his energies. The awakening spirit of religious unity, the slackening of party cords, the growing indifference to the claims of creeds, and the increasing regard for the message of Christ and his apostles,—these are but the widening circles of a wave set in motion by this sturdy champion of the primitive Faith.

3. The Principles of Campbell's Reformation.

We have previously pointed out the significant place that Thomas Campbell had in the cause of reform, and that his son, accepting the fundamental principles laid down by him, built his Reformation thereon. The following statement from his father's "Declaration and Address" made a deep impression on the young man:

"Nothing ought to be received into the faith or worship of the Church, or be made a term of communion amongst Christians, that is not as old as the New Testament. Nor ought anything to be admitted as a Divine obligation, in the church constitution and management, but what is expressly enjoined by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles upon the New Testament church; either in express terms or by approved precedent."

The principle enunciated here Alexander Campbell accepted as the "pole-star" to guide him in his life's work of religious reform. He says, "On this bottom we put to sea, with scarcely hands enough to man the ship."

The principles characteristic of the Reformation led by Alexander Campbell are very readily discovered by the reader of his works. In the preface to the Christian System he says:

Next to our personal salvation, two objects constituted the summum bonum, the supreme good, worthy of the sacrifice of all temporalities. The first was the union, peace, purity, and harmonious co-operation of Christians, guided by an understanding enlightened by the Holy Scriptures; the other the conversion of sinners to God.

In a discourse on the prayer of Jesus Christ as recorded in John 17, Campbell laid down two significant propositions:

1st. Nothing is essential to the conversion of the world but the union and co-operation of Christians.
2d. Nothing is essential to the union of Christians but the Apostles' teaching or testimony.

Or does he choose to express the plan of the Self-Existent in other words? Then he may change the order, and say—

1st. The testimony of the Apostles is the only means of uniting all Christians.
2d. The union of Christians with the Apostles' testimony is all sufficient and alone sufficient

1. A. Campbell, Christian System, p. 9
2. Ibid, p. 9
to the conversion of the world. Neither truth alone nor union alone is sufficient to subdue the unbelieving nations; but truth and union combined are omnipotent. They are omnipotent, for God is in them and with them, and has consecrated and blessed them for this very purpose. These two propositions have been stated, illustrated, developed, (and shall I say proved?) in the Christian Baptist, and Millennial Harbinger, to the conviction of thousands.

A consideration of the above quotations, and many similar passages, leads us to the conclusion that Alexander Campbell's reformation principles may be summarily stated as:

(1) The conversion of the world.
(2) The union of all Christians.
(3) The restoration of primitive Christianity.

This is the supreme purpose of the Lord's prayer for unity: "that the world may believe that Thou didst send me."\(^2\) The Reformation arose out of, and was the successor to, the great religious awakening of the nineteenth century in Great Britain and America. It was characterized by the same evangelistic passion. For Alexander Campbell and the Reformers the gospel of Christ constituted the only hope for a lost and undone world.

The missionary motive has ever been dominant among the Disciples of Christ. Their Foreign

\(^1\) Ope cit. \(^2\) John 17:21.
Society is the most successful of their organizations. Continuous evangelism has marked their progress from Barton W. Stone and Walter Scott to the present day. This, far more than superior methods or a superior knowledge of the truth, accounts for the marvelous increase in numbers of this people. Every sermon must close with an exhortation and be followed by an invitation. It must be practical; it must move. Nothing is good which will not help to convert the world.

(2) The union of all Christians.

The disorganized, inharmonious condition of the warring sects of Christendom presented to the fathers of the Reformation the immediate, practical problem which initiated their movement towards reform. Their movement was expected to destroy all sectarianism and heal the wounds of schism in the body of Christ. Jesus prayed that "they all may be one" in order that the world may believe. Campbell believed and taught that there could be no conversion of the whole world until the followers of Christ enter into an organic union embracing all believers. "Nothing is essential to the conversion of the world but the union and co-operation of Christians."

(3) The restoration of primitive Christianity.

The conversion of the world is the ultimate goal of

the labors of the church. There can be no conversion of the world without the union of Christians. There can be no satisfactory union of Christians except there be a restoration of primitive Christianity. These are the links in the chain of principles underlying the Reformation. Campbell believed that the New Testament, and the New Testament alone, was the only rule of faith and practice for Christians. The church of the New Testament was the pattern for the church of all time. Effective Christian union can be found only in the renunciation of man-made accretions to the church and the positive expression of the life and organization of apostolic Christianity. Christians can unite only on this New Testament basis. To restore primitive Christianity did not mean to return to the faulty expressions of the religion of Christ which are found in particular congregations; e.g., as at Corinth. It meant the restoration of the life of the New Testament church in its ideal phases, in conformity to the norm set forth by Jesus and the apostles.

To bring the societies of Christians up to the New Testament, is just to bring the disciples individually and collectively, to walk in the faith, and in the commandments of the Lord and Savior, as presented in that blessed volume; and this is to restore the
This proposal "to restore the ancient order of things" implied an unbounded faith in the integrity and inspiration of the scriptures. For the Reformers the only ultimate authority in religion rests in the inspired word of God as it is recorded in the Bible.

The program to restore primitive Christianity (to unite Christians and ultimately bring the world to Christ) involved:

(a) The rejection of creeds: Creeds are divisive. In their place, all that should be required of the one seeking admission to the church is the statement of belief that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God. This confession of faith should then be followed by the ordinance of baptism, the act of naturalization in the kingdom of Christ.

(b) The application of biblical names to biblical things: No words can so suitably express the ideas relative to the primitive church as the terms adopted by the Holy Spirit. The non-scriptural language of the theologians is the language of Ashdod and tends to confuse the real meanings of Scriptural ideas. Campbell

objected to the use of such terms as: Trinity. First, second, and third person in the adorabe Trinity. God the Son. The divinity of Jesus Christ. Original sin. Free grace. Christian sabbath; etc.¹

(c) The restoration of the primitive order of worship: The Lord's supper was the central feature in the New Testament order of service. It was observed weekly. The pattern for the order of worship is Acts 2: 42: "They continued stedfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers."²

(d) The return to primitive organization: Local churches should be autonomous. The only officers are the bishops, who perform the twofold function of presiding and teaching, and the deacons, who have charge of the Lord's treasury.³

(e) The primitive discipline: The local officers act in the capacity of interpreters and executors of the law which is ordained by the divine Legislature. The officers do not make laws, they administer the laws, as stewards of the King.⁴

² Ibid, 166.

The conclusions at which Campbell arrived, which seemed so radical to many of his contemporaries, may be accounted for by reference to his great knowledge of the Scriptures and his scientific methods of interpretation. He asserts:

"Our views and attainments in the knowledge of Christianity, such as they are, are, we think, the necessary results of our premises and principles of interpretation. Certain it is, that by them we were led into those views of the ancient gospel and order of things, which we were enabled to exhibit in the publications of the year 1823."1

Campbell claims no originality for these principles of interpretation. They are in harmony with the best scholarship of his day, and the accepted scientific approach to truth.

"These are not private rules, introduced for any private purpose, but they are the by law established (that is, the law of the republic of letters) principles, universally acknowledged in all the schools of the nineteenth century."2

I feel myself happy in assuring the reader, that I do not know a single principle asserted that is not already approved by the following: Doctors Campbell, of Aberdeen; Macknight, of Edinburgh; Doddridge, of England; Michaelis, of Gottingen; Horne, of Cambridge; Stuart, of Andover; Ernesti, Lowth, Calmet, Glassius, Harwood, and many others of equal celebrity.2

1. quoted by H. Van Kirk, Hist. of Theol. of Disc., 126.
2. Ibid, 127.
Campbell's celebrated principles of interpretation are as follows:

Rule 1. On opening any book in the sacred Scriptures, consider first the historical circumstances of the book. These are the order, the title, the author, the date, the place, and the occasion of it. ...

Rule 2. In examining the contents of any book, as respects precepts, promises, exhortations, etc., observe who it is that speaks, and under what dispensation he officiates. Is he a Patriarch, a Jew, or a Christian? Consider also the persons addressed, their prejudices, characters and religious relations. Are they Jews or Christians, believers or unbelievers, approved or disapproved? This rule is essential to the proper application of every command, promise, threatening, admonition, or exhortation, in Old Testament or New.

Rule 3. To understand the meaning of what is commanded, promised, taught &c., the same philological principles deduced from the nature of language, or the same laws of interpretation which are applied to the language of other books, are to be applied to the language of the Bible.

Rule 4. Common usage, which can only be ascertained by testimony, must always decide the meaning of any word which has but one signification: but when words have, according to testimony, (i.e. the dictionary,) more meanings than one, whether literal or figurative, the scope, the context, or parallel passages must decide the meaning: for if common usage, the design of the writer, the context, and parallel passages fail, there can be no certainty in the interpretation of language.

Rule 5. In all tropes language ascertain the point of resemblance, and judge of the nature of the trope, and its kind, from the point of resemblance.

Rule 6. In the interpretation of symbols, types, allegories and parables, this rule is supreme: Ascerten the point to be illustrated; for comparison is never to be extended beyond that point—to all the attributes, qualities, or circumstances of the symbol, type, allegory, or
Rule. 7. For the salutary and sanctifying intelligence of the Oracles of God, the following rule is indispensable:—We must come within the understanding distance.

5. General Theological Views of Alexander Campbell.

An outline of the great doctrines of Christianity as they were understood by Alexander Campbell is given in his book, The Christian System. This work is of the nature of an apologetic for Campbell's orthodoxy. In the preface to the second edition the author says:

The continual misrepresentation and misconception of our views on some very fundamental points of the Christian system seem at the present crisis to call for a very definite, clear and connected view of the great outlines and elements of the Christian Institution. We shall endeavor to state in a very bare outline form the main Christian doctrines held by the reformer.

(1) Cosmology: "One God, one system of nature, one universe." Thus Campbell summarily states his view of the world. The universe "is composed of innumerable systems, which, in perfect concert, move forward in subordination to one supreme end." That end is the sovereign pleasure of Him who inhabits eternity and animates the universe with His presence.

2. Ibid., p.12.
3. Ibid., p.13.
4. Ibid., n.3.
(2) Bibliology: "One God, one moral system, one Bible." The Bible is a perfect statement of God's will for man. It is the constitution of God's moral government. It is God's covenant with man. Revelation ceased with the completion of the Bible.

(3) Theology proper: The attributes of God usually taught by the orthodox were accepted by Campbell. But his insistence on "Bible names for Bible things" caused him to be branded as a heretic by many when he applied this principle to the subject of the Trinity. He objected to the use of the terms: "Trinity; First, second and third person in the adorable Trinity; God the Son; God the Holy Ghost; Eternal Son; etc." He preferred to state his views concerning the Godhead in the language of the Scriptures.

(4) Christology: In accordance with the scheme of redemption, God gave his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, as Prophet, Priest, and King. Campbell's views on the atonement were in harmony with the orthodox doctrine of his day.

2. Ibid. p.19-20.
5. Ibid, 43-47.
(5) Pneumatology: "As there is man and the spirit of man, so there is God and the Spirit of God. They are capable of a separate and distinct existence." Jesus is the head, and the Spirit is the life and animating principle of the church. We cannot separate the Spirit and word of God. The apostles did not do so. "Whatever the word does, the Spirit does; and whatever the Spirit does in the work of converting men, the word does. We neither believe nor teach abstract Spirit nor abstract word, but word and Spirit, Spirit and word." To those who believe, repent, and obey the gospel God gives of his Spirit.

(6) Anthropology: Campbell accepted the Augustinian doctrine of man's original perfection, the fall, and the consequent corruption of the race. Man was created partly celestial and partly terrestrial, "of an earthly material as to his body, but of a spiritual intelligence and a divine life."  

(7) Soteriology: According to the good purposes of the Father of all, fallen man is presented with an opportunity to rise. Damned in consequence of the sin of Adam, men may be saved through the interposit-

2. Ibid, 68-69.  
3. Ibid, 27.
ion of the second Adam, Jesus Christ the Savior. Salvation has two aspects, the divine and the human. A covenant relation is entered into. God's part is the gift of his Son. Man's part in the process is stated as faith, repentance, and baptism. "Faith is simple belief of testimony, or truth." Repentance is reformation. It is actual amendment of life. Baptism is the immersion of a believer. With faith and repentance it is for the remission of sins, and marks the believers entrance into the kingdom of Christ.

(8) Ecclesiology: The church is the body of Christ. It is a community composed of many particular communities, each of which is an independent autonomous congregation.

(9) Eschatology: Campbell's views were quite orthodox with respect to judgment to come, the future blessedness of the redeemed, and the doom of the wicked.

In conclusion we may say that Alexander Campbell had a Calvinistic training. His theological views were orthodox Calvinistic doctrine except on matters such as

2. Ibid, 57.
4. Ibid, 77-82.
5. Ibid, 71-75.
6. Note: His Calvinism was of the modified Dutch Covenant theological variety.
baptism, church polity, etc., wherein he was led to a change of position by following the principles "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent."—Dr. Campbell.

1. **Lockeian Influence at the Beginning of the 19th Century.**

That the thought of Europe and Great Britain, under Alexander Campbell was a reality, was colored by the philosophy of Locke is well attested. Concerning the influence of Locke on German philosophy Schweickert says:

Locke, directly or through Hume, awakened Kant from his formalistic slumber, and the "kritik of pure reason," in the form which its problem assumes, as well as in some of its main features, bears witness of the acquaintance of Locke.

The Lockean influence in France was no pronounced that Degenend, writing in 1833, says:

All the French philosophers of this age glory in ranging themselves among the disciples of Locke, and adopting his principles.

The influence of Locke on British philosophy is commented on as follows:

For 136 years after its publication in 1690 the Essay of Locke gave to polite men in this country the ground-work and method.
The Influence of John Locke on Alexander Campbell.

1. Lockian Influence at the Beginning of the 19th Century.

That the thought of Europe and Great Britain, when Alexander Campbell was a youth, was colored by the philosophy of Locke is well attested. Concerning the influence of Locke on German philosophy Fowler says:

Locke, directly or through Hume, awakened Kant from his dogmatic slumber, and the 'Kritik of Pure Reason', in the form which its problem assumes, as well as in some of its main features, bears marks of the parentage of Locke. 1

The Lockian influence in France was so pronounced that Degerando, writing in 1813, says:

All the French philosophers of this age glory in ranging themselves among the disciples of Locke, and admitting his principles. 2

The influence of Locke on British philosophy is commented on as follows:

For 130 years after its publication (1690) the Essay of Locke gave to philosophy in this country its ground-work and method. 3

1. T. Fowler, Locke, 287.
2. quoted by T. Fowler, Locke, 198.
3. A. C. Fraser, Locke, 286.
It seems that at the beginning of the nineteenth century Locke was the greatest figure in the British world of thought. Locke's philosophy was carried logically to an unfortunate conclusion in the skepticism of Hume. But Hume's position was so unsatisfactory that philosophy could not rest long thereon. The Scottish Common-Sense school set up a reaction to the negative findings of Hume, and had considerable influence for a time. However, it appears that the philosophy of Locke continued to maintain its popularity. At the time when Alexander Campbell left Scotland the critical philosophy of Kant had not yet exerted its influence on British thought. There were many new areas explored in the realm of philosophy before the life of the reformer drew to a close, but he probably was not greatly influenced by these. Post-Kantian absolute idealism turned the attention of many people from Locke's plain, historical, matter-of-fact procedure, but this German philosophy was not seriously studied in Great Britain until about the middle of the century. Its influence in the new world, of course, would not be felt until later than that.

2. Alexander Campbell in Contact with the Philo-

The philosophy of John Locke.\footnote{W.E. Garrison, Rel. follows the Front., 72.} Evidently he must have been influenced greatly by the Lockian empiricism for we learn that he introduced his son Alexander to this philosophy and guided him in the study of the Essay concerning Human Understanding.\footnote{R. Richardson, Memoirs of Alex. Campbell, Vol. I, 33-34.} This introduction to the philosophy of Locke in his pre-university days prepared the young man for his course at Glasgow, and, no doubt, had a great influence in shaping his own philosophical viewpoint.

(2) The Glasgow influence.

The shipwreck which almost destroyed the wife and children of Thomas Campbell was a blessing in disguise for young Alexander. It made it possible for him to
take a course of one year in the University of Glasgow. The following quotation from his biography gives us an idea of the subjects he studied and the rigorous schedule of class recitations that he followed in that institution.

The classes he had entered were those of Professor Young, both public and private, in Greek; those of Professor Jardine, public and private, in Logic and Belles Lettres, and Dr. Ure's class in Experimental Philosophy. The necessary preparation for these classes, and the various exercises required, kept him extremely busy, and he devoted himself with uncommon zeal and indefatigable industry to his studies during the session. In addition to the above regular classes, he resumed the study of the French, and gave considerable time to English reading and composition. Retiring to bed at ten o'clock P. M., he rose regularly at four in the morning. At six, he attended his class in French; from seven to eight, a class in the Greek Testament; and from eight to ten, his Latin classes, returning to bathe and breakfast at ten. In the afternoon he recited in a more advanced Greek class and in Logic, attending also several lectures per week delivered by Dr. Ure, and accompanied with experiments in natural science, in which he was very much interested.

Among the philosophical works that Alexander Campbell studied at Glasgow were those of John Locke.


Campbell's acquaintance with the thought of Locke is readily recognized by the reader of the works of the reformer. In many places he makes reference to the famous philosopher; e.g., Owen Debate, 50-51, 89; Rice Debate 850-51; etc.

In his lists of illustrious, historical characters Campbell always included the name of John Locke. For example, in the Mill. Harb. '30, 51 he writes "If Paul, Peter, Wickliffe, Luther, Locke, Newton, Franklin, Washington were to appear among us..." Similar references may be found in the Mill. Harb. '30, 42 and the Purcell Debate, 329.

In many places Campbell makes direct quotations from the works of the philosopher. In the Owen Debate, 121 he quotes from Locke's Essay. Quotations from Locke's work on Paul's epistles are found in the Christian Baptist, 194 and Mill. Harb. '32, 274. Much space is devoted to portions of the Letters on Toleration in Mill. Harb. '44, 12ff., 55ff., 105ff., 151ff., 250ff. This work on toleration Campbell considered of great influence; see Mill. Harb., '44, 11; and Rice Debate, 850-51. Quotations from Locke are found on the subjects of science, education, and the resurrection.

Campbell confesses agreement with Locke in matters of philosophy in the Christian Baptist, 662, and the Owen Debate, 50-51, 120-1. He speaks of the "acknowledged principles" of Locke in the Christian Baptist, 82. He agrees with Locke's interpretation of Scripture and certain views on the church, its institutions, religious liberty, etc.²

Campbell speaks of Locke as the "Christian philosopher"³ and appeared to hold him in the highest esteem. The following quotations are significant:

Locke, the author of the Essay on the Conduct of the Human Understanding, the celebrated mental philosopher, whose fame is commensurate with the English language and the English people.⁴

Few compositions of so humble dimensions as Locke's Letter on Toleration, have exerted a mightier influence in the cause of human liberty and civilization, than this briefest but most puissant production of the great Christian philosopher....With all due allowances for the antiquated style of Locke's age, and taste in the manufacture of sentences, the truths, ideas, and facts embodied in this little volume are worth more than some hundred quartos of the present age.⁵

We ascribe much to the intelligence, virtue and patriotism of our revolutionary heroes and statesmen. But there was one Christian

3. Christian Baptist, 82.
5. Ibid, '44, 11-12.
philosopher to whom we are more indebted than to any one of them. Nay, perhaps, than to all of them. The cause of civil and religious liberty owes more to the labors of Mr. John Locke, ... It should be known, and everywhere divulged, in all lands and among all people, that Europe and America are more indebted to the elaborate discussions and profound reasonings of our Christian philosopher, for the quantum of civil and religious liberty now enjoyed, than to all the skeptics who have written from the days of Pyrrhus to my friend Robert Owen.


We have pointed out the important place that John Locke held in the thought of the English-speaking world when Alexander Campbell was a young man. We have shown that Campbell had actual contact with the works of the philosopher under the tutelage of his father and in his studies at the University of Glasgow. In addition we have cited the external evidence from Campbell's works of the influence of John Locke. It remains for us to examine the writings of the reformer for evidences of the Lockian influence in similarity of ideas. This internal evidence, showing the correspondence of the two thinkers on primary topics discussed by them, we believe offers the most effective arguments for our thesis.
(1) Theory of knowledge.

"Are not all our simple ideas the result of sensation and reflection?" 1 Campbell confesses his acceptance of the Lockian "tabula Rasa" conception of the origin of knowledge. The following quotation from Campbell might well be mistaken for a passage from Locke's Essay.

Every writer who has undertaken to analyze the senses, has come to the conclusion that we cannot have an idea of material objects, or the qualities of matter, that is not derived from the exercise of our senses upon the material objects around us. Well now, this being the basis of all our knowledge, the powers which we call rational, or intellectual, are necessarily circumscribed by the simple ideas thus acquired. The senses put us in possession of all the materials which the intellect has to work up—in like manner as the raw material must first be put into the hands of the manufacturer before it can be manufactured for the various uses of life. 2

In the debate with Owen he says:

They (Locke, Hume, Mirabeau) all agree that all our original ideas are the result of sensation and reflection; that is, that the five senses inform us of the properties of bodies, that our five senses are the only avenues through which ideas of material objects can be derived to us; that we have an intellectual power of comparing these impressions thus derived to us through the media of the senses: and this they call

2. Campbell & Owen, Evid. of Christ., 144.
reflection. Admitting this theory to be correct (Mr. Owen has doubted it); but if it be correct that all our simple ideas are the result of sensation and reflection, how can we have any idea, the archetype of which does not exist in nature?1

Locke and Hume admit the almost unbounded power of the imagination. It can abstract, compound, and combine the qualities of objects already known, and thus form new creations ad infinitum. But still it borrows all the original qualities from the other faculties of the mind, and from the external senses.2

In the Owen debate Campbell reasoned in true Lockian fashion against the infidel Owen to prove the case for revelation. He agreed with his opponent that "reason cannot originate the idea of an Eternal First Cause, or that no man could acquire such an idea by the employment of his senses and reason." But "the Christian idea of an Eternal First Cause uncaused is now in the world and has been for ages immemorial." How did such an idea come into the world? Mr. Owen replied, "by imagination."3 This was the answer that Mr. Campbell expected, and he immediately attacked his opponent's position with the weapons of Lockian empiricism. He quoted Locke and Hume to show that the imagination has not the power of creat-

2. Ibid, 51.
3. Ibid, 120.
ing any new idea. Accepting the Lockian theory of knowledge which holds that there are no innate ideas, and that all knowledge comes from without in, Campbell considered his view of the revealed Christian system thoroughly consistent. Originally the truths of religion were revealed. Of this there is abundant evidence. It should be tested by reason. The presentation of this evidence to men results in faith; i.e., belief of the testimony. Faith is followed by a change of life as the believer acts according to his belief.

The plan of the Bible, as an instrument or means of salvation, is admirably adapted to the human constitution and to the circumstances which surround men. Sacred history, then, records these acts—whether in the form of things said or done, commanded or promised by God. Faith apprehends and receives this testimony concerning these facts. These facts, when believed produce corresponding feelings or states of mind, sometimes called repentance or a new heart; and this new heart leads to those good actions denominated piety and humanity, or holiness and righteousness. The links in this divine chain of moral and spiritual instrumentality are, therefore, five—facts, testimony, faith, feeling, action;—the end of which is salvation. The whole revelation of God is arranged upon this theory of man’s constitution. 1

It is evident that Campbell accepted the theory of knowledge of Locke, and when he speaks of a "theory

of man's constitution;" he is thinking in terms of
Lockian psychology.

(2) Origin of language.

Campbell's view of the origin of language was in
accord with the theory of knowledge which he held. He
believed that human speech is imitative. Language was
originally taught mankind by God. Because of the corrupt-
ion of the original language, the later imperfect lan-
guages have come into existence. Campbell says:

We have shown that speech is neither natural
to man, nor the invention of man; that infants
must be taught to speak by a slow and regular
process; that names are applied to things
and ideas in consequence of the pre-existence
of the ideas in the mind; that the idea must
always necessarily precede the name, and that
we have experimental proof from infants, from
those born deaf and subsequently restored to
hearing. And here I will remark, for the sake
of illustration, that no infant has ever been
known to speak any language but that which it
has been taught, nor to attempt to give a
name to anything till some mother, nurse, or
other instructor, has designated that thing
by its appropriate name to the child.

In the Naccaia Debate (p.163) and in his work on
Christian Baptism (p.38) Alexander Campbell asserted
that God must have taught the first human beings to
speak viva voce. In the latter book we read:

There certainly was one man who never had a mother, or a father, that man could have no mother tongue—no vernacular. God, then, must have taught man to speak viva voce; inasmuch as language is only an imitation of distinct intelligible sounds; and as all language comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of another, (for the deaf have no words, though they have organs of pronunciation,) we must, in all reason, conclude that the first human speaker had heard God himself speak... No class of linguists, rhetoricians, or philosophers, has ever been able to explain the origin of language on the principles of human nature. They agree in one point, viz., that it was not originally a conventional thing; that no company of men could assemble to discuss or decide upon it; which is, if properly comprehended an unanswerable proof of a superhuman origin. So, with the immortal Newton, we conclude, that God gave to man reason and religion by giving him the use of words.

That all mankind had at first one language and one and the same religious faith, is very clearly and logically inferable from the most ancient traditions, and from the structure of three great dialects of speech from which the modern gibberish of nations has descended.

This idea, that God originally gave men the gift of language, fits the Lockian theory of knowledge. The third book of John Locke's Essay is devoted to the study "Of Words". The Essay avoids discussion of origins, but Campbell's theory of the origin of language harmonizes with the Lockian views on the subject of speech in the Essay and his teaching elsewhere concerning an

original revelation.

There is a correspondence between Locke's emphasis on the correct use of words, to which he devotes so much space in the Essay, and Campbell's insistence on a pure nomenclature in religious connections. With both men the object is to secure the maximum degree of truth. Locke had said: "The use of words is to be sensible marks of ideas; and the ideas they stand for are their proper and immediate signification." Hence the necessity of the careful choice of words. Campbell was no less emphatic on this point. Much of the confusion in religious circles he thought was caused by the departure from the pure language of the Scriptures, inspired by the Holy Spirit. He wrote:

As all correct ideas of God and things invisible are supernatural ideas, no other terms can so suitably express them as the terms adopted by the Holy Spirit, in adapting those supernatural truths to our apprehension.

(3) Distinction between knowledge, belief, and opinion.

Campbell, as a good debater, was careful to clarify the meaning of the terms he used. He called Mr. Owen

2. Christian Baptist, 159.
to task for the way he confounded the meanings of the terms, knowledge, belief, and opinion. His own definitions were consistent with the Lockian thought on these subjects. He said:

There is essential

I am apprehensive that he (Mr. Owen) confounds, or uses interchangeably, the terms belief, knowledge, and opinion. Belief always depends upon the testimony of others; knowledge, upon the evidence of our senses; opinion, upon our own reasonings. I do not, in strict propriety of language, believe by my eyes, any more than I hear by my fingers. I know this desk is before me, I do not believe it. We know that Mr. Owen is here, but we cannot believe it. Therefore, for Mr. Owen to ask the audience to believe that he is not now before them, is entirely unwarrantable. I know that which is communicated to my sensorium through the avenues of my senses; and all that is thus communicated, we denominate knowledge. On the other hand, belief has exclusive reference to testimony; and opinion merely expresses different degrees of probability; and after weighing these probabilities, we say that we are of this, that, or the other opinion ... Opinions result from premises not certain, or are the conclusions to which we are led from all the data before us ... I know this desk is before me; I believe that Thomas Jefferson is dead; and I am of opinion that Symmes theory is all a mere fancy.

(4) Faith.

"Sense is man's guide in nature, faith in religion,

reason in both! This "Lockian" expression is found in the Christian System. Both the philosopher and the reformer had much to say on the subject of faith. Campbell defined faith as the belief of testimony. This is essentially the definition given by Locke. Faith, which is belief directed towards a revelation of God, derives its power from the truth believed. It does not depend on subjective factors.

The power and efficacy of faith depend not so much upon the act or manner of believing, nor upon the certainty of the evidence, nor even upon our assurance of its truth, as upon the nature and value of the thing that is believed. The power of faith is in the thing believed. The power of faith is in the power of truth. It is not eating that sustains or destroys human life. It is what is eaten.

In his "Lockian" desire to be objective and scientific in his teaching on faith, Campbell rejected all subjective distinctions. He wrote:

Some superficial thinkers have spoken and written much upon different kinds of faith. They have "historical" and "saving" faith, the "faith of miracles", and the "faith of devils", the "faith direct and reflex"; "temporary and enduring faith"; etc. These are conceits of the old metaphysical theologians, and have done a world

1. p. 15.
2. A. Campbell, Christ. System, 56, 121; Christian Baptism, p. 64-5.
of mischief. By placing historical and saving or divine faith in contrast, and in giving all value to saving and none to historical belief, they have bewildered themselves and their followers... There is no faith worth any thing that is not historical; for all our religion is founded upon history."

This interpretation of faith had significant practical implications for the Reformers. They considered it useless, even dangerous, to urge men to pray for faith. They simply presented the facts of revelation to be believed, and urged people to examine the evidence in an unbiased manner. This, they thought, was sufficient to produce faith. According to the Lockian philosophy a sensible object contacts our minds and makes an imprint thereon if we but open our eyes to it. So, for Campbell, the evidence relating to revealed truth will effectually produce faith in the one who will open his eyes to it and allow himself to be convinced.

Campbell's view of faith was the occasion of severe criticism for him at the hands of his opponents. They said he made faith merely an intellectual process. It is true that, in his definition of the term as the acquisition of information through testimony, or the acceptance of a proposition as true, he may rightly be

accused of pure intellectualism. But it should be remembered that he considered faith (in the above sense) as only one of the steps in the process of conversion. Faith should be isolated for definition but all the steps must hang together in a vital unity in concrete experience. Campbell says:

> Faith is, therefore, a consequence of hearing, and hearing is an effect of speaking; for hearing comes by the Word of God spoken, as much as faith itself comes by hearing. The intellectual and moral arrangement is, therefore — 1. The word spoken; 2. Hearing; 3. Believing; 4. Feeling; 5. Doing. Such is the constitution of the human mind — a constitution divine and excellent, adapted to man's position in the universe. It is never-violated in the moral government of God. Religious action is uniformly the effect of religious feeling; that is the effect of faith; that of hearing; and that of something spoken by God.

This conception of the conversion process is sufficient answer to the accusations of the emotional sectarians who accused Campbell of having a "head religion" but not "heart religion." Faith, the simple belief in testimony, in its highest practical expression issued in belief or trust in a person. From belief of a proposition about Christ (intellectualism) the believer is led to a warm, personal trust in Christ.

Thus the bare intellectualism is transcend-
escape theological complications, and return to the primitive, New Testament order; etc. Campbell, on other points, found himself unconsciously following in Locke's footsteps:

(5) The idea of God.

Alexander Campbell was trained in the Calvinistic theology. The conception of God which characterized Calvinism was adopted by the reformer. He thought of God as a transcendent King. Campbell's insistence that every idea of God which we hold comes to us, directly or indirectly, through the Bible, implies that God, so far as our cognitive apprehension of him is concerned, is not in nature or the historical process. God cannot be known as immanent. This, and not the metaphysical problems of transcendence and immanence, was the important issue for Campbell. Calvinistic theology and Lockian empiricism mutually supported each other in the thought of the reformer at this point. What knowledge of God the human mind holds has come only through the verbal and sensible revelation of a transcendent deity.

Mr. Campbell was especially critical of the Deists, who claimed to accept Locke's theory of knowledge, and, at the same time, asserted that God could

These truths then, (such as God, human spirits, heaven, etc.) however Deists may boast, are all borrowed from the Bible. Hence there is not a rational Deist in the universe... They are the poorest, drivelling philosophers that ever assumed the name... They boast in the belief of one God, of the immortality of the soul, and a future state—but ask them, how they come by it, they will tell you, by the use of the reason! Reasoning on what? the things that are made—but who made them? Thus it goes in a circle; they prove that there is a creator, from the things created; and they prove that things are created because there is a creator. Sagacious doctors! But pray, good doctors, where is the archetype or original of a human spirit from which you were put in possession of the idea, where did you see anything created by a mere exertion of Almighty power?... Either Atheism, unqualified Atheism, or faith in Jesus as the Son of God are the legitimate stopping places on the principles of sound reason and good logic. All that halt between these extremes are besotted with a brutish stupidity. The ox and the ass are their reprovers!

For Campbell the acceptance of the Lockian theory of knowledge without the doctrine of original revelation led inevitably to atheism. He put no trust in "proofs". In this he claimed that he was more consistent with his accepted Lockian premises even than Locke himself! The philosopher had advanced the regul-

ar causal and teleological arguments of the theologians for the existence of God.

Locke and other philosophers who have rejected the doctrine of innate ideas and who have traced all our simple ideas to sensation and reflection, have departed from their own reasonings when they attempted to show that, independent of supernatural revelation, a man could know that there is an eternal first cause uncaused.

Alexander Campbell indulged in speculation on the revealed truths concerning God, but he considered his, and all such, speculative flights of no great significance. With regard to his theory of the nature of the Godhead he said: "Nor would I dispute or contend for this as a theory or speculation with anybody." Campbell's fear of dogmatic expressions on metaphysical themes was typically Lockian. Both thought that it was a safer policy, indeed the "common-sense" attitude, to avoid positive statements on subjects of which we cannot speak with certainty. We cannot know substances of any sort, so how can we be sure of the nature of God?

We have pointed out elsewhere that Locke avoided entanglement in the Trinitarian controversies of his

2. Ibid, 379-81.
4. thesis p.27.
generation. Campbell's agnosticism, which is consistent with the practical empiricism of Locke, is evident in the following pronouncement on the problem of evil:

We may conjecture much, but can know little of the origin of moral evil in God's dominions. Its history on earth is faithfully detailed in the Bible; and that, in the divine prudence, is all that is necessary to our successful warfare against its power, and blissful escape from its penal consequences. It is not necessary that we should analyze and comprehend the origin and nature of darkness in order to enjoy the light of the sun.

(6) Revelation.

We have touched on this subject previously, but it is of such great significance that it deserves a fuller treatment. Campbell's Calvinism gave to him the conception of a transcendent, extra-mundane deity. His Lockianism gave him the view of man as a being who could be moved only by ideas, which come to him through the senses. God can direct human affairs only by breaking through the laws of nature miraculously. The Bible contains the miraculous revelation of God to man through which all knowledge of supernatural things (which is impossible of attainment by human sense perception and reason) is conveyed to the human family.

dignify and designate these colloquies, narratives, geographical and biographical notices, etc., by the term revelation.

The term revelation, in its strict acceptation among intelligent christians, means nothing more or less than a Divine communication concerning spiritual and eternal things, a knowledge of which man could never have attained by the exercise of his reason upon material and sensible objects; for as Paul says, "Things which the eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man to conceive, has God revealed to us apostles, and we declare them to you."

Now the corollary is, that, to a man to whom this divine revelation has never been made, it is as impossible to acquire ideas of spiritual and eternal things, as for a blind man to admire the play of colors in a prism.

In the Old Testament, to distinguish the ordinary information from the divine communications, such intimations are made as "The word of the Lord" or "A message from the Lord came" to such a person. Sometimes, "The Lord said." But in the New Testament, the phrase "The Word" or "The word of the Lord", or "The Truth" is almost exclusively appropriated to the testimony which God gave concerning the person and mission of Jesus Christ.¹

The views expressed in these statements must be supplemented by another quotation in order that Campbell's position may be fairly stated.

Besides this inspiration of original and supernatural ideas, there was another species of supernatural aid afforded the

1. Campbell & Owen, Writ. of Christ., 146; See also Christian Baptist, 344-5; Alex. Campbell, Christ. Baptism, 50ff.
saints who wrote the historical parts of the sacred scriptures. There was a revival in their minds of what they themselves had seen and heard; and in reference to traditions handed down, such a superintendency of the Spirit of wisdom and knowledge as excluded the possibility of mistake in the matters of fact which they recorded. The promise "of leading into all truth," and the promise of "bringing all things before known to remembrance," by the Holy Spirit, included all that we understand by inspiration in its primary and secondary import.

This doctrine of inspiration in its primary and in its secondary import, the original revelation and the inspiration of the sacred writers, is the support for Campbell's view that the Bible is infallible. However, in true Lockian style, he contends that before the so-called revelation is accepted as such it should be subjected to the tests of reason, and when it is proved to be true revelation, its content must be interpreted as reason demands. The respective functions of reason and faith Campbell teaches in the following passages:

1. The pretensions of the Bible to a divine authority or origin are to be examined by our reason alone. Its evidences are addressed to our reason, and by our reasoning powers the question is to be answered, "Is the Bible of divine or human origin?"
   So soon as reason has decided this question,
then,

2. The truths of the Bible are to be re-
ceived as first principles, not to be tried
by our reason, one by one, but to be received
as new principles, from which we are to
reason as from intuitive principles in any
human science.

3. The terms found in the Bible are to be
interpreted and understood in the common
acceptation, as reason or use suggests their
meaning; but the things taught are to be
received, not because we have proved them
by our reason to be truths, but because God
has taught them to us.

This teaching of revealed truths as something
above human reason, and the respective spheres of
operation of faith and reason are thoroughly harmonious
with the views of John Locke on these subjects.2

(7) The work of the Holy Spirit.

In his chapter on "Enthusiasm," Chapter XIX, Book
IV of the Essay, Locke makes a virulent attack on an
unwholesome mysticism current in his day. This "en-
thusiasm," as he calls it, is the enemy both of reason
and revelation. Of it he says:

Which, though founded neither on reason
nor divine revelation, but rising from
the conceits of a warmed or overweening
brain, works yet, where it once gets a
foothing, more powerfully on the persuasions
and actions of men than either of those two,
or both together?

2. A.C. Fraser, ed., Essay, Vol. II, 420, 431, 439, etc.
3. Ibid, 432.
It is not surprising that Campbell, who had the same rational attitude as his ideal philosopher, should manifest a similar antipathy to "enthusiasm." In the Christian Baptist of 1823, he wrote an article on "experimental religion," in which he stated the case for his objection to the popular, mystical revivalism. Using reason and the revelation of the Scriptures as his ultimate courts of appeal, he denounced the ridiculous demonstrations of visions and operations of the Spirit, and appealed to his readers to accept his plain, "common-sense" approach to religion.

From all this scene of raging enthusiasm, he admonished, my friends, to open your Bibles, and to hearken to the voice of God, which is the voice of reason. God now speaks to us only by his Word. By his Son, in the New Testament, he has fully revealed himself and his will. This is the only revelation of the Spirit which we are to regard. The popular preachers and the popular systems, alike render the word of God of none effect.¹

During the year following the appearance of this attack on the abuses of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit Campbell wrote a series of articles for the Christian Baptist,² giving a constructive presentation of the

work of the Holy Spirit. He wished, as a good Lockian, not "to indulge in metaphysical speculations, or to form abstract theories of his own," but to make an inductive study of the subject from the Scriptures. He considered that the work of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of men was threefold, as the Spirit of Wisdom, as the Spirit of Power, and as the Spirit of Grace or Goodness. This triple activity of the Spirit is inseparably connected with the revealed word.  

As the Spirit of Wisdom, he bestowed those gifts of wisdom, of the word of knowledge, of prophecy, and of tongues, to the ambassadors of Messiah, to qualify them to reveal, in words adapted to every ear, the character and achievements of God's only Son, and the benevolent purposes of the Father, through him, towards the human race. As the Spirit of Power, he clothed them with all those magnificent gifts of power over the bodies of men, by which they were always able to prove their mission and demonstrate their authority as the plenipotentiaries of the Son of God.  

As the Spirit of Wisdom and of Power, the Holy Spirit was the author of all the miracles, spiritual gifts, and prophecy, and was confined to a few saints in biblical times. But as the Spirit of Grace or Goodness, it is the author of that principle in

2. Ibid, 139.
3. Ibid, 124.
Christians of all periods which inclines and enables them to cry Abba, Father.¹

The Spirit of Grace dwells in the hearts of men, and teaches them to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts; to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present evil world.²

Campbell insisted, in opposition to popular revival teaching, that the Spirit, "created no new faults, bestowed no new passions nor affections in regeneration;" but:

...presented new objects to the faculties, volitions and affections of men; which new objects apprehended, engage the faculties or powers of the human understanding, captivate the affections and passions of the human soul, and, consequently, direct or draw the whole man into new aims, pursuits and endeavors.³

Campbell felt that his persistent objections to false mysticism, or "enthusiasm," were justified. He had to strike this negative note in order to clear the ground for the restoration of the simple, New Testament order of things. But, in addition, his Lockian philosophy made him antagonistic to the medieval, metaphysical vagaries, of which these mystical demonstrations were expressions. In defending his critical

2. Ibid., 139.
3. Ibid., 131.
procedure he said:

We much regret the necessity that con­strained us to hazard so much on a point so vital, but the case was this: We saw two great errors, as we supposed, existing in society on this subject. We still re­gard them as desolating evils. The idea of physical or special interpositions of God's Holy Spirit, in the way of dreams, visions, voices and immediate impulses, issuing in swoonings, faintings, jerkings, shoutings, trances, etc, etc.; in all the enthusiasm, if not fanaticism, of camp-meetings; in all the ecstacies of ancient Quakerism or modern shaking and quaking Quakerism, in whatever party it was found, we could not but oppose and repudiate by all the means in our power. Another extreme in metaphysical theology, though less boisterous, noisy and contag­ious, though equally pernicious to the sub­ject, was that a sinner is so dead and buried in his sin that, even after he has heard the voice of God, speaking by Apostles and Prophets, he must wait still for the Spirit to descend and work faith in his heart by a supernatural process before he attempt even to call upon the name of the Lord. Hence, the essays, sermons and controversies upon the metaphysical re­generation of an unbeliever in order to faith.

We have opposed these theories because they are not found in the scriptures, and because we have seen and known them to be most in­jurious to multitudes. But as for doubting or denying either the personality of God's Holy Spirit, or his convicting the world of sin, righteousness and judgment, by the instrumentality of the testimony concerning Christ, or his dwelling in the hearts of the faithful as a comforter, we have given the world no evidence—unless the opposing of the abuses of any doctrine is to be identified with opposing the doctrine itself.

1. Millennial Harbinger, '37, 198.
Interpretation of Scripture.

Reference has been made to the influence of the "common-sense" philosophy on biblical criticism. Locke severely criticized the unscientific interpretation of Scripture that was practiced by many churchmen (particularly among the Puritans) of his day, and made some constructive suggestions on this subject. He anticipated the German critics.

We have pointed out the significance of Campbell's use of the Scriptures and his celebrated rules of interpretation. Those rules are simply an application of the "common-sense" empirical method, applied to science by Bacon and to philosophy by Locke. Campbell's method of carefully observing the original meaning of each word, and noting the time, place, circumstances, and purpose of each statement is thoroughly Lockian.

In the Christian Baptist of 1825, the reformer quoted a lengthy section from the preface to Locke's Paraphrase and Notes on Four of Paul's Epistles. In an introductory statement he apprised his readers of a remarkable coincidence. He had been advocating principles advanced by Locke in the seventeenth century;

1. thesis p. 32-33.
"There is not a spiritual idea in the whole human race that is not drawn from the Bible." In order to present the reformer's doctrine of revelation we quote at length from his debate with Owen.

But I must tell you, while speaking of revelation, that perhaps I am misunderstood; and certainly I am, if I am supposed to use this term in the vulgar sense. For now it is usual to call the whole Bible a revelation from God. I must explain myself here. There are a thousand historic facts narrated in the Bible, which it would be absurd to regard as immediate and direct revelation from the Almighty. Paine defines revelation very accurately, although he did not believe we had any, properly so called. He says, page 14, "Age of Reason," —"Revelation cannot be applied to anything done upon earth. It is a communication of something which the person to whom that thing is revealed did not know before" —and I add, could not otherwise know. (That intelligence which could never have been derived to us through the agency of our senses.) —"consequently all the historical and anecdotal part of the Bible is not within the compass and meaning of the word revelation." Revelation, from the import of the term, must be supernatural. But the historic parts of both testaments, present a great variety of topographical and historic facts and incidents; colloquies between friends and enemies; of apostles, prophets, and patriarchs; and of distinguished persons, good and evil; wars, intrigues, amours, and crimes of every dye. Now it would be neither philosophical nor rational to

and, he asserted, he had not been aware of the agreement in views until a few days before writing, when he happened to come in contact with this work by Locke on Paul's epistles. He wrote:

In presenting our readers with the following extract, we are afraid of being charged with the crime of plagiarism; because it will be remembered that, if we have not used the very words and phrases in some of our public addresses, we have certainly on various occasions, viva voce, and, perhaps, with the pen, too, expressed every idea in the extract, and yet never acknowledged Mr. Locke as our tutor in any instance. Yet, strange as it may appear, we are perfectly innocent of the crime. For, until a few days ago, we had never seen or read one sentence in this work...(Locke) did make the best effort toward the understanding the apostolic epistles ever made since the great apostacy took place. But he was a layman, else he should have been better known and more universally read as a commentator...his character as a biblical critic is not so well known, because he had never been consecrated. We publish this extract on account of its intrinsic importance, and to show that some of those views which are said to be peculiarly our own, were entertained a hundred years ago.

The wonder is, not that the philosopher and the reformer held the same views on the interpretation of Scripture, but that Campbell had never seen or read this particular work of Locke. Given the same general

starting point; namely, the philosophy of the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, it is not surprising that the two scholars should arrive at the same conclusion in a particular subject of study.

(9) Miscellaneous points of agreement.

Mr. Campbell's sensational theory of knowledge is apparent in his teaching that the ordinances derived value from the fact that they presented the facts of the gospel in concrete form to the senses. Through the ordinance of baptism the forgiveness of sins comes to man in an object of sense.

And one of the better promises on which the new economy is established, one of the superior excellencies of the New Covenant, is, that under it the forgiveness of sins is imparted, and the conscience perfected in and by means addressed to our senses, and of the easiest access to every believer of the philanthropy of God. So that the instant of time, and the means by which, the formal remission is granted, is an object of sense, and a proper subject of remembrance. Hence those who apostatized from the faith are said to have "forgotten that they were purified from their old or former sins;" i.e. sins committed before immersion. From which it is as clear as demonstration itself, that the forgiveness of sins was through some sensible means, or it could not have been a proper subject of remembrance.

In the debate with Purcell, Campbell uses his Lockian theory of knowledge in refuting the Bishop's arguments for transubstantiation. He attacks the mystery explanation of the Supper on the basis of sense perception and reason.  

Campbell's opposition to creed making, and his teaching that the Scriptures are the all-sufficient guide in religion, and that the words of Christ and his apostles are the only standard for the Christian, are anticipated by Locke. Such is true also of Campbell's teaching that the New Testament ideal required a democratic form of government for the church, each congregation being autonomous. Campbell carried these views, which were in germ in Locke's thinking, further than the seventeenth-century thinker, and put them into practical effect in his Reformation.

In the first place, we have pointed out that the Purcellian philosophy was very influential in the English-speaking world during the formation period of Alexander Campbell's thought. Other philosophical influences:

CONCLUSION


Such a colorful figure in the history of the church as Alexander Campbell is worthy of careful study. To understand him in his historical setting, noting the various background elements that contributed to the formulation of his thought, we consider of great value. Much has been done along these lines already by men of scholarship; for example, W. E. Garrison, H. Van Kirk, and others. The purpose of this dissertation has been to investigate one aspect of this historical background; viz, the philosophical. The thesis we set out to support is that the philosophy of John Locke of the seventeenth century was of primary importance in the shaping of the theological views of the reformer of the nineteenth century. The summary of our argument in support of this thesis is as follows:

In the first place, we have pointed out that the Lockian philosophy was very influential in the English-speaking world during the formative period of Alexander Campbell's thought. Other philosophical viewpoints had been advocated since the death of Locke, but his "common-sense" empirical method continued to be popular during the early nineteenth century.
There is evidence that Alexander Campbell actually studied the works of Locke, first under the guidance of his talented father, and then during his university career at Glasgow.

The works of the reformer bear external evidence of the fact that he was influenced by Locke. He makes frequent reference to the philosopher, includes him in his lists of illustrious men, gives many quotations from his writings, and confesses agreement with him on many points. Campbell speaks of the seventeenth century thinker as the "Christian philosopher," and is lavish in his praise of him.

The main arguments that we have advanced for our thesis are those drawn from an examination of the internal evidence from the works of the reformer. The correspondence between the ideas of the two men is unmistakable. Campbell accepted the Lockian theory of knowledge. He believed that all simple ideas are the result of sensation and reflection. The mind, working on these simple ideas, builds up the store of knowledge by abstracting, compounding and combining. But ultimately all knowledge comes from sense perception and reflection.

The reformer's theory of the origin of language
grew out of his Lockian view of the nature of man and the way in which knowledge comes to man. Language is imitative, and God must have taught the first human pair to speak, viva voce. Both Locke and Campbell believed in an original revelation.

Campbell agrees with his ideal philosopher in stating his explanation of, and the respective spheres of operation of, knowledge, belief, and opinion. Knowledge depends on the evidence of our senses; belief, on the testimony of others; and opinion, on our own reasonings from premises not certain.

In defining faith as belief of testimony Campbell was in agreement with Locke. All that is necessary to produce religious faith in a man is to present the evidence to him. The following quotation bears the marks of the dependence of this view of faith, held by Locke as well as Campbell, on the theory of knowledge which they both accepted, the "tabula rasa" conception:

Such is the constitution of the human mind that a man is as passive in believing as he was in receiving his name, or as the eye is in receiving the rays of light that fall upon it from the sun; consequently no man can help believing when the evidence of truth arrests his attention.

The empiricism of the reformer is evident in his teaching that God cannot be discovered in nature; indeed, reason cannot in any way give us the idea of God. Where is the archetype of such an idea in the world of sense? The empiricism of Locke must be supplemented by the doctrine of an original revelation if we are to be saved from atheism. The idea of God which we have must have come to the human family through the verbal and sensible revelation of a transcendent deity.

The philosopher and the reformer are one in their teaching that man’s natural knowledge is limited to sensuous things and his knowledge of God and spiritual things depends upon revelation. For both men, revealed truths are of such a nature that they could not be known by the reason; they are super-rational. Campbell asserts that all spiritual ideas, in every part of the world, and in every heathen religion even, must be dependent in some way upon the biblical revelation. This tremendous assumption is made for the sake of his accepted Lockian view of the limitation of natural knowledge.

Intense opposition to "enthusiasm" was characteristic of both thinkers. In his positive teaching of the function of the Holy Spirit Campbell was consistent with the psychology of sensationalism. Locke
taught that man is so constituted that he can receive influences only through the senses. Campbell, accepting this theory as fundamental, believed that the Holy Spirit influenced men only through channels which appeal to the senses; namely, the written and spoken word and the ordinances.

Campbell's rules of interpretation, which were of such great consequence to his Reformation, are an evidence of the basic "common-sense" philosophy which he held. He merely applied the Lockian philosophy to the study of the Scriptures.

On other points, such as the all-sufficiency of the Scriptures, the democratic character of the New Testament church, etc., Campbell followed in the path trodden by the English philosopher.

2. Concluding Observations.

In conclusion we make the following observations:

(1) Alexander Campbell in youth was exposed to two very definite influences that contributed largely to the shaping of his thought. On the one hand was the Calvinistic theology (of the Dutch Covenant school); on the other, the Lockian philosophy. Each fitted into, and supported, the other. From the one he inherited the thought of God as a transcendent, majestic Being,
whose characteristic function was the giving of laws. From the other he received the conception of man as a being who, by the limits of his constitution, was unable to have any knowledge save that which comes to him through his senses—a being in a very real sense finite. Campbell found Calvinistic theology and Lockian empiricism admirably suited for each other. The union of these two thought streams in his mind produced the Campbellian views of: (1) an original verbal and sensible revelation as the transcendent God broke through the laws of nature to contact fallen mankind; (2) the authoritative nature of the Scriptures, which contain the revealed Word, and are the all-sufficient guide in religion; (3) the Holy Spirit functioning only through channels that appeal to the senses.

Alexander Campbell brought to religious problems a modern philosophical viewpoint. He fitted in with the line of development represented by Bacon in scientific connections and Locke in philosophy. His position in the religious world was in harmony with the modern, scientific temper. He said:

"Speculation in philosophy has been widely discarded from approved systems. Since the days of Bacon, our scientific men have adopted the practical and truly scientific mode—that is, they have stopped where human
intellect found a bound over which it could not pass, and have been content to go no farther than material objects, analyzed, gave out their qualities and left the manner of their existence as beyond the bounds of created intellect. We plead for the same principle in contemplation of religious truth.\textsuperscript{1}

Herein lies the explanation of the conflict that Campbell had with many of his contemporaries. He had the practical and scientific viewpoint; they, the speculative and metaphysical. His thinking was based on modern philosophy; theirs, on medieval.

(3) Alexander Campbell brought to the masses a message that was intelligible to them. A few simple propositions were offered to the common man. He was urged to take Christianity on its historic evidences. Christian duty was reduced to certain specific and definite actions which were intelligible even to the illiterate. It was a "common-sense" gospel. It was a message that was appreciated by the independent, democratic, American citizen who had received his political emancipation largely through the influence of the "common sense" philosopher of the seventeenth century. However, some of the followers of Campbell went too far in their

\textsuperscript{1} quoted by W.E.Garrison, \textit{Alex. Campbell's Theology}, III-112.
desire to make Christian experience an intellectual rather than an emotional process. Richardson makes the following complaint against them:

Taking Locke's philosophy as the basis of their system, and carrying his Essay on the Human Understanding along with the Bible in their saddle-bags, they denied even to its Creator any access to the human soul except by "words and arguments", while they conceded to the Author of evil a direct approach, and had more to say in their discourses about "the laws of human nature" than about the gospel of Christ.

These were extremists, but even the extreme which they represented was scarcely less undesirable than the rabid "enthusiasm" which they opposed. It is only fair to say that Alexander Campbell and the majority of the Reformers retained their balance. The intellectual element in their message had the primacy, but for them the steps in the conversion process which included the emotional and mystical as well as the rational hung together as a unit. They had a vital gospel which was at the same time simple and intelligible. It had none of the abstractness and mystery which marked the popular, emotional religion of the day. It was a message that may be characterized by the Lockian expression, "common-sense," and as such it was peculiarly gospel (good news) for the common man.

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